THE PHILOSOPHIE, commonlie called, THE MORALS WRITTEN BY the learned Philoſopher PLUTARCH of *Chæronea.*

Tranſlated out of Greeke into Engliſh, and conferred
with the Latine tranſlations and the French,
by PHILEMON HOLLAND of
Coventrie, Doctor in
Phyſicke.

VVhereunto are annexed the Summaries neceſſary to be
read before every Treatiſe.

AT LONDON
Printed by *Arnold Hatfield.*
1603

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE, IAMES, BY THE *Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

IN this generall joy of affectionate and loyall ſubjects, teſtified by their frequent confluence from all parts, longing for nothing ſo much as the full fruition of that beautiful ſtarre, which lately upon the ſhutting in of the evening with us after our long Summers day, immediatly by his radiant beames mainteined ſtill a twilight from the North, and within ſome few houres appeared bright ſhining above our Horizon, ſuffering neither the dark night and confuſed Chaos *of* Anarchie *to overſpred and ſubvert, nor the turbulent tempeſts and bloudy broiles of factious ſidings to trouble and pervert our State: I alſo, for my part could not ſtay behinde, but in teſtimony of ſemblable love and allegeance ſhew my ſelfe; and withall, moſt humbly preſent unto your Highneſſe,* This Philoſophie of PLUTARCH: *which being firſt naturally bred in* Greece; *then, tranſplanted in* Italie, France *and other regions of the continent; after ſundry Nativities, if I may ſo ſpeake, reſerved (not without ſome divine providence) unto theſe daies, is now in this our Iland newly come to light; ready both to congratulate your Majeſties firſt entrie upon the inheritance of theſe Kingdomes, and deſirous alſo to enjoy the benefit of that happy* Horoſcope *and fortunate* Aſcendent, *under which it was borne; even the favourable aſpect of your gracious countenance: by vertue whereof, it may not onely be marked to long life, feeble otherwiſe of it ſelfe, but alſo yeeld pleaſure with profit to the Engliſh nation.*

Vouchſafe therefore, my deere Lord and dread Soveraine, to *accept that now at my hands, whole & entire, which in part* Trajanus *the beſt Romaine Emperour that ever was, received ſometime from the firſt Authour and Stock-father himſelfe: Protect the ſame in Engliſh habit, whom in French attire* Amiot *dedicated to the late moſt Chriſtian King: and deigne unto her no leſſe favour and grace, than her yoonger ſiſter, to wit, the Hiſtory or Parallele Lives, hath already obtained: which being tranſported out of* France *into* England *by that woorthy Knight* Sir Thomas North *our countryman, was patronized by our late Soveraigne Lady of famous memory* Elizabet. *And the rather, for that conſidering the prerogative of birth-right, and the ſame accompanied with more variety and depth of knowledge, I may be bold to pronounce as much in her commendation, as the Poet wrote of* Iupiter *in compariſon of his brother* Neptune:

Homer. Iliad. ν.

> ἦ μὰν ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ὁμὸν γένος, ἠδ' ἴα πάτρις,
> ἀλλ' αὕτη προτέρη γεγόνει, καὶ πλείονα ᾔδει.

Theſe regards, albeit they were ſufficient motives in themſelves to induce me, for to attempt none other patronage than the Name of my Liege Lord ſo gracious; nor to ſubmit my labours to the cenſure of any perſon, before a King ſo judicious: yet was I more animated to enterpriſe the ſame, by the former experience that I had of a Princes benignity in that behalfe: what time as I conſecrated my Engliſh Tranſlation of the Romane Hiſtorie written by Titus Livius, *unto the immortall memory of the ſaid Noble and renowmed Queene. Now, ſeeing that with her Realmes and Dominions, the beſt parts and gifts that were in her, be likewiſe hæreditarily deſcended upon your roiall perſon, and the ſame multiplied in greater meaſure, proportionable to the dignity of ſex, the addition of ſcepters and diademes, and the weighty charge of ſo puiſſant and populous an Empire; it were in me a groſſe abſurdity, if not meere impiety, to make any doubt of that excellent vertue of all others, whereby Princes come neereſt unto the Nature of God, whoſe Majeſty heere upon earth they repreſent. To ſay nothing, how the world hath taken knowledge already, as well by your vertuous life and politicke regiment hitherto, as alſo by the prudent and religious deſignements delivered in thoſe ſage and learned Compoſitions of your*

your Highneſſe penning, That your bleſſed intention is to holde on the ſame courſe ſtill, not onely βασιλικῶς; *a point that the Indian Potentate* Porus *required of* Alexander *the Great: but alſo* φιλοσόφως; *the ſingular note that our preſent Author ſet upon all the actions of the ſaid mighty Monarch;* ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πάντα ἔνεστι.

Plutarch. De fortun. vel Virtut. Alexandri. Orat. 1.

Since then both theſe attributes concurre in your Noble perſon, juſt cauſe have we, in all devout thankefulneſſe to acknowledge the goodneſſe of the Almighty, who from heaven above hath ſent us ſo wiſe a Prince, under whoſe reigne we (if ever any Nation under the Sunne) may aſſuredly expect that felicity and happineſſe, which the divine Philoſopher Plato *ſo much recommendeth: and in due reverence unto your Majeſty, with one heart and voice, both ſing and ſay:*

Dialog. 5. De rep.

Hîc ames dici Pater atq; Princeps:
Serus in cœlum redeas, tuoq;
Lætus interſis populo, *Britannûm*
Prime Monarcha.

Horat. 1. Carm. od. 2.

Your Majeſties moſt

humble and obedient ſubject,

Philémon Holland.

A CATALOGUE CONTEINING the Titles of every Treatiſe in order, thorow the *whole worke: with a direction to the page, where any one of them beginneth.*

1 Of the Nouriture and Education of Children. 1
2 How a yoong man ought to heare Poets: and how he may take profit by reading Poëms. 17
3 Of Hearing. 51
4 Of Morall vertue. 64
5 Of Vertue and Vice. 78
6 That Vertue may be taught and learned. 80
7 How a man may diſcerne a flatterer from a friend. 83
8 How to Bridle Anger. 117
9 Of Curioſitie. 133
10 Of the Tranquillitie and contentment of Mind. 144
11 Of unſeemly and naughty Baſhfulneſſe. 162
12 Of Brotherly Love. 173
13 Of Intemperate ſpeech or Garrulitie. 191
14 Of Avarice or Covetouſneſſe. 208
15 Of the naturall love or kindneſſe of Parents to their children. 216
16 Of the Pluralitie of Friends. 223
17 Of Fortune. 229
18 Of Envie and Hatred. 233
19 How a man may receive profit by his enemies. 236
20 How a man may perceive his owne proceeding and going forward in Vertue. 245
21 Of Superſtition. 258
22 Of Exile or Baniſhment. 269
23 That we ought not to take up money upon Uſurie. 282
24 That a Philoſopher ought to converſe eſpecially with princes and great Rulers, and with them to diſcourſe. 288
25 How a man may praiſe himſelfe, without incurring envie or blame. 300
26 What paſſions and maladies be worſe, thoſe of the ſoule or thoſe of the body. 312
27 Precepts of Wedlocke. 315
28 The banquet of the ſeven Sages. 325
29 Inſtructions for them that manage affaires of State. 346

30 Whether an aged man ought to manage publike affaires. 382
31 The Apophthegmes or Notable Sayings, of Kings, Princes, and great Captaines. 401
32 Laconicke Apophthegmes, or the notable ſayings of Lacedæmonians. 445
33 The Apophthegmes, that is to ſay, the notable ſayings and anſwers of Lacedæmonian Dames. 479
34 The vertuous deeds of Women. 482
35 A Conſolatorie oration, ſent nnto APOLLONIUS, upon the death of his ſonne. 509
36 A Conſolatorie letter or diſcourſe, ſent unto his owne Wife as touching the death of her and his daughter. 533
37 How it commeth, that the divine Juſtice differreth otherwhiles the puniſhment of wicked perſons. 538
38 That Brute beaſts have diſcourſe of reaſon, in maner of a Dialogue named Gryllus. 561
39 Whether it be lawfull to eate fleſh or no, the former oration or treatiſe. 571
Of eating fleſh the ſecond Declamation. 576
40 That a man cannot live pleaſantly according to the doctrine of EPICURUS. 580
41 Whether this common Mot be well ſaid, LIVE HIDDEN, or, SO LIVE, as no man may know thou liveſt. 605
42 Rules and precepts of health, in maner of a Dialogue. 609
43 Of the Romans fortune. 627
44 The Sympoſiacks, or table Queſtions, The firſt booke. 641
Of Sympoſiacks, the ſecond booke. 661
Of Sympoſiacks, the third booke. 680
Of Sympoſiacks, the fourth booke. 698
Of Sympoſiacks, the fift booke. 713
Of Sympoſiacks, the ſixt booke. 729
Of Sympoſiacks, the ſeventh booke. 742
Of Sympoſiacks, the eight booke. 764
Of Sympoſiacks, the ninth booke. 785
45 The opinions of Philoſophers. 802
Of Philoſophers opinions the firſt booke. 804
Of Philoſophers opinions the ſecond booke. 817
Of Philoſophers opinions the third booke. 826
Of Philoſophers opinions the fourth booke. 833
Of Philoſophers opinions the fift booke. 841
46 Romane Queſtions. 850
47 Demaunds or queſtions as touching Greeke affaires. 888
48 The Parallels or, a briefe Collation, of Romane narrations, with the ſemblable reported of the Greeks. 906
49 The Lives of the ten Oratours. 918
50 Narrations of Love. 944
51 Whether creatures be more wiſe, they of the land, or thoſe of the water. 949

52 Whether

52 Whether the Athenians were more renowmed for Martiall Armes, or good Letters. 981
53 Whether of the twaine is more profitable, Fire or Water. 989
54 Of the Primitive or firſt Cold. 992
55 Naturall Queſtions. 1002
56 Platonique Queſtions. 1016
57 A commentary of the Creation of the ſoule, which PLATO deſcribeth in his booke Timæus. 1030
58 Of fatall Neceſſitie. 1048
59 A Compendious Review or Diſcourſe, That the Stoicks deliver more ſtrange opinions, than doe the Poëts. 1055
60 The Contradictions of Stoicke Philoſophers. 1057
61 Of Common Conceptions againſt the Stoicks. 1081
62 Againſt COLOTES the Epicurean. 1109
63 Of Love. 1130
64 Of the Face appearing within the Roundle of the Moone. 1159
65 Why the propheteſſe PYTHIA, giveth no anſwer now from the Oracle, in verſe or Meeter. 1185
66 Of the Dæmon or familiar ſpirit of SOCRATES. 1202
67 Of the Malice of HERODOTUS. 1227
68 Of Muſicke. 1248
69 Of the Fortune or vertue of king ALEXANDER, the firſt Oration. 1263
Of the Fortune or vertue of K. ALEXANDER, the ſecond Oration. 1272
70 Of ISIS and OSIRIS. 1286
71 Of the Oracles that have Ceaſed to give anſwere. 1320
72 What ſignifieth this word, EI, engraven over the Dore of APOLLOES Temple in the City of DELPHI. 1351

OF THE NOVRITVRE AND EDVCATION OF CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

THe very title of this Treatiſe diſcovereth ſufficiently the intention of the authour; and whoſoever he was that reduced theſe Morals and mixt works of his into one entire volume, was well adviſed, and had great reaſon to range this preſent Diſcourſe in the firſt and formoſt place: For unleſſe our minds be framed unto vertue from our infancie, impoſsible it is that we ſhould performe any worthy act ſo long as we live. Now, albeit Plutarch *(as a meere Pagane) hath both in this booke and alſo in others enſuing, where he treateth of vertues and vices, left out the chiefe and principall thing, to wit,* The Law of God and his Trueth, *(wherein he was altogether ignorant) yet nevertheleſſe, theſe excellent precepts by him deliuered, like raies which proceed from the light of nature remaining ſtill in the ſpirit and ſoule of man, aſwell to leaue ſinners inexcuſable, as to ſhew how happie they be, who are guided by the heauenly light of holy Scripture; are able to commence action againſt thoſe, who make profeſsion in word how they embrace the true and ſouereigne Good, but in deed and effect do annihilate, as much as lieth in them, the power and efficacie thereof.*

Moreover, in this Treatiſe he proveth firſt of all, That the generation of Infants ought in no wiſe to be defamed with the blot either of adulterie or drunkenneſſe: Then, he entreth into a diſcourſe of their education: and after he hath ſhewed, that Nature, Reaſon & Vſage ought to concurre in their inſtruction, he teacheth how & by whom they ſhould be nurtured, brought up and taught, where he reproveth ſharply the ſlouth, ignorance and avarice of ſome fathers. And the better to declare the excellencie of theſe benefits, namely, good inſtruction, knowledge and vertue, which the ſtudie of Philoſophie doth promiſe and teach, he compareth the ſame with all the greateſt goods of the world: and ſo conſequently ſetteth downe what vices eſpecially they are to ſhun and avoid, who would be capable of ſincere and true literature.

But before he proceedeth further, he deſcribeth and limiteth how farforth children well borne and of good parentage ſhould be urged and forced by compulſion; diſciphering briefly the praiſes of morall Philoſophie: and concluding withall, That the man is bleſſed, who is both helpfull to his neighbour as it becommeth, and alſo good unto himſelfe. All theſe points above rehearſed, when he hath enriched and embeliſhed with ſimilitudes, examples, apophthegmes, and ſuch like ornaments, he propoundeth diuers rules pertinent to the Inſtitution of yoong children: which done, he paſſeth from tender child-hood to youthfull age, ſhewing what gouernment there ought to be of yoong men: farre from whom, he baniſheth and chaſeth flatterers eſpecially: and for a finall concluſion diſcourſeth of the kinde behavior of fathers and the good example that they are to giue unto their children.

⁂

THE EDVCATION OF CHILDREN.

Foraſmuch as we are to conſider what may be ſayd as touching the education of children free borne and deſcended from gentle blood, how and by what diſcipline they may become honeſt and vertuous, we ſhall perhaps treat hereof the better, if we begin at their very generation and nativitie. Firſt and formoſt therefore, I would adviſe thoſe who deſire to be the fathers of ſuch children, as may live another day in honour and reputation among men, not to match themſelves and meddle with light women, common courtiſans I meane, or private concubines. For a reproch this is that followeth a man all the dayes of his life, and a ſhamefull ſtaine which by no meanes can be fetched out, if haply he be not come of a good father or good mother: neither is there any one thing that preſenteth it ſelfe more readily unto his adverſaries, and ſooner is in their mouth when they are diſpoſed to checke, taunt and revile, than to twit him with ſuch parentage. In which regard, wiſely ſayd the Poët *Euripides*:

When as the ground is not well laid
at firſt, for our nativity;
With parents fault, men will upbraid
both us, and our poſterity.

A goodly treaſure then have they who are well and honeſtly borne, when in the confidence and aſſurance thereof, they may be bold to beare their heads aloft, and ſpeake their minds frankly whereſoever they come: and verily they of all others are to make the greateſt account of this bleſſing, who wiſh to have faire iſſue of their bodies lawfully begotten. Certes, a thing it is that ordinarily daunteth and caſteth downe the heart of a man, when he is privie to the baſeneſſe of his birth, and knoweth ſome defect, blemiſh and imperfection by his parents. Moſt truly therefore, and to the purpoſe right fitly ſpake the ſame Poët:

The privitie to fathers vice
or mothers fault reprochable,
Will him debaſe who otherwiſe
is hautie, ſtout and commendable.

Whereas contrariwiſe, they that are knowen to be the children of noble and worthy parents, beare themſelves highly, and are full of ſtomacke and generoſitie. In which conceit and loftie ſpirit it is reported, that *Diaphantus* the ſonne of *Themiſtocles*, was woont to ſay, and that in the hearing of many, That whatſoeuer pleaſed him, the ſame alſo the people of *Athens* thought well of: for, that which I would have done, quoth he, my mother likewiſe ſayth Yea unto it: what my mothers minde ſtands to, *Themiſtocles* my father will not gainſay it: and looke what likes *Themiſtocles*, the *Athenians* all are well contented therewith. Where by the way, the magnanimitie, and brave mind of the *Lacedæmoninas* is highly to be praiſed, who condemned their king *Archidamus* in a great fine of money, for that he could finde in his heart to eſpouſe a wife of little ſtature, alledging therewith a good reaſon: Becauſe, ſay they, his meaning is to get, not a breed of Kings, but Kinglins, or divers Kings, to reigne over us.

Well, upon this firſt advertiſement concerning children, there dependeth another, which they who wrote before us of the like argument, forgat not to ſet downe; and what is that? namely, That they who for procreation of children will come neere unto women, ought to meddle with them, either upon empty ſtomacks, and before they have drunke any wine at all, or at leaſtwiſe, after they have taken their wine in meaſure, and ſoberly: for ſuch will proove commonly wine-bibbers and drunkards, who were engendred when their fathers were drunken; according to that which *Diogenes* ſayd upon a time unto a youth whom he ſaw beſide himſelfe, and farre overſeene with drinke; My ladde, quoth he, thy father gat thee when he was drunke. And thus much may ſuffice for the generation of children.

As touching their nourture and education, whereof now I am to diſcourſe: That which we are woont generally to ſay of all Arts and Sciences, the ſame we may be bolde to pronounce of vertue, to wit, that to the accompliſhment thereof, and to make a man perfectly vertuous, three things ought to concurre, Nature, Reaſon and Vſage. By reaſon, I underſtand doctrine and precepts: by uſage, exerciſe and practiſe. The firſt beginnings we have from nature: progreſſe and proceeding come by teaching and inſtruction: exerciſe and practiſe is performed by diligence: And all three together bring foorth the height of perfection. If any one of theſe faile, it cannot otherwiſe be, but that vertue alſo ſhould have her defect and be maimed: For nature without learning is blind: Doctrine wanting the gift of nature is defectuous; and exerciſe void of the other twaine, inperfect. And verily, it fareth in this caſe much like as in Husbandrie and tillage of the earth. For firſt and formeſt requiſite it is, that the ground be good: Secondly, that the Husbandman be skilfull; and in the third place that the ſeed be cleane and well choſen. Semblaby, Nature reſembleth the ſoile: the Maſter who teacheth, repreſenteth the labouring Husbandman; and laſt of all, the rules, precepts, admonitions and examples are compared to the ſeede. All theſe good meanes (I dare with confidence avouch) met together, and inſpired their power into the mindes of theſe woorthy perſonages, who throughout the world are ſo renowmed, *Pythagoras* I meane, *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the reſt who have attained to a memorable name and immortall glorie. Bleſſed then is that man and entirely beloved of the gods, whoſe hap it is by their favor and grace to be furniſhed with all three. Now if any one be of this opinion, that thoſe who are not endued with the gift of naturall wit, and yet have the helpes of true inſtruction and diligent exerciſe to the attaining of vertue, cannot by this meanes recover and repaire the foreſaid defect: Know he, that he is much deceived, and to ſay more truely, quite out of the way: for as idleneſſe and negligence doth marre and corrupt the goodneſſe of nature: ſo, the induſtrie and diligence of good erudition ſupplieth the defect, and correcteth the default thereof. Idle and ſlothfull perſons (we ſee) are not able to compaſſe the things that be eaſie: whereas contrariwiſe by ſtudie and travell, the greateſt difficulties are atchieved. Moreover, of what efficacie, and execution, diligence and labour is, a man may eaſily know by ſundrie effects that are daily obſerved. For we do evidently perceive that drops of water falling upon the hard rocke, doe eate the ſame hollow: yron and braſſe we ſee to weare and conſume onely by continuall handling: The fellies in chariot wheeles which by labour are bended and curbed, will not returne and be reduced againe, do what you can to their former ſtreightneſſe: Like as it is impoſſible by any device to ſet ſtreight the crooked ſtaves that Stage-players goe withall. And evident it is, that whatſoever againſt nature, is by force and labour chaunged and redreſſed, becometh much better and more ſure, than thoſe things that continue in their owne kinde. But, are theſe the things onely wherein appeareth the power of ſtudie and diligence? No verily. For there are an infinite number of other experiments, which proove the ſame moſt cleerely. Is there a peece of ground naturally good? Let it lie neglected, it becommeth wilde and barrain: Yea, and the more rich and fertill that it is of it ſelfe, the more waſte and fruitleſſe it prooveth for want of tillage and husbandry. Contrariwiſe, you ſhall ſee another plot hard, rough, and more ſtonie than it ſhould be: which by good ordering and the carefull hand of the husbandman, ſoone bringeth foorth faire and goodly fruit. Againe, what trees are there which will not twine, grow crooked and proove fruitleſſe, if good heed be not taken unto them? Whereas, if due regard be had, and that carefulnes employed about them which becommeth, they beare fruit, and yeeld the ſame ripe in due ſeaſon. Is there any body ſo ſound and able, but by neglect, riot, delicacie, and an evill habit or cuſtome it will grow dull, feeble and unluſtie, yea and fall into a miſliking and conſumption? On the other ſide, what complexion is there ſo faint and weake, which is not brought to great ſtrength and perfection in the end, by continual travell and ordinary exerciſes? Are there any horſes in the world, which if they be well handled and broken while they are colts, will not proove gentle in the end and ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be mounted and manned? Contrariwiſe, let them remaine untamed in their youth: ſtrongheaded, ſtiffenecked and unruly will they be alwaies after, and never fit for ſervice. And why ſhould we marvell at theſe and ſuch like matters, conſidering that many of the moſt ſavage and cruell beaſts that be, are made gentle and familiar, yea and brought to hand by labour and paines taken about them? Well ſaid therefore that *Theſſalian* whoſoever he was, who being demaunded, which *Theſſalians* of all others were moſt dull and ſofteſt of ſpirit, Anſwered thus, Even they that have given over warfare. But what need we to ſtand longer upon this point? For certaine it is, that our manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in us by tract and

** Græcè melius, ἠθικὰς ἀρετὰς ἐθικὰς ἄν τις λέγῃ.*

continuance of time: and whoſoever ſaith that * Morall vertues are gotten by cuſtome, in my conceit ſpeaketh not amiſſe but to very great purpoſe. And therefore with one example and no more produced by ***Lycurgus*** as touching this matter, I will knit up and conclude my diſcourſe thereof. ***Lycurgus***, him I meane who eſtabliſhed the lawes of the Lacedæmonians, tooke two whelpes of one litter, and comming both from the ſame ſire and damme: Thoſe he cauſed to be nouriſhed and brought up diverſly, and unlike one to the other; that as the one prooved a greedie and ravenous curre and full of ſhrewd turnes: ſo the other was given to hunting and minded nothing but to queſt and follow the game. Now upon a certaine day afterwards, when the Lacedæmonians were met together in a frequent aſſembly, he ſpake unto them in this manner, My Maſters, citizens of Lacedæmon, Of what importance to engender vertue in the hart of man, cuſtome, nourture, diſcipline and education is, I will preſently ſhew unto you by an evident demonſtration: and with that he brought foorth in the ſight of them all, thoſe two whelpes, and ſet directly before them a great platter of ſops in broth, and therewith let looſe alſo a live hare: but behold, one of them followed immediately after the hare, but the other ranne ſtraight to ſlap in the platter aforeſaid. The Lacedæmonians wiſt not what to make of this, nor to what purpoſe he ſhewed unto them theſe two dogs before ſaid, untill he brake out into this ſpeech, Theſe two dogs (quoth he) had one damme and the ſame ſire, but being bred and brought up diverſly, See how the one is become a greedy gut, and the other a kinde hound. And thus much may ſerve as touching cuſtome and diverſitie of education.

It were meete now in the next place to treat of the feeding and nouriſhing of infants newly borne. I hold it therefore convenient, that mothers reare their babes, and ſuckle them with their owne breaſts: For feede them they will with greater affection, with more care and diligence, as loving them inwardly, and (as the proverbe ſaith) from their tender nailes, whereas milch nources and foſtermothers carie not ſo kinde a hart unto their nourcelings, but rather a fained and counterfet affection, as being mercenarie and loving them indeed for hire onely and reward. Furthermore, even nature her ſelfe is ſufficient to proove, that mothers ought to ſuckle and nouriſh thoſe whom they have borne and brought into the world: For to this end hath ſhe given to every living creature that bringeth foorth yoong, the foode of milke: and in great wiſedome the divine providence hath furniſhed a woman with two teats for this purpoſe, that if happily ſhe ſhould be delivered of two twinnes at once, ſhe might have likewiſe two fountaines of milke to yeeld nouriſhment for them both. Moreover, by this meanes more kinde and loving they will be unto their children: and verily not without great reaſon: For this fellowſhip in feeding together is a bond that knitteth, or rather a wreſt that ſtraineth and ſtretcheth benevolence to the utmoſt. The experience whereof we may ſee even in the very brute and wilde beaſts, which hardly are parted from their companie, with whom they have beene nouriſhed, but ſtill they lowe and mowe after them. Mothers therefore (as I have ſaid) ought eſpecially to endevour and do their beſt for to be nources of their owne children, if it be poſſible. But in caſe they cannot, by reaſon either of ſome bodily infirmitie and indiſpoſition that way (for ſo it may fall out) or that they have a deſire and do make haſt to be with childe againe, and to have more children: then a carefull eie and good regard would be had, not to entertaine thoſe for nources and governeſſes that come next to hand, but to make choiſe of the very beſt and moſt honeſt that they can come by, and namely for faire conditions and good behavior, to chooſe Greekiſh women before any other. For like as the members and limmes of little infants, ſo ſoone as ever they be borne, are of neceſſitie to be formed and faſhioned, that afterwards they may grow ſtraight and not crooked: even ſo, at the very firſt their harts and manners ought to be trained and ſet in order: For this firſt age of childhood is moiſt and ſoft, apt to receive any impreſſion: whiles the heart is tender every leſſon may be ſoone inſtilled into it, and quickly will take hold, whereas hard things are not ſo eaſie to be wrought and made ſoft. And as ſignets or ſeales will quickly ſet a print upon ſoft wax; ſo the tender hearts of yoong children take readily the impreſſion of whatſoever is taught them. In which regard, ***Plato*** that heavenly and divine Philoſopher, ſeemeth unto me to have given a wiſe admonition for nources, when he warned them not to tell fooliſh tales, nor to uſe vaine ſpeeches inconſiderately in the hearing of yoong infants, for feare leaſt at the firſt their minds might apprehend folly and conceive corrupt opinions. Semblably the Poët ***Phocylides*** ſeemeth to deliver ſage counſaile in this behalfe when he ſaith:

A child of yoong and tender age
Ought to be taught things good and ſage.

Neither is this precept in any wiſe to be forgotten or paſſed by, That other children alſo who are either to attend upon them, whiles they be nourced and brought up, or to beare them companie and be fedde together with them, be choſen ſuch as above all things are well mannered and of good conditions: Then, that they ſpeake the Greeke toong naturally, and pronounce the ſame moſt plainely and diſtinctly, for feare, leaſt if they ſort with ſuch feeres as either in language are barbarous, or in behaviour leawd and ungratious, they catch infection from them, and be ſtained with their vices. For ſuch old ſawes and proverbes as theſe, are not ſo rife without good reaſon, *If thou converſe and cohebite with a lame creaple, thou wilt ſoone learne to limpe and halt thy ſelfe.*

Now when children be growen to that age, wherin they are to be committed unto the charge of Tutors, Schoolemaſters and governors: then, parents ought to have an eſpecial care of their ſtate, namely, under whom they ſet them to be trained up: leaſt for want of good providence and foreſight, they betray them into the hands of ſome vile ſlaves, baſe barbarians, vaine and light-headed perſons. For moſt abſurd and ridiculous is the practiſe of many men in this point: who if they have any ſervants more vertuous or better diſpoſed than others, ſome of them they appoint to husbandry and tillage of their ground; others they make Maſters of their ſhips. They employ them (I ſay) either in merchandiſe to be their factours, or as ſtewards of their houſe to receive and pay all; or elſe to be banquers, and ſo they truſt them with the exchaunging and turning of their monies. But if they meete with one ſlave among the reſt that uſeth to be cupſhotten, given to gluttony & belly cheere, or otherwiſe is untoward for any good ſervice, him they ſet over their children to bring them up: Whereas indeed a governour over youth ſhould be wel given, & of a right good nature himſelfe, ſuch an one as *Phœnix* was, who had the breeding and education of *Achilles*. The principal point therfore and moſt important of all that hitherto hath bene alledged is this, That choiſe men be ſought out for to be teachers & maſters of our children; who live in good name and without challenge, whoſe cariage and behaviour is blameles; & who for their knowledge & experience of the world are the beſt that may be found. For ſurely the ſource & roote of all goodnes and honeſty, is the good education and training up of our children in their tender age. And like as good husbandmen and gardeners are woont to pitch props & ſtakes cloſe unto their yong plants, to ſtay them up and keepe them ſtreight: even ſo, diſcreete and wiſe teachers plant good precepts and holeſome inſtructions round about their yoong ſchollers, to the end that thereby, their manners may bud foorth commendably, and be framed to the rule of vertue. But contrariwiſe, you ſhall have ſome fathers now adaies, that deſerve no better than to be ſpit at in their very faces; who either upon ignorance, or for want of experience, before any triall made of thoſe maſters, who are to have the conduct and charge of their children, commit them hand over head to the tuition of lewd perſons, and ſuch as beare ſhew and make profeſſion of that which they are not. Neither were this abſurditie altogether ſo groſſe and ridiculous, if ſo be they faulted herein of meere ſimplicitie & default of foreknowledge. But here is the heights of their folly and errour, that themſelves knowing otherwhiles the inſufficiencie, yea and the naughtines of ſome ſuch Maſters, better than they doe who advertiſe them thereof; yet for all that, they commit their children unto them, partly being overcome by the flatterie of claw-backes, and partly willing to gratifie ſome friends upon their kinde and earneſt entreatie. Wherein they do much like for all the world to him, who lying verie ſicke in bodie, for to content and ſatisfie a friend, leaveth an expert and learned phyſition who was able to cure him, and entertaineth another blind leech, who for want of skill and experience quickly killeth him: or elſe unto one who being at ſea, forgoeth an excellent pilot whom he knoweth to be very skilfull, and for the love of a friend maketh choiſe of another that is moſt inſufficient. O *Iupiter* and all the gods in Heaven! Is it poſſible that a man bearing the name of a father, ſhould make more account of a friends requeſt, than of the good education of his owne children? Which conſidered, had not that ancient Philoſopher *Crates* (thinke you) juſt occaſion to ſay oftentimes, that if poſſibly he might, he would willingly mount to the higheſt place of the citie, and there crie out aloud in this manner: What meane you my Maſters, and whether runne you headlong, carking and caring all that ever you can, to gather goods and rake riches together as you do: whiles in the mean time you make little or no reckoning at all of your children, unto whom you are to leave all your wealth? To which exclamation of his, I may adde thus much moreover, and ſay, That ſuch fathers are like unto him that hath great regard of his ſhoe, but taketh no heed unto his foot. And verily, a man ſhall ſee many of theſe fathers, who upon a covetous minde, and a cold affection toward their owne children, are growen to this paſſe, that for to ſpare their purſe, and eaſe themſelves of charge, chuſe men of no woorth to teach them: which is as much as to ſeeke a good market where they may buy ignorance cheapeſt. Certes *Ariſtippus* ſaid verie well to this purpoſe, when upon a time he pretily mocked ſuch a father who had neither wit nor underſtanding, and jibed pleaſantly with him in this maner: For when he demaunded of him how much he would take for the training up and teaching of his ſonne? He anſwered, An hundred crownes: A hundred crownes! quoth the father: by *Hercules* I ſweare, you aſke too much out of the way; For with a hundred crownes I could buy a good ſlave. True quoth *Ariſtippus* againe, Lay out this hundred crownes ſo, you may have twaine, your ſonne for one, and him whom you buy for the other. And is not this a follie of all follies, that nourſes ſhould uſe their yoong infants to take meate and feed themſelves with the right hand, yea and rebuke them if haply they put foorth their left: and not to forecaſt and give order that they may learne civility, and heare ſage & holeſom inſtructions? But what befalleth afterward to theſe good fathers, when they have firſt nourſed their children badly, & then taught them as lewdly? Mary I will tell you. When theſe children of theirs are growne to mans eſtate, and will not abide to heare of living orderly, and as it becommeth honeſt men: but contrariwiſe fall headlong into outragious courſes, and give themſelves wholy to ſenſuality and ſervile pleaſures: Then ſuch fathers all repent for their negligence paſt, in taking no better order for their education: but all too late conſidering no good enſueth thereupon: but contrariwiſe, the lewd prancks which they commit daily, augment their griefe of heart and cauſe them to languiſh in ſorrow. For ſome of them they ſee to keepe companie with flatterers, paraſites, and ſmell feaſts, the lewdeſt, baſeſt, and moſt curſed wretches of all other, who ſerve for nothing but to corrupt, ſpoile, and marre youth: Others, to captivate and ſpend themſelves upon harlots, queanes and common ſtrumpets, proud and ſumptuous in expence; the entertainment of whom is infinitly coſtly. Many of them conſume all in delicate fare, and feeding a daintie and fine tooth: Many of them fall to dice, and with mumming and masking hazard all they have. And divers of them againe entangle themſelves in other vices more hardy and adventurous, courting faire dames, and making love to other mens wives: for which purpoſe they walke diſguiſed in the night, like the frantike prieſts of *Bacchus*, to commit adulteries, buying ſometimes one onely nights pleaſure with the price of their life: Whereas if ſuch as theſe had converſed before with any Philoſopher, they would never have taken ſuch waies as this, and give themſelves to like vanities: but rather they would have turned over a new leafe and learned a leſſon of *Diogenes*, who in words not very civill and ſeemely, howbeit to the point not untruly, gave this counſell and ſaid, Goe thy waies to the Stewes (I adviſe thee) and enter into ſome brothell houſe, where thou maiſt know how the pleaſure that coſteth little or nothing, differeth not from that which is bought full deerely.

To knit up therefore all in one ſumme I will conclude, and this my concluſion ought of right to bee eſteemed for an oracle, rather than a ſimple counſell and admonition; That the beginning, mids, and ende of all theſe matters, lieth onely in vertuous nourture and honeſt education, which I avouch are the very meanes that be operative and powerfull for the attaining both of vertue and true happineſſe. As for all other things which we count good in this world, are in compariſon heereof, mortall, tranſitorie, ſmall, and not woorth the ſeeking after with ſuch care and ſtudie. Nobilitie, I confeſſe to be a goodly thing, but it is the gift of our anceſtors. Riches who doubteth that they be gay and pretious matters? Howbeit, lying in the power of fortune onely, who taketh the ſame many times from thoſe that poſſeſſe them, and giveth them away to ſuch as never looke for them. Moreover, much wealth is the very marke whereat they ſhoot who are common cut purſes, privie & domeſticall theeves, Sycophants and promoters, and that which is moſt, the wickedeſt perſons in the world oftentimes meete therewith. Glorie and honor be things venerable, howbeit uncertaine and mutable. Beautie is lovely and verie much deſired, but it continueth a ſmall while. Health is woorth much, and yet you ſee how ſoone it changeth. Strength of body who wiſheth not? but quickly it is decaied and gone, either by ſickenes or yeeres: in ſo much, as whoſoever vaunteth and beareth himſelfe in his able bodie, is greatly deceived, and commeth farre ſhort of his reckoning: For what is mans force, compared with that of other beaſts, I meane Elephants, Buls and Lions? It is learning and knowledge onely, which in us is divine, heavenly and immortall. For in mans nature two parts there are to be conſidered of all other moſt principall, to wit, underſtanding and ſpeech. And of theſe, underſtanding is as it were the maiſter that commandeth: Speech, the ſervant that obeyeth. Now the foreſaid underſtanding is not expoſed to the injurie of fortune: no ſlanders raiſed by Sycophants can take it away: Sickneſſe hath no power to corrupt and deſtroy it; neither doth it decay or periſh by olde age: For it is the onely thing that being in yeeres, waxeth yoong and freſh. Length of time which doth diminiſh and impaire all things elſe, addeth ſtill more knowledge to our underſtanding, the elder that we are. So violence of warre which in manner of a ſtreame caſteth downe and carieth all away with it, is not able to make havocke and ſpoyle of knowledge and learning: that onely is not in danger thereof. And in my conceit, *Stilpo* the Megarian Philoſopher gave a moſt woorthy and memorable anſwere unto K. *Demetrius,* who having forced, ſacked and raſed the citie of Megara to the very foundation, demaunded of him what loſſes he ſuſtained in that generall ſacking? None at all (quoth he) For warre can make no ſpoile of vertue. To which anſwere of his, accordeth and ſoundeth well the Apophthegme of *Socrates,* who (as I take it) being asked of *Gorgias,* what opinion he had of the great King and Monarch of the Perſians in thoſe daies, whether he deemed him Happie or no? I wot not (quoth he) how he is furniſhed with vertue and learning: as if he judged, that true felicitie conſiſted in theſe two things, and not in the tranſitorie gifts of fortune.

But as my counſell and advice unto parents is, to hold nothing in the world more deere and pretious, then to traine up their children in good letters and vertuous manners: ſo I ſay againe, that they ought to have an eie unto that literature and inſtitution which is ſound, pure and uncorrupt: furthermore, to ſequeſter and withdraw their children as farre as poſſibly they can, from the vanitie and fooliſh deſire to be ſeene and heard in the frequent and publike aſſemblies of the people. For commonly we finde, that to pleaſe a multitude, is to diſpleaſe the wiſer ſort. And that I ſpeake truth herein *Euripides* giveth good teſtimonie in theſe verſes:

No filed toong I have nor eloquence,
To ſpeake in place of frequent audience:
Among my feeres and thoſe in number few,
I love to give adviſe and make no ſhew:
For, thoſe whoſe ſpeech doth pleaſe a multitude,
With learned men are fooliſh thought and rude.

For mine owne part, I obſerve thoſe men who endevour to ſpeake to the appetite and pleaſure of the baſe and vulgar ſort, that ordinarily they become looſe and diſſolute perſons, abandoned to all ſenſualitie. And verily not without great apparance of reaſon: For if to gratifie and content others, they have no regard of honeſty: more likelyhood there is a great deale, that for to do a pleaſure to themſelves, and feede their owne humour and appetite, they will forget all honor and devoir; yea and ſooner give the reines to their owne delights, than follow the ſtreight rules of temperance and ſobrietie.

But now, what good thing is there moreover, that we are to teach our children? and whereto ſhould we adviſe them for to give their minds? A goodly matter no doubt it is to do nothing raſhly, nor to ſpeake a word unadviſedly: But (as the old Proverbe ſaith) whatſoever is faire and goodly, the ſame alſo is hard and difficult. As for theſe orations which be made *extempore* and without premeditation, they goe away with great facilitie, and are verie raſh and full of vanitie: And ſuch commonly as ſo ſpeake, know not well either where to begin or when to make an end. Alſo, over and above other abſurdities and faults which they commit, who are accuſtomed in this wiſe to parle at aventure, and to let their toong runne at randome, know not how to keepe any meane or meaſure of ſpeech, but fall into a marvellous ſuperfluitie and exceſſe of wordes: Whereas on the contrarie ſide, when a man thinketh before hand what hee ſhould ſay, he will never overſhoot him ſo farre as to paſſe beyond the bonds of temperate and proportionable language. *Pericles,* as we have beene given to underſtand, being oftentimes called upon & importuned by the people, and that expreſly by name, for to deliver his opinion as touching a matter in queſtion, would not ſo much as riſe from his place, but excuſed himſelfe and ſaid, I am not provided to ſpeake. Semblably *Demoſthenes,* one who greatly affected the ſaid *Pericles*, and followed his ſteps in policy and managing of State affaires, being called by the Athenians to ſit in counſell with them, & requeſted to give his adviſe in certain points, refuſed and made the ſame anſwer, ſaying, I have not yet thought upon it, neither am I prepared. But peradventure ſome man will ſay, this is an headles tale and a deviſed report received by tradition from hand to hand, and not grounded upon any certaine teſtimonie. Liſten then, what he ſaith himſelfe in that oration which he made againſt *Midias*, wherein he ſetteth evidently before our eies, the profit that commeth by premeditation: For in one place thereof, theſe be his „ words: My Maſters of Athens, I confeſſe plainely, and cannot denie or diſſemble, that I have taken as much paines in compoſing of this oration as poſſibly I could: For an idle wretch I had beene if having ſuffred, and ſuffring ſtill ſuch indignities as theſe, I would not conſider and ſtudie before hand, what I had to ſay in reaſon concerning theſe matters. Neither alledge I this, as one who condemned altogether the promptitude and readineſſe of the toong, and the gift of utterance *ex tempore*, but the ordinary cuſtome and exerciſe therof in everie ſmal matter, and of no great importance. For otherwhiles it is tolerable; provided alwaies that we uſe it ſo, as we would take a purging medicine. And to ſpeake more plainely, my meaning is, that I would not have yoong men before they bee growen to mans age, for to ſpeake ought without good adviſe and conſideration. But after they bee well grounded and have gathered ſufficient roote which may yeelde pithie ſpeech, then if occaſion be offered, and that they bee called unto it, I thinke it convenient, they ſhould bee allowed to ſpeake freely. For even as they who have beene fettered a long time and worne yrons on their feete, when they are looſed from their gives, cannot goe well at the firſt, becauſe they have continued ſuch a while with clogs at their heeles, but ever and anone are ready to trip and ſtumble: ſo it fareth with thoſe that of long time have beene toong tied (as it were) and reſtrained of their libertie of ſpeech: For if haply there be preſented ſome matter, whereto they are to ſpeake on a ſudden, they will retaine ſtill the ſame manner and forme of ſtile, and ſpeake no otherwiſe than they did before with premeditation. Mary, to ſuffer yoong boies to make ſubitanie and inconſiderate orations, is the next way to bring them to vaine babling, and cauſeth them to utter many words altogether impertinent to the matter. It is reported that upon a time a vaine and fooliſh painter came to *Apelles*, and ſhewed him a picture, ſaying withall, This Image I drew thus and thus ſoone. I wot well (quoth *Apelles*) at the firſt ſight, although thou ſaidſt never a word that it was quickly painted and in haſte. And I marvell rather that thou haſt not painted many more ſuch in the ſame time. But to returne againe to my former diſcourſe which I began withall, as touching ſpeech, like as I would give counſell to beware of glorious and brave words, and to avoide that maner of haughtie voice which beſeemeth tragedies, and is meete for Theaters: So I adviſe and admoniſh againe to flie as much that kinde of language which is too ſmall and over-lowly: For that the one which is ſo loude and aloft, exceedeth civilitie: and the other that is as much beneath, bewrayeth overmuch fearfulneſſe. Moreover, as the bodie ought not onely to be ſound and in health, but alſo in good plight and well liking: ſo our ſpeech ſhould be not onely cleere from ſickneſſe as it were and malady, but alſo ſtrong and able: For that a thing that is ſound and ſafe only, we do but barely praiſe: whereas that which is hardy and adventurous, we admire and woonder at. That which I have ſaid, as touching the toong and ſpeech, the ſame opinion I have of the heart and the diſpoſition thereof. For I would not have a youth to be overbold and audacious: neither do I like of him, if he be too timorous and fearefull: For as the one turneth in the end to preſumption and impudencie; ſo the other into ſervile cowardiſe. But here lieth all the maiſtrie and cunning, as well in this as in all things elſe, namely, to cut even in the mids, and to hold the golden meane. And ſince I am entred thus far into the diſcourſe as touching the literature and erudition of youth, before I proceed any farther, I will deliver mine opinion thereof generally in theſe termes: Namely, That to be able to ſpeake of one thing and no more, is firſt and formeſt in my conceit no ſmall ſigne of ignorance. Then, I ſuppoſe that the exerciſe and practiſe thereof, ſoone bringeth ſacietie. And againe, I hold it impoſſible to continue evermore in the ſame: For ſo to be ever in one ſong, breedeth tediouſnes, and ſoone a man is weary of it: wheras varietie is alwaies delectable both in this, and alſo in all other objects as well of the eie as the eare. And therefore it behooveth, that a childe well deſcended and free borne, be not ſuffred to want either the ſight or the hearing of all thoſe arts and liberall ſciences, which are linked as it were and comprehended within one circle, and thereupon called *Encyclia*. i. Circular. Theſe would I have him to runne through every one ſuperficially, for a taſte onely of them all: for as much as to attaine unto the perfection thereof were impoſſible. Yet ſo, as his chiefe and principall ſtudie be employed in Philoſophie: which opinion of mine I may very well confirme by a proper ſimilitude. For all one it is, as if a man would ſay, a commendable thing it were to ſaile along the coaſts, and ſee many a citie: but expedient and profitable to make abode and dwell in the beſt: and much like to that pleaſant and pretie conceited ſpeech of *Bion* the Philoſopher, who ſaid, That even as the lovers and wooers of Lady *Penelope*, when they could not enjoy the Miſtreſſe herſelfe, went in hand with her wayting maidens, and companied with them: ſo, as are not able to attaine unto Philoſophie, ſpend and conſume themſelves in the ſtudie of other Arts, which in compariſon of it are nothing woorth. And therefore we ought to make this account, that Philoſophie is the principall head (as it were) of all other learning and knowledge whatſoever. True it is, that for the maintenance and preſervation of the body, men have deviſed two Arts, to wit, Phyſicke and bodily exerciſe: of which twaine, the one procureth health; the other addeth thereto a good habitude and ſtrong conſtitution: but for the infirmities and maladies of the ſoule, there is no other phyſicke but onely Philoſophie: For by the meanes of it and together with it, we may know what is good, what is badde, what is honeſt and diſhoneſt, what is juſt, and generally what to choiſe and what to refuſe, how we ought to beare our ſelves towards the gods, and towards our parents, what our demeanour ſhould bee with our elders, what regard we are to have of lawes, what our cariage muſt be to ſtrangers, to ſuperiours: how we are to converſe with our friends, In what ſort we ought to demeane our ſelves towards our children and wives, and finally, what behaviour it beſeemeth us to ſhew unto our ſervants and familie: For as much as our duetie is to worſhip and adore the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our ancients, to obey the lawes, to give place unto our ſuperiors and betters, to love our friends, to uſe our wives chaſtely and with moderation: to be kinde and affectionate to our children, and not to be outragious with our ſervants, nor to tyrannize over them. But the principall and chiefe of all is this, not to ſhew our ſelves over joious and merrie in proſperitie, nor yet exceeding heavie and ſad in adverſitie: not in pleaſures and delight diſſolute, nor in anger furious, and tranſported or rather transformed into brutiſh beaſts by choler. And theſe I eſteeme to be the ſoveraigne fruits that are to be gathered and gotten by Philoſophie. For to carrie a generous and noble heart in proſperitie, is the part of a brave minded man: to live without envie and malice, is the ſigne of a good and tractible nature: to overcome pleaſures by the guidance of reaſon, is the act of wiſe and ſage men: and to bridle and reſtraine choler, is a maſtry that every one cannot skill of: But the height of perfection in my judgement thoſe onely attaine unto, who are able to joine and intermingle the politicke government of weale publike with the profeſſion and ſtudie of Philoſophie: For by this meanes (I ſuppoſe) they may enjoy two of the beſt things in the world, to wit, the profit of the common weale by managing State affaires: and their owne good, living ſo as they doe in tranquilitie and repoſe of mind, by the meanes of Philoſophie. For whereas there be amongſt men three ſorts of life, namely, Active, Contemplative, and Voluptuous: this laſt named, being diſſolute, looſe, and thrall to pleaſures, is bruitiſh, beaſtly, baſe and vile: The contemplative wanting the active is unprofitable: and the active, not participating with the ſpeculation of Philoſophie, committeth many abſurde enormities, and wanteth ornaments to grace and beautifie it. In which regard, men muſt endevour and aſſay as much as lieth in them both to deale in government of the State, and alſo to give their mindes to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, ſo farre foorth as they have time, and publike affaires will permit. Thus governed in times paſt noble *Pericles*: thus ruled *Archytas* the Tarentine: thus *Dion* the Syracuſian, and *Epaminondas* of Thebes ſwaied the State where they lived; and both of them aſwell the one as the other converſed familiarly with *Plato*. As touching the Inſtitution of children in good literature, needleſſe (I ſuppoſe) it is to write any more. This onely will I adde unto the reſt that hath beene ſaid, which I ſuppoſe to be expedient or rather neceſſarie: namely, that they make no ſmall account of the workes and bookes of the ancient Sages and Philoſophers, but diligentlie collect and gather them together: ſo as they do it after the maner of good husbandmen: For as they doe make proviſion of ſuch tooles as pertaine to Agriculture and husbandrie, not onely to keepe them in their poſſeſſion, but alſo to uſe them accordingly: ſo this reckoning ought to be made, that the inſtruments and furniture of knowledge and learning, bee good bookes, if they be read and peruſed: For from thence as from a fountaine they may be ſure to maintaine the ſame.

And here we are not to forget the diligence that is to be imployed in the bodily exerciſe of children: but to remember that they bee ſent into the ſchooles of thoſe maſters who make profeſſion of ſuch feats, there to be trained and exerciſed ſufficiently, aſwell for the ſtreight and decent grouth, as for the abilitie and ſtrength of their bodies: For the faſt knitting and ſtrong complexion of the bodie in children, is a good foundation to make them another day decent and perſonable old men. And like as in time of a calme & faire ſeaſon, they that are at ſea, ought to make proviſion of neceſſarie meanes to withſtand foule weather and a tempeſt: even ſo, verie meete it is, that tender age be furniſhd with temperance, ſobrietie and continencie, and even betimes reſerve and lay up ſuch voyage proviſion, for the better ſuſtenance of old age. Howbeit in ſuch order ought this labour and travell of children to be diſpenſed, that their bodies be not exhauſt and dried up, and ſo by that meanes they themſelves be overwearied, and made either unmeet or unwilling to follow their booke afreſh and take their learning: For as *Plato* ſaid very well, Sleepe and laſſitude be enemies to learning. But why do I ſtand hereupon ſo much, being in compariſon ſo ſmall a matter?

Proceed I will therefore and make haſte to that which is of greateſt importance, and paſſeth all the reſt that hath beene ſaid before: For this I ſay, that youth ought to be trained to militarie feats, namely, in launcing darts and javelins, in drawing a bow and ſhooting arrowes, in chaſing alſo and hunting wilde beaſts. Foraſmuch as all the goods of thoſe who are vanquiſhed in fight, be expoſed as a prey and bootie to the conquerours: neither are they fit for warfarre and to beare armes, whoſe bodies having beene daintily brought up in the ſhade and within houſe, are corpulent, and of a ſoft and delicate conſtitution.

The leane and dry, the raw bone ſouldiour fierce,
Who train'd hath beene in armes and warlike toile,
In field whole rankes of enemies will pierce,
And in the liſts all his concurrents foile.

But what may ſome men ſay unto me? Sir, you have made promiſe to give us examples and precepts, concerning the education of all children free borne and of honeſt parentage: and now, me thinkes you neglect the education of commoners and poore mens children, and deliver no inſtructions but ſuch as are for gentlemen, and be ſutable to the rich and wealthie onely. To which objection, it is no hard matter to make anſwere. For mine owne part, my deſire eſpecially is, that this inſtruction of mine might ſerve all: but in caſe there be ſome, who for want of meanes cannot make that uſe and profit which I could wiſh, let them lay the waight upon fortune, and not blame him who hath given them his adviſe and counſell in theſe points. And yet for poore men thus much will I ſay, Let them endevour and ſtraine themſelves to the utmoſt of their power, to bring up their children in the beſt manner: and if they cannot reach unto that, yet muſt they aime thereat, and come as neere as their abilitie will give them leave.

I have beene willing to inſert theſe points by the way, into this preſent argument, and to charge my diſcourſe over and above therewith, that I might proſecute other precepts remayning behinde, which concerne the education of yoong men. Thus much therefore I ſay moreover, that children muſt be trained and brought to their duety in all lenity, by faire words, gentle exhortations, and milde remonſtrance, and in no wiſe (pardie) by ſtripes and blowes: For this courſe of ſwinging and beating ſeemeth meete for bondſlaves, rather than perſons of free condition. And to ſay a truth, by this meanes they become dull and ſenſeleſſe, nay they have all ſtudie and labour afterwards in hatred and horrour: partly for the ſmart and paine which they abide by ſuch correction, and in part by the contumely and reproch that they ſuſtaine thereby. Praiſe and diſpraiſe be farre better and more profitable to children free borne, than all the whips, rods and boxes in the world: the one for to drive them forward to well doing, the other to draw them backe from doing ill: but both the one and the other are to be uſed in alternative courſe. One while they would be commended; another while blamed and rebuked: and namelie, if at any time they be too jocund and inſolent, they ought to be ſnibbed a little and taken downe, yea and put to ſome light ſhame: but ſoone after, raiſed up againe by giving them their due praiſes. And herein we muſt imitate good nourſes, who when they have ſet their infants a crying, give them the breaſt for to ſtill them againe. Howbeit, a meaſure would be kept, and great heed taken that they be not too highly commended, for feare leaſt they grow proude and preſume overmuch of themſelves: For when they be praiſed exceedingly they waxe careleſſe, diſſolute and enervate; neither will they be willing afterwards to take more paines. Moreover, I have knowen certaine fathers, who through exceſſive love of their children have hated them afterwards. But what is my meaning by this ſpeech? Surely I will declare my minde and make my words plaine anon by an evident example and demonſtration. Some fathers (I ſay) there be, who upon a hot and haſtie deſire to have their children come ſoone forward, and to be the formoſt in every thing, put them to immoderate travell and exceſſive paines: in ſuch ſort, that they either ſincke under the waight of the burden, and ſo fall into greevous maladies, or elſe finding themſelves thus ſurcharged and overladen, they are not willing to learne that which is taught them. And it fareth with them as it doth with yoong herbes and plants in a garden, which ſo long as they be watered moderately, are nouriſhed and thrive very well: but if they be overmuch drenched with water, they take harme thereby and are drowned: Even ſo we muſt allow unto children a breathing time betweene their continuall labours: conſidering and making this account, That all the life of man is divided into labor & reſt: and for this cauſe Nature hath ſo ordained, that as there is a time to be awake, ſo we finde a time alſo to ſleepe. One while there is warre, and another while peace: It is not alwaies winter and foule weather, but ſommer likewiſe and a faire ſeaſon. There be appointed not onely worke daies to toyle in, but alſo feaſtivall holidaies to ſolace and diſport our ſelves. In ſumme, reſt and appoſe, is (as it were) the ſauce unto our travaile. And this we may obſerve as well in ſenſeleſſe and liveleſſe things, as in living and ſenſible creature. For we unbend our bowes, and let ſlacke the ſtrings of Lutes, Harpes, and ſuch muſicall inſtruments, to the end that we may bend and ſtretch the ſame againe. And in one word, as the bodie is preſerved and maintained by repletion and evacuation ſucceſſively; ſo the minde likewiſe by repoſe and travell in their turnes.

Furthermore, there be other fathers alſo woorthy of rebuke and blame, who after they have once betaken their children to Maſters, Tutors and Governors, never deigne afterwards themſelves, either to ſee or heare them, whereby they might know how they learne: wherein they do faile verie much in their dutie. For they ought in proper perſon to make triall how they profit, they ſhould ever and anon (after ſome few daies paſſed betweene) ſee into their progreſſe and proceeding, and not to repoſe their hope and reſt altogether upon the diſcretion and diſpoſition of a mercenarie maſter. And verily this carefull regard of the fathers, will worke alſo greater diligence in the maſters themſelves, ſeeing that by this meanes they are called eftſoones, as it were to account and examine how much they plie their ſchollers, and how they profit under their hands. To this purpoſe may be well applied a prety woord ſpoken ſometimes by a wiſe eſtugry of a ſtable, Nothing (quoth he) feedeth the ſteede ſo fat as doth the maſters eie.

But above all things, the memorie of children ought daily to be exerciſed: for that it is as a man would ſay, the Treaſury & Storehouſe of all learning. Which was the cauſe that the ancient Poëts have feigned, That Lady *Mnemoſyne*, that is to ſay *Memorie*, was the mother of the Muſes: Whereby they would ſeeme under an ænigmaticall and darke ſpeech to give us to underſtand, that nothing availeth ſo much either to breed, or to feed and nouriſh learning, as Memorie. And therefore great diligence would be uſed in the exerciſe thereof everie way: whether the children be by nature good of remembrance and retentive: or otherwiſe of a fickle memorie and given to oblivion. For the gift of nature in the one, by exerciſe we ſhall confirme and augment; and the imperfection or default in the other, by diligence ſupplie and correct: in ſuch ſort, that as they, ſhall become better than others; ſo theſe, ſhall proove better then themſelves. For verie wiſely to this purpoſe ſaid the Poët *Heſiodus*:

If little ſtill to little thou do ad
a heape at length and mickle will be had.

Over and beſides, I would not have fathers to be ignorant of another point alſo, as touching this memorative part & faculty of the mind: namely, that it ſerveth much not onely to get learning and literature, but alſo is a meanes that carieth not the leaſt ſtroke in worldly affaires: For the remembrance of matters paſt, furniſheth men with examples ſufficient to guide and direct them in their conſultatious of future things.

Furthermore, this care would be had of yoong children, that they be kept from filthie and unſeemely ſpeeches: For words (as *Democritus* ſaith) are the ſhadowes of deeds. Trained alſo they muſt be to be courteous, affable, & faire ſpoken, aſwell in intertainment of talke with every one, as in ſaluting and greeting whomſoever they meete: for there is nothing in the world ſo odious as to be coy and ſurly of ſpeech; to make it ſtrange and to diſdaine for to ſpeake with men. Againe, yoong ſtudents ſhall make themſelves more lovely and amiable to thoſe with whom they converſe, in caſe they be not ſo opinative and ſtiffe that they will not relent nor give place one jot in diſputations, if they have once taken a partie againſt others. For a commendable and goodly matter it is for a man to know, not only how to overcome, but alſo to ſuffer himſelfe otherwhiles to be overcome: eſpecially in ſuch things wherein the victorie bringeth hurt and dammage: For verily ſuch a conqueſt may well and truely be called according to the common Proverbe, A Cadmian victorie, that is to ſay, which turneth to the detriment and loſſe of the winner. In confirmation whereof I may well alleage the teſtimony of the wiſe Poët *Euripides*, who in one of his tragedies hath theſe verſes:

> *When one of twaine, that argue and diſpute,*
> *growes into heat of words and will not reſt:*
> *I hold him much the wiſer who is mute*
> *and ſtaies his toong, that he do not conteſt.*

Now come I to other points wherein youth is to be inſtructed, and thoſe of no leſſe importance, nay rather I may be bolde to ſay, of greater conſequence than all thoſe whereof I have diſcourſed hitherto: And what be they? Namely, that yoong men be not riotous, and given to ſuperfluity of expence: That they holde their tongue: That they maſter their anger: and finally, That they keepe their hands pure & cleane. But let us conſider theſe precepts particularlie, what ech of them in ſeverall doeth import: and more eaſily may they be underſtood, if we illuſtrate the ſame by lively examples. To begin then firſt with the laſt: There have beene knowen great perſonages, who being once permitted to put forth their hands for to take bribes and money unjuſtly, loſt all the honor which they had woon the reſt of their life time: As for example, * *Gylippus* the Lacedæmonian, who having once opened thoſe bagges or coffers of money by turning their bottomes upwards, and taken foorth what pleaſed him, was ſhamefully baniſhed out of *Sparta*, and lived obſcurely in exile. As touching the gift of bridling choler, and not to be angrie at all, it is a ſingular vertue, and perfect wiſe men they are indeed who can ſo do: Such as *Socrates* was, who being greatly abuſed by an inſolent, audacious and graceleſſe youth, that ſpared him not, but had ſpurned & kicked him with his heeles, ſeeing thoſe about him to be very angrie and out of patience, ſtamping and faring as though they would run after the partie, to be avenged of ſuch an indignitie; How now my maſters (quoth he) what if an aſſe had flung out, and given me a rap with his heeles, would you have had me to haue yerked out and kicked him againe? Howbeit, this ungracious impe went not clere away with impunity: for being rated for his inſolence & leud demeanor, and reproched by everie man with the termes of Winſing aſſe, Kicking colt, and ſuch like nick-names, he fell into ſuch a fit of melancholie, that he ſtrangled himſelfe in a halter. Alſo when *Ariſtophanes* the Poet exhibited the Comedie called *Cloudes*, wherein he let flie and diſcharged upon *Socrates* all maner of ſlanders and contumelies that he could deviſe, inſomuch as one of them who were preſent at the very time when he railed thus licentiouſly, demanded of him, and ſaid, Art thou not netled, ô *Socrates*, to heare and ſee thy ſelfe thus blaſoned and noted in publike place? Not a whit (quoth hee againe) for well I wot, that I am in a Theatre, where I make ſport, and am laughed at, no otherwiſe than at ſome great feaſt: and glad I am that I can make the audience ſo merie. The like for all the world, is reported of *Archytas*, the Tarentine, and *Plato*: the one being returned home from the warre, wherein he was L. Generall, found his land forlet, neglected and untilled; whereupon he ſent for his Bailife of husbandrie, who had the charge thereof: and when he was come before him, Were I not exceeding angrie (quoth he) I would make thee feele my fingers, and give thee thy deſert. And *Plato* being upon a time diſpleaſed with a ſeruant of his, who had a licourous tooth, and had done ſome ungracious pranke, called unto him *Spenſippus* his ſiſters ſonne, and ſaid, Goe your waies, take me this knave aſide, and ſwinge him well: for I my ſelfe am verie angrie. But ſome man perhaps will ſay unto me, Theſe be hard matters to do and imitate. True it is, I wote well; howbeit, endevour we muſt and ſtrive with our ſelves what we can, according to the example of theſe worthie men, to cut off ſomewhat of our impatience, and to curbe our exceſſive anger: for we may not looke to be eqvall and comparable in any reſpect to them, either in experience

* *Vide Plutarch. in vita Lyſandri.*

rience and skill or in vertue. Howbeit, let us nevertheleſſe, like the Prieſts and Torch-bearers (if I may ſo ſay) of the gods, ordeined to give light, and ſhew uuto men the reliques of their wiſedome and learning, no leſſe than if they were verie gods, aſſay to follow them, and tread in their ſteps, endevouring as much as lieth in us, to be furniſhed with their examples for our better inſtruction. As for the rule and government of the tongue (for of it, according to my promiſe, I am to diſcourſe) if there be any man, who thinketh it to be no great maſtrie, but a ſmall and frivolous matter, he is verie wide and farre out of the right way. For a point it is of great wiſdome, to know in time and place to keepe ſilence, and farre better by many degrees than any ſpeech whatſoever. And for this cauſe (I ſuppoſe) it was, that our anceſtours in times paſt inſtituted thoſe preciſe ceremonies of ſacred myſteries, to the end that being uſed to holde our peace by that meanes, we might transferre that feare which we learned in the ſervice of the gods, to the fidelitie and ſecrecie which we are to obſerve in mens affaires; and verily never was there man that repented for holding his tongue, but many a one hath often beſhrewed himſelfe for ſpeaking. Againe, that word which a man hath held in at one time, he may eaſilie utter at another well enough; but a word once paſſed out of the mouth, he cannot poſſibly recall it againe. I remember that I have heard of an infinite number of men, who by occaſion of an intemperate tongue of their own, have fallen headlong into exceeding great calamities, among whom I will ſelect one or two by way of example, to illuſtrate the theame that I have in hand, & overpaſſe the reſt. *Ptolomæus* King of *Ægypt*, him I meane who was ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, eſpouſed his owne ſiſter *Arſinoë*, and maried her: at what time one *Sotades* came unto him and ſayd, You put your aglet, ſir, thorow the oilet that is not made for it: For this one word, he was caſt into priſon, where he remained a long time in miſerie, and rotted in the end, ſuffering condigne puniſhment due for his lauiſh tongue and fooliſh words: and for that he thought to make other men laugh, himſelfe wept for it a long time after. The like, and in a maner the ſame, both did and ſuffered another, named *Theocritus* the Sophiſter, ſave that the puniſhment which he abid was much more grievous. For when King *Alexander* the Great had by his letters miſſive given commandement that the Greekes ſhould provide Robes of purple againſt his returne, becauſe upon his comming home he minded to celebrate a ſolemne ſacrifice unto the Gods, in token of thanksgiving for that he had atchieved a victorie over the Barbarians: by reaſon of which commaundement the States and cities of Greece were enjoyned to contribute money by the poll, Then this *Theocritus*, I have ever to this day (quoth he) doubted what *Homer* meant by this word Purple death: but now I know full well that this is the Purple death which he ſpeaketh of. By which words he incurred the high diſpleaſure of King *Alexander*, and made him his heavie friend ever after. The ſame *Theocritus* another time procured to himſelfe the deadly hatred of *Antigonus* King of the Macedonians, by reproching him in way of mockerie with his deformity and defect, for that he had but one eie. For the King having advaunced *Eutropion* his Maſter Cooke to a place of high calling and commaund, thought him a meete man to be ſent unto *Theocritus*, as well to give account unto him, as alſo to take account of him reciprocally. *Eutropion* gave him to underſtand ſo much from the King, and about this buſineſſe, repaired often unto him. In the end, I know well (quoth *Theocritus*) thou wilt never have done untill thou have made a diſh of meate of me, and ſerve me up raw to the table before this Cyclops to be eaten: twitting the King with his one eie, and *Eutropion* with his cookerie. But *Eutropion* came upon him againe preſently and ſaid: Thou ſhalt be then without a head firſt, For I will make thee pay for thy prating and fooliſh toong, and with that he went immediately to the King, and reported what he had ſaid, who made no more adoe but ſent his writ and cauſed his head to be ſmitten off.

Over and beſides all theſe precepts before rehearſed, children ought to be inured from their very infancie in one thing which is moſt holy and beſeeming religious education, and that is, to ſpeake the truth: For ſurely, lying is a baſe and ſervile vice, deteſtable and hatefull among all men, and not pardonable ſo much as to meane ſlaves, ſuch as haue little or no good in them. Now as touching all that which I have delivered and adviſed hitherto which concerneth the honeſt behaviour, modeſtie and temperance of yoong children, I have delivered the ſame franckly, reſolutely, and making no doubt thereof. Mary, for one point which now I am to touch and handle, I am not ſo well reſolved, but much diſtracted in my mind, hanging to and fro as it were in æquall balance, and know not which way to incline, whether to the one ſide or to another: Inſomuch as I am in great perplexitie and feare: neither wote I whether I were better to go forward and utter it, or to turne backe and hold my peace. And yet I will take heart, and boldly declare what it is. The queſtion to be debated is this, Whether we ought to permit thoſe that love young boies, to converſe with them and haunt their companie, or contrariwiſe, keepe them away and debar them that they neither come neere nor have any ſpeech with them? For when I behold & conſider the auſtere nature & ſeveritie of ſome fathers, who for feare that their ſonnes ſhould be abuſed, wil in no wiſe abide that thoſe who love them ſhould in any ſort keepe cõpanie, or talke with them, but thinke it intolerable, I am affraid either to bring up ſuch an order or to approove & mainteine the ſame. But when on the other ſide I propound before mine eies the examples of *Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aeſchines, Cebes*, and all the ſuit and ſort of thoſe woorthy men in times paſt, who allowed the maner of loving yoong boies, and by that meanes brought ſuch youthes to learne good ſciences, to skill of government & State matters, and to frame their maners to the rule and ſquare of vertue, I am turned quite and altogither of another mind, yea and inclined wholly to imitate and follow thoſe great perſonages, who have the teſtimonie of the Poet *Euripides* on their ſide, ſaying in one place after this maner,

All loves do not the fleſh groſly reſpect:
One love there is which doth the ſoule affect,
With juſtice bewtified and æquitie,
With innocence likewiſe and chaſtitie.

Neither ought we to overpaſſe one ſaying of *Plato*, which he delivereth betweene mirth and good earneſt in this wiſe, Good reaſon it is, quoth he, that they who have done woorthy ſervice and atchieved great proweſſe and victory in a battaile, be priviledged to kill whom it pleaſeth them among their captives. And for thoſe who deſire nothing but the bewty and freſh floure of the bodie, mine opinion is they ſhould be put backe & kept away: but ſuch in one word as love of the bewtie of the minde are to be choſen & admitted unto them. Alſo I hold, that ſuch kind love is to be avoided and forbidden, which they practiſe in *Thebes* and *Elis*, as alſo that which in *Candy* they call Raviſhment: but that which is uſed in *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, we ought to receive and allow, even in young and faire boies. Howbeit concerning this matter every man may for me opine what he thinketh good, and do as he ſeeth cauſe and can finde in his heart.

Moreover, having ſufficiently treated of the good nourture and modeſt behaviour of children, I purpoſe to proceed unto the age of yoong men: but firſt I will ſpeake my mind briefly once for all as touching one point. For many a time I have complained of thoſe who have brought up divers ill cuſtomes & this above the reſt, namely to provide for their children whiles they be very yoong and little, maſters, teachers and governors: but after they are growen once to ſome yeeres, they give them head and ſuffer them to be caried away with the violent heat of youth: whereas contrariwiſe it were meet and needfull, to have a more carefull eie unto them, and to hold a ſtreighter hand over them at that time, than during their infancie and childhood. For who knoweth not, that the faults of yoong children are but ſmall, light and eaſie to be amended, as for example, ſome ſhrewdneſſe and little diſobedience to their tutors and governors, or haply ſome negligence and default in not giving eare to their teachers, and not doing as their Maiſters appoint them: But contrariwiſe the offences that yonkers commit, are many times outragious and heinous, as gourmandiſe and ſurfeting, robbing of their fathers, dice plaie in masks and mummeries, exceſſe in feaſting, banqueting, quaffing and carouſing, wanton love of yoong maidens, adulteries committed upon maried wives, & thereby the overthrow of houſes and confuſion of families. In regard of which enormities, it behooved parents to repreſſe and bridle their wilde and untamed affections with great care and vigilance: For this floure of age having no forecaſt of thrift, but ſet altogither upon ſpending, and given to delights and pleaſures, winſeth and flingeth out like a skittiſh and frampold horſe, in ſuch ſort that it had need of a ſharpe bit and ſhort curb: And therefore they that endeuor not by all good meanes forcibly to hold in and reſtraine this age, but give yoong men libertie and ſuffer them to do after their own mind, plunge them ere they be aware into a licentious courſe of life and all maner of wickedneſſe. Wherefore good and wiſe fathers ought in this age eſpecially to be vigilant and watchfull over their ſonnes, they ought I ſay to keepe them downe, and inure them to wiſedome and vertue, by teaching, by threatning, by intreatie and praiers, by adviſe and remonſtrances, by perſwaſion and counſell, by faire promiſes, by ſetting before their eies the examples of ſome who being abandoned to their pleaſures and all ſenſualitie, have fallen headlong into great calamities and wofull miſeries: and contrariwiſe, of others who by maſtering their luſts and conquering their delights, have wonne honor and glorious renowne. For ſurely theſe be the two Elements and foundations of vertue, Hope of reward, and Feare of puniſhment: For, as hope inciteth and ſetteth them forward to enterpriſe the beſt and moſt commendable acts, ſo feare plucketh them backe, that they dare not enter upon lewd and wicked pranks. In ſumme, Fathers ought with great care to divert their children from frequenting ill companie, for otherwiſe they ſhall be ſure to catch infection and carie away the contagion of their leaudnes. This is that *Pythagoras* expreſly forbiddeth in his Aenigmaticall precepts under covert and dark words, which becauſe they are of no ſmall efficacie to the attaining of vertue, I will briefly ſet downe by the way, and open their meaning. Taſte not (quoth he) of the black tailed fiſhes, *Melanuri*, which is as much to ſay, as, Keepe not company with infamons perſons, & ſuch as for their naughtie life are noted (as it were) with a blacke coale. Paſſe not over a balance, That is, we ought to make the greateſt account of equitie and juſtice, and in no caſe to tranſgreſſe the ſame. Sit not upon the *meaſure Chœnix, That is to ſay, we are to flie ſloth and idlenes, that we may forecaſt to make proviſion of things neceſſarie to this life. Give not every man thy right hand, which is all one with this, Make no contracts and bargaines indifferently with all perſons. Weare not a ring ſtreight upon thy finger. i. Live in freedome and at libertie; neither intangle and clog thy life with troubles as with gives. Dig not nor rake into the fire with a ſword: whereby he giveth us a caveat, not to provoke farther a man that is angrie, for that is not meete and expedient; but rather to give place unto thoſe that are in heat of choller. Eat not thy heart, that is to ſay, offend not thine owne ſoule, nor hurt and conſume it with penſive cares. Abſtaine from beanes. i. Intermeddle not in the affaires of State and government: for that in olde time men were woont to paſſe their voices by beanes, & ſo proceeded to the election of Magiſtrates. Put not viands in a chamber-pot: whereby he ſignifieth, that we ſhould not commit good and civill words to a wicked minde; becauſe ſpeech is the nutriment of the underſtanding, which becommeth polluted by the leudneſſe of men. Returne not backe from the limits and confines when thou commeſt unto them, that is to ſay, If wee perceive death approching, and that wee are come to the uttermoſt bounds of our life, we ought to beare our death patiently, and not be diſcouraged thereat.

*Chœnix cõteined 2. ſextars, or after ſome a ſextar & halfe, which was *dimenſum quotidianum. Vide Cat. Rhediq. lib. 16. cap. 17. antiq. lec.*

But now is it time to returne againe to my matter which I propoſed before in the beginning, namely, as I have alreadie ſaid, we are to withdraw our children from the ſocietie and companie of leud perſons, and flatterers eſpeciallie: for that which many a time and often I have ſaid to divers and ſundrie fathers, I will now repeat once againe, namely, That there is not a more miſchievous and peſtilent kinde of men, or who doe greater hurt to youth, and ſooner overthrow them, then theſe flatterers, who are the undoing both of fathers and ſonnes, cauſing the olde age of the one, and the youth of the other, wretched and miſerable, preſenting with their leud and wicked counſels an inevitable bait, to wit, Pleaſure, wherewith they are ſure to be caught. Fathers exhort their ſonnes that be wealthie, to ſobrietie; and theſe incite them to drunkeneſſe. Fathers give them counſell to live chaſte and continent; theſe provoke them to luſt and looſeneſſe of life. Fathers bid them to ſave, ſpare, and be thriftie; theſe will them to ſpend, ſcatter, and be waſters. Fathers adviſe their children to labour and travell; theſe flatterers give them counſell to play or ſit ſtill and doe nothing; What? all our life, ſay they, is no more but a moment and minute of time, to ſpeake of: we muſt live therefore, and enjoy our owne, whiles wee have it: we muſt not live beſide our ſelves, and languiſh. What need you regard and care for the menaces of a father, an olde doting foole carying death in his face, and having one foot in the grave, we ſhall ſee him one of theſe dayes turne up his heeles, and then will we ſoone have him forth, and cary him aloſt bravely to his grave. You ſhall have one of theſe come, and bring unto a youth ſome common harlot out of the ſtinking ſtewes, having borne him in hand before, that ſhe is ſome brave dame and citizens wife, for to furniſh whom, he muſt robbe his father, there is no remedie. Thus fathers, good men, in one houre are bereaved and ſpoiled of that which they had ſaved many a yeere for the maintenance of their olde age. To be ſhort, a wretched and curſed generation they be; hypocrites, pretending friendſhip, but they can not skill of plaine dealing and franke ſpeech. Rich men they claw, ſooth up and flatter: the poore they contemne and deſpiſe. It ſeemeth they have learned the Art of ſinging to the Harpe, for to ſeduce yoong men: for when their yoong maſters, who mainteine and feed them, begin to laugh, then they ſet up by and by a loud laughter, then they yawne & ſhew all their teeth; counterfeit cranks, fained and ſuppoſed men; baſtard members of mankinde and this life; who compoſe themſelves, and live to the will and pleaſure of rich men: and notwithſtanding their fortune is to be free borne, and of franke condition, yet they chuſe voluntarily to be ſlaves: who thinke they have great injurie done unto them, if they may not live in all fulneſſe and ſuperfluitie, to be kept delicately, and doe nothing that good is. And therefore all fathers that have any care of their childrens good education and wel-doing, ought of neceſſitie to chaſe and drive away from them theſe graceleſſe imps and ſhameleſſe beaſts: they ſhall doe well alſo to keepe from them ſuch ſchoole-fellowes as be unhappie and given to doe ſhrewd turnes: for ſuch as they, are enough to corrupt and marre the beſt natures in the world.

All theſe rules and leſſons which hitherto I have delivered, do concerne honeſtie, vertue and profit: but thoſe that now remaine behinde, pertaine rather to humanity, and are more agreeable to mans nature. For in no caſe would I have fathers to be verie hard, ſharpe and rigorous to their children: but I could rather wiſh and deſire that they winke at ſome faults of a yoong man, yea and pardon the ſame when they eſpie them, remembring that they themſelves were ſometimes yoong. For like as Phyſitians mingling and tempering otherwhiles ſome ſweete juice or liquid with bitter drugs and medicines, have deviſed that pleaſure and delight ſhould be the meanes and way to do their patients good: Even ſo, fathers ought to delay their eager reprehenſions and cutting rebukes with kindneſſe and clemencie: one while letting the bridle looſe, and giving head a little to the youthfull deſires of their children: another while againe reigning them ſhort and holding them in, as hard: but above all, with patience gently to beare with their faults. But if ſo be fathers cannot otherwiſe doe, but be ſoone angrie; then they muſt aſſoone have done and be quickly pacified. For I had rather that a father ſhould be haſtie with his children, ſo he be appeaſed anon: then ſlow to anger, and as hard to be pleaſed againe. For when a father is ſo hard harted, that he will not be reconciled, but carieth ſtill in minde the offence that is done, it is a great ſigne that he hateth his children. And I hold it good that fathers ſomtime take not knowledge of their childrens faults, and in this caſe make ſome uſe of hard hearing and dimme ſight, which old age ordinarily bringeth with it, as if by reaſon of theſe infirmities, they neither ſaw ſomewhat when they ſee well ynough, nor heard that which they heare plainely. We beare with the faults of friends; what ſtrange matter is it then to tolerate the imperfections of our owne children? Many a time when our ſervants have overdrunke themſelves, & ſurfeited therwith, we ſearch not too narrowly into them, nor rebuke them ſharply: therefore keepe thy ſonne one while ſhort, be franke another while, and give him money to ſpend freely. Thou haſt beene highly offended, and angrie with him once, pardon him another time for it. Hath he practiſed ſecretly with any one of thy houſhold ſervants, and beguiled thee? Diſſemble the matter and bridle thine yre. Hath he beene at one of thy farmes, met with a good yoke of oxen & made money therof? Commeth he in the morning to do his dutie and bid thee good morrow, belching ſowre and ſmelling ſtrongly of wine, which the day before he drunke at the taverne with companions like himſelfe? ſeeme to know nothing. Senteth he of ſweete perfumes and coſtly pomanders? Hold thy peace and ſay nothing. Theſe are the means to tame and breake a wilde and coltiſh youth. True it is, that ſuch as naturally be ſubject to wantonneſſe or carnall luſt, and will not be reclaimed from it, nor give eare to thoſe that rebuke them, ought to have wives of their owne and to be yoked in marriage: for ſurely this is the beſt and ſureſt meanes to bridle thoſe affections, and to keepe them in order. And when fathers are reſolved upon this point, what wives are they to ſeeke for them? Surely thoſe, that are neither in blood much more noble, nor in ſtate farre wealthier than they: For an old ſaid ſaw it is and a wiſe, Take a wife according to thy ſelfe. As for thoſe that wed women farre higher in degree, or much wealthier than themſelves, I cannot ſay they be huſbands unto their wives, but rather ſlaves unto their wives goods.

I have yet a few ſhort leſſons to annexe unto thoſe above rehearſed, which when I have ſet downe, I will conclude, and knit up theſe precepts of mine. Above all things fathers are to take heed, that they neither commit any groſſe fault, nor omit any one part of their owne dutie: to the end they may be as lively examples to their owne children; who looking into their life as into a cleere mirrour, may by the precedents by them given, forbeare to do or ſpeake any thing that is unſeemely and diſhoneſt: For ſuch fathers who reproove their children for thoſe parts which they play themſelves, ſee not how under the name of their children they condemne their owne ſelves. But ſurely, all thoſe generally who are ill livers, have not the heart to rebuke ſo much as their owne ſervants; much leſſe dare they finde fault with their children. And that which is woorſt of all, in living ill themſelves, they teach and counſell their ſervants and children to do the ſame: For looke where old folke be ſhameleſſe, there muſt yoong people of neceſſitie be moſt graceles and impudent Endevour therfore we ought for the reformation of our children, to do our ſelves all that our dutie requireth: and heerein to imitate that noble Ladie *Eurydice*, who being a Slavonian borne, and moſt barbarous, yet for the inſtruction of her owne children, ſhe tooke paines to learne good letters when ſhe was well ſtept in yeeres. And how kinde a mother ſhe was to her children, this Epigram which ſhe her ſelfe made and dedicated to the Muſes, doth ſufficiently teſtifie and declare:

> *This* Cupid *here of honeſt love a true Memoriall is,*
> *Which whilom Dame* Eurydice *of Hierapolis*
> *To Muſes nine did dedicate: whereby in ſoule and mind*
> *Conceiv'd ſhe was in later daies and brought foorth fruit in kind.*
> *For when her children were well growen: good ancient Lady ſhee,*
> *And carefull mother tooke the paines to learne the A.B.C.*
> *And in good letters did ſo far proceed, that in the end*
> *She taught them thoſe ſage leſſons which they might comprehend.*

But now to conclude this Treatiſe, To be able to obſerve and keepe all theſe precepts and rules together which I have before ſet downe, is a thing haply that I may wiſh for, rather than give adviſe and exhort unto. Howbeit, to affect and follow the greater part of them, although it require a rare felicitie and ſingular diligence; yet it is a thing that man by nature is capable of, and may attaine unto.

HOW A YOONG MAN OVGHT TO HEARE POETS, AND HOW HE MAY TAKE PROFIT BY READING POEMES.

The Summarie.

Foraſmuch as yoong Students are ordinarily allured as with a baite by reading of Poets, in ſuch ſort, as willingly they employ their time therein, conſidering that Poëſie hath I wot not what Sympathie with the firſt heats of this age: therefore by good right this preſent diſcourſe is placed next unto the former. And albeit, to ſpeake properly, it pertaineth unto thoſe onely who read ancient Poëts, aſwell Greeke as Latin, to take heede and beware how they take an impreſſion of dangerous opinions, in regard either of religion or manners: yet a man may comprehend likewiſe under it all other profane authors, out of which a minde that is not corrupt may gather profit, ſo they be handled wiſely and uſed with diſcretion. To which effect Plutarch *delivereth in this treatiſe good precepts. And after he hath ſhewed generally, that in Poëſie there is delight and danger withall: he refuteth briefly thoſe who flatly condemne it: Then, as he proceedeth to advertiſe that this ground and foundation is to be laide, namely, that Poëts are liers; he deſcribeth what their fictions be, how they ought to be conſidered, and what the ſcope and marke is whereat Poëſie doth aime and ſhoot: Afterwards he adviſeth, to weigh & ponder well the intention of Poëts, unto which they addreſſe & accommodate their verſes: to beware of their repugnan-*

ces and contradictions: and to the ende that we be not ſo ſoone damnified by any dangerous points which they deliver one after another, to oppoſe againſt them the opinions and counſels of other perſons of better marke. Which done, he addeth moreover and ſaith, That the ſentences intermingled here and there in Poëts, do reply ſufficiently againſt the evill doctrine that they may ſeeme to teach elſewhere: alſo, in taking heed to the diverſe ſignifications of words to be rid and freed from great encumbrances and difficulties: diſcourſing moreover how a man may make uſe of their deſcriptions of vices and vertues: alſo, of the words and deeds of thoſe perſonages whom they bring in: ſearching unto the reaſons and cauſes of ſuch ſpeeches and diſcourſes: thereout to draw in the end a deeper ſenſe and higher meaning, reaching even to Morall Philoſophie, and the gentle framing of the minde unto the love of vertue. And for that there be ſome hard and difficult places, which like unto forked waies, may leave the mindes of the Readers doubtfull and in ſuſpenſe: he ſheweth that it is an eaſie matter to apply the ſame well, and that withall, a man may reforme thoſe ſentences ill placed, and accommodate them to many things. And in concluſion, framing this diſcourſe to his principall intention, he treateth how the praiſes and diſpraiſes which Poëts attribute unto perſons, are to be conſidered: and that we ought to confirme all that which we finde good in ſuch authors by teſtimonies taken out of Philoſophie, the onely ſcope whereunto yoong men muſt tend in reading of Poëts.

READING AND HEARING of Poemes and Poets.

That which the Poet *Philoxenus* ſaid of fleſh, that the ſweeteſt is that which is leaſt fleſh: of fiſh likewiſe that the moſt ſavorie is that which is leaſt fiſh, let us, O *Marcus Sedatus*, leave to be decided and judged by thoſe, who as *Cato* ſaid, had their palats more quicke and ſenſible than their hearts. But, that yoong men take more pleaſure in thoſe Philoſophicall diſcourſes, which ſavour leaſt of Philoſophie, and ſeeme rather ſpoken in mirth than in earneſt, and are more willing to give eare thereto, and ſuffer themſelves more eaſily to be led and directed thereby, is a thing to us notorious and evident. For we ſee, that in reading not onely *Aeſops* fables and the fictions of Poets, but alſo the booke of *Heraclides* entituled *Abaris*, and that of *Ariſton*, named *Lycas*; wherein the opinions of Philoſophers as touching the ſoule, are mingled with tales and feigned narrations deviſed for pleaſure, they be raviſhed as one would ſay with great contentment and delight. And therefore ſuch youthes ought not onely to keepe their bodies ſober and temperate in the pleaſures of meate and drinke, but alſo much more to accuſtome their minds to a moderate delight in thoſe things which they heare and read, uſing the ſame temperately as a pleaſant and delectable ſauce to give a better and more ſavorie taſte to that which is healthfull, holſome and profitable therein. For neither thoſe gates that be ſhut in a city do guard the ſame and ſecure it for being forced and won, if there be but one ſtanding open to receive and let in the enimies: nor the temperance and continencie in the pleaſures of other ſenſes preſerve a yoong man for being corrupted and perverted, if for want of forecaſt and heed taking he give himſelfe to the pleaſure onely of the eare. But for that the hearing approcheth neerer to the proper ſeat of reaſon and underſtanding (which is the braine) ſo much the more hurt it doth unto him that receiveth delectation thereby, if it be neglected, and not better heed taken thereto. Now foraſmuch haply, as it is neither poſſible nor profitable, to reſtraine from the reading and hearing of Poemes, ſuch yoong men as are of the age either of my ſonne *Soclarus*, or of your *Cleander*, let us I praie you, have a carefull eie unto them, as ſtanding more in need of a guide now to direct them in their readings, then they did in times paſt to ſtay and dade them when they learned to go. This is the reaſon, that me thought in dutie I was bound to ſend unto you in writing, that which not long ſince I diſcourſed of by mouth, as touching the writings of Poets: to the end that you may reade it your ſelfe, and if you find that the reaſons therein delivered be of no leſſe vertue & efficacie than the ſtones called Amethyſts, which ſome take before and hang about their necks, to keepe them from drunkenneſſe as they ſit at bankets, drinking wine merily; you may impart and communicate the ſame to your ſonne *Cleander*, to preoccupate and prevent his nature, which being not dull and heavie in any thing, but every way quicke, lively and pregnant, is more apt and eaſie to be led by ſuch allurements.

In Polypes head there is to be had,
One thing that good is, and another as bad,

for that the fleſh thereof is pleaſant and ſavorie enough in taſte to him that feedeth thereupon: but (as they ſay) it cauſeth troubleſome dreames in the ſleepe, and imprinteth in the fantaſie ſtrange and monſtrous viſions. Semblablie, there is in Poeſie much delectation and pleaſure, enough to entertaine and feed the underſtanding and ſpirit of a yoong man: yet nevertheleſſe, hee ſhall meet with that there which will trouble and cary away his minde into errours, if his hearing be not well guided and conducted by ſage direction. For verie well and fitly it may be ſaid not onely of the land of *Aegypt*, but alſo of Poetrie;

Mixed drugs plentie, aſwell good as bad,
Med'cines and poiſons are there to be had,

which it bringeth foorth and yeeldeth to as many as converſe therein. Likewiſe:

Therein ſweet loue and wantonneſſe,
with dalliance, you ſhall finde:
And ſugred words, which do beguile
the beſt and wiſeſt minde.

For that which is ſo deceitfull and dangerous therein, toucheth not at all thoſe that be witleſſe ſots, fooles, and groſſe of conceit. Like as *Simonides* anſwered upon a time to one, who demanded of him, Why he did not beguile and circumvent the Theſſalians aſwell as all other Greeks; Becauſe, quoth he, they are too ſottiſh for me to deale withall, and ſo rude, that I can not ſkill of deceiving them. *Gorgias* alſo the Leontine was woont to ſay of a Tragedie, That it was a kinde of deceit, whereby he that deceived became more juſt than he who deceived not; and he that was deceived, wiſer than another who was not deceived. What is then to be done? Shall we conſtraine our youth to goe aboord into the Brigantine or Barke of *Epicurus*, to ſaile away and flie from Poetrie, by plaſtring and ſtopping their eares with hard and ſtrong waxe, as *Vliſſes* ſometimes ſerved thoſe of *Ithaca*? or rather by environing and defending their judgement with ſome diſcourſe of true reaſon, as with a defenſative band about it, to keepe and guard them, that they be not caried away with the allurements of pleaſure, unto that which might hurt them: Shall we reforme and preſerve them?

For ſure, Lycurgus, *though he was*
The valiant ſonne of ſtout Dryas,

ſhewed himſelfe not wiſe nor well in his wits, when he went throughout his whole realme and cauſed all the vines to be cut downe and deſtroied, becauſe he ſaw many of his ſubjects troubled in their braines and drunken with wine: whereas he ſhould rather have brought the nymphes (which are the ſpring waters) neerer, and keepe in order that fooliſh, furious and outragious god *Bacchus* as *Plato* ſaith, with another goddeſſe that was wiſe and ſober. For the mingling of water with wine, delaieth and taketh away the hurtfull force thereof: but killeth not withall the holſome vertue that it hath: Even ſo we ought not to cut off, nor aboliſh Poetrie, which is a part and member of the Muſes and good literature: But when as the ſtraunge fables and Theatricall fictions therein, by reaſon of the exceeding pleaſure and ſingular delight that they yeeld in reading them, do ſpred and ſwell unmeaſurably, readie to enter forcibly into our conceit ſo farre as to imprint therein ſome corrupt opinions: then let us beware, put foorth our hands before us, keepe them backe and ſtaie their courſe. But where there is a Grace and Muſe met togither, that is to ſay, delight conjoigned with ſome knowledge and learning: where I ſay, the attractive pleaſure and ſweeteneſſe of ſpeech, is not without ſome fruit nor void of utilitie, there let us bring in withall the reaſon of Philoſophie, and make a good medly of pleaſure and profit together. For as the herbe Mandragoras growing neere unto a vine, doth by infuſion tranſmit her medicinable vertue into the wine that commeth of it, and procureth in them that drinke afterwards thereof, a more milde deſire and inclination to ſleepe ſoundly: Even ſo, a Poëme receiving reaſons and arguments out of Philoſophie, and intermingling the ſame with fables and fictions, maketh the learning and knowledge therein conteined to be right amiable unto yoong men, and ſoone to be conceived. Which being ſo, they that would be learned and Philoſophers indeed, ought not to reject and condemne the works of Poetrie, but rather ſearch for Philoſophie in the writings of Poëts: or rather therein to practiſe Philoſophie, by uſing to ſeeke profit in pleaſure, and to love the ſame: otherwiſe, if they can finde no goodneſſe therein, to be diſpleaſed and diſcontented, and to fall out therewith. And truely this is the very beginning of knowledge and learning: for according to the Poët *Sophocles*,

Lay well thy ground, what ever thou intend:
For a good beginning, makes an happie end.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, the yoong man whom we would induct and traine to the reading of Poëſie, ought to have nothing in his heart ſo well imprinted, nor ſo readie at hand, as this common ſaying,

Poets all to ſay a ſooth
Are Liers ſtout, and ſpeake untruth.

And verily as Poëts ſometimes lie wilfully, ſo otherwhiles they do it againſt their wils: wilfully and of purpoſe, for that being deſirous to tickle and pleaſe the eares, a thing which moſt Readers deſire and ſeeke after, they thinke that ſimple and plaine veritie is more auſtere for that purpoſe then leaſing: For truth recounting a thing as it was done, keepeth to it ſtill, and albeit the iſſue and the end thereof haply be unpleaſant, yet neverthleſſe ſhe goeth not aſide but reporteth it outright: whereas a tale or lie deviſed for delight, quickly diverteth out of the way, and ſoone turneth from a thing which greeveth, unto that which is more delightſome. For there is no ſong in rime and metre, no trope or figuratiue ſpeech, no loftie ſtile, no metaphor ſo fitly borowed, no harmonie, no compoſition of words, how ſmoothly ſoever they run, that carieth the like grace, and is either ſo attractive or retentive, as a fabulous narration well couched, artificially enterlaced, and aptly delivered. But as a picture drawen to the like, the colour is more effectuall to moove & affect our ſenſe, then the ſimple purtraying and firſt draught, by reaſon of a certaine reſemblance it hath to the perſonage of man or woman, which deceiveth our judgement: Even ſo, in Poëmes, a lie intermingled with ſome probabilitie and likelihood of a truth doth excite and ſtirre more, yea and pleaſe better by farre, than all the arte and ſtudie that a man is able to employ either in compoſing excellent verſes, or enditing any poliſhed proſe, without enterlarding fables and fictions Poëticall. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that *Socrates* who all his life time made great profeſſion to be a defender and mainteiner of the truth, being minded upon a time to take in hand Poetrie, by occaſion of certeine dreames and viſions appeering unto him in his ſleepe: in the enterpriſe whereof finding himſelfe to have no aptneſſe nor grace at all in deviſing lies, did into verſe certaine fables of *Aeſope*, ſuppoſing verilie there could be no Poëſie where there were no lies. Many ſacrifices we know to have beene celebrated without piping and dauncing. But never was there knowen any Poetrie, but it was grounded upon ſome vaine fables & loud leaſing. The verſes of *Empedocles* and *Parmenides*, the booke of *Nicander* entituled *Therſara*, where he treateth of the biting and ſtinging of venemous ſerpents, and of their remedies, The morall ſentences of *Theognis* are writings which borrow of Poetrie their loftineſſe of ſtile and meaſure of ſyllables, to beare them up mounted on high to avoid the baſe foote pace (as it were) of proſe. When as we read therefore in Poeticall compoſitions, any ſtrange and abſurd thing, as touching the Gods, demy-gods, or vertue, ſpoken by ſome worthy perſonage of great renowne, he that beleeveth ſuch a ſpeech and receiveth it as an undoubted truth, wandereth in error and is corrupted in opinion: but he that ever and anon remembreth and ſetteth before his eies the charmes and illuſions that Poetrie ordinarily uſeth in the invention of lying fables, and can eftſoones bleſſe himſelfe and ſay thus thereto,

O queint device, ô ſlie and craftie gin
more changeable than ſpotted Ounces skin:
Why jeſteſt thou and yet thy browes doeſt knit?
deceiving me, yet ſeem'ſt to teach me wit.

He I ſay, ſhall never take harme, nor admit into his underſtanding any evill impreſſion, but reprehend and reproove himſelfe when he feareth Neptune, and ſtandeth in dread, leaſt he ſhake cleaue and open the earth, and ſo diſcover hell: he will rebuke alſo himſelfe when he is offended and angrie with for *Apollo* the principal * man of all the Greekes, of whom *Thetis* complaineth thus in the Poet *Aeſchylus*, as touching *Achilles* her ſonne.

* *Achylles.*

Himſelfe did ſing and ſay al good of me:
himſelfe alſo at wedding preſent was:

Yet for all this, himſelfe and none but he,
hath ſlaine and done to death my ſonne, alas.

He will likewiſe repreſſe the teares of *Achilles* now departed, and of *Agamemnon* being in hell, who in their deſire to revive and for the love of this life, ſtretch foorth their impotent and feeble hands. And if it chaunce at any time that he be troubled with paſſions, and ſurpriſed with their enchantments and ſorcerie, he will not ſticke nor feare to ſay thus unto himſelfe,

Make haſt and ſpeed, without delay,
Recover ſoone the light of day;
Beare well in minde what thou ſeeſt heere:
And all report to thy bed-feere.

Homer ſpake this in mirth and pleaſantly, fitting indeed the diſcourſe, wherein he deſcribeth hell as being in regard of the fiction a tale fit for the eares of women and none els: Theſe be the fables that Poets do feigne voluntarily. But more in number there are which they neither deviſe nor counterfeit, but as they are perſwaded and do beleeve themſelves, ſo they would beare us in hand and infect us with the ſame untruthes, as namely when *Homer* writeth thus of *Iupiter*,

Two lots then of long ſleeping death, he did in balance put,
One for Achilles *hardy knight, and one for* Hector *ſtout:*
But when he pis'd it juſt in mids, behold, ſir Hectors *death*
Weigh'd downward unto hell beneath: Then Phœbus *ſlopt his breath.*

To this fiction *Aeſchylus* the Poët hath aptly fitted one entire Tragedie, which he intituled *Pſychoſtaſia*, that is to ſay, the weighing of Soules or ghoſts in balance. Wherein he deviſeth to ſtand at theſe ſkales of *Iupiter*, *Thetis* of the one ſide, and *Aurora* of the other, praying each of them for their ſonnes as they fight. But there is not a man who ſeeth not cleerely, that this it but a made tale and meere fable deviſed by *Homer*, either to content and delight the Reader, or to bring him into ſome great admiration and aſtoniſhment. Likewiſe in this place:

T'is Iupiter *that mooveth warre:*
He is the cauſe that men do jarre.

As alſo this of another Poët:

When God above ſome houſe will overthrow,
He makes debate, twixt mortall men below.

Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches are delivered by Poëts, according to the very conceit and beliefe which they have, whereby the errour and ignorance which themſelves are in as touching the nature of the gods they derive and communicate unto us. Semblably, the ſtrange wonders and marvels of Hell; The deſcriptions by them made which they depaint unto us by fearefull and terrible termes, repreſenting unto us the fantaſticall apprehenſions and imaginations of burning and flaming rivers, of hideous places and horrible torments: there are not many men but wot well ynough that therein be tales and lies good ſtore: no otherwiſe than in meates and viands, you ſhall finde mixed otherwhiles hurtfull poyſon, or medicinable drugs. For neither *Homer* nor *Pindarus*, nor *Sophocles*, have written thus of Hell, beleeving certainely that there were any ſuch things there:

From whence the dormant rivers dead
of blacke and ſhady night,
Caſt up huge miſts and clouds full darke,
that overwhelme the light:

Likewiſe,

The Ocean coaſt they ſailed ſtill along,
Faſt by the clifs of Leucas rocke among.

As alſo,

Here boyling waves of gulfe ſo deepe do ſwell,
Where lies the way and downfall into hell.

And as many of them as bewailed and lamented for death as a moſt piteous and woful thing, or feared want of ſepulture as a miſerable and wretched caſe, uttered their plaints and griefes in theſe and ſuch like words:

Forſake me not unburied ſo,
Nor unbewailed when you go.

Semblably,
And then the ſoule from body flew,
and as to hell ſhe went,
She did her death, her loſſe of ſtrength
and youthfull yeeres lament.
Likewiſe,
Doe not me kill before my time,
for why? to ſee this light
Is ſweet: force me not under earth,
where nothing is but night.

Theſe are the voices I ſay of paſſionate perſons, captivate before to error and falſe opinions. And therefore they touch us more neerely, and trouble us ſo much the rather, when they finde us likewiſe poſſeſſed of ſuch paſſions and feeblenes of ſpirit, from whence they proceed. In which regard we ought to be prepared betimes, and provided alwaies before hand to encounter and withſtand ſuch illuſions, having this ſentence readily evermore reſounding in our eares as it were from a trunke or pipe, That Poetrie is fabulous, and maketh ſmal reckoning of Truth. As for the truth indeed of theſe things, it is exceeding hard to be conceived & comprehended even by thoſe who travell in no other buſineſſe, but to ſearch out the knowledge and underſtanding of the thing, as they themſelves do confeſſe. And for this purpoſe theſe verſes of *Empedocles* would be alwaies readie at hand, who ſaith that the depth of ſuch things as theſe

No eie of man is able to perceive:
No eare to heare, nor ſpirit to conceive.

Like as theſe alſo of *Xenophanes*.

Never was man nor ever will be,
Able to ſound the veritie
Of thoſe things which of God I write,
Or of the world I do endite.

And I aſſure you, The very words of *Socrates* in *Plato* imply no leſſe, who proteſteth and bindeth it with an oath, that he cannot attaine to the knowledge of theſe matters. And this will be a good motive to induce yoong men to give leſſe credit unto Poëts, as touching their certaine knowledge in theſe points, wherein they perceive the Philoſophers themſelves ſo doubtfull and perplexed, yea and therewith ſo much troubled.

Alſo the better ſhall we ſtay the mind of a yoong man & cauſe him to be more warie, if at his firſt entrance into the reading of Poëts, we deſcribe Poetrie unto him: giving him to underſtand that it is an art of Imitation, & a ſcience correſpondent every way to the feat of painting: and not onely muſt he be acquainted with the hearing of that vulgar ſpeech ſo common in every mans mouth, that Poëſie is a ſpeaking picture, and picture a dumbe Poëſie: but alſo we ought to teach him, that when we behold a Lizard or an Ape wel painted, or the face of *Therſites* lively drawen, we take pleaſure therein & praiſe the ſame wonderfully; not for any beautie in the one or in the other, but becauſe they are ſo naturally counterfeited. For that which is foule of it ſelfe & ilfavored in the owne nature, cannot be made faire & ſeemly: but the skil of reſembling a thing wel, be the ſame faire or be it foule, is alwaies commended: wheras contrariwiſe, he that takes in hand to purtray an ilfavoured bodie, and makes thereof a faire & beautifull image, ſhall exhibite a ſight neither ſeemely nor decent. Some painters you ſhall have to delight in painting of ſtrange, fooliſh and abſurd actions: as for example *Timomachus* repreſented in a table the picture of *Medea*, killing her owne children: *Theon* painted *Oreſtes* murthering his owne mother: *Parrhaſius* deſcribed with his penſill, the counterfeit race and madneſſe of *Vliſſes*, and *Chærephanes* purtrayed the wanton dalliance, and dealing of men and women together unſeemely. With which arguments and ſuch like, a yoong man is to be made acquainted, that he may learne thereby how the thing it ſelfe is not praiſe woorthie, whereof he ſeeth the expreſſe reſemblance, but the art and cunning of the workeman who could ſo artificially draw the ſame to the life. Semblably, for aſmuch as Poëſie repreſenteth many times by way of imitation, filthie actions, leaud affections, and vicious manners: it is the part of a yoong man to know thus much, That the thing which is admired therein and found to be ſingular, he ought not either to receive as true, or proove as good, but to praiſe it ſo far foorth onely as it is befitting the perſon, or appropriate

priate to the ſubject matter. For like as when we heare the grunting of a ſwine, the creaking of a cart wheele, the whiſtling noiſe of the winde, or the roaring of the ſea, we take no pleaſure therein, but are troubled and diſcontented: but contrariwiſe, if a merie fellow or jeſter can pretily counterfeit the ſame, as one *Parmeno* could grunt like a ſwine, and *Theodorus* creake like the ſaid wheeles, we are delighted therewith. Alſo, as we ſhun a diſeaſed perſon, and a Lazar full of filthy ulcers, as an unpleaſant and hideous ſpectacle to beholde: but when we looke upon *Philoctetes* purtraied by *Ariſtophon*; and queene *Iocaſta* by *Silanian*: namely, how they be deſcribed to pine away, and ready to yeeld up the ghoſt, we receive no ſmall contentment thereby: even ſo a yoong man when hee ſhall reade what the ridiculous jeſter *Therſites*, or the amorous and wanton ſpoiler of maiden, *Siſyphus*, or the beaſtly bawd *Betrochus*, is brought in by Poets to ſay or doe; let him be advertiſed and inſtructed to praiſe the art and ſufficiencie of the Poet, who knew how to paint the ſame ſo lively and naturally: but withall to blame, reject, and deteſt the acts and conditions which are thus repreſented. For there is a great difference betweene reſembling a thing well, and a thing that is ſimply good: for when I ſay Well, I meane aptly, decently and properly: and ſo acts filthie and diſhoneſt, are fit and beſeeming for lewd and unhoneſt perſons. For the ſhoes of that lame creple *Demonides*, which he prayed to God might ſerve his feet that had ſtollen them from him, were in themſelves miſſhapen and ilſavoured; howbeit, proper and fit for him: As for this ſpeech,

If lawes of right and equitie
In any caſe may broken be,
What man alive would not begin
To do all wrong, a crowne to win?

And this:

Put on the face, I thee adviſe,
Of him that is juſt and right wiſe:
But ſee no deeds thou do forlet,
Whereby thou maiſt ſome profit get.

Alſo:

Vnleſſe I may may talent gaine
As clere as gift, I am in paine.

Likewiſe:

How ſhall I live or take repoſe,
In caſe this talent I do loſe?
Nay ſleepe I will and feare no hell,
Nor torments there, but thinke all well:
What wrong I do, what plots I ſet,
My ſilver talent for to get.

Wicked words they be all, and moſt falſe; howbeit, beſeeming ſuch as *Eteocles* and *Ixion* were, and becomming well an olde Vſurer. If therefore wee would aduertiſe yoong men, that Poets write thus, not as if they praiſed and allowed ſuch ſpeeches, but as they know full well that they be lewd and naughtie, ſo they do attribute them unto as wicked and godleſſe perſons, they ſhould never take harme by any evill impreſſions from Poets: but contrariwiſe, the prejudicate opinion inſinuated firſt, of ſuch & ſuch a man, will preſently breed a ſuſpition both of word and deed to be bad, as ſpoken and done by a bad and vicious perſon. Such an example is that of *Paris* in *Homer*, who flying out of the battell, went preſently to bed unto faire *Helena*. For ſeeing that the Poet reporteth of no man els, but only of this unchaſt adulterous *Paris*, that he lay with his wife in the day time: it is an evident proofe that he reputed and judged ſuch incontinencie to be reprochfull, and therefore made report thereof to his blame and ſhame both. In theſe caſes alſo it would be well conſidered whether the Poët himſelfe do not give ſome plaine demonſtrations emplying thus much, that he miſliketh ſuch ſpeeches, and is offended therewith, as *Menander* did in the Prologue of that Comedie, which he entituled *Thais*.

O ladie Muſe now helpe me to endite
Of this ſo bolde and unſhamefaced queane,
Yet beautifull: who alſo hath a ſprite
Perſwaſive, and with words can carie cleane

The wrongs that ſhe unto her lovers all
Doth offer; whom ſhe ſhutteth out of dores,
And yet for gifts ſhe ſtill of them doth call,
And picks their purſe, which is the caſt of whores,
She none doth love, and yet ſhe ſemblance makes
That die ſhe will, poore heart, for all their ſakes.

And verily in this kinde, *Homer* among all other Poëts doth excell, and uſeth ſuch advertiſements with beſt diſcretion: for it is ordinarie with him both to premiſe ſome reprehenſion and blame of evill ſpeeches, and alſo to recommend the good. And for an inſtance heereof, in this wiſe he giveth commendation of a good ſpeech,

And then anon, this ſpeech right commendable
He ſpake, which was both ſweet and profitable.

Againe,

Approching then, he ſtood unto him nere,
And ſtated him ſoone with words that gentle were.

Semblably on the other ſide, reprooving bad and lewd ſpeeches, he in a maner doth proteſt that he himſelfe miſliketh of them, and therewith denounceth likewiſe, and doth intimate unto the readers thus much in effect, That they ſhould make no uſe thereof, nor take regard, otherwiſe than of wicked things and dangerous examples: as namely when he purpoſed to deſcribe the rude and groſſe termes that *Agamemnon* gave unto the Prieſt of *Apollo*, when he abuſed him unreverently, he premiſed this before;

This nothing pleaſed Atreus *ſonne, K.* Agamemnon *hight;*
But him he badly did intreat, and uſe with all deſpight.

By this word Badly, he meaneth rudely, proudly, diſdainfully, without regard of dutie or decencie. As for *Achilles* he attributeth unto him theſe raſh and outragious ſpeeches,

Thou drunken ſot and dogs-face that thou art
Thou courage haſt, no more then fearfull Hart.

But he inferred withall his owne judgement as touching thoſe words in this maner,

Achilles *then ſir* Peleus *ſonne, ſtill boiling in his blood*
Gave Agamemnon words againe unſeemely and not good.

For it is not like that any thing could be well and decently ſpoken proceeding from ſuch anger and bitter choler, he obſerveth the ſame not in words onely but alſo in deeds. For thus he ſaith,

No ſooner had he ſpoke the word, but preſently he ment
To worthy Hector *much diſgrace, whoſe body up he hent,*
He ſtript and ſpoiled it full ſoone, and then hard by the bed
Of ſir Patrochus *he it laid, and groveling there it ſpred.*

He uſeth alſo fitly to the purpoſe pretie reprehenſions after things be done, delivering his own ſentence, as it were by way of a voice given, touching that which was either done or ſaid a little before: As for example, after the narration of the adultery betweene *Mars* and *Venus*, he reporteth that the gods ſpake in this ſort:

Lewd Acts do never better ſpeed; Lo how the ſlow and lame
Can overtake him him who for ſtrength and ſwiftnes hath the name!

And in another place, upon the audatious preſumption and proud vaunting of *Hector*, thus he ſaith,

Theſe words he ſpake in braverie and ſwelling pride of heart,
But Lady Iuno *was diſpleas'd, and tooke them in ill part.*

Likewiſe as touching the arrow that *Pandarus* ſhot,

No ſooner Pallas *ſaid the word, but fooliſh minded man,*
He was perſwaded, and therewith ſtreight waies to ſhoote began.

And theſe be the ſententious ſpeeches, & opinions of Poets, by them expreſly uttered, which any man may ſoone find & eaſily diſcerne, if he will but take heed & give regard unto them. But yet over & beſides theſe teſtimonies, they furniſh us alſo with other inſtructions by their owne deeds. For thus it is reported of *Euripides*, that when upõ a time ſome reviled *Ixion* & reproched him by the termes of Godleſſe, Wicked & Accurſed: he anſwered, True indeed quoth he, and therefore I would not ſuffer him to be brought frõ the Stage, before I had ſet him faſt upon the wheele, & broken both his armes & legs. True it is that this kinde of Doctrine in *Homer* is after a ſort mute & not delivered in plaine & expreſſe termes: but if a man will cõſider more neerely, even thoſe fables & fictions in him, which are moſt blamed & found fault withall, there may be found therein a profitable inſtruction & covert ſpeculation: And yet ſome there be who wreſt & writhe forcibly the ſaid fables another way by their Allegories, (for ſo they call in theſe daies thoſe ſpeeches wherein one thing is ſpoken & another ment, whereas in times paſt they were termed *Hypponæa*, for the hidden meaning couched under them) whereby they would make us beleeve that the fiction as touching the adulterie of *Mars* & *Venus* ſignifieth thus much, That when the Planet of *Mars*, is in conjunction with that of *Venus* in ſome Horoſcopes and Nativities, ſuch perſons then borne ſhall bee enclined to adulteries: but if the Sun do then ariſe, paſſe, and overtake them, then ſuch adulteries are in danger to be diſcovered and the parties to be taken in the very act. Now as touching *Iuno* how ſhe embelliſheth and adorneth herſelfe before *Iupiter*, as alſo the fiction and ſorcerie about the needle worke girdle and Tiſſue which ſhe borowed of *Venus*, they would have it to ſignifie a certaine purging and cleering of the aire, as it approcheth neere to the fire: as if the Poet himſelfe gave not the interpretation and expoſition of ſuch doubts: For in the tale of the adulterie of *Venus*, he meaneth nothing els, but to teach them that gave eare thereto, how wanton muſicke, laſcivious ſongs, and ſpeeches grounded upon evill arguments and conteining naughtie matters, corrupt our maners, induce us to a luxurious, looſe and effeminate life, and cauſe men to be ſubject unto pleaſures, delights, ſenſualitie and luſt, and given over to the love of women: *as alſo*

To chaunge eftſoones their beds of coſtly price,
Their rich array, hote baines, and ech device.

And therefore the ſame *Homer* bringeth in *Vlyſſes*, commanding the Muſician who ſung to the Harpe, in this wiſe

Digreſſe good ſir from ſuch lewd ſongs, and ballads vaine as theſe,
Sing rather of the Trojan horſe: you ſhall us therein pleaſe.

Giving us thereby a good inſtruction, that Minſtrels, Muſitians and Poets ſhould receive the matter and argument of their compoſitions from wiſe men, ſober, ſage and vertuous. And as touching that fable of *Iuno*, he ſheweth how the love, favor, and acquaintance which women win of men by charmes, ſorceries and enchantments with fraud and deceit, is a thing not onely tranſitorie and of ſmall continuance, unſure, and whereof a man hath ſoone enough and is quickly weary, but alſo that which many times turneth to hatred, anger and enmitie, ſo ſoone as the preſent pleaſure is once paſt: For thus threatneth *Iupiter* and ſaith,

Thou ſhalt then know that wanton love and daliance in bed,
Whereby thou earſt haſt me deceived, ſhall ſerve thee in ſmall ſted.

For the ſhew and repreſentation of wicked deeds, if there be propounded withall the ſhame and loſſe which befalleth unto them that have committed the ſame, doth no hurt at all, but rather much good unto the hearers. As for Philoſophers verily, they uſe examples taken out of hiſtories, to admoniſh and inſtruct the readers, even by ſuch things as be at hand, and either are or have beene really ſo: but Poets do in deed the ſame, and in effect, howbeit they deviſe and invent matter of their owne heads, they feigne fables I ſay, fitting their purpoſe. Certes like as *Melanthius* ſaid, betweene bord and good earneſt, that the citie of Athens ſtood upright on foote and was preſerved by meanes of the diviſion, diſcorde and trouble which was among Oratours and Politicians; for that all the citizens leaned not altogither to a ſide, nor bare levelly upon one and the ſame wall, and ſo by reaſon of the variance which reigned among the States men, there was evermore ſome one counterpoiſe or other, weighing even againſt that which endamaged the common-weale: even ſo the contradictions that are found in the writings of Poets, which draw the aſſent and beleefe of the readers reciprocally to and fro, and leave matters ambiguous and doubtfull, are a cauſe that they be not of ſo great moment and weight, as to endamage or endaunger much. When as therefore we meet with ſuch repugnant places among them, which being laid neere togither do implie evident contrarieties, we ought to encline to the ſafer ſide and favor the better part, As namely in theſe verſes,

The Gods in many things, my ſonne,
Have men deceived and them undone.

But contrariwiſe, what ſaith the ſonne againe?

Sir, that's ſoone ſaid: mens fault t'excuſe,
Nothing more ready, than Gods t'accuſe.

Likewiſe in one place:

In ſtore of gold thou ſhould'ſt have joy:
And count all knowledge but a toy.

But elſewhere:

Abſurd it is in goods to flow,
And no good thing beſides to know.

Moreover when we read:

How then? ſhould I die? For Gods cauſe die?

We muſt be ready with this

What elſe? for love of God I judge
We ought no ſervice for to grudge

Theſe and ſuch like diverſities of doubtfull ſentences, are ſoone aſſoiled and diſſolved, in caſe, as I have before ſaid, we direct the judgement of yoong men to adhere unto the better part. But ſay, we light upon ſome wicked and ungodly ſpeech, without any anſwere adjoyned thereto for to refell the ſame preſently: what then is to be done? Surely we muſt confute it, by oppoſing contrarie ſentences of the ſame author in other places: neither are we to be angrie or offended with the Poët in this caſe; but rather thinke they be words either merily ſpoken, or only to repreſent the nature of ſome perſon, & with him only to be diſpleaſed. Moreover, againſt theſe fictions in *Homer*, when he reporteth how the gods fall together by the eares, and throw one another downe: or that they be wounded in ſome battell by the hands of mortall men: alſo that they be at variance and debate: you may if you will by and by oppoſe that which he himſelfe ſpeaketh in another place, and ſo beat him with his owne rod: ſaying thus unto him,

You know ſir if you liſt, ywis
To tell us better tales than this.

And verily you both utter better wordes, and thinke of better matters otherwiſe in theſe places:

The Gods in heaven do live at eaſe:
They know no trouble nor diſeaſe.

Alſo:

Whereas, the Gods in bliſſe and joy
Do ever live, without annoy.

Likewiſe:

The Gods themſelves are void of care:
Sadneſſe and ſorrow, mens lots they are.

For theſe are the true and ſafe conceptions which we ought to have as touching the Gods: And for all other fabulous fictions and attributes given unto them, they have beene deviſed only to give contentment to the readers, or to moove their affections. In like caſe whereas *Euripides* ſaith:

Gods over men, having power and maſterie,
Abuſe and deceive them with wiles and ſophiſtrie

It were not amiſſe to alledge and inferre that which he writeth better and more truely in another place:

If Gods do harme, or what doth not beſeeme,
No Gods in truth, we are them for to deeme.

Alſo when *Pindarus* ſpeaketh verie bitterly and eagerly in one place, tending altogether to revenge:

All meanes and plots we may addreſſe,
To worke and compaſſe our foes diſtreſſe,

We may come upon him againe and anſwer thus: But you good Sir elſewhere affirme, That

The joy we gaine by fraud and trecherie,
Turnes in the end to woe and miſerie.

Moreover, when we heare *Sophocles* in this ſong:

Lucre alwaies full pleaſant is and ſweete, *Although it come by falſe meanes and unmeete.*

Reply we ought and ſay thus: We have heard you ſing in another tune:

Deceitfull lies and falſe language,
Bring forth no fruit, that will beare age.

Furthermore to encounter theſe ſpeeches which are delivered as touching riches;

Powr-full is riches to win forts ſteepe and high,
As well as places moſt plaine and acceſſible,
Whereas thoſe pleaſures, which redy be and nigh
To hold and enjoy, for poore is impoſſible.
And why? a toong that ſmooth and filed is
Will cauſe a man foule and unperſonable,
Of no regard, whoſe parts be all amis
Faire for to ſeeme, full wiſe and commendable.

The Reader may alleage many oppoſite ſentences of *Sophocles*, and theſe among the reſt:

I ſee no cauſe, but men in povertie,
May be advaunc'd to place of dignitie.

Alſo:

A man is not the woorſe for his povertie,
In caſe he have both wiſedome and honeſtie.

Likewiſe:

What joy, what grace can come of worldly pelſe,
If firſt by ſhifts a man to it attaine:
And then with reſtleſſe cares torment himſelfe,
And take bad courſes the ſame to maintaine?

And *Menander* verily in one place hath highly praiſed and extolled ſenſuall luſt and concupiſcence, whereby he ſet them forward who are of an hot nature, and of themſelves prone to voluptuouſnes, namely, in theſe and ſuch like amatorious words:

What creatures ſoever do live and ſee
The ſun light joy, that common treaſure,
Are all, have beene, and ever ſhall be
Subject and thral to fleſhly pleaſure.

Howbeit, in another the ſame Poët hath turned us about, and forcibly drawen us unto honeſtie, repreſſing and bridling the inſolent furie of a looſe and luxurious life, ſaying in this wiſe:

A filthie life, though pleaſant for the while,
With ſhame at laſt, doth all delights defile.

Theſe ſayings are in ſome ſort contrarie to the former, but far better and more profitable every way. And therefore the ſetting together and conſideration of ſuch contradictorie ſentences, will bring foorth one of theſe two effects: for either it will draw yoong men to the better way, or at leaſtwiſe derogate the credit of the woorſt.

But if peradventure it come to paſſe that the Poëts themſelves do not ſolve and ſalve thoſe ſtrange and abſurd ſayings, which they ſeeme to ſet abroad: it were not amiſſe to oppoſe againſt them, the contrarie ſentences of other famous authors: and when wee have weighed and compared them in balance, to make proofe thereby which are the better. As for example, if haply *Alexis* the Poët hath prevailed with ſome by theſe verſes of his:

If men be wiſe, above all they will chuſe
By all meanes their pleaſures to compaſſe and uſe.
Whereof there be three moſt powrfull and riſe,
Which wholy poſſeſſe and accompliſh our life
To eat, to drinke, to follow venerie:
As for the reſt, I hold acceſſarie.

We muſt call to minde and remember, that the ſage *Socrates* was of another opinion and ſpake the contrarie: for he was woont to ſay, that the wicked lived for to eate and drinke; but the vertuous did both eat and drinke, to live. Semblably, to meete with this verſe of the Poët whoever it was that wrote thus:

To make thy part good with a perſon lewd

Fight with like lewdnes, and be thou as ſhrewd.

Bidding us in ſome ſort to accommodate and frame our ſelves like to the lewd and wicked: we may be readie with that notable Apophthegme of ***Diogenes***, who being asked how a man might be revenged beſt of his enemie, anſwered thus, If (quoth he) thou ſhew thy ſelfe a good and honeſt man. The wiſedome alſo of the ſaid ***Diogenes*** we muſt ſet againſt the Poët *Sophocles*, who troubled the minds and conſciences of many thouſands, with diſtruſt and diſpaire, by writing theſe verſes as touching the religion and confraternity in the Myſteries of *Ceres*:

How happie men and thrice happy are they
Whoſe fortune it is, the ſecrets to ſee
Of Myſteries ſo ſacred: and ſtreight way
Downe into hell, for to deſcend with glee:
For they alone in bliſſe ſhall live for ay:
The reſt in bale, muſt ſuffer paine alway.

How now, quoth *Diogenes*, when he heard ſuch verſes read: Saiſt thou ſo indeed? And ſhall *Patacian* the notorious theefe be in better ſtate after this life when he is once departed, only becauſe he was entred and profeſſed in the orders of this confraternitie, than good *Epiminondas*? As for *Timotheus*, when upon a time in the audience of a full Theatre, he chaunted a Poeme which he had compiled in the honor of *Diana*, wherein he ſtiled her with the Attributes and Epithets, of *Menas, Thyas, Phœbas* and *Lyſſas*, which ſignifie, Furious, Enraged, Poſſeſſed, and ſtarke Mad: *Cinneſias* preſently cried preſently aloud unto him, I would thou haddeſt a daughter of thine owne with ſuch qualities. The like elegant anſwere ***Bion*** is reported to have made unto *Theognis*. For when *Theognis* came out with theſe verſes,

A man held downe with povertie
can nothing do or ſay:
For why? his tongue wants libertie,
and ſomewhat doth it ſtay.

Bion hearing them, How commeth it then to paſſe quoth he, that thou thy ſelfe being but a beggar keepeſt ſuch a prating as thou doeſt, and with thy vaine babling and garrulitie troubleſt our eares?

Moreover we muſt not in any wiſe omit and let paſſe the occaſions which are miniſtred out of the words and ſentences either adjoyning, or intermingled with thoſe ſpeeches, for to reforme and correct the ſame: But like as Phyſicions are of opinion, that notwithſtanding the greene Flies *Cantharides* be of themſelves venemous and a deadly poiſon; yet their wings and feete are helpfull and holſome: yea and of vertue to fruſtrate and kill the malice of the ſaid flies: even ſo in the Poemes and writings of Poets, if there be one Nowne or Verbe hanging to a ſentence that we feare will do harme, which Nowne or Verbe may in ſome ſort weaken the ſaid hurtfull force, we are to take hold thereof, and to ſtand upon the ſignification of ſuch words more at large, as ſome do in theſe verſes,

This honour due to wretched men we keepe
Our haire to cut, and over them to weepe.

As alſo in theſe,

We men, Alas moſt miſerable, live
In paine and griefe, this lot the gods do give.

For the Poet doth not ſimply affirme that the gods have predeſtinate all men ſimply to live in woe & ſorrow, but this he ſpeaketh of fooliſh and witleſſe folke, who being ordinarily lewd and naught, and therefore miſerable and wretched for their wickednes, he is woont to call δειλοὺς & οἰζυροὺς.

Another way there is beſides, to turne the doubtfull and ſuſpected ſentences in poeticall writings to the better ſenſe, which otherwiſe might be conſtrued in the worſe part: namely, by interpreting words to the ſignification wherein they are uſually taken: wherein it were better to exerciſe a yong man, than in the interpretations of obſcure termes, which we call Gloſſes. And verily a point this is ſavouring of great learning, and full beſides of delectation: as for example, To know how the word ῥιγεδανὴ in Poëts ſignifieth, is as much to ſay, as ill death or a bad end; for that the Macedonians uſe to call death δανὸς. Likewiſe the Aeolians do terme victorie which is atchieved by long ſuffering, continuall perſeverance and abiding, καμμονὴ. Alſo among the

Dryopians, thoſe be named Ποποὶ, who with other are called *Dæmones*. i. Saints or Heavenlie wights. Furthermore, it is not onely expedient, but neceſſarie alſo, if we would receiue good, and not harme, by the reading of Poets; to know certeinly, how and in what ſignification they take the proper names of gods, as alſo the appellative words of good and evill things. Likewiſe what they meane by the vocables ψυχὴ. i. the ſoule; or μοῖρα. i. fatall deſtinie. Namely, whether theſe termes be taken by them in one ſence, or have many ſignifications? The ſame is to be ſaid of many other words beſides: for example ſake, this Nowne οἶκος ſomtimes ſignifieth an ædifice or dwelling houſe, as when *Homer* ſaith,

οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον. *To the houſe built with an high roofe.*

otherwhiles it betokeneth goods and ſubſtance: as in this piece of a verſe.

ἐσθίεταί μοι οἶκος. *My houſe is eaten.* i. *My goods are waſted and conſumed.*

Alſo this word βίοτος is taken in one place for life; as namely in theſe verſes;

ἀμενήνασεν δέ οἱ αἰχμὴν
κυανοχαῖτα ποσειδάων βιότοιο μεγήρας.

God Neptune *with his haire ſo blacke,*
enyving him long life,
Deſpightfully his daies cut ſhort,
and ended all the ſtrife.

But in another for goods and riches: to wit,

βίοτον δέ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔδουσι. *Meane while do others ſpend my goods.*

Semblably the Verbe ἀλύειν, you ſhall finde put for to fret, be diſcontented and ill apaied: as when the Poet writeth thus;

Ὣς ἔφαθ' ἡ δ' ἀλύουσ' ἀπεβήσατο, τείρετο
δ' αἰνῶς.

Which ſaid, ſhe ſeemed male-content,
And wounded ſo; away ſhe went.

And yet it is uſed ſometime, for to joy and vaunt: as namely in the ſame Poet;

ἢ ἀλύεις ὅτι Ἶρον ἐνίκησας τὸν ἀλήτην.

And do you brag and boaſt ſo much in deed,
Poore Irus *that you beat in beggers weed.*

In like ſort the Verbe θοάζειν, ſignifieth either to moove or ſtirre with great violence: as in *Euripides*. Κῆτος θοάζον ἐξ ἀτλαντικῆς ἁλός.

A whale out of th' Atlanticke ſea, we might deſcrie from land
Moſt forcibly to ſwimme, and then to ſhut himſelfe on land.

or to ſit downe and take repoſe: as for example, when *Sophocles* ſaith thus,

τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε
ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι;

My friends what meane you in this wiſe ſo ſtrangely for to ſit,
With branches dight about your heads, which ſuppliants doe beſit?

Moreover, it is verie pretie and commendable, when a man meeteth with words of divers acceptions, to make uſe thereof accordingly, and to accommodate them to the preſent occaſions and ſubject matters: like as the Grammarians teach us to doe in vocables that admit ſundry ſenſes; as for example,

νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλῃ δ' ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι.

You may well praiſe a little barke or barge,
But ſee with wares, a mightie hulke you charge.

Here the Verbe αἰνεῖν, ſignifieth ἐπαινεῖν. i. to praiſe: and yet now in this place (to praiſe) is as much to ſay, as to refuſe and reject: Like as in our common and daily ſpeech wee uſe to ſay, καλῶς ἔχει. i. T'is wel: or when we bid χαίρειν. i. Farewel it: meaning by theſe terms, that we like not of a thing, or will none of it, nor accept thereof. And herevpon it is that ſome ſay, *Proſerpina* is called ἐπαινὴ. which is as much to ſay as a goddeſſe blamed and to be found fault with. This difference then, and diſtinction in the ſignifications of words, is principally to be obſerued in matters that be more ſerious and of greater conſequence, to wit, in the names of gods. To beginne therefore with them, let us advertiſe and teach yoong men, that Poets in uſing the names of gods, ſometimes meane thereby their very nature and eſſence: otherwhiles they attribute the homonymie of the ſame names, to the powers & vertues which the gods do give, and wherof they be the authours. And here there preſenteth himſelfe unto me the Poet *Archilochus*, when in his praier he ſaith thus;

Κλῦθι ἄναξ ἥφαιστε, &c.
O Vulcan *king be gracious unto me,*
And heare my praiers, thus kneeling on my knee
Devoutly: Grant, I ſay, this my requeſt,
As thou art wont, to whom thou loveſt beſt.

It is verie cleere and evident that he doth invocate the god *Vulcan* himſelfe, and calleth him by his proper name. But when hee bewaileth his ſiſters husband, who periſhed and was drowned in the ſea, by which accident he wanted his due ſepulture, he ſaith, that he could have borne this calamitie and misfortune the better,

If that his head and lovely limmes
in pure white clothes iclad,
As doth beſeeme a faire dead corps,
Vulcan *conſumed had.*

By which word *Vulcan*, he meaneth fire, and not the god himſelfe. Againe, when *Euripides* in his oth uſeth theſe words.

By Iove *I ſweare, and bloodie* Mars *him by,*
Who beare great ſway among the ſtars in sky.

Certaine it is, that he ſpeaketh of the verie gods *Iupiter* and *Mars*: But when *Sophocles* ſaith:

Full blind is Mars, *faire Dames (I ſay) and nothing he doth ſee,*
But like wilde bore he havocke makes, and works al miſerie.

You muſt underſtand that he ſpeaketh of war: Like as in theſe verſes of *Homer*:

Whoſe blood along Scamanders ſtreame, ſo deeply died in red,
That blacke againe it is therewith, now Trenchant Mars *hath ſhed.*

It is meant the edge of the ſword and other weapons made of braſſe and ſteele: which being ſo, and conſidering that there be many other wordes of double and divers ſignifications, we ought to learne and beare in mind, that the very names of Διὸς and Ζηνὸς, which ſignifie *Iupiter*, in one place they attribute to the god himſelfe, in another to Fortune, and oftentimes to Deſtiny and Fatall neceſſitie. For when they ſay

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἴδηθεν μεδέων.
O Iupiter *who from Ida hill*
Do'ſt reigne as King and worke thy will.
Alſo:
Ω Ζεῦ τίς εἶναι φησὶ σοῦ σοφώτερος.
O Iupiter *who dare avow*
That he can wiſer be than thow?

Plaine it is that they meane nothing elſe but the god *Iupiter* himſelfe. But when they give the Denomination, Διὸς, to the cauſes whereupon all things depend, and do ſay in this wiſe:

And many a ſtout and valiant knight who fought in pitched field,
Before due time there loſt their lives and vitall breath did yeeld.
Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.
i. *This was the wit of mightie* Iove
Who wrought all this from heaven above.

Surely we muſt underſtand by *Iove* Fatall deſtinie: For we muſt not imagine that the Poët thinketh God to deviſe and practiſe any evill againſt men: but he giveth us to underſtand by the way as touching the Fatall neceſſitie of all humaine affaires, that Cities, Armies, and Generall Captaines are predeſtined to fortunate ſucceſſe and victorie over their enemies, if they be wiſe and governe their affections well. But contrariwiſe, if they be paſſionate and fall into errors and miſdemeanors, growing to quarrels and debates one againſt another, as theſe did, of whom the Poët ſpake, it cannot be avoided but they ſhall commit many outrages, breed troubles and confuſion, and at the laſt come to an unhappie end:

For by Fatall neceſſitie,

And Deſtinie inevitable :
Bad counſels of iniquitie
Bring forth fruits thereto anſwerable.

Now whereas the Poët *Heſiodus* bringeth in *Prometheus*, perſwading his brother *Epimetheus*

To take no gifts in any wiſe
Which Iupiter *from heaven hath ſent :*
But them alwaies for to deſpiſe
And ſend them backe as diſcontent.

He uſeth the name of *Iupiter* for the puiſſance of Fortune: for by the gifts of that god, meaneth the goods of Fortune, to wit, Riches, Mariages, States and Dignities, and generally all outward bleſſings: the poſſeſſion whereof is unprofitable unto thoſe that know not how to uſe them well. Eſteeming therefore no better of *Epimetheus* than of a lewd & fooliſh fellow, he ſuppoſeth that he ought to take heed, & beware of proſperitie whereby he was like to receive hurt and loſſe : yea and to come unto a miſchiefe in the end. Semblably, when the ſame Poët ſaith:

Reproch no man while that you live
With povertie which gods do give.

He underſtandeth hereby the gift of the gods, a thing meere caſuall and comming by Fortune : implying thus much, that thoſe men are not to be blamed and accuſed, who by ſome miſfortune are become poore : but rather, that povertie proceeding by occaſion of ſloth, idlenes, eaſe, delicate wantonneſſe, waſtfull and fooliſh expences, is ſhame-woorthie and reprochable. For Poëts and others being not acquainted with the word Fortune, which as yet was not in uſe, and knowing full well, that the power of this variable and inconſtant cauſe, raunging diſorderly as it did without any certaine purpoſe and determinate ende, was mightie, and could not poſſibly be avoided by any humaine wit, reaſon and policie, they expreſſed the ſame by the names of the gods : much like as we in our daily ſpeech and ordinary language, are woont commonly to give unto divers actions and affaires, to the conditions, natures and maners of ſundry perſons, to ſpeeches and orations ; yea and (beleeve me) to men themſelves, the termes of Heavenly and Divine. Well, a very good and expedient meane this is whereby we are to reforme and correct many ſentences and verſes, which ſeeme at the firſt ſight to carrie with them any abſurditie and incongruity, as touching *Iupiter* : as namely theſe,

Two tunnes within the entrie ſtand
Of Iove *his houſe with lots both full :*
One hath ſucceſſe and winning hand,
The other loſſes ſorrow-full.

Alſo :

As judge aloft ſat Iupiter *without regard of oth*
Or covenant : and ſhewed ſignes of miſchiefe to them both.

Likewiſe :

And then began the miſchiefes all of Greekes and Trojans both,
For Iupiter *his pleaſure wrought, and with ech ſide was wroth.*

All this we muſt interpret either of Fatall deſtinie or of Fortune, potent cauſes both, which neither are comprehenſible within our underſtanding, nor yet evitable within the compaſſe of our power. But where we read of any thing attributed unto *Iupiter*, which is conformable to reaſon, hath ſemblance of truth, and is beſeeming his perſon, there we are to thinke that the ſaid name ſignifieth the god himſelfe : as for example,

Sir Hector *then advaunc'd himſelfe, and all the ranks beſide*
Of Greeks did brave, expecting who his chalenge would abide.
Onely the ſonne of Telamon, Ajax *that woorthy knight,*
He did avoid : for Iupiter *unto him had a ſpight.*

Alſo :

Such great affaires of mortall men
Are manag'd ay by Iupiter :
But ſmaller matters now and then
To pety-gods he doth refer.

Furthermore, we ought to have a diligent eie to other words, which may be turned and transferred to many things, and are taken in divers ſenſes by Poets. Of which ſort is the name of Ἀρετή. i. Vertue. For by reaſon that vertue not only cauſeth men to be wiſe, prudent, juſt, & honeſt both in word and deed: but alſo purchaſeth ordinarily unto them, honour, glorie, authoritie and reputation in the world: therfore they give the name of Vertue unto renowme, power, and might: like as the Olive fruit, they call by the name ἐλαία. i. Olive tree, and the Beech-maſt they terme alſo φηγὸς aſwell as the Beech tree. Our yong man then, as he readeth in a Poet,

The gods before vertue have ſet
Labour, travell, and painfull ſwet.

Or thus,

The Greeks by vertue then downe bare
Their ſquadron thicke and battell ſquare.

Likewiſe,

If die we muſt, moſt glorious is death,
For vertue, when we ſpend our vitall breath,

preſently ought to conceive thus much, That all is ſpoken of the beſt, moſt excellent, and diwineſt habitude in us, which we underſtand to be the verie rectitude and rule of reaſon and judgement, the heighth and perfection of our reaſonable humaine nature, yea, and the diſpoſition of the ſoule, accordant with it ſelfe. But when he readeth againe theſe other verſes there,

Vertue in men Iove *cauſeth for to grow*
And fade: by him it doth both ebbe and flow.

As alſo,

Where worldly wealth and riches are,
Vertue and fame follow not farre.

let him not by and by ſet him downe, and by occaſion of theſe words have the rich in woonderfull great admiration, as if they could anon buy vertue for money, and with their wealth have it at command: let him not thinke, I ſay, that it lieth in the power of Fortune, either to augment or to diminiſh vertue: but rather deeme thus, and make this conſtruction, that the Poet under the name Vertue, ſignifieth Worſhip, Authoritie, Power, Proſperitie, or ſome ſuch matter. For ſo the word κακότης is ſometimes taken by them in the native and proper ſignification, for a naughtie and wicked diſpoſition of the minde, as when *Heſiodus* writeth thus,

Of wickedneſſe a man may evermore
Have foiſon great and plenteous ſtore.

But otherwiſe it is uſed for ſome other evill calamitie or infortunitie, as by **Homer**,

Men quickly age and waxen olde,
ἐν κακότητι, *with hunger and cold, &c.*

And much were he deceived, who ſhould perſwade himſelfe that Poets take beatitude and bleſſedneſſe, which in Greeke is called εὐδαιμονία, ſo preciſely as Philoſophers doe; who underſtand thereby, an abſolute habitude, and entire poſſeſſion of all good things, or rather an accompliſhed perfection of this life, holding on a proſperous courſe according to nature: for many times Poets abuſe this word, calling a man bleſſed and happie, who is rich in world goods; and giving the terme of felicitie and happineſſe unto great power, fame and renowme. As for *Homer*, he uſeth verily theſe termes aright and properly in this verſe,

Although much wealth I do holde and enjoy,
Yet in my heart I take no bleſſed joy.

So doth *Menander* when he writeth thus,

Of goods I have and money great ſtore,
And all men call me rich therefore:
But yet how rich ſoever I ſeeme,
Happie and bleſt none doth me deeme.

Euripides maketh great diſorder and confuſion, when he writeth in this ſort;

I would not have that bleſſed life
Wherein I finde much paine and griefe.

Alſo in another place.

Why do'ſt thou honor tyranny,
Happie injuſtice and villany?

unleſſe a man, as I ſaid before, take theſe termes as ſpoken metaphorically or by the figure κατάχρησις. i. the abuſion of them, otherwiſe than in their proper ſenſe. And thus much may ſerve as touching this point.

Now for this that remaineth behind, yoong men would be put in remembrance and admoniſhed not once but oftentimes, that Poëſie, having for her proper ſubject an argument to be expreſſed by imitation; howſoever ſhe uſeth the ornaments & beautifull furniture of figurative ſpeeches, in ſetting out and deſcribing thoſe matters and actions which are preſented unto her, yet neverthelesſe ſhe doth not forgo the reſemblance and likelihood of truth. For that imitation indeed delighteth the Reader ſo long onely as it carieth ſome ſhew of probabilitie. And therefore that imitation which ſeemeth not altogether to ſquare and depart from the rule of veritie, doth expreſſe the ſignes of vertues and vices both at once, entermingled one with another in actions. Such is the Poeme and compoſition written by *Homer*, which reſteth not in the ſtrange opinions and paradoxes of the Stoicks, who holde, That neither any evill at all can ſort with vertue, ne yet one jot of goodneſſe with vice: but he hath bidden farewell to ſuch preciſe poſitions; namely, That a fooliſh and lewd perſon, in all his actions, when and whereſoever, doth offend and ſinne: and ſemblably, the wiſe and vertuous man, at all times and in all places, can not chuſe but do every thing well. Theſe are the principles which the Stoicks ſchooles reſound withall. Howbeit, in the affaires of this world, and in our dayly life and converſation, as *Euripdes* ſaith,

It cannot be in everie point,
That good and bad ſhould be disjoint:
But in all actions we dayly ſee,
One with another medled will be.

But the Art of Poetrie ſetting apart the truth in deede, uſeth moſt of all varietie and ſundry formes of phraſes. For, the divers imitations are they, that give to fables that vertue to moove affections & paſſions in the readers: theſe are they, that worke ſtrange events in them, even contrarie to their opinion and expectation: upon which enſueth the greateſt woonder, and aſtoniſhment, wherein lieth the chiefe grace, and from whence proceedeth the moſt delight and pleaſure, whereas, contrariwiſe, that which is ſimple and uniforme, is not patheticall nor hath in it any fiction. Heereupon it is that Poëts bring not in the ſame perſons alwaies winners, alwaies happy and doing wel: and that which more is, when they feigne that the gods themſelves meddle in mens affaires, they deſcribe them not without their paſſions, nor yet exempt from errors & faults, for feare, leſt that part of their Poeſie which ſtirreth up the affection, & holdeth in ſuſpenſe and admiration the mindes of men, ſhould become idle and dull, for want of ſome danger and adverſarie as it were to excite and quicken it: which being ſo, let us bring a yoong man to the reading of Poets works, not fore-ſtalled and poſſeſſed before with ſuch an opinion as touching thoſe great and magnificall names of ancient worthies, as if they had beene wiſe and juſt men, or vertuous Princes in the higheſt degree of perfection, and as a man would ſaie, the very Canon rule, and paterne of all vertue, uprightnes and integritie: Otherwiſe he ſhould receive great damage thereby, in caſe I ſay he were of this minde to approove and have in admiration all that they did or ſaid as ſingular; and to be offended at nothing that he heareth from them: neither would he allow of him, who blameth and findeth fault with them when they either do or ſay ſuch things as theſe.

O father Iove, *ô* Phœbus *bright, ô* Pallas *maiden pure:*
That you would all bring this about, and make us twaine ſecure,
That not one Trojane might eſcape, nor Greeke remaine alive
But we two knights: That we (I ſay) and none but we belive
May win the honor of this warre, and onely reape the joy
Of victory, to race the wals and ſtately towres of Troy.

Alſo

I heard the voice moſt piteous of Pryams *daughter bright,*
Caſſandra *faire a virgin chaſte: whom me for to deſpight,*
My wife dame Clytemneſtra *ſlew, by cruell treacherie,*
Becauſe of us ſhe jelous was for ſinne of lecherie.

Likewiſe
With concubine of Father mine ſhe counſeld me to lie,
The old mans curſe that I might have: perſwaded, ſo did I.
And in another place,
O Iupiter *whom men do father call,*
thou art a God moſt miſchievous of all.

Let not a yoong man in any wiſe be accuſtomed to praiſe ſuch ſpeeches: neither let him ſeeke any colourable pretenſes to cloke and excuſe wicked and infamous acts: he muſt not be ſtudious and cunning in ſuch inventions, to ſhew therein his ſubtilitie and promptneſſe of wit. But rather he is to thinke thus, that Poeſie is the verie imitation of maners, conditions and lives, yea and of men, ſuch as are not altogither perfect, pure and irreprehenſible, but in whom paſſions, falſe opinions and ignorance beare ſome ſway, yet ſo, as many times by the dexteritie and goodneſſe of nature they be reformed and diſpoſed to better waies. When a yoong man then is thus prepared, and his underſtanding ſo framed, that when things are well done and ſaid, his heart is mooved and affected therewith as by ſome heavenly inſtinct: and contrariwiſe not well pleaſed with lewd deeds or words, but highly offended thereat, certes, ſuch inſtruction of his judgement will be a meanes that he ſhal both heare and read any Poemes without hurt and danger. But he that admireth al, & applieth himſelfe ſo, that he embraceth every thing, he I ſay, that commeth with a judgement devoted and enthralled to thoſe magnificent and heroicke names, like unto thoſe diſciples who counterfeited to be crump ſhouldred and buncht backe like their maſter *Plato*, or woulds needs ſtut, ſtammer and maffle as *Ariſtotle* did: ſurely ſuch a one will take no great heed, but ſoone apprehend and interteine many evill things. Moreover this yoong beginner of ours ought not to be affected after a timorous and ſuperſtitious manner, as they are who being in a temple feare and dread every thing, and are readie to worſhip and adore whatſoever they ſee or heare: but boldly and confidently to pronounce and ſay as occaſion ſerveth, This is ill done, or not decently ſpoken: no leſſe than to give his acclamation and conſent to that which is well and ſeemely either ſaid or done. As for example, *Achilles* ſeeing the ſoldiors how they fell ſicke daily in the campe, and not well appaid that the war was thus drawen out in length, eſpecially to the hinderance of his owne honor, being a martiall man, of great proweſſe and renowne in the field, aſſembled a counſell of war and called the Greeks together. But, (as he was a man otherwiſe well ſeene in the skill of Phyſick) perceiving by the ninth day paſt, (which commonly is criticall, and doth determine of maladies one way or other by courſe of nature) that it was no ordinary diſeaſe, nor proceeding from uſuall cauſes, ſtood up to make a ſpeech, not framing himſelfe to pleaſe and gratifie the common people, but to give counſell unto the king himſelfe in this maner.

I thinke we muſt when all is done, ô Agamemnon *Leege,*
Returne againe without effect to Greece, and leave our ſeege.

This was well and wiſely ſaid: theſe were modeſt and temperate words becomming his perſon: But when the prophet or ſoothſaier ſaid, that he feared much the wrath and indignation of the mightieſt man and ſoveraigne commander of al the Greeks, he anſwered then never a wiſe or ſober word; for having ſworne a great oth, that no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to lay hand on the ſaid prophet ſo long as he remained alive, he added moreover and ſaid full unſeemely,

No, if thou ſhould'ſt both meane and name
King Agamemnon, *I vow the ſame.*

Shewing plainly by theſe words, what little account he made of his prince, and how he contemned ſovereigne authoritie: nay he overpaſſed himſelfe more yet, and proceeded farther in heat of choler, to lay hand upon his ſword, yea and to draw it foorth with a full purpoſe to kill the king: which was done of him neither well for his owne honour, nor wiſely for the good of the State. But repenting himſelfe immediately

Into the skabbard then anon, he puts his doughty ſword:
Minerva *gave him that adviſe, and he obeid her word.*

Herein againe he did well and honeſtly: for having not the power to extinguiſh and quench his choler quite, yet he delaied it well and repreſſed it, yea and brought it under the obeyſance of reaſon, before it brake out into any exceſſive outrage, which had beene remedileſſe. Semblably *Agamemnon* himſelfe, for that which he did and ſaid in the aſſembly of Counſell, he was woorthy to be ſkorned and laughed at. But in the matter concerning the Damoſell *Chryſeis*, he ſhewed more gravitie and princely Majeſtie, than in like caſe *Achilles* did: for he, when the faire *Briſeis* was taken from him and led away:

Sat weeping in great agonie
Retir'd apart from companie.

But *Agamemnon* himſelfe in perſon conducting her as farre as to the ſhip, delivering up and ſending away to her owne father, the woman whom a little before he ſaid that he loved more deerely than his owne eſpouſed wife, did nothing unfitting himſelfe or like a paſſionate lover. Againe, *Phœnix* being curſed by his father and betaken to all the helliſh fiends for lying with his concubine, breaketh out into theſe words,

I minded once with ſword of mine my fathers blood to ſhead:
But that ſome god my rage repreſt, and put this in my head:
How men would cry much ſhame on me, and namely Græcians all
With one voice me a parricide or Father killer call.

Which verſes in *Homer*, *Ariſtarchus* was afraid to let ſtand, and therefore daſhed them out. But verily, they ſerve in that place fitly for the purpoſe, namely, when *Phœnix* inſtructeth *Achilles*, what a violent paſſion anger is, and how there is no outrage but men will dare and do in the heat of choler, when they will not be guided with reaſon, or directed by the counſell of thoſe that would appeaſe them. For he bringeth in *Meleager* alſo, who was angrie with his citizens, howbeit afterwards pacified: In which example, as he wiſely blameth and reprooveth ſuch paſſions: ſo he praiſeth and commendeth as a good and expedient thing, not to be led and carried away therewith, but to reſiſt and conquer them, and to take up betime and repent. True it is, that hitherto in theſe places alreadie cited, there is a manifeſt difference to be obſerved: but where there is ſome obſcurity as touching the true ſenſe and meaning of a ſentence, we muſt teach a yoong man to ſtay himſelfe there and pauſe upon the point, that he may be able to diſtinguiſh in this manner: If *Nauſicaa* upon the firſt ſight of *Vliſſes*, a meere ſtranger, falling into the ſame paſſion of love with him, as *Calypſo* did, and ſeeking nothing but wanton pleaſure, as one living daintily, and being now ripe and readie for marriage, utter fooliſhly theſe and ſuch like words, and that before her waiting maids:

O that it were my hap, ſo brave
a Knight to wed who hath my hart:
O that he would with me vouchſafe
for to remaine and not depart.

Her boldneſſe and incontinencie is to be reprooved: but if by his ſpeech and talke, ſhe perceived that he was a man of wit and wiſe behaviour, and thereupon wiſhed in her heart to be his wedded wife, and to dwell with him rather than with one of her owne countrie, who could skill of nothing elſe but to daunce or be a mariner, I cannot blame her, but thinke her praiſe woorthy. In like caſe, if when *Penelope* deviſeth and talketh courteouſly with her woers, who ſued unto her for marriage, and thereupon they court her againe and beſtow upon her gay clothes, rich jewels and other goodly ornaments fit for a Lady, *Vliſſes* her husband rejoice

That ſhe was well content to take
Their gifts, and did to them love make,
As though ſhe would be kinde againe,
And yet her ſhewes were all but vaine.

If I ſay he joyed, in that his wife received their courteſies and tokens, and ſo made a gaine of them, ſurely he ſurpaſſeth *Poliager* the notorious bawd, playing his part in the Comedies, of whom there goeth this by-word:

Bawde Poliager *happie man hee,*
That keepes at home in houſe a ſkee:
A heavenly goate whoſe influence,
Brings in riches with affluence.

But if he did it to have them by that meanes under his hand, whiles they upon hope of obtayning their ſuit, little thought of him how he watched them a ſhrewd turne: then his joy and confident aſſurance was grounded well & upon good reaſon. Semblably in the counting that he made of thoſe goods which the Phæacians had landed when they ſet him on ſhore; and having ſo done, ſpred ſaile and departed backe againe: if being thus left ſolitarie alone and finding him ſelfe forlorne, he doubted of his eſtate and what ſhould become of him, and yet his mind was ſo ſet upon his goods that he feared,

Leaſt part thereof they tooke away,
Whiles that on ſhore aſleepe he lay,

His avarice were lamentable, nay it were abominable, I aſſure you: But if as ſome do thinke and ſay, being not ſure whether he were in the Iſle Ithaca or no, he ſuppoſed that the ſafety of his gods and money, was a certaine proofe and demonſtration of the Phæacians loyaltie and fidelitie (for never would they have tranſported him into a ſtrange land but for lucre, nor when they left him and departed would have forborne his goods) he uſed herein no fooliſh argument, and his providence in ſo doing is commendable. Some there be who finde fault with this verie landing of him upon the ſhore, in caſe the Phæacians did it whiles he was aſleepe in deed: and they ſay that it appeereth by a certaine Chronicle or Hiſtorie among the Tuſkanes which they keepe by them, that *Vliſſes* was given by nature to be verie drowſie; which was the cauſe, that to many he was not affable, and men oftentimes might hardly ſpeake with him. Now if this was no ſleepe in very truth, but that being both aſhamed to ſend away the Phæacians who had conducted him over ſea, without feaſting them & giving them preſents and rewards for their kindneſſe: and alſo in feare leaſt if they were ſeene there ſtill upon the coaſt, whiles he entertained them ſo kindly, himſelfe might be diſcovered by his enimies, he uſed this pretenſe of feigned ſleepe to cover and hide the perplexitie wherein he was, or to ſhift off this difficultie wherein he ſtood in this caſe, they allow and commend him for it. In giving therefore to yoong men ſuch advertiſements as theſe, we ſhall never ſuffer them to runne on ſtill to the corruption of their manners, but rather imprint in them preſently a fervent zeale and hartie deſire to chuſe better things, namely, if we proceed directly to praiſe this and to diſpraiſe that. And this would be done eſpecially in Tragedies, thoſe I meane, wherein fine words and affected ſpeeches be oftentimes framed to cloke diſhoneſt and villanous deeds. For that which *Sophocles* ſaith in one place, is not alwaies true:

If that it be a naughtie deed,
Of it good words cannot proceed.

For even himſelfe is woont many times to palliat wicked conditions, yea, and naughtie acts with pleaſant ſpeeches and familiar apparant reaſons, which carie a probabilitie of ſufficient excuſe. And even ſo plaieth *Euripides* his companion, who ſhewed himſelfe upon the ſame ſtage: for ſee you not, how he bringeth in *Phædra* to begin with her husband *Theſeus*, Firſt, laying all the blame on him; as if forſooth the wrongs and abuſes that he offered unto her, were the cauſe that ſhe was enamoured upon *Hippolytus*? The like audacious and bold ſpeech he putteth in *Helenas* mouth againſt queene *Hecuba*, in that Tragedie which is entituled *Troades*, objecting unto her, and ſaying, That ſhe was rather to be puniſhed, for bearing ſuch a ſonne as *Alexander Paris*, who committed the adulterie with her. A yoong man then, ought not to accuſtome himſelfe to thinke any ſuch inventions as theſe to be pretie, gallant and wittie, ne yet laugh at ſuch ſubtile and fine devices; but to abhorre and deteſt as much, or rather more, wanton and filthie words, than looſe and diſhoneſt deeds.

Moreover, it would be expedient, in all ſpeeches to ſearch the cauſe whereupon they do proceed; after the example of *Cato* when he was a litle boy: For, do he would whatſoever his Maſter or Tutour bad; but ever and anon hee would be inquiſitive and queſtioning with him the reaſon of his commandements. And yet we are not to beleeve and obey Poets, as we ought either Schoole-maſters or Law-givers, unleſſe the matter by them propoſed have reaſon for the ground: and grounded then it ſhalbe thought upon reaſon, if it be good and honeſt: for if it be wicked, it ought to ſeeme fooliſh and vaine. But many of theſe men there be, who are verie ſharpe and curious in ſearching and demanding what *Heſiodus* ſhould meane in this verſe,

Whiles men are drinking, doe not ſet
The flagon over the wine goblet.

as alſo what ſenſe may be made of theſe verſes in *Homer*:

Another chariot who mounted is,
when from his owne he is alight,
Muſt not his ſpeare and iavelin mis,

But truſt thereto, and therewith fight.

but other ſentences, iwis, of greater importance and danger, they admit ſoone, and giue credit thereto, without further enquiry & examination: as for example, at theſe verſes they ſticke not,

The privitie to fathers vice
Or mothers fault reprochable,
Will him debaſe, who otherwiſe,
Is hardie, ſtout, and commendable.

no more than they doe at this,

Vpon a man, if fortune frowne,
His heart therewith muſt be caſt downe.

And yet ſuch ſayings as theſe, come nere unto us, and touch the quicke, troubling our maner and behaviour in this life, imprinting in us perverſe judgements, baſe and unmanly opinions, unleſſe we acquaint our ſelves to contradict ech of them in every point, after this maner. And wherefore ought he to beare an abject minde, who is croſſed with adverſe fortune? why rather ſhould not he make head againe, and wreſtle with her, bearing himſelfe ſo much the more aloft, and never endure to be troden downe and depreſſed by her? what reaſon is there, that my heart ſhould be done, for that my father was vicious and fooliſh, in caſe I be a wiſe and honeſt man my ſelfe? Is there greater cauſe that the ignorance and imperfection of my father ſhould keepe me downe and diſcourage me, that I dare not looke up; than mine owne knowledge and valour make me take heart and put my ſelfe forth? He that will thus encounter, withſtand, and not give way to every ſpeech, turning ſide, as it were, to every puffe of wind, but rather eſteeme that ſentence of *Heraclitus* to be well and truely ſpoken,

A fooliſh and witleſſe man is he,
With every word who ſtricken will be.

Such a one, I ſay, ſhalbe able to put by and repell many ſayings of Poets, that are neither true nor profitable. And thus much as touching thoſe obſervations which may ſerve a yoong mans turne, that he may reade and heare Poets ſafe without any danger.

But foraſmuch as it falleth out, that as in Vines many times, the grapes lie hidden among the leaves and branches, and cannot be ſeene by reaſon that they are covered and ſhadowed therewith: ſo alſo in poeticall verſes, under fables and fictions there be covertly couched many profitable and holſome leſſons, which a yong man cannot eſpie by himſelfe, and therefore he miſſeth that commoditie and fruit which is to be reaped out thereof. Howbeit, we muſt not ſuffer this, nor let him turne away, and give over: he ought not (I ſay) to wander aſide, but ſticke cloſe and faſt to thoſe matters eſpecially, which leade unto vertue, and make any thing for the framing or reforming of maners. In which regard, I ſhall not do amiſſe, if I treat alſo of this matter briefly; making, as it were, a firſt draught onely, and touching ſummarily the principall points; leaving long diſcourſes, by way of narration, confirmation, and a multitude of examples, to thoſe that write of purpoſe for more ſhew and oſtentation. Firſt and formoſt therefore, when a yoong man knoweth throughly the perſons of men and women, their natures alſo and maners both good and bad, let him then regard and conſider well the ſayings and doings which the Poet doth attribute aptly unto either of them. As for example, *Achilles* ſaith unto *Agamemnon* theſe words, although he ſpeaketh them in choler,

For never ſhall I honour have,
Nor equall recompenſe to yow,
When populous Troy, *that city brave,*
The Greeks ſhall force, as they do vow.

But *Therſites* reviling the ſelfe ſame *Agamemnon*, uſeth theſe termes;

Much braſen veſſell thou haſt now in many a goodly tent,
Of captive women eke like choiſe, in beauty excellent,
In thy pavilion: whom we Greeks, as to our Soveraigne,
Do give, ſo ſoone as any towne by martiall force we gaine.

Againe *Achilles* in another place hath this humble ſpeech,

If Iupiter *will be ſo good, as to fulfill our joy,*
And grant that we one day may win the ſtately city Troy.

But *Therſites* commeth out with this proud word,

Whom either I, or in my ſtead,
Some Greeke ſhall bound as captive lead.

Semblably in another place, when in the review of the armie, *Agamemnon* paſſing along the bands, rebuked and taunted *Diomedes,* he anſwered not againe, nor gave him one croſſe word:

For why he feared in modeſtie
The checks of his dread Majeſtie.

But *Sthenelus,* of whom no man made any reckoning, was ſo bolde as to reply and ſay,

Sir Agamemnon Atreus *ſonne, forbeare thus for to lie,*
You can, if that you liſt, with me report a trueth: for why?
Pronounce I dare, and it avow, we better warriours be
In theſe dayes than our fathers were, by many a degree.

The difference which is in theſe perſonages, if it be well marked, will teach a yoong man thus much: That to be modeſt, temperate, void of pride, and humble, is a moſt civill and excellent vertue: and contrariwiſe it will advertiſe him to take heed of pride and overweening; to beware alſo of boaſting and vaunting much of himſelfe, as a deteſtable vice. And heere in this place, expedient it is and profitable to obſerve the action of *Agamemnon:* He paſſed by *Sthenelus,* and would not ſtay to ſpeake unto him: As for *Vlyſſes,* who found himſelfe grieved, him he neglected not, but ſhaped him an anſwere: For as *Homer* writeth,

No ſooner he perceived him offended for to be,
But preſently he ſpake againe, and thus replied he.

For, as it is a baſe and ſervile thing, and not beſeeming the majeſtie of a Prince to anſwere everie one, and by way of Apologie to juſtifie a thing done or ſaid; ſo to deſpiſe and diſdaine all men, is meere pride and extreame follie. As for *Diomedes,* he did paſſing well to hold his peace during the time of the battell, when he was rebuked and reviled by the king, but after the fight was ended, he ſpake his minde freely and boldly in this wiſe;

You are the firſt of all the Greeks, who in reprochfull wiſe
Have charged me for my falſe heart, and feareful cowardiſe.

Good alſo it is, to ſee the difference betweene a wiſe man in deed and a vaine ſoothſayer, who loved to be ſeene, and to heare himſelfe ſpeake among the multitude. For *Calchas* without all reſpect of chuſing his time and a fit opportunitie, baſhed not in publike place, and before all the people, to challenge king *Agamemnon,* imputing directly unto him, and to no other, the cauſe of the peſtilence which reigned in the campe. But *Neſtor,* contrariwiſe, intending to make a motion as touching the reconciliation and pacifying of *Achilles,* and to ſpeake directlie unto that point, becauſe hee would not ſeeme to blame and accuſe the king in the audience of the people; namely, that he had paſſed himſelfe in choler, and done amiſſe, adviſeth him in this maner, ſaying:

To ſupper bid the ancient peeres: this doth your perſon fit:
And when they are together met, in order as they ſit,
Let them opine, Heare their adviſe, and looke who ſpeaketh beſt,
His counſell take I reede, and then therein ſee that you reſt.

And after ſupper, he ſent forth the Embaſſadours accordingly. This was the onely way to correct a fault, and amend that was amiſſe: whereas the other had bene a very injurious accuſation, and a contumelious reproofe to his no ſmall diſgrace. Furthermore, there would be noted and conſidered the diverſitie that is in ſundry nations, and that after this maner: The Trojans give the charge in battell to their enemies with great ſhouts, out-cries, and exceeding violence: whereas the Greeks

The onſet give with all ſilence,
To leaders having reverence.

For ſoldiours to dread and feare their captaines and commaunders, at what time as they be readie to joyne battaile with the enimie, is a ſigne both of valour and alſo of obedience and militarie Diſcipline. Which is the reaſon that *Plato* would inure us to be afraid of rebukes, reproofes and filthy acts, more than of any travels and dangers. *Cato* likewiſe was woont to ſay, That he loved thoſe better who bluſhed and looked red, than the pale faced. As for promiſes, there is a proper worke alſo in them, whereby a man may diſcerne whether they be wiſe or fooliſh. For *Dolon* promiſeth in this maner

The campe of Greeks I enter will and paſſe on ſtill outright
Vntill to Agamemnons *ſhip, I come there for to fight.*

Contrariwiſe *Diomedes* promiſeth nothing of himſelfe, onely this he ſaith: That he ſhould feare the leſſe, if he were ſent with ſome other to beare him companie. Whereby you may ſee that Prudence, Diſcretion and Forecaſt be civile vertues beſeeming the Greeks; but audacious raſhnes is naught, and fit for Barbarians. The one therefore we muſt embrace and imitate, the other reject and caſt behinde us. Moreover it were a ſpeculation not unprofitable to marke the affections that befell unto the Trojans and to *Hector* at what time as he was ready to enter into combat and ſingle fight with *Ajax*. *Aeſchylus* being upon a time in place to behold the combats at the *Iſthmian* games, it fell out ſo that one of the champions was hurt and wounded in the very face, whereupon the people that looked on, ſet up a great crie and ſhouted aloud: See, quoth he, what uſe and exerciſe is! the Beholders crie out, but the man himſelfe that is hurt, ſaith never a word. In like maner, when *Homer* the Poet ſaith, that *Ajax* was no ſooner ſeene in his bright compleat harniſh, and armed at all pieces, but the Greekes rejoiced: whereas

The Trojans all for feare did quake, and tremble every joint
Hector *himſelfe did feele his heart to beate even at this point.*

who would not woonder to ſee this difference? The partie himſelfe who was in danger, felt his hart onely to leape, as if he had beene (I aſſure you) to wreſtle for the beſt game, or to run a race for the prize: but they that ſaw him, trembled and ſhaked all their bodie over, for feare of the perill wherein their prince was, and for kind affection that they bare unto him. It is woorth the noting alſo what ods and difference there is betweene the moſt reſolute or valiant Captaine, and the greateſt coward: For it is ſaid of *Therſites* that

Achilles *of all that were in the Hoſt*
And alſo Vlyſſes *he hated moſt.*

whereas *Ajax* as he alwaies loved *Achilles*, ſo he giveth an honorable teſtimonie thereof, when he ſpeaketh unto *Hector* in this wiſe,

In ſingle fight with me alone what woorthy knight we haue
In Grecian hoſt, thou maiſt not ſee beſides Achilles *brave:*
Achilles *he, the Paragon of Proweſſe whom we count*
Whoſe Lions hart undaunted yet all others doth ſurmount.

This is a ſingular commendation of *Achilles* particularly: but that which followeth afterwards, is aptly ſpoken to the praiſe of all in generall:

Wot well that many of us there be
in Campe that dare and can
Make head, and maintaine fight with thee
in combat man to man.

Marke, how he praiſeth not himſelfe, to be the man alone or the moſt valourous of all other, but is content to be raunged with many more as ſufficient men to make their part good againſt him. Thus much may ſerve as touching the diverſitie of perſons, unleſſe we will adde this moreover, That of Trojans we read there were many taken priſoners alive by their enimies, but of the Greeks not one: as alſo that divers of them became humble ſuppliants to their enimies and fell downe at their feete; namely *Adraſtus*, the ſonnes of *Antimachus* and *Lycaon*: yea and *Hector* himſelfe beſought *Achilles* to vouchſafe him buriall: whereas, there was not one of them that did the like: As if thus much were implied thereby, that it is the maner of Barbarians in fight, to make ſupplication, to ſubmit, to kneele and lie proſtrate before the enimie: but of Grecians, either to win the victorie by maine fight, or to die for it.

Moreover, like as in paſturage and feeding, the Bee ſetleth upon flowres: the goate ſearcheth after greene leaves and brouſeth yoong buds: the Swine ſearcheth for roots, and other beaſts for the ſeed & fruit; Even ſo in reading Poems, one gathereth the flowre of the Hiſtory: another cleaveth to the elegancie of phraſe and furniture of words, as *Ariſtophanes* was wont to ſay of *Euripides*,

His toong ſo round doth pleaſe my mind,
In ſtile ſo ſmooth, content I finde.

Others there be who affect morall ſentences aptly fitted to the reformation of maners. Thoſe therefore with whom now we have to deale, and to whom we direct our ſpeech, we are to admoniſh, that it were a ſhame and unwoorthy thing, if either he who ſetteth his minde upon fables ſhould marke well the witty narrations, and ſingular fine inventions therein: or he that delighteth in eloquence ſhould note diligently the pure and elegant phraſe, the artificiall rhetorick alſo, as he readeth: whiles he, that would ſeeme to affect honor, to ſtudie honeſtie, and to take Poets in hand not for delight, pleaſure and paſtime, but for the inſight of learning, and for the treaſure of knowledge, readeth and heareth careleſſely and without fruits, thoſe ſentences which are penned and delivered by them to the recommendation of fortitude, temperance and juſtice: For as concerning valor and vertue you ſhall finde theſe verſes,

What is befall'n ſir Diomede,
that we forget to fight?
How is it that our harts be done?
where is our Martiall might?
Come neere, ſtand cloſe unto my ſide,
great ſhame it were for us,
If Hector *now ſhould boord our ſhips*
and force our navie thus.

For to ſee a moſt wiſe and prudent capitaine who was in daunger to periſh, and to be overthrowen together with the whole armie, not to be affraid of death, but to feare reproch and ſhamefull diſgrace, the ſame no doubt will cauſe a yoong man to be woonderfully affectionate to vertue and proweſſe.

For wiſedome and juſtice theſe verſes ſerve:

Minerva *then tooke great delight*
To ſee the man wiſe and upright.

Such a ſentence as this, will give occaſion to a yoong ſcholler thus to reaſon and diſcourſe: The Poët here hath deviſed, that the goddeſſe joyed not in a rich man, in one that was faire, well favoured and perſonable, or mighty in bodily ſtrength: but in him that was prudent and juſt withall. And in another place where the ſame goddeſſe ſaith, that ſhe will not neglect nor forſake *Vliſſes* and leave him deſtitute:

For toong he hath and wit at will:
He is both wiſe and full of skill:

The Poët ſheweth plainly; That there is nothing in us but vertue onely, that is divine and beloved of the gods: if this be true that Like will to like, and Naturally everie thing delighteth in the Semblable. Now foraſmuch as it ſeemeth to be a great matter and rare perfections, as in truth it is no leſſe, to be able to maſter and bridle anger: certes a greater vertue it is and a gift more ſingular to prevent and wiſely to forecaſt, that we fall not into choler, nor ſuffer our ſelves to be ſurpriſed therewith: And therefore the readers of Poëts ought to be advertiſed in theſe points, not coldly but in good earneſt: as namely, how *Achilles*, a man by nature nothing meeke, milde and patient, giveth warning unto *Priamus* to be quiet, and not to provoke him, in theſe wordes:

Take heed old father I thee reed,
how thou my choler moove:
I minded am thy ſonne to yeeld:
For why? from Iove *above*
A meſſenger hath warn'd me ſo:
Beware Gray-beard, I ſay,
Leaſt that my tent will not thee ſave,
but foorthwith I thee ſlay:
Although in humble wiſe thou come,
with ſuppliants habit dight,
And ſo I do tranſgreſſe Ioves *will*
and breake the lawes of right.

Who alſo after he had waſhed the corps of *Hector*, and wound it within Funerall clothes, beſtowed the ſame with his owne hands in the chariot, before that *Priamus* his father ſhould ſee it, ſo miſuſed as it was,

For feare leaſt when he ſaw

hi

his ſonne, ſo mangled and beraid
In griefe of heart, oi a father he,
ſhould not himſelfe be ſtaid
But with hot words Achilles *moove*
in him to ſheath his ſword
Without regard of Iupiter, *his heſts,*
his will and word.

For when a man is apt and prone to anger, as being of nature hot, rough and cholericke, to know himſelfe ſo given, and therewith to prevent, decline and avoid all occaſions of yre, and by the guidance of reaſon to hold of, in ſuch ſort, that even as it were againſt his will he ſhall not fall into any paſſionate fits, is a point of great wiſedome and ſingular providence. After the ſame manner ought he that is given to wine, to be armed againſt drunkenneſſe: he alſo that is by nature amorous, ſhould thus withſtand wanton love: Like as *Ageſilaus*, who would not abide to be kiſſed of a beautifull yoong boy comming toward him: and *Cyrus*, who durſt not ſo much as ſet his eie upon faire *Panthea*. Whereas contrariwiſe, thoſe that be ill nourtured and badly brought up, ſeeke all meanes and occaſions to kindle and enflame their fooliſh affections, miniſtring matter thereto, as fewell unto fire: caſting themſelves headlong and that wilfully into thoſe vices, whereunto they are moſt prone and ready to fall by nature. But *Vlyſſes* not onely brideled and repreſſed his owne choler when he was chafed, but alſo perceiving by ſome words of *Telemachus* his ſonne, that he was angrie and hatefully bent againſt lewd perſons, he laboured to appeaſe and mittigate his moode: he dealt with him before hand, willing and commanding him to be quiet, to forbeare and have patience.

My ſonne, if that by word or deed
In mine owne houſe they me abuſe,
Bite in thine anger, I thee reed,
See thou indure, and patience uſe:
Nay if they draw me by the foot,
And out of doores me drag anone,
Or their ſharpe arrowes at me ſhoot,
See all, ſay nought, what ever is done.

For like as men uſe not to bridle their horſes when they be running in a race, but before they begin their courſe; even ſo they that hardly can digeſt indignities, and upon occaſion offered are quickly angrie, ought firſt to be præoccupate with reaſon: and being thus prepared beforehand, to bring them to the combat.

Over and beſides, a yoong man muſt not negligently paſſe over the bare words as hee readeth. And yet I ſpeake not this, as though I would have him play upon them, as *Cleanthes* did, who making ſemblance to interpret and expound words, would otherwhiles cavill and make ſport. For where as we reade in *Homer*,

Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἴδηθεν μεδέων. & Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε.

He would have us to reade theſe two laſt words in one, by way of ὑφὲν, thus, Ζεῦ ἀναδωδωναῖε, as if forſooth, the aire which by exhalation is elevated, and doth riſe from the earth, ſhould therefore be called ἀναδωδωναῖος. *Chryſippus* likewiſe many times comes in with his bald reaſons, without all grace: and this he doeth not in jeſt and meriment, but he would ſeeme to deviſe reaſons ſubtilly; and ſo forceth divers words impertinently: as namely, when he wreſteth theſe words, Εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην, to this ſenſe, as if δρύοπα ſhould ſignifie one that was eager and quicke in diſputation or argument, ſurpaſſing others in force of eloquence. It were better for us to leave theſe nice ſubtilties of words and ſyllables unto Grammarians for to be ſcanned, and to conſider more neerely other obſervations, which, as they yeeld greater profit, ſo they cary with them more probabilitie and likelihood of trueth: and namely to picke ſome good out of theſe verſes;

Moſt croſſe unto my minde it is,
For taught I am proëſſeiwis.

Alſo,

Full well he knew, to every wight
To ſhew himſelfe a curteous knight.

For hereby he declareth evidently, that valour and fortitude is gotten by teaching; as alſo, he is of opinion, That to be milde, affable and kinde to every man, is a gracious vertue, proceeding from ſcience and reaſon: whereupon he exhorteth us, not to be careleſſe of our ſelves, but to learne good and honeſt things, by giving eare unto our teachers: for that cowardiſe, follie, and perverſe incivilitie, be the defects of learning, and are meere ignorance indeed. Hereto accordeth very well, that which the ſame Poet *Homer* ſaith of *Iupiter* and *Neptune*:

Beholde one father both they had,
and countrey one them bread:
But Iupiter *was former borne,*
and had the wiſer head.

He declareth hereby that wiſedome is a moſt divine and princely qualitie; wherein he placeth the ſovereigne and higheſt excellencie of *Iupiter*, as eſteeming all other good parts to accompanie that ſovereigne and heavenly vertue. We are likewiſe to acquaint a yoong man to heare, and that with no heavie and dull eare, but attentively and with a vigilant minde, theſe other verſes;

Right wiſe he is, and wot you well,
A lie for no good will he tell.
Alſo,
Antilochus, *reputed aye for wiſe, you are to blame*
My ſteeds to hurt, mine honour eke thus for to ſtaine with ſhame.
Likewiſe,
You, a woorthy knight, to ſpeake ſo fooliſhly!
I would have ſaid you had, in wit, paſt all men verily.

Theſe ſentences import thus much; That wiſe men will never ſpeake untrueths: neither will they in battell behave themſelves as cowards, and uſe deceit in fight, ne yet charge unjuſt imputations upon others without reaſon. Alſo when the Poet ſaith, that he through his folly ſuffered himſelfe to be induced & perſwaded to breake the truce and league, he ſheweth plainly, That he thinketh a wiſe man will in no wiſe commit unrighteouſneſſe. The like may of a yoong man be taught, as touching continencie and chaſtitie, eſpecially, if he conſider well theſe verſes.

K. Prœtus *wife, Dame* Antea, *him lov'd and woed ſoone*
For to embrace her ſecretly, and lie with her anone:
But never would he yeeld thereto. Belleryphon *was wiſe,*
And in his heart he never let ſuch thoughts for to ariſe.
As alſo theſe,
Dame Clytemneſtro *firſt was chaſte, and wanton tricks rejected*
All while ſhe was by reaſon led, and wiſdomes lore directed.

In theſe places we ſee, that the Poet attributeth the cauſe of continency and pudicitie unto wiſedome. Furtherward in thoſe exhortations whereby capitaines uſe to encourage their ſouldiers to fight, when the Poet eftſoones inferreth theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches,

Fy, fy for ſhame ô Lycians,
you are now light of foote,
To runne away thus as you do,
iwis it will not boote.
Alſo:
A conflict ſharpe is toward, Sirs,
wherefore let every one
Set ſhame and juſt revenge in ſight,
elſe all, I doubt, is gone.

By which words the Poet ſeemeth to aſcribe fortitude vnto ſhamefaſtneſſe and modeſtie: For that, thoſe who are baſhfull and aſhamed to commit filthineſſe, are able likewiſe not onely to overcome voluptuous pleaſures; but alſo to undergoe all daungerous adventures. By occaſion whereof *Timotheus* alſo in his Poeme entituled *Perſæ* was mooved not unaptly to encourage the Greekes to fight, ſaying thus:

Have honeſt ſhame in reverence
and honour her, I you adviſe.
She helpeth Proweſſe, and from hence

the victorie doth oft ariſe.

Æſchylus alſo reputeth it a point of wiſedome, not to be vaine-glorious nor deſirous to be ſeene of the multitude, ne yet to be lifted up with the puffes of popular praiſe, when he deſcribeth *Amphiaraus* in this wiſe:

He ſeeketh not to ſeeme the very beſt,
But for to be the beſt in word and deed:
He ſowed hath within his woorthy breſt,
In furrow deepe, all good and vertuous ſeed,
Which yeeld both leafe & fruit in ſeaſon due;
I meane ſage counſel join'd with honor true.

For the part it is of a wiſe man and of good conceit, to ſtand upon his owne botome, that is to ſay, to reſt in himſelfe, and to thinke highly of his owne reſolutions and courſes as the verie beſt. Thus you ſee how all good things being reduced unto prudence, there is no kinde of vertue but it commeth to a man afterwards, and is acquired by learning and diſcipline.

Moreover, like as Bees have this propertie by nature to finde and ſucke the mildeſt and beſt honie, out of the ſharpeſt and moſt eager flowers; yea and from among the rougheſt and moſt prickly thornes: even ſo children and yoong men if they be well nourtured and orderly inured in the reading of Poemes, will learne after a ſort to draw alwaies ſome holeſome and profitable doctrine or other, even out of thoſe places which moove ſuſpition of lewd and abſurd ſenſe. At the firſt ſight, *Agamemnon* may ſeeme ſuſpected of avarice and briberie, in that he exempted from warfare, that rich * man in regard of the faire mare *Aetha* he gave unto him as a gift and gratuitie:

* *Echepolus*

That unto Troy *that ſtately towne,*
  he might not with him go
To ſerve in armes: but ſtay at home,
  and reſt there far from wo:
Where he might live in ſolace much,
  enjoying all his owne:
For Iupiter *in meaſure great*
  had wealth on him beſtowen.

Howbeit, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, he did very well in preferring a good mare before a man no better than he was: For I aſſure you a coward & hartleſſe man, flowing in abundance of riches, wallowing in pleaſures and delight, and thereby made effeminate, is not in priſe comparable either to a dog or an aſſe. Semblaby, it may ſeeme that *Thetis* did exceeding badly to incite her ſonne to pleaſures, and to put him in minde of the fleſhly delights of *Venus*: But even there, the continencie of *Achilles* is woorthie to be conſidered: who notwithſtanding that he had beene enamoured of *Briſeis*, and ſaw that ſhe was returned againe unto him, yea and knew that he had not long to live, but that his end was neere; yet neither made he haſte to enjoy his pleaſures while he might, nor as many men uſe to do, bewailed the death of his friend, ſitting idlely the while, doing nothing at all and neglecting the duties of his calling: but as in ſorrow and griefe of heart he forbare his delights and pleaſures, ſo in action and conduct of his regiment, he ſhewed himſelfe a martiall and valorous man. In like manner *Archilochus* is not commended for this, that being to mourne and lament for the loſſe of his brother in law who married his ſiſter, and was periſhed in the ſea, he would ſeeme to conquer his ſorow with drinking wine & making good cheere: yet nevertheleſſe he alleageth a cauſe of his doing ſo, which carrieth ſome apparence of reaſon in theſe words:

For neither can my plaints and teares reſtore his life and heale:
Ne yet my mirth and pleaſant ſports will harme him ever a deale.

And if he were of this minde, and had reaſon to thinke, that in following his delights, meriments, paſtimes and bankets, he could not empaire the ſtate of his brother departed; how ſhould our preſent condition be the worſe and our affaires go backward, by the ſtudie and practiſe of Philoſophie, by managing the government of publike weale, by frequenting the cõmon hall and courts of pleas, by going downe to the Academie and ſchooles of learning, or by following Agriculture and husbandrie?

And therefore the corrections of ſome poeticall verſes by changing certaine words which practiſe *Cleanthes* and *Antiſthenes* were woont to uſe are not amiſſe. For one of them upon a time when the *Athenians* in full-Theatre tooke offenſe and made a great ſtirre at this verſe:

Τὶ δ᾽ αἰσχρὸν εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῇ,
What filthy thing can be that breedeth ſhame?
Vnleſſe they thinke it ſo, that uſe the ſame?

quieted all the trouble preſently by changing it and pronouncing another in this wiſe,

αἰσχρὸν τό γ᾽ αἰσχρὸν, κἂν δοκῇ κἂν μὴ δοκῇ.
A filthie thing, is foule and filthie ſtill:
Thinke it, or thinke it not, That doth not skill.

As for *Cleanthes* when he read theſe verſes as touching riches:

φίλοις τε δοῦναι σῶμάτ᾽ εἰς νόσους πεσὸν
δαπάναισι σῶσαι
Among good frends for to beſtow, and ſpend upon your ſelfe
Your ſickly body to preſerve; thus uſe your worldly pelfe.

He altered them in this manner, and wrote thus:

πόρναις τε δοῦναι, σῶματ᾽ εἰς νόσους πεσὸν
δαπάναις ἐπιτρῖψαι
That you may it to harlots give, and pampring much your ſelfe:
A craſie body overthrow, abuſing worldly pelfe.

Semblaby *Zeno* reading theſe verſes of *Sophocles*,

ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.
Who once in court of Tyrant ſerve, become
His ſlaves anone, though free they thither come.

turned the ſame and wrote this againe,

οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος, ἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ
His ſlave ywis he cannot bee,
If he at firſt came thither free.

But you muſt not underſtand that he meaneth here by a free man, one, that is timorous, but fearleſſe, magnanimous, & whoſe heart is not eaſie to be danted. What ſhould hinder us then, but that we alſo by ſuch ſuggeſtions and corrections as theſe may reclaime and withdraw yoong men from the woorſe to the better. Whereas therefore we ſhall meete with theſe verſes,

τοῦδ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ ζηλωτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ὅτῳ
τόξον μεθιμένης εἰς ὃ βούλεται πέσῃ
The thing that men are for to wiſh and moſt deſire is this,
That when they ſhoote at their delights, the arrow may not mis.

Not ſo, but rather thus,

τόξον μεθιμένης εἰς ὃ συμφέρει πέσῃ.
That when they aime at their profit
The arrow may be ſure to hit.

For to reach into thoſe things which a man ought not to deſire, yea and to obtaine and have the ſame is pitifull and lamentable, and in no wiſe to be wiſhed for. Likewiſe, when we read in *Homer* thus,

Thy part of weale and woe thou muſt ô Agamemnon *have,*
For Athens did not thee beget, alwaies to win or ſave.

We verily are thus to ſay rather,

Thou art to joy, and never for to grieve,
But in a meane eſtate delight to live.
For Athens did not Agamemnon *get*
The world at will to have, and finde no let.

Againe, when we meet with this verſe,

Alas what miſchiefe ſent to men,
is this from gods above,
That they ſhould ſee what thing is good,
and it not uſe nor love?

Sent from gods above? nay rather, it is a brutiſh, unreaſonable, yea, a wofull and lamentable thing, that a man ſeeing that which is better, ſhould for all that be caried away and tranſported to the worſe, by reaſon of intemperance, ſlouth, and effeminate ſoftneſſe of the minde.

Alſo, if we light upon this ſentence,

Behaviour t'is and good cariage,
That do perſwade, and not language.

Not ſo iwis, but maners and words together are perſwaſive: or rather the maners by meanes of ſpeech, like as the horſe is ruled by the bit and bridle, and as the Pilot guideth the ſhip by the rudder or helme. For ſurely vertue is furniſhed with no inſtrument or meanes ſo gracious with men and ſo familiar, as ſpeech is.

Moreover, where you encounter theſe verſes;

For wanton love, how ſtands his minde?
To male more or to female kinde?
Anſwer.
Both hands are right, with him, where beauty is,
Neither of twaine to him can come amis.

Nay rather thus he ſhould have anſwered:

Where vertue is ſeated, and continence,
Both hands are like, there is no difference.

And to ſpeake truely and more plainly, in equall balance poiſed he is indeed, inclining neither the one way nor the other: Whereas contrariwiſe, he that with pleaſure and beautie ſwaieth to and fro, is altogether left handed, inconſtant, and incontinent.

Read you at any time this verſe?

Φόβος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν.

Religion true, and right godlineſſe
Make wiſe men too fearefull alwaies, more or leſſe.

In no wiſe admit thereof, but ſay thus:

Θάρσος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν.

Religion true, and right godlineſſe,
Make wiſe men bolde, and hardy, more or leſſe.

For in trueth, feare and deſpaire, by the meanes of religion, ariſeth in the hearts of none but of fooles, unthankfull and ſenſeleſſe perſons, who have in ſuſpition and do dread that divine power which is the firſt cauſe of all good things, as hurtfull unto them. Thus much concerning correction of ſentences.

There is beſides an amplification of that which we read, whereby a ſentence may be ſtretched farther than the bare wordes import. And thus *Chryſippus* hath rightly taught us how to transfer and apply that which was ſpoken of one onely thing, to many of the like kinde, and ſo to make a profitable uſe thereof: for after this manner when *Heſiodus* ſaith,

An oxe or cow a man ſhall never looſe,
If neighbour his be not malicious.

He meaneth by oxe or cow, his dog likewiſe and aſſe, yea, and all things elſe that may periſh. Semblably, whereas *Euripides* ſaith thus,

A ſlave indeed, whom may we juſtly call?
Even him, of death who thinketh not all.

We muſt underſtand that he meant and ſpake, aſwell of labour, affliction and ſickneſſe, as of death. And verily, as phyſitians finding the vertue and operations of a medicine applyed and fitted to one maladie, by the knowledge thereof can skill how to accommodate the ſame to all others of the like nature, and uſe it accordingly; even ſo, when we meete with a ſentence that is common, and whereof the profit may ſerve to many purpoſes, we ought not to overſee and neglect the manifold uſe thereof, and leave it as appropriate to one onely matter: but to handle the ſame ſo, that it may be applyed to all of like ſort: and herein we muſt inure and exerciſe yoong men, to ſee and know readily this communion, and with a quicke conceit to transferre that which they finde apt and proper in many, and by examples to be practiſed and made prompt therein, ſo as they be able to marke at the firſt hearing the ſemblable: To the ende that when they come to read in *Menander* this verſe,

A happie man we may him call,
Who hath much wealth, and wit withall.

They may verie well thinke that in naming wealth, he meant and included Honor, authoritie and eloquence. Alſo, that the imputation which *Vlyſſes* charged upon *Achilles*, ſitting idlely in the Iland *Scyros*, among the yoong maidens and damoſels, in theſe words,

You ſir, whoſe father was a knight,
the beſt that ever drew
His ſword, of all the Greekes in fight
and many a captaine ſlew:
Sit you here carding like a wench
and ſpinning wooll on rocke,
Thereby the glorious light to quench
of your most noble ſtocke?

may be aptly ſaid unto any looſe liver and voluptuous wanton, unto a covetous and wretched miſer, unto an idle luske, an untaught or ignorant lozell. As for example, in lieu of this verſe in the foreſaid imputation,

ξαίνεις ἀρίστου πατρὸς ἑλλήνων γεγώς

What, what, good ſir? are you become a ſpinſter now for need,
Whoſe father was of all the Greekes a knight of doughtieſt deed.

A man may read and not unfitly thus,

πίνεις ἀρίστου, &c.

Can you carrouſe ſo luſtily and toſſe the pot ſo round,
Whoſe father knew to ſhake a ſpeare and ſtoutly ſtand his ground?

Or after this manner,

κυβεύεις ἀρίστου, &c.

Your courage ſerves to hazard all at caſting of three dies
Your fathers heart was tried in war and martiall ieopardies.

Either thus,

ὀρτυγοκοπεῖς ἀρίστου, &c.

You cunning are to play at quoites the game,
Whereas your ſire, by proweſſe wan much fame.

Or in this wiſe,

καπηλεύεις ἀρίστου, &c.

Are you become indeed a Tavernour,
Whoſe father was a woorthy governour?

Or laſtly thus,

τοκογλυφεῖς ἀρίστου, &c.

In hundred ten, you can full well call for at ſuch a day,
Your father tens and hundreds knew, to range in battell ray.

And in one word, ſo well as you are deſcended there is no goodnes nor great thing in you worthy the noble parentage. Moreover, where you happen upon theſe verſes,

What tell you me of Pluto *and his chievance,*
For ſuch a god as he with all his puiſſance.
I worſhip not: ſince that the lewdeſt wreach
In all the world, to wealth may quickly reach.

A man may ſay as much of glory, of outward beauty, of the rich mantels of a captaine generall, of a Biſhops miter, and the ſacred coronet of a prieſt, which we ſee the wickedeſt wretches in the world may attaine unto. Againe, whereas the words of another verſe import thus much onely:

That children gotten of cowardiſe,
Be foule and thoſe whom men deſpiſe.

The ſame verily do imply alſo, that Intemperance, Superſtition, Envie, and all other vices and maladies of the minde, bring foorth no better ofſpring. Now whereas *Homer* ſaide excellent well in one place:

Paris *a coward thou art forſooth,*
For all thy face ſo faire and ſmooth.

And in another,
Sir Hector *in the prime of age,*
With lovely lookes and faire viſage.

(For by theſe termes and epithits, he ſheweth covertly that a man deſerveth blame and reproch, who is endued with no better grace and gift than beautie) we may well and fitly apply this reprehenſion to ſuch like things: namely, to plucke downe their peacocks plumes, who vaunt and glorifie themſelves for matters of no moment and value: teaching yoong men thereby, that ſuch praiſes as theſe, be no better than contumelies and reproches: As for example, when a man is ſaluted in this manner: O moſt excellent for riches, for keeping a bountifull table, for many ſervitours: right excellent for ſingular good teames of draught oxen, caples and mules, for ſtables of ſteeds and great horſes: yea or thus moreover to the reſt: O ſurpaſſing orator and of woonderfull eloquence: for to ſpeake a truth, a man is to aime at excellencie and preferrence before others in good and honeſt things, that in the chiefe and principall he may be the higheſt and formoſt: as alſo in great matters, the greateſt: for the reputation that groweth from ſmal and baſe things is diſhonorable, illiberall, vile, & of no worth. And verily this example laſt alleaged, putteth us ſtraightwaies in minde, to conſider better the reprehenſions and praiſes which offer themſelves eſpecially in the Poemes of *Homer*: For certes, they give us expreſly to underſtand one notable inſtruction, to wit, Not highly to eſteeme the gifts either of body or of fortune. For firſt and formeſt (in thoſe titles which they give one to another in reciprocall greetings) when they meet and ſhake hands, the maner is not to ſalute by the name of Beautifull, Rich or Strong, but they uſe ſuch commendations as theſe,

Vlyſſes ô *moſt noble knight, from* Iupiter *firſt deſcended,*
Laertes *ſonne, for wiſedome, and much wit, yet moſt commended.*
Alſo
O Hector *ſonne of* Priamus *king,*
Equall to Iove *in wiſedome and cunning.*
Likewiſe,
Achilles ô *of* Peleus *the moſt redoubted ſonne,*
Chiefe glory of the worthy Greekes, their light and ſhining ſunne.
And againe,
Patroclus ô *ſonne of* Menætius,
Moſt lovely in my hart and gracious.

Semblably when they are diſpoſed to revile and taunt, they twit not one another with any defects and imperfections of the bodie, but touch them expreſly with the vices of the mind, after this maner,

Thou drunken ſot, as ſhameleſſe as, the dogs that uſe to barke
Thou coward baſe as hartleſſe as, the ſtags that run in parke.
And thus,
Thou wrangling Ajax *of Barretters chiefe*
Deviſing nought but evill and miſchiefe.
Semblably,
Idomeneus *in frappling prompt,*
what mean'ſt thou thus to prate?
This babling little thee becomes,
ſuch clattering men do hate.
As alſo,
O Ajax *fie for ſhame: how farre out of the way*
Speake you, ſo bold and malapart? you brag too much I ſay.

To conclude, *Vlyſſes* revileth not *Therſites*, with theſe termes: Thou halting and lame ſquire, thou bald pate thou coptank, thou that art camell backt, or crump ſhouldred: but rather reprocheth him with his vaine babling and undiſcreet language. But rather on the contrarie ſide, the mother of *Vulcane* when ſhe ſpeaketh unto her ſonne lovingly and in great kindneſſe of hart, beginneth firſt with his lameneſſe in this maner

Come hither my ſonne, come to me, come ſweet hart
My poore limping creeple, come crokelegd as thou art.

By this it may appeare plainly that *Homer* devideth thoſe, who thinke it a ſhame to be halt, blind, or otherwiſe impotent. He is of opinion, that nothing is blame worthy which is not diſhoneſt: nor any thing diſhoneſt and ſhamefull, which came not by our owne ſelves, but proceeded from fortune. And therefore theſe two great and ſingular commodities, they are ſure to finde, who be exerciſed in reading and hearing of Poets: the one tending to moderation and modeſtie: in that they learne to reproch no man odiouſly, bitterly and fooliſhly with his fortune: the other unto magnanimitie; for that they be taught themſelves to make uſe of their owne fortune: not to be caſt downe and troubled, for any adverſe calamitie that may happen; but meekly and patiently to abide the frumpes, ſcoffes, reprochfull termes that are given them, yea, and the laughters that ariſe thereupon. And verily evermore this ſentence of ***Philemon*** ought to be ready at hand and reſound in their eares:

Nothing there is more pleaſant and muſicall
Then him to abide who doth thee miſ-call.

Howbeit, if any of theſe mockers, deſerve to be rebuked and taunted againe, vantage would be taken of the vices and imperfections of their minde, and thoſe are to be objected againſt them; for ſo *Adraſtus* in a tragedie when *Alcmæon* provoked with theſe words,

Alc. *A ſiſter thou haſt (I tell thee true)*
who in husbands bloud her hands did embrue.
Adr. *But thou thy ſelfe, (I muſt tell plaine)*
thy mother that bare thee, haſt cruelly ſlaine.

For like as they who whip and ſcourge garments, touch not the bodie at all: even ſo they that upbraid a man with infortunitie, or reproch him for ſome default or blemiſh in his parentage, doe like vaine fooles beat thoſe things that are without, but never come neere the quicke, nor touch the ſoule, ne yet any thing which truly deſerveth correction, blame or biting.

Over and beſide, as wee ſhewed and taught before, how to impeach and derogate the credite of thoſe leaud ſentences and dangerous ſpeeches, which otherwhiles wee meet with in Poeticall books namely, by oppoſing againſt the ſame, the good and grave ſawes of worthy perſons, renowmed as well for their learning as politicke government: even ſo, if we finde any civill, honeſt, and profitable matter in Poetrie, we ought (as it were) to nouriſh, confirme and ſtrengthen the ſame, by demonſtrations and teſtimonies Philoſophicall: and evermore to remember that we aſcribe the firſt invention of ſuch ſentences to ſage Philoſophers: For a juſt, requiſite and commodious thing it is, that their credite ſhould be in that maner fortified and authorized: namely, when the Poems which are pronounced upon the Stage in a Theatre, or ſung to the harp, or taught unto children in ſchooles, do accord with the ſententious counſels of *Pythagoras*, the inſtructions of *Plato*, and the precepts of *Chilon*: when I ſay the rules of ***Bias***, ſhall tend to the ſame end and effect as do thoſe leſſons that children are to read and learne. And therefore we are to teach and inſtruct them thus much, not ſlightly and by the way, but earneſtly and of purpoſe, that theſe places of Poets

Faire daughter mine, thou wert not borne
To manage wars and armes to dred:
Minde thou love ſports, and thinke no ſcorne
To joine yoong folke in marriage bed.
Likewiſe;
For Iupiter *diſpleaſed is with thee,*
If that in fight thou unmatched bee.

nothing at all differ from this notable ſentence, Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν. i. Know thy ſelfe: but carie the verie ſame ſenſe and meaning.

Alſo theſe verſes

Like fooles, they do not know, iwis,
That halfe than whole much better is.
Likewiſe,
Evill counſels hurt no man ſo much,
As him that authour is of ſuch.

are all one in effect with the opinions and diſcourſes of ***Plato*** in his dialogue ***Gorgias***, and in his books of ***Common weale***; to wit, that more dangerous it is to doe wrong that to ſuffer injurie;

and more damage commeth by giving than by receiving an abuſe.

Alſo to this verſe of *Aeſchylus*

Be of good cheere: Exceſsive paine
Can not endure, nor long remaine:
When wofull bale is at the higheſt,
Then bleſſed boot (be ſure) is nigheſt.

we muſt ſay, that they be the very ſame with that divulged ſentence ſo often repeated by *Epicurus*, and ſo highly admired by his followers, namely, *That as great paines are not durable, ſo long griefs are tolerable.* And as the former member of this ſentence was evidently expreſſed by *Aeſchylus*, ſo the other is a conſequent thereof, and implied therein. For if a grieſe that is ſore and vehement, endureth not; ſurely that which continueth, can not be violent or intolerable.

Semblably this ſentence of *Theſpis* the Poët in verſe

Thou ſeeſt how Iove all other gods
  for this doth farre excell,
Becauſe that lies he doth abhorre,
  and pride of heart expell.
He is not wont to laugh and ſcorne,
  to frumpe he doth diſdaine:
He onely can not skill of luſts
  and pleaſures which be vaine.

is varied by *Plato* in proſe, when he ſaith that the divine power is ſeated farre from pleaſure and paine. As for theſe verſes of *Barchylides*,

We holde it true, and ever will maintaine
That glory ſound and vertue doth endure.
Great wealth and ſtore we take to be but vaine,
And may befall to vile men and impure.

As alſo theſe of *Euripides* to the like ſenſe;

Sage temperance I holde, we ought
  to honour moſt in heart;
For with good men it doth remaine,
  and never will depart.

As alſo theſe,

When honour and worldly wealth you have,
To furniſh your ſelves with vertue, take care,
Without her, if riches you get and ſave,
Though bleſſed you ſeeme, unhappy you are.

Containe they not an evident proofe and demonſtration of that which the Philoſophers teach as touching riches and externall goods; which without vertue profit not thoſe at all who are poſſeſſed of them? And verily thus to reduce, and fitly to accommodate the ſentences of Poets unto the precepts and principles delivered by Philoſophers, will ſoone diſſever Poetrie from fables, and plucke from it the maſque wherewith it is diſguiſed; it will give, I ſay, unto them an effectuall power, that being profitably ſpoken, they may be thought ſerious and perſwaſive: yea, and beſides, will make an overture and way unto the minde of a yoong ladde, that it may encline the rather to Philoſophicall reaſons and diſcourſes: namely, when he having gotten ſome ſmatch and taſte alreadie thereof, and being not voide altogether of hearing good things, he ſhall not come altogether without judgement; repleniſhed onely with fooliſh conceits and opinions which he hath evermore heard from his mothers and nurſes mouth, yea, and otherwhiles (beleeve me) from his father, tutour and ſchoole-maſter: who will not ſticke in his hearing to repute for bleſſed and happie, yea, and with great reverence to give the worſhip to thoſe who are rich: but as for death, paine and labour, to ſtand in feare and horror thereof: and contrariwiſe, to make no reckoning and account of vertue, but to deſpiſe the ſame, and thinke it as good as nothing, without earthly riches and authoritie. Certes, when yoong men ſhal come thus rawly and untrained, to heare the diviſions, reaſons & arguments of Philoſophers, flat contrary to ſuch opinions, they will at firſt be much aſtonied, troubled & diſquieted in their minds: and no more able to admit of the ſame, and to reduce ſuch doctrine, than they, who having a long time bene pent in, and kept in darke, can abide the glittering raies of the Sun ſhine: unleſſe they were acquainted before by little & little with ſome falſe and baſtard light, not altogether ſo lively and cleere, as it: And even ſo, I ſay, yoong men muſt be accuſtomed beforehand, yea, and from the very firſt day, to the light of the trueth, entermingled ſomewhat with fables among, that they may the better endure the full light and ſight of the cleere trueth, without any paine and offence at all. For when they have either heard or read before in Poemes theſe ſentences:

Lament we ought for infants at their birth,
Entring a world of cares that they ſhall have:
Whereas the dead we ſhould with joy and mirth
Accompanie, and bring them ſo to grave.
Alſo,
Of worldly things we need no more but twaine,
For bread to eat, the earth doth yeeld us graine:
And for to quench our thirſt, the river cleere
Affoords us drinke, the water faire and ſheere.
Likewiſe,
O tyrannie ſo lov'd, and in requeſt
With barbarous, but hatefull to the reſt.
Laſtly,
The higheſt pitch of mans felicitie,
To feele the leaſt part of adverſitie.

Leſſe troubled they are & grieved in ſpirit, when they ſhall heare in the Philoſophers ſchooles, That we are to make no account of death as a thing touching us: That the Riches of nature are definite & limited: That felicitie and ſoveraigne happines of man, lieth not in great ſummes of money, ne yet in the pride of managing State affaires, nor in dignities and great authority, but in a quiet life free from paine and ſorrow: in moderating all paſſions, and in a diſpoſition of the minde kept within the compaſſe of Nature. To conclude, in regard hereof, as alſo for other reaſons before alleaged, A yoong man had neede to be well guided and directed in reading of Poets, to the end that he may be ſent to the ſtudie of Philoſophie not foreſtalled with ſiniſter ſurmiſes; but rather ſufficiently inſtructed before and prepared, yea and made friendly and familiar thereto by the meanes of Poetrie.

OF HEARING.

The Summarie.

BY good right, this preſent diſcourſe was ranged next unto the former twaine. For ſeeing we are not borne into this world learned; but before we can ſpeake our ſelves ſenſibly or any thing to reaſon, we ought to have heard men who are able to deliver their minds with judgement, to the ende, that by their aide and helpe we may be better framed and fitted to the way of vertue: requiſite it is, that after the imbibition of good nourture in childhood, and ſome libertie and licenſe given to travel in the the writings of Poets, according to the rules above declared. Yoong men that are ſtudents ſhould advance forward, and mount up into higher ſchooles. Now for that in the time when this Author, Plutarch, *lived, beſides many good bookes, there were a great number of profeſſours in the liberall Sciences, and namely in thoſe rites, into which Barbariſme crept afterwards: he propoſeth and ſetteth downe thoſe precepts now which they are to follow and obſerve, that goe to heare publike lectures, orations and diſputations, thereby to know how to behave themſelves there; which training haply may reach to al that which we ſhal heare ſpoken elſewhere; and is materiall to make us more learned and better mannered. In the firſt place therefore he ſheweth that at what time as we grow to yeeres of diſcretion, we ſhould have a feeling of our ignorance, to the ende that we may be deſirous to learne, and afterwards heare willingly. For to encreaſe our affection, he toucheth thoſe dangers into which they fall, who will needs be teachers, before they be taught*

taught themſelves: adjoyning hereto thoſe vices and inconveniences, which a yoong man is to take heed of, in hearing, and above all others, to beware of envie: as alſo on the other ſide what he ought to ſtudie. Now, for that impoſsible it is, that teachers ſhould be perfect and fully accompliſhed in all things, he proceedeth to declare with what minde and ſpirit we ſhould take knowledge, and conſider of their imperfections; giving withall an advertiſement how to avoide another extremitie, to wit, an exceſsive admiration of him that ſpeaketh; namely, to leave the principall ſubſtance of doctrine: the which will be ſo much more accepted, in caſe it be commended and adorned with eloquence. He commeth afterwards to treat of thoſe problemes and queſtions which may be propounded in companies and meetings: alſo of the pleaſure that we ought to take when we are told the truth: in ſuch ſort, that as we are not to envy them for their excellencie, who ſpeake any thing to raiſe and ſet us aloft: ſo, on the contrary ſide we ought to carie with us thither, a ſpirit favourable, gracious, well prepared, hating flatterie, loving reprehenſions, patient, voide of that ruſticall baſhfulnes which we ſee in over blunt and dull natures, neither preſumptuous nor yet diſcouraged, but keeping a good meaſure and meane betweene vaine curioſitie and that ſupine ſloth and idlenes, which is in the moſt part of thoſe that be hearers. To conclude, he would have him that hath diligently heard a certaine time, and with diſcretion, to exerciſe himſelfe in deviſing and inventing ſome thing of his owne, in ſuch ſort that he may put the ſame foorth, ſo, as the outward part may diſcover well what goodnes there lyeth incloſed within.

OF HEARING.

This little treatiſe (my friend *Nicander*) which being gathered and compiled by ſtarts, as my leyſure would ſerve *As touching the maner of Hearing*, I lately put in writing, and ſend here unto you, To the end that you being delivered now from the ſubjection of Maiſters, who were woont to command you, and having put on your virile robe and growen to mans eſtate, may know how to heare him that giveth you good counſell. For this licentious eaſement and deliverie from all government, which ſome yoong men for default of good nourture and education do untruely terme *Libertie*, ſetteth over them more rough Lords and harder Maſters by farre, than were thoſe teachers, tutors and governours, under whom they were awed in their childhood, to wit, their owne irregular luſts and unordinate appetites, which now be (as it were) diſchained & let looſe. For, like as a woman (to uſe the words of *Herodotus*) no ſooner doth of her ſmocke or inner veſture, but therewithall ſhe caſteth off all ſhamefaſtnes and modeſtie; even ſo, ſome yoong men there be, who together with the garments of infancie and childhood, lay by all grace, ſhame and feare: ſo that being once diveſted of that habit and apparell which became them ſo well, and gave them a modeſt and ſober countenance, they are ſtraightwaies full of ſtubborneſſe and diſobedience. As for your ſelfe, who have oftentimes heard, that *To follow God*, and to obey Reaſon is all one, you ought to thinke, that the wiſer ſort and ſuch as have wit indeed, repute not the paſſage and change from chidhood to mans eſtate, an abſolute deliverance and freedome from commandement and ſubjection, but an exchange onely of the commander: for that their life in ſteed either of a mercenarie hireling or ſome maſter bought with a peece of money, who was woont to governe it in their nonage and minoritie, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, even Reaſon: unto which they that yeeld themſelves obeiſant, are to be reputed onely free and at libertie. For they alone live as they would, who have learned to will that which they ſhould: whereas if our actions and affections both be diſordinate and not ruled by reaſon, the libertie of our free-will is ſmall, ſlender and feeble, yea and intermingled for the moſt part with much repentance. Like as therefore among new Burgoviſes (who lately are enrolled Free-Deniſens to enjoy the Franchiſes and priviledges of ſome citie) they that were meere aliens before and ſtrangers new come from far and remote parts, finde themſelves grieved at the firſt with many things that are done, yea and complaine thereof: but ſuch as had beene inhabitants there ſometime before they were made citizens, who partly by education were inured, and partly by cuſtome and converſing, familiarly acquainted with the lawes and cuſtomes of the place, never thinke much, but can brooke well ynough, and undergo with patience all charges and impoſitions laid upon them; So it behooveth that a yoong man ſhould a long time have beene bred up and (as it were) halfe nourſed in Philoſophie, accuſtomed (I ſay) he ought to have beene from the begining with intermingling all that he learneth or heareth in his tender yeeres, with Philoſophicall reaſons, that being thus made tractable, gentle and familiar before hand, he might now betake himſelfe wholy and in good earneſt to Philoſophie: which alone is able to array and adorne yoong men with thoſe robes and ornaments, of reaſon which are manlike indeed and everie way perfect. Moreover, I ſuppoſe you will be well pleaſed and content, to give eare unto that which *Theophraſtus* hath written of hearing; which of all the five ſenſes given us by nature, preſenteth both the moſt and alſo the greateſt paſſions unto the minde. For there is no object of the eye, nothing that we taſte or touch that cauſeth ſuch exſtaſies, ſo violent troubles or ſudden frights, as thoſe which enter and pearce into the ſoule, by the meanes of ſome noiſes, ſounds and voices, incident to our hearing. And albeit this ſenſe lie thus open and expoſed to paſſions, yet is it more fit to admit reaſon than ſuch affections: for many places there be and parts of the bodie that make way and give entrance unto vices for to paſſe unto the ſoule: but the only handle (as I may ſo ſay) wherewith vertue may take holde of yong men are their eares: provided alwaies, that they were kept cleane and neat at the firſt from all flatterie, and defended againſt corrupt and leawd ſpeeches, that they touch them not.

Good reaſon therefore had *Xenocrates*, to give order that children ſhould have certaine aurielets or bolſters deviſed to hang about their eares for their defence, rather than fencers and ſword-plaiers: for that theſe are in danger onely to have their eares ſpoiled with knocks or cuts by weapons: but the other, to have their maners corrupted and marred with naughtie ſpeeches. Neither was it any part of *Xenocrates* his meaning, to deprive them altogether of hearing, and to commend deafeneſſe: but to admoniſh and exhort them, ſo long to forbeare the hearing of evill words, and to take heed, untill other good ſayings, enterteined and nouriſhed there, in long continuance of time by Philoſophie, had ſeized the place, and were well ſetled in that part which is moſt eaſie to be mooved and perſwaded by ſpeech: where being once lodged, they might as good ſentinels and guards preſerve and defend the ſame. *Bias* verily, that auncient Sage, being commanded by king *Amaſis*, to ſend unto him the beſt and woorſt piece of a beaſt killed for ſacrifice, plucked foorth the tongue onely, and ſent it him; giving him thus much thereby to underſtand, That ſpeech is the cauſe both of moſt good, and alſo of greateſt harme. Many there be alſo, who ordinarily when they kiſſe little children, both touch their eares withall, and alſo bid them do the like: inſinuating thus much covertly, by way of mirth and ſport, That they are to love thoſe who profit them and doe them good by their eares. For this is certeine and evident, that a yoong man deprived and debarred of hearing, being able to taſte and conceive reaſon, will not onely become barren altogether of fruit, and put out not ſo much as any buds and flowers at all, which may give ſome hope of vertue: but alſo contrariwiſe, will ſoone turne to vice, and ſend foorth of his corrupt minde many wilde and ſavage ſhoots, like as a ground neglected and untilled, beareth nothing but briers, brambles and hurtfull weeds. For the motions and inclinations unto pleaſures, and the ſiniſter conceits and ſuſpitions of paines and travels (which are no ſtrangers to us iwis, entring in directly from without foorth by themſelves, or els let in by evill ſuggeſtions, but inbred with us, and the naturall ſources of infinite vices and maladies) if a man ſuffer to run on end with the raines at large, whither by nature they would go, and not cut them off by ſage remonſtrances, or divert them another way, and thereby reforme the default of nature; ſurely there were not upon the face of the earth any wilde beaſt, but would be more tame and gentle than man. Foraſmuch as therefore the ſence of hearing bringeth unto yoong men ſo great profit, and no leſſe perill with it, I ſuppoſe it were well done, if a man would eftſoones both deviſe with himſelfe, and alſo diſcourſe with others, as touching the order and maner of hearing. Foraſmuch as we doe ſee moſt men in this point to offend and erre, in that they exerciſe themſelves in ſpeaking before they were uſed to heare: ſuppoſing that good ſpeech requireth a kinde of diſcipline, meditation and practiſe ere it be learned: as for hearing, though men uſe it without any art, it makes no matter how, yet they may receive profit thereby as they thinke. And verily, albeit at Tennis play they that practiſe the feat thereof, learne to take the ball as it commeth, and alſo to ſtrike and ſend it from them againe, both at once. Yet in the uſe of ſpeech it is otherwiſe: for to receive it well, goeth before the utterance and deliverie thereof: like as conception and retention of the ſeed, doeth præceed birth of the infant. It is ſaid, That the egges laid by fowles, called Wind-egges, as they proceed of imperfect and falſe conceptions, ſo they are the rudiments and beginnings of ſuch fruits, as never will quicken and have life; even ſo, The ſpeeches that yoong men let fall, ſuch I meane, as never

ver knew how to heare, nor were wont to receive profit by hearing, are nothing els indeed but very winde: and as the Poet ſaith,

Words vaine, obſcure, and fooliſh every one,
Which under clouds ſoone vaniſh and be gone.

Certes if they would powre out any liquor out of one veſſell into another, they are wont to encline and turne downe the mouth of the one, ſo, as the ſaid liquor may paſſe into the receptorie without ſhedding any part thereof, leaſt in ſtead of an infuſion indeed there be an effuſion onely and ſpilling of the ſame: and yet theſe men cannot learne to be attentive and give good eare unto others, ſo as nothing do eſcape them, which is well and profitably delivered. But here is the greateſt folly and moſt ridiculous, that if they meet with one, who can relate the order of a feaſt or great dinner, diſcourſe from point to point of a ſolemne ſhew or pompe, tell a tale of ſome dreame, or make report of a quarrell and brablement betweene him and another, they hearken with great ſilence, bid him ſay on, and will not miſſe every circumſtance: Let another man draw them apart, to teach them ſome good and profitable leſſon, to exhort them to their dutie, to admoniſh and tell them of a fault, to reproove them wherein they did amiſſe, or to appeaſe their moode when they be in choler, they can not abide and indure him: for either the will ſet in hand to argue and refute him by arguments contending and conteſting againſt that which hath beene ſaid, (if they be able ſo to doe:) or if they finde themſelves too weake, they ſlinke away, and run thither, where they may heare ſome other vaine and fooliſh diſcourſes, deſirous to fill their eares (like naughtie and rotten veſſels) with any thing rather then that, which is good and neceſſarie. They that would keepe and order horſes well, teach them to have a good mouth, to reine light, and to obey the bit: even ſo, they that bring up children as they ought, make them obſequent and obeiſant to reaſon, by teaching them to heare much and ſpeake little. For *Spintharus* praiſing *Epaminondas* upon a time, gave out thus much of him, That he could hardly meet with another man who knew more than hee, and ſpake leſſe. And it is commonly ſaid, that nature herſelfe hath given to each us but one tongue and two eares, becauſe we ought to heare more than we ſpeake. Now as Silence and Taciturnitie is everie where and at all times a ſingular and ſure ornament of a yoong man; ſo eſpecially, if when hee heareth another man to ſpeake he interrupt and trouble him not, nor baie and barke (as it were) at every worde: but although he do not very well like of his ſpeech, yet hath patience and forbeareth, giving him leave to make an end: and when he hath finiſhed his ſpeech, ſetteth not upon him preſently, nor beginneth out of hand to confute him, but ſuffereth him to pauſe a while, and as *Aeſchines* ſaith, giveth him ſome time to breath and bethinke himſelfe to ſee, if haply he thinke it good to adde any more to that which hath beene delivered already, or change ſomewhat, or els retract and unſay ſomething: Whereas, they that by and by cut a man off, with contradictions, and neither heare, nor are well heard themſelves, but are ever replying upon other, whiles they ſpeake, obſerve no decorum nor grace at all, but ſhew a very undecent and unſeemely behavior. But he that is accuſtomed to heare patiently, and with a modeſt and ſober countenance, better conceiveth and reteineth the good things uttered, and withall hath more leaſure to marke, obſerve and diſcerne that which is either unprofitable or falſe: He ſheweth himſelfe beſides, to be a lover of the trueth, and is not taken for a litigious quareller, a raſh wrangler, or a bitter brawler. And therefore, ſome there be, who not unaptly ſay, That we ought no leſſe, but rather more, to void out of the minds of yoong men that preſumption and fooliſh opinion which they have of their owne ſelves, than to rid and exclude the winde and aire out of leather bagges or bladders wherewith they are puft and blowen up, if we meane to infuſe and put any good thing into them: for otherwiſe, if they be ſtill full of that ſwelling winde of arrogancie and overweening of themſelves, they will never receive and admit any goodneſſe.

Moreover, envie accompanied with a maligne eie and ill will is good in no action whatſoever where it is preſent: but as it is an impediment and hinderance to all honeſt cauſes; ſo it is the woorſt counſellor and aſſiſtant that he can have who would be an auditor, making all thoſe things that be profitable and for his benefit, to ſeeme odious, unpleaſant, harſh to the eare and hardly admitted; for that the nature of envious perſons is, to take more pleaſure in any thing elſe than in that which is well ſpoken. And verily, whoſoever repineth and is vexed at the heart, to ſee others rich, beautifull or in authoritie, is onely envious: for greeved he is at the welfare of others: but he that taketh diſcontentment in hearing a wiſe and ſententious ſpeech, is offended with the good of his owne ſelfe: for, like as the light is a benefit to them that ſee; even ſo is ſpeech unto the hearers if they will embrace and entertaine the ſame: As for thoſe kinds of envie which ariſe in regard of other things, there be ſome naughtie paſſions and vitious conditions of the minde beſides, that breed and ingender them: but that maner of envie which is conceived againſt them that ſpeake excellently well, ſpringeth from a certeine & important deſire of vaine glorie, and unjuſt ambition, which will not ſuffer him that is ſo indiſpoſed to give eare and attend unto the words ſpoken, but troubleth, diſquieteth, and diſtracteth the minde and underſtanding: both to conſider at one inſtant his owne ſtate and ſufficiencie, whether it be inferior to the conceit and eloquence of the ſpeaker: and alſo to regard and looke upon the countenance of other hearers, whether they take contentment and are in admiration of him that maketh the ſpeech: yea and withall, if happly he be praiſed, the ſame minde is woonderfully galled and amazed, angrie and ready to fall out with all that be preſent, in caſe they approove his ſpeech with applauſe. Herewith it letteth ſlip alſo and rejecteth the matter and good ſayings that were delivered already; for that the remembrance thereof is unſaverie and unpleaſant: and ſtill he is diſquieted and wotteth not what to do, hearing out the reſt with feare and trembling, leſt haply they ſhould be better than the former, never ſo deſirous that the ſpeakers ſhould haſten to an end and have done, as when they diſcourſe and ſpeake beſt. Now when the Sermon is ended, and the auditorie diſſolved: what doth this envious ſpirit then? not ruminate, be you ſure, nor conſider of the reaſons and matter delivered; but he ſtirreth the affections and opinions ſtraightwaies, and gathereth voices (as it were in a ſcrutinie) of the audience. If he meet with any that give out good words to the praiſe of the Preacher, them hee avoideth and fleeth from, as if he were in a furious fit of madneſſe: hapneth he upon ſuch as finde fault, and be ready to miſconſtrue and pervert the words that were ſpoken, to the woorſt ſenſe: theſe are they whom hee loveth a life, to them he runneth, and with them hee ſorteth and keepeth companie: But ſay that he finde none of that diſpoſition, ſo as he can not wreſt any words to a wrong conſtruction, then he falleth to make compariſons, and to ſet againſt him, others yoonger than he; who of the ſame theame have diſcourſed better, with more plauſible utterance and greater force of eloquence: he never ceaſeth nor giveth over corrupting, miſinterpreting, and diſgracing the whole ſpeech, untill he have made the ſame altogether unprofitable and without any edification at all to his owne ſelfe. It behooveth therefore, that he who deſireth to heare, take truce (for the time) with ambition; to the end that hee may give eare with patience and mildneſſe unto him that maketh an oration or ſermon, and cary himſelfe no otherwiſe than if he were admitted to ſome ſacred and feſtival banket, or an invited gueſt to the firſt fruits of a ſolemne ſacrifice; praiſing his eloquence when he hath ſpoken well and ſufficiently to the point in any matter, accepting favourably, and in beſt part, his good will, to deliver and communicate to others, ſuch things as he knew, and to perſwade his hearers with thoſe reaſons and motives which had induced and perſwaded himſelfe. Neither muſt our auditours make this reckoning and concluſion, That whatſoever hath beene ſingularly well delivered by the ſpeaker, ought to be aſcribed to chance and fortune, as if he had let fall his words at aventure: but impute the ſame to his diligence, labour and art: yea, and he ought to imitate the ſame with a kinde of zeale and admiration. But whereas he hath faulted and done amiſſe, it is the part of an hearer to bend his minde, and conſider well and circumſpectly, what might the cauſe and occaſion be of ſuch errour: For like as (according to *Xenophon*) good houſholders know how to make profit and uſe, aſwell of their enemies as their friends; even ſo they that be vigilant and attentive hearers, take good, not onely by them that ſpeake well, but by thoſe alſo that miſſe and faile of their purpoſe: for barren, triviall and ſtale invention; improper, vaine and unſignificant words; forced and fooliſh figures; abrupt, fond, and unſeemly breakings foorth with joy to ſome praiſe, and ſuch like impertinences or defects, which often times befall unto them that ſpeake in publike place; are ſooner eſpied by us that are hearers, than obſerved by themſelves who are the ſpeakers. And therefore we are to transferre the inquiſition and correction of any ſuch fault, from them to our ſelves, by examining whether we alſo may not fault likewiſe, before we be aware? For there is nothing in the world more eaſie, than for a man to blame and reprehend his neighbour: but ſuch a reprehenſion verily is vaine and unprofitable, unleſſe it have a reference to correct and amend the like errours in himſelfe. In which regard every one ought to be ready in this caſe, according to the advertiſement of *Plato*, to ſay unto himſelfe, Am not I alſo ſuch an one? or doe not I the ſemblable otherwhiles? For even as we ſee our owne eies ſhining within the ball or apple of our neighbours eie, ſo we ought by the forme & maner of other mens orations to take the patterne and repreſentation of our owne; to the end that we be not too forward and bolde in deſpiſing others, but may more carefully take heed to our ſelves when wee likewiſe come to ſpeake. To this purpoſe alſo it would doe very well, to make a kinde of conference and compariſon in this maner; Namely, to retire our ſelves apart when we have heard one make an oration, and to take in hand ſome points which wee thinke had not beene well and ſufficiently handled, and then to aſſay either to ſupply that which was defective in ſome, or to correct what was amiſſe in others: or els to varie the ſame matter in other wordes, or at leaſtwiſe to diſcourſe altogether thereof, with new reaſons and arguments; like as *Plato* himſelfe did upon the oration of *Lyſias*. For, I aſſure you, no hard matter it is, but very eaſie to contradict the oration and reaſon by another pronounced; mary to ſet a better by it, that is a piece of worke right hard and difficult. Much like, as when a certaine Lacedæmonian heard that *Philip* king of *Macedon* had demoliſhed and raſed the city *Olynthus*, Hath he ſo? quoth he, But he is not able to ſet up ſuch another. Now when as we ſhall ſee that intreating of the ſame ſubject and argument, there is no great difference betweene our owne doings and other mens before us, and that we have not farre excelled them, we ſhall be reclaimed much from the contempt of others, and quickly repreſſe and ſtay our owne preſumptuous pride and ſelfe-love, ſeeing it thus checked by this triall and compariſon. And verily, to admire other mens doings, as it is a thing adverſe and oppoſite to deſpiſing, ſo it is a ſigne of a milder nature, and more enclined to indifferencie and equitie. But even herein alſo there would be no leſſe heed taken (if not more) than in the contempt beforeſaid: for as they which are ſo preſumptuous, bolde, and given ſo much to diſpraiſe and deſpiſe others, receive leſſe good and ſmaller profit by hearing; ſo the ſimple and harmeleſſe ſort, addicted overmuch to others, and having them in admiration, are more ſubject to take harme and hurt thereby: verifying this ſentence of *Heraclitus*,

A fooliſh ſot aſtonied is anone
At all he hear's, or ſeeth done.

As for the praiſes therefore, of him that ſpeaketh, we ought favorablie and of courſe without great affectation to paſſe them out of our mouthes: in giving credite unto their reaſons and arguments we are to be more warie and circumſpect: and as touching the phraſe, utterance, and action of thoſe that exerciſe to make ſpeeches, we muſt both ſee and heare the ſame with a ſingle hart and a kind affection: As for the utilitie and truth of thoſe matters which are delivered, we ſhould examine and weigh the ſame exactly & with more ſeveritie of judgement. Thus we who be hearers ſhall avoid the ſuſpitions of evill will and hatred, & they againe that are ſpeakers ſhall do us no harme. For oftentimes it falleth out that upon a ſpeciall fauſtine and good liking unto thoſe that preach unto us, we take leſſe heed to our ſelves and by our credulitie admit & embrace from their lips many falſe & erroneous opinions. The Lacedæmonian rulers & Lords of the Counſel of eſtate, upon a time liking wel of the good adviſe and opinion of a perſon who was an ill liver, cauſed the ſame to be delivered openly by another of approoved life and good reputation: wherein they did very wiſely & as prudent politicians, to accuſtome the people for to affect the behavior and honeſt cariage of their counſellors, rather than to reſpect their words onely. But in Philoſophie it is otherwiſe: For we muſt lay aſide the reputation of the man who hath in publike place ſpoken his minde: and examine the matter apart by it ſelfe: For that, like as in warre (we ſay) there be many falſe alarmes: ſo alſo in an auditorie there paſſe as many vanities: The goodly grey beard and hoarie head of the ſpeaker, his ſolemne geſture and compoſing of his countenance, his grave eie browes, his glorious words in behalfe of himſelfe: but above all, the acclamations, the applauſe and clapping of hands, the leaping and ſhouting of the ſtanders by and thoſe that are preſent in place, are enough otherwhiles to trouble and aſtoniſh the ſpirits of a yoong hearer, who is not well acquainted with ſuch matters, and carie him away perforce as it were with a ſtreame: Over and beſides, there is in the very ſtyle and ſpeech it ſelfe a ſecret powre able to beguile and deceive a yoong novice; namely, if it runne round away, ſmooth and pleaſant, and if withall there be a certeine affected gravitie, and artificiall port and loftineſſe, to ſet out and grace the matter. And even as they that play upon the pipe, be it cornet, recorder or fife, fault many times in muſicke, and are not perceived by the hearers: ſo a brave and elegant tongue, a copious and gallant oration, dazeleth the wits of the hearer, ſo as he can not judge ſoundly of the matter in hand. *Melanthus* being demaunded upon a time, what he thought of a Tragædie of *Diogenes*: I could not ſee it (quoth he) for ſo many words, wherewith it was choaked up. But the Orations & declamations for the moſt part of theſe Sophiſters, who make ſhew of their eloquence, not onely have their ſentences covered (as it were) with vailes and curtaines of words, but that which more is, they themſelves do dulce their voice by the meanes of (I wot not what) deviſed notes, ſoft ſounds, exquiſite and muſicall accents in their pronuntiation,ſo as they raviſh the wits of the hearers, and tranſport them beſide themſelves: leading and carying them which way they liſt: and thus for a certeine little vaine pleaſure that they give, receive againe applauſe and glorie much more vaine: Inſomuch, as that befalleth properly unto them which by report *Dionyſius* anſwered upon a time: who ſeemed to promiſe unto a famous minſtrell for his excellent play in an open Theatre, to reward him with great gifts,gave him in the end juſt nothing, but ſaid he had recompenſed him ſufficiently already: For looke(quoth he)how much pleaſure I have received from thee by thy ſong and minſtrelſy,ſo much contentment and joy thou haſt had from me by hoping for ſome great reward. And verily ſuch recompenſe as this have thoſe Sophiſters and great Orators at their hearers hands: For admired they are ſo long as they ſit in their chaire, and give delight unto their auditorie: No ſooner is their ſpeech ended, but gone is the pleaſure of the one, and the glorie of the other. Thus the Auditours ſpend their time, and the ſpeakers employ their whole life in vaine. For this cauſe,it behooveth a yoong hearer to ſequeſter and ſet aſide the ranke ſuperfluitie of words and to ſeeke after the fruit it ſelfe: and heerein not to imitate women, that plait and make garlands of flowres, but to follow the Bees: For thoſe women laying for, and chooſing faire flowres and odoriferous herbes,twiſt, plat and compoſe them ſo, as they make thereof a peece of worke (I muſt needs ſay) pleaſant to the ſenſes; but fruitleſſe altogether, and not laſting above one day: whereas the Bees flying oftentimes over & over the medowes full of Violets, Roſes and Crowtoes,light at length upon Thyme,an herbe of a moſt ſtrong ſent, and quicke taſte and there ſettle,

Intending then great paines to take
The yellow honie for to make,

and when they have gathered from them ſome profitable juice or liquor to ſerve their turne, they flie away unto their proper worke and buſineſſe. Semblably ought an auditour who is ſtudious of skill and knowledge, and hath his minde and underſtanding free from paſſions, to let paſſe, affected, flouriſhing and ſuperfluous words, yea, and ſuch matters alſo as be fit for the Stage and Theatre, reputing them to be food meet for drone Bees (I meane Sophiſters) and nothing good for honie: and rather with diligence and attentive heed to ſound the very depth and profound intention of the ſpeaker, for to draw that which is good & profitable: remēbring eftſoons,that he is not come thither as to a Theatre,either to ſee ſports & paſtimes,or to heare muſicke and Poeticall fables,but into a ſchoole & auditorie, for to learne how to amend and reforme his life by the rule of reaſon. And therefore he muſt enter into his owne heart and examine himſelfe when he is alone, how he was mooved and affected with the Lecture or Sermon that he heard; conſider (I ſay) and reaſon he ought with himſelfe whether he find any turbulent paſſions of his minde thereby dulced and appeaſed; whether any griefe or heavineſſe that trouble him be mitigated and aſſwaged; whether his courage and confidence of heart be more reſolute and better confirmed; and in one word, whether he feele any inſtinct unto vertue and honeſtie,to be more kindled and enflamed. When we riſe out of the Barbars chaire, we thinke it meete preſently to conſult with a mirrour or looking glaſſe; we ſtroke our head to ſee whether he hath polled and notted it well; we conſider and peruſe our beard and every haire whether we have the right cut, & be trimmed as we ought: a ſhame it were then,to depart from a ſchole or a lecture, and not immediately to retire apart and view our minde well, whether it have laide away any fooliſh thought that troubled it: whether it be eaſed of ſuperfluous and wandring thoughts,that clogged it: and be thereby more lightſome and pleaſant. For neither a Baine and Striph,as *Ariſton* ſaith, nor a ſermon doth any good, if the one do not ſcoure the skin, and the other clenſe the heart.

A yoong man therefore is to take joy and delight if he have made profit by a lecture, or be better edified by hearing a ſermon. And yet I write not this, as if this pleaſure ſhould be the finall end that he propoſeth to himſelfe when he goeth to ſuch a lecture or ſermon, neither would I have him thinke that he ſhould depart out of the Philoſophers ſchoole, with a merie note ſinging jocundly, or with a freſh and cheerefull countenance; ne yet to uſe meanes to be perfumed with ſweete odors and ointments, whereas he hath more need of Embracations, Fomentations and Cataplaſmes: but to take it well and be thankfull,if haply by ſome ſharpe words and cutting ſpeeches, any man hath cleanſed and purified his heart full of cloudie miſts and palpable darkenes, like as men drive Bee-hives and rid away Bees with ſmoke. For albeit, he that preacheth unto others ought not to be altogether careleſſe and negligent in his ſtile, but that it may carrie with it ſome pleaſure, delectation and grace, aſwel as probabilitie and reaſon: yet a yoong man when he commeth to heare ſhould not ſtand ſo much thereupon, but have leaſt regard thereto, eſpecially at the firſt: marrie afterwards (I will not ſay) but he may well ynough have an eie unto it alſo. For like as thoſe that drinke, after they have once quenched their thirſt, have leyſure to peruſe the cups & turne them about every way, to view and conſider the worke engraven or imprinted upon them: even ſo, when a yong ſtudent or auditor is well repleniſhed and furniſhed with doctrine, after he hath breathed and pauſed a while, may be permitted to conſider farther of the ſpeech, namely, what elegant and copious phraſes it hath. As for him, who at the verie beginning attendeth not nor cleaveth unto the matter and ſubſtance, but hunteth after the language onely, deſiring that it ſhould be pure Attike, fine and ſmooth: I can liken ſuch a one to him, who being empoiſoned will not drinke any Antidote or counterpoiſon, unleſſe the pot or cup wherein it is, be made of the Colian earth in *Attica*: or who in the cold of winter will not weare a garment, except it were made of the wooll that came from the Attike ſheepes backe; but had rather ſit ſtill idle doing nothing and ſtirring not, with ſome thin mantell and overworne gaberdine caſt over him, ſuch as be the orations of *Lyſias* his penning. The errours committed in this kinde, have beene the cauſe why there is found ſo little wit and underſtanding, and contrariwiſe ſo much tongue and bibble-babble, ſuch vaine chattring about words in yoong men throughout the Schooles: who never obſerve the life, the deeds, the carriage and demeanor in State government of a Philoſopher, but give all praiſe and commendation to his fine termes and elegant words, onely ſetting out his eloquence, action and readie deliverie of his oration, but will not in any wiſe learne or enquire whether the matter ſo uttered be profitable or unprofitable, neceſſarie or vaine and ſuperfluous.

Next to theſe precepts, how we ſhould heare a Philoſopher to diſcourſe at large and with a continued ſpeech, there followeth in good conſequence a rule and advertiſement as touching ſhort queſtions and problemes. A man that commeth as a bidden gueſt unto a great ſupper, ought to be content with that which is ſet before him upon the table, and neither to call for any viands elſe, nor to finde fault with thoſe that are preſent: He alſo that is invited to a Philoſophicall feaſt or banket (as I may ſay) of diſcourſes, in caſe they be matters and queſtions certaine and choſen long before for to be handled, ought to do nothing elſe but heare with patience and ſilence him that ſpeaketh: for they that diſtract and hale him away to other theames, interpoſing interrogations and demaunds, or otherwiſe moove doubts or make oppoſitions as he ſpeaketh, are troubleſome and unportunate hearers, ſuch as be unſociable and accord not with an auditorie; who beſides that they receive no profit themſelves, diſturbe both the ſpeaker and the ſpeech alſo. But in caſe the partie that ſtandeth *ad oppoſitum*, doe of himſelfe will and pray his auditors to aske him queſtions and to propoſe what they will, then they ought to propound ſuch demaunds as be either neceſſarie or profitable. *Vliſſes* verily in *Homer* was mocked by the wooers of his wife, becauſe

He cald for ſhieves of bread to eat,
And not for ſwords or caudrons neat.

For it was reputed a ſigne of magnanimity to demaund, aſwel as to give things of great price and value. Much more then might a man deride and laugh at the auditor, who will moove unto a Maſter or Doctour of the Chaire, trifling, frivolous and fruitleſſe queſtions, as otherwhiles ſome of theſe yoong men do: who taking pleaſure to vaunt themſelves, and to ſhew what great ſchollers they are in Logicke or the Mathematikes, are woont to put foorth queſtions as touching the ſections of things indefinite: alſo, what be litterall motions or Diametricall? Vnto whom a man may verie well anſwere as *Philotimus* the Phiſitian did unto one that had a ſuppuration in his chiſt, and by reaſon of an inward ulcer of his lungs was in a conſumption, who comming to him for counſell, deſired that he would give him a medicine for a little whit-flow growing about the roote of his naile: but *Philotimus* perceiving by his colour and ſhortnes of winde in what caſe he was; My good friend (quoth he) you have no ſuch need of a cure for your whit-flow, you may hold your peace well enough at this time for any danger there: Even ſo, it may be ſaid unto one of theſe yoong men; There is no time now to thinke or diſpute upon ſuch queſtions, but rather by what meanes you may be freed from preſumptuous overweening of your ſelfe, from pride and arrogance, from wanton love and fooliſh toies: that you may be ſetled in a ſound ſtate of life, devoide of vanitie. Moreover, this yoong man is to have a good eie and regard unto the ſufficiencie of the ſpeaker, whether it be by naturall inclination, or gotten by experience and practiſe, and accordingly to frame and direct his queſtions in thoſe points wherein he is moſt excellent: and in no wiſe to force him who is well read and ſtudied in Morall Philoſophie,to anſwer unto Phyſical or Mathematicall queſtions: or him that is better ſeene in Natural Philoſophy to draw unto Logick, for to give his judgment of Hypothetical propoſitions & to reſolve them: or to move the knots & make ſolution of falſe Syllogiſms, Elenches ſophiſticall and ſuch fallacies. For like as one that would goe about to cleave wood with a key, or unlocke a doore with an axe, ſeemeth not ſo much to doe hurt unto thoſe inſtruments, as to deprive himſelfe of the proper uſe and commoditie as well of the one as the other; Even ſo, they that require of a Speaker that which he is not apt unto by nature, or wherein he is not well practiſed,& will not reape,gather & take that which willingly commeth from him,and wherewith he is able to furniſh them,are not only hurt therein,but incurre the name and blame of a pieviſh,froward and malicious nature. Furthermore this heed would be taken,not to overlay him with many queſtions, nor oftentimes to urge him therewith. For this bewraieth one, that in ſome ſort loveth to heare himſelfe ſpeake and would be ſeene: whereas, when another doth propoſe a queſtion to give attentive eare, and that with mildnes and patience, is a ſigne of a ſtudious perſon, and one that knoweth well how to behave himſelfe in companie, and can abide that others ſhould learne aſwell as he: unleſſe perhaps ſome private and particular occurrent do urge the contrarie, or ſome paſſion do hinder, which had neede to be ſtaied and repreſſed,or elſe ſome maladie and imperfection which requireth remedie. For peradventure as *Heraclitus* ſaith,it were not good for one to hide and conceale his owne ignorance,but to let it appeere and be knowen, and ſo to cure it. But ſay, that ſome fit of choler, ſome aſſault of ſcrupulous ſuperſtition, or ſome violent quarell and jarre with one houſhold and kinsfolke, or ſome furious paſſion proceeding from wanton luſt,

Which doth the ſecret heart ſtrings move,
That earſt were never ſtir'd with love,

trouble our underſtanding, and put it out of tune, we ought not for the avoiding of a reproofe, to flie for refuge to other matters,and interrupt the diſcourſe begun, but be deſirous to heare of ſuch things, even in open places of exerciſes; and after the exerciſe or lecture done, to take the Philoſophers or Readers aſide, and conferre with them, to be further enformed: not as many doe, who are well enough contented to heare Philoſophers ſpeake of others, and have them therefore in great admiration: but if it chance that a Philoſopher leave other men, and turne his ſpeech to them apart,to tell them freely and boldly what he thinketh, admoniſhing and putting them in minde of ſuch things as do concerne them, then they are in a chafe, then they ſay he ſpeakes beſides the text and more then needs. For of this opinion are theſe men, That wee are to heare Philoſophers in Schooles for paſtime, as plaiers of Tragedies in a Theatre upon the Stage: As for other matters out of the Schoole, they holde them no better men than themſelves: and to ſay a trueth, good reaſon have they ſo to deeme of Sophiſters, who are no ſooner out of their chaires,or come downe from off the pulpit,and when their books, and pettie introductions are laid out of their hands, but in other ſerious actions and parts of this life to be diſcourſed of, a man ſhall finde them as raw as other, and nothing better skilled than the vulgar ſort. But to come unto thoſe Philoſophers indeed, who worthily are ſo to be called and eſteemed, ignorant are ſuch perſons above rehearſed, that their words (be they ſpoken in earneſt or in game) their becks, their nods, their countenance, whether it be compoſed to ſmiling or to frowning, but principally their words directed privately to every one a part, be all ſignificant, and cary ſome fruit commodious to thoſe that with patience will give them leave to ſpeake, and are willing and uſed to hearken unto them.

As concerning the praiſes which we are to attribute unto them for their eloquence and well ſpeaking, there would in this dutie ſome wiſe caution & meane be uſed: for that in this caſe,neither overmuch nor too little is commendable & honeſt. And verily that ſcholar, who ſeemeth not to be moved or touched with any thing that he heareth, is a heavie and unſupportable auditour, full of a ſecret preſumptuous opinion of himſelfe, conceited inwardly of his owne ſufficiencie,of an inbred ſelfe-love and aptneſſe to ſpeake much of his owne doings,ſhewing evidently that he thinketh he can ſpeake better than that which hath beene delivered: In regard whereof, he never ſtirs brow any way decently, he uttereth not a word to teſtifie that he heareth willingly and with contentment: but by a certaine forced ſilence, affected gravitie, and counterfeit countenance, would purchaſe and winne unto himſelfe the reputation of a ſtaied man, of a profound and deepe clerke: and is as ſparie of his praiſes,as of his purſe and money in it, imagining that they bid him loſſe,who would have him part with any one jot thereof, as if he robbed himſelfe of ſo much as he imparted to another. For many there be who miſconſter & interpret in ill ſenſe one ſentence of *Pythagoras*, when he ſaith, That he had gotten this fruit by the ſtudie of Philoſophie, namely, to have nothing in admiration. And theſe men are of this opinion, that becauſe they are not to admire, praiſe, and honor others, therefore they muſt deſpiſe and diſpraiſe them, and by the diſdaine and contempt of others they thinke themſelves to ſeeme grave and venerable. For reaſon Philoſophicall, although it rejecteth that woonder and admiration which proceedeth of doubt or ignorance, for that ſhe knoweth the cauſe of everie thing, and is able to diſcourſe thereof; yet for all that it condemneth not courteſie, magnanimitie and humanitie. For certes unto ſuch as truely and certainly are good, a right great honor it is to honour thoſe that are worthie of honor: alſo for a man to adorne another is an excellent ornament proceeding from a ſuperabundance (as it were) of glorie and honor which is in himſelfe, voide of all envie and malice. Whereas thoſe that be niggards in praiſing of another, ſeeme to be poore & bare themſelves that way, & bewray how hungrie they be after their owne praiſes. Now on the contrarie ſide, he who without all judgement & diſcretion at everie word and ſyllable (in a maner) is readie to riſe up & give acclamation, offendeth aſmuch another way, being a man of levitie and inconſtancie, oftentimes diſpleaſeth, even them that be the ſpeakers, but alwaies is offenſive and troubleſome to other aſſiſtants about him: cauſing them to riſe up eftſoons & lift up themſelves againſt their wils, drawing them perforce to do as they ſee him do, and even for verie ſhame and modeſtie, to ſet up ſome cries and acclamations with him for companie. Now after that he hath reaped no fruit nor edification by the oration that he hath heard, for that he had ſo troubled and diſquieted the auditorie by his unſeaſonable praiſes, he returneth from thence with one of theſe three additions to his ſtile: namely, either a Mocker, a Flatterer, or a Blockhead, who underſtood not what was ſaid. A judge I muſt needs ſay, when he ſitteth upon the ſeat of Iuſtice to heare and determine cauſes, ought to give eare unto both parties without hatred or favour, voide of all affection, and reſpective onely to right and equitie. But in the auditories where learned men are met together, there is neither law nor oath hindereth us, but that we may heare him with favour and benevolence, who doth ſpeake and diſcourſe unto us. And even our ancients in old time were woont to place and ſet *Mercurie* in their temples neere unto the Graces, giving us thereby to know that above all things, a ſpeech publikely delivered, requireth a gracious and friendly audience: for they never thought that the ſpeaker would be ſuch an outcaſt, or ſo farre ſhort and unſufficient; but if he were not able either to ſay ſomewhat of his owne invention praiſe worthy, or to report from auncients that which is memorable, or to deliver the ſubject matter of his ſpeech together with his drift and intention, ſo as it deſerved applauſe: yet at leaſtwiſe, his eloquution and diſpoſition of everie part might be commendable: for according to the old proverb,

With Calthrap-thiſtles rough and keen,
with pricky Reſt-harrow,
Cloſe Scions faire and white are ſeen
with ſoft walflowres to grow.

For if ſome to ſhew their wit, have taken upon them the praiſe of vomiting, others of fever, and ſome iwis of a pot or caudron, and yet have not failed of favor and approbation: how can it otherwiſe be, but that the oration compaſſed by a grave perſonage, who in ſome ſort is reputed, or at leaſtwiſe called a Philoſopher, ſhould miniſter unto benevolent, gracious and courteous Auditours ſome reſpit and opportunitie of time for to praiſe and commend the ſame? Al thoſe that are in the flowre and prime of their age, ſaith *Plato*, one way or other, do affect and moove him that is enamoured on them: inſomuch as if they be white of colour, he calleth them the children of the gods: if blacke of hew, he termes them manly and magnanimous: be one hawke-noſed, ſuch he nameth Roiall and of a kingly race: is he camoiſe or flat noſed, him he will have to be gentle, pleaſant and gracious: and to conclude, looketh one pale & yellow, then to cover and mollifie in ſome ſort that ill colour, he uſeth to call him Hony-face: and every one of theſe defects, he loveth and embraceth as ſeverall beauties: For in love is no lacke, and of this nature it is to claſpe and cleave to every thing that it can reach or meet withall, in maner of Ivy; much more then wil he that is a ſtudious ſcholar & a diligent hearer, find alwaies one thing or other, for which he may ſeeme worthily to praiſe any one that mounteth up into the chaire for to declaime or diſcourſe. For even *Plato* himſelfe, who in the oration of *Lyſias* commended not the invention; and as for the diſpoſition thereof, utterly found fault therewith as diſorderly and confuſed: yet he praiſed his ſtile and eloquution, & gave this attribute unto it, that every word was perſpicuous and lightſome, and withall ran round, as if they all had beene artificiallie wrought with the Turners inſtrument. A man that were ſo diſpoſed, may ſeeme in reaſon to reproove in *Archylocus* the argument and ſubject matter: in *Parmenides* the compoſition of his verſes: in *Phocylides,* the meane and homely matter: the loquacity of *Euripides,* and the inequalitie or uneven ſtile of *Sophocles*: After which ſort, you ſhall have among Oratours and Rhetoricians, one who cannot expreſſe the naturall diſpoſition of a man, another who hath no power in reſembling paſſions & affections, and another againe who faileth in grace: and yet ech one of them commendable enough for ſome particular and eſpeciall gift, either to moove or to delight. In which regard, the hearers alſo, may find ſufficient matter & pleaſure enough to gratifie and content if they liſt, thoſe that ſpeake and make orations to them. For ſome of them it ſufficeth although we do not teſtifie our good liking of them by lively and open voice, to give them a favourable regard of the eie, to ſhew them a milde and gentle viſage, a cheerefull looke, an amiable diſpoſition of the countenance, without any ſigne of ſadnes and heavineſſe. And verily, theſe things are growen now to be ſo common and ordinary, that we can affoord them even to thoſe who ſpeake but ſo ſo and to no purpoſe at all; inſomuch, as every auditorie can skill thereof: But to ſit ſtill modeſtly in his place without any token of diſdaine; to beare the body upright, leaning neither one way nor other; to fixe the eie wiſtly upon him that ſpeaketh; to ſhew a forward geſture, as if one gave great attention and marked every word ſeriouſly; to ſet and diſpoſe the countenance plaine, pure and ſimple, without any ſignification at all, not onely of contempt or diſcontentment, but alſo of all other cares and thoughts whatſoever, be evident tokens of approbation, and tend all thereto. For, as in every thing els, beautie and favour is compoſed and framed (as it were) of many numbers meeting and concurring in one, and all together at the ſame time, and that by a certaine ſymmetrie, conſonance and harmonie: but that which is foule and ill favoured, is bred immediatly by the leaſt thing in the world, that either is wanting, or added and put to abſurdly, otherwiſe than it ſhould; even ſo we may notably obſerve in this action of hearing, not onely the knitting and bending of the browes, or the heavie cheere of the viſage, a crooked aſpect and wandring caſt of the eye, a writhing away or turning about of the bodie, an undecent change of the thighes croſſe one over another: but a very nod of the head, or winke of the eye alone, the whiſpering or rounding one of another in the eare, a bare ſmile, gapings, and drowſie yawnings, as if a man were ready to drop aſleepe: finally, the hanging downe of the head, and whatſoever geſtures of that ſort, wee are countable for as fault woorthy, and they would be carefully taken heed of. Howbeit, there be ſome of this opinion, that the ſpeaker indeed ought to looke unto himſelfe and his behaviour when hee is aloft; but the hearers beneath need not. They would (I ſay) have him who is to make a ſpeech in publike place, to come well prepared, and with diligent præmeditation of that which he ought to ſay: but as for the hearers, they have no more to doe but to take their places, without any forethinking of the matter, without any care and regard at all of duetie and demeanour after they be ſet, as if they were come to a very ſupper, and nothing els, there to take their repaſt or eaſe themſelues, whiles others take paine and travell. And yet a gueſt that goeth to ſuppe with another, hath ſomething to doe and obſerve when he ſits at the table, if hee would be thought civill and manerly: how much more then, in all reaſon, is an auditour bound ſo to do, who is to heare another ſpeake. For he is partaker with him of his ſpeech, yea, and by right, a coadjutour of him: he ought not then, to examine rigourouſly his faults eſcaped; hee is not to ſift narrowly, and weigh in ſevere ballance ech word of his, and every geſture; whiles hee himſelfe (exempt from cenſure and controlment, and without feare of being eſpied and ſearched into) committeth many enormities, unſeemly parts, and incongruities in hearing. For like as at Tennis play, he that receiveth the ball, ought in the ſtirring and motion of his bodie to accommodate himſelfe handſomely and in order to his fellow that ſmit it; even ſo betweene the ſpeaker and the hearer, if both of them obſerve their duetie and decencie, there would be a mutuall and reciprocall proportion. Now in yeelding praiſes unto the Reader or Speaker, we muſt not inconſiderately, uſe all maner of termes and acclamations without diſcretion: For *Epicurus* himſelfe is not well liked, but odious, when he ſaith, That upon the reading of any letters miſſive from his friends unto him, they that were about him did ſet up exceſſive outcries and applauſes, with troubleſome clapping of their hands. And verily thoſe who bring in now adayes into the auditorie uncoth and ſtrange noiſes by way of acclamation; they alſo who have brought up theſe termes; O heavenly and divine ſpeech; The voice of God & not of man, uttered by his mouth; and, Who is able to come neere unto him? as though it were not ſufficient, ſimply thus to ſay; O well ſaid, Wiſely ſpoken, or, Truely delivered; which were the teſtimonies and ſignes of praiſe which *Plato*, *Socrates*, and *Hyperides* uſed in old time) ſuch men, I ſay, doe highly offend, and paſſe the bounds of decencie exceeding much : nay, they doe traduce and abuſe the ſpeakers themſelves, as though they did hunt after, and lay for ſuch exceſſive and proud commendations. Thoſe alſo be odious and unpleaſant, who as if they were in ſome judiciall Court, depoſe and give formall teſtimonie as touching the honour of the ſpeakers, and binde the ſame with an oth: neither be they in leſſe fault, who without regard of the qualitie of perſons, doe accomodate unto them their titles of praiſe beſide all decorum : As for example, when they be ready to crie aloud unto a Philoſopher, O quicke and wittie ſaying! and unto an olde man, O what a brave and jolly ſpeech is this! transferring and applying unto Philoſophers thoſe words and termes that ordinarily are uſed or attributed to plaiers, or ſuch as exerciſe and ſhew themſelves in ſcholaſticall declamations: and to a ſerious and ſober oration, giving a praiſe more beſeeming a light and wanton courtiſan : which is as much, as if upon the head of a victorious champion, they ſhould ſet a garland of lillies or roſes, and not of the lawrell or wilde olive tree. *Euripides* verily, the Poet, when one overheard him as he prompted and endited unto the actors or perſons in the *Chorus*, a certaine ſong ſet to muſicall harmonie, and therewith laughed heartilie whiles he inſtructed them in ſinging the ſame; If thou wert not (quoth hee) ſome blockiſh and ſenſeleſſe dolt, thou wouldeſt never laugh when I ſung a heavy mixt-Lydian tune, or a note to a dumpe or dolefull dittie. Semblably, a grave Philoſopher, and a man exerciſed in managing State affaires, might very well in mine adviſe, cut off, and repreſſe the delicate inſolency of ſome auditour, over wantonly diſpoſed to mirth and jolity, by ſaying thus unto him; Thou ſeemeſt unto me a brainſick fellow, & untaught: for otherwiſe whiles I am teaching, preaching, and reprooving vices, diſcourſing and reading of policie and the adminiſtration of Common weale, of the nature of the gods, or the duetie of a Magiſtrate, thou wouldeſt neither daunce thus and ſing as thou doeſt. For conſider with me in trueth, what a diſorder is this, That when a Philoſopher is in the Schoole at his lecture reading, they within ſhould keepe a crying and howling, and make ſuch noiſes, as they that be without can not tell whether it be ſome piper, harper, or dauncer that they thus do praiſe, ſuch a cōfuſed brute they make within. Moreover, we ought not to heare the reprehenſions, rebukes, and corrections of Philoſophers, rechleſly without ſenſe of griefe and diſpleaſure, nor yet unmanly: for they that can ſo well abide to be reprooved or blamed by a Philoſopher, and make nothing adoe at it, inſomuch as when they be found fault withall, they fall a laughing, or can finde in their hearts to praiſe thoſe that do reprehend them, much like unto theſe flattering Paraſites, who are content to extoll and commend their good maſters that give them their meat and drinke, notwithſtanding they be reviled and taunted by them: theſe fellowes (I ſay) of all others, be moſt raſh, audacious and bolde, ſhewing thereby their ſhameleſſe impudencie, which is no good nor true argument of courage and fortitude. As for a pretie ſcoffe pleaſantly delivered, and in mirth, without any wrong meant, or touch of credit, if a man know how to take it well, and be not moved thereby to choler and diſpleaſure, but laugh it out, it doth argue no baſe minde, nor want of wit and underſtanding, but is a liberall and gentleman-like qualitie, ſavouring much of the ingenuous maner of the Lacedæmonians. But to heare a ſharpe checke that toucheth the very quicke, and a reprehenſion to reforme maners, delivered in cutting and tart words, much like unto an egar and biting medicine, and therwith not to be caſt downe, and ſhrinke together for feare, nor to run all into a ſweat, or be ready to reele and ſtagger with a dizineſſe in the head, for very ſhame that hath ſet the heart on fire, but to ſeeme inflexible and nothing thereat moved, ſmiling in ſome ſort, and drily ſcoffing after a diſſembling maner, is a notable ſigne of a moſt diſſolute and illiberall nature, paſt all grace, and that baſheth for nothing, being ſo long wonted and inured to euill doing; in ſuch ſort, as the heart and conſcience is hardened and overgrowen with a certaine brawne and thicke skinne, which will not receive the marke or wale of any laſh, be it never ſo ſmart. And as there be many ſuch, ſo you ſhall meet with other youthes of another nature meere contrary unto them; who if they happen but once to be checked and to heare ill, are ſoone gone, and will not turne againe, but quit the Philoſophie ſchooles for ever. Theſe being endued by nature with the good rudiments and beginnings of vertue tending unto felicity another day, to wit, Shamefaſtneſſe and Abaſhment, looſe the benefit thereof, in that by reaſon of their overmuch delicacy and effæminate minds, they can not abide reproofs, nor with generoſitie endure correctious, but turne away their itching eares, to heare rather the pleaſant and ſmooth tales of ſome flatterers or ſophiſters, which yeeld them no fruit nor profit at all in the end. For as hee, who after inciſion made, or the feat of diſmembring performed by the Chyrurgian, runneth away from him, and will not tary to have his wound bound up or ſeared, ſuſtaineth all the paine of the cure, but miſſeth the good that might enſue thereof: even ſo he, who unto that ſpeech of the Philoſopher which hath wounded and launced his follie and untowardneſſe, will not give leaſure to heale the ſame up, and bring it to a perfect & confirmed skin againe, goeth his waies with the painfull bit and dolorous ſting, but wanteth all the helpe and benefit of Philoſophie. For not onely the hurt that *Telephus* received, as *Euripides* ſaith,

By skales of ruſt both eaſe and remedie found,
Fil'd from the ſpeare, that firſt did make the wound.

but alſo the pricke inflicted upon a towardly yoong man by Philoſophie, is healed by the ſame words that did the hurt. And therefore when hee findeth himſelfe checked and blamed, feele he muſt and ſuffer ſome ſmart, abide (I ſay) he ought to be bitten, but not to be cruſhed and confounded therewith, not to be diſcouraged and diſmaide for ever. Thus he is to thinke of himſelfe being now inducted in Philoſophie, as if he were a novice newly inſtituted and profeſſed in ſome religious orders and ſacred myſteries: namely, that after he hath patiently endured a while the firſt expiatorie purifications and troubles, he may hope at the end thereof to ſee and finde ſome ſweete and goodly fruit of conſolation, after this preſent diſquietneſſe and agonie. Say alſo, that he were wrongfully and without cauſe thus ſnubbed and rebuked by the Philoſopher, yet he ſhall do well to have patience and ſit out the end. And after the ſpeech finiſhed, he may addreſſe an Apologie unto him and juſtifie himſelfe, praying him to reſerve this libertie of ſpeech and vehemency of reproofe which he now uſed, for to repreſſe and redreſſe ſome other fault, which he ſhall indeed have committed. Moreover, like as in Grammar, the learning to ſpel letters and to reade: in Muſicke alſo to play upon the Lute or Harpe; yea and in bodily exerciſe, the feat of wreſtling and other activities, at the beginning be paineful, cumberſome, and exceeding hard, but after that one be well entred and have made ſome progreſſe therein, by little and little continuall uſe and cuſtome (much after the manner of converſing and acquaintance among men) maketh maiſtrie, engendreth further knowledge, and then everie thing that was ſtronge and difficult before, prooveth familiar and eaſie ynough both to ſay and doe: Even ſo, it fareth in Philoſophie, whereat the firſt there ſeemeth no doubt to be ſome ſtrangeneſſe, obſcuritie, and I wot not what barrenneſſe, aſwell in the termes and words, as in the matters therein contained: Howbeit, for all that a yoong man muſt not for want of heart be aſtonied at the firſt entrance into it, nor yet for faintneſſe be diſcouraged and give over: but make proofe and triall of every thing, perſevere and continue in diligence, deſirous ever to paſſe on ſtill and proceed further, and as it were, to draw well before, waiting and attending the time which may make the knowledge thereof familiar by uſe and cuſtome, the onely meanes which cauſeth everie thing that is of itſelfe good and honeſt, to be alſo ſweete and pleaſant in the ende. And verily this familiaritie will come on apace, bringing with it a great cleerneſſe and light of learning: it doth ingenerate alſo an ardent love and affection to vertue, without which love, a man were moſt wretched or timorous, if he ſhould apply himſelfe to follow another courſe of life, having once given over for want of heart the ſtudie of Philoſophie. But peradventure it may fall out ſo, that young men not well experienced, may find at the beginning ſuch difficulties in ſome matters that hardly or unneth at all they ſhall be able to comprehend them. Howbeit, they are themſelves partly the cauſe that they doe incurre this obſcuritie and ignorance: who being of divers and contrarie natures, yet fall into one and the ſelfeſame inconvenience. For ſome upon a certaine reſpectuous reverence which they bare unto their Reader and Doctour, or becauſe they would ſeeme to ſpare him, are afraid to aske queſtions, and to be confirmed and reſolved in doubts ariſing from the doctrine which he delivereth: and ſo give ſignes by nodding their heads that they approove all, as if they underſtood everie thing verie well. Others againe by reaſon of a certaine importune ambition and vaine emulation of others, for to ſhew the quickneſſe and promptitude of their wit, and their readie capacitie, giving out that they fully underſtand that which they never conceived, by that meanes attaine to nothing. And thus it commeth to paſſe, that thoſe baſhfull ones, who for modeſtie and ſhamefaſtnes are ſilent and dare not aske that whereof they are ignorant, after they be departed out of the auditorie, are in heavineſſe and doubtfull perplexitie, untill at laſt they be driven of neceſſitie with greater ſhame to trouble thoſe who have once already delivered their doctrine, to runne (I ſay) unto them backe againe and moove queſtions anew. And as for theſe ambitious, bold and preſumptuous perſons they be forced to palliat, cover and diſguiſe their ignorance and blindnes which abideth with them for ever. Therefore caſting behinde us and rejecting all ſuch ſtupiditie and vanitie; let us take paines and endevour howſoever we do, to learne and throughly to comprehend, all profitable diſcourſes that ſhall be taught unto us: and for to effect this, let us be content gently to beare the ſcoffes and deriſions of others, that thinke themſelves quicker of conceit than our ſelves: according to the example of *Cleanthes* and *Xenocrates*, who being ſomwhat more groſſe and dull of capacitie than others their ſchool-fellowes, ran not therefore away from ſchoole, nor were any whit diſcouraged, but the firſt that ſcoffed and made ſport with themſelves, ſaying, they were like unto narrow mouthed veſſels and braſen tables, for that they hardly conceived any thing that was taught them, but they retained and kept the ſame ſafe and ſurely when they had it once: for not onely as *Phocylides* ſaith,

Who ſeekes in th'end for goodnes and for praies,
Meane while muſt be deceived many waies.

but alſo to ſuffer himſelfe to be mocked oftentimes and to endure much reproch, to abide broad jeſts and ſkurrile ſkoffes: expelling ignorance with all his might and maine; yea, and conquering the ſame.

Moreover, we muſt be carefull to avoide one fault more, which many commit on the contrarie ſide; who for that they be ſomewhat ſlow of apprehenſion and idle withall, are verie troubleſome unto their teachers, and importune them overmuch: when they be apart by themſelves, they will not take any paines nor labour to underſtand that which they have heard; but they put their maſters to new travell, who reade unto them: asking and enquiring of them ever and anon concerning one and the ſame thing, reſembling herein yoong callow birds which are not yet fethered and fledg'd, but alwaies gaping toward the bill of the damme, and ſo by their good wils would have nothing given them, but that which hath beene chewed and prepared already. Now there be others yet, who deſirous beyond all reaſon to be counted quicke of wit and attentive hearers, wearie their maſters even as they are reading unto thẽ, with much prittle prattle, interrupting them everie foot in their lectures, demaunding of them one thing or other that is needleſſe and impertinent, calling for proofs and demonſtrations of things where no need is:

Thus they much paines for little take,
And of ſhort way long journeies make.

According as *Sophocles* ſaid, making much worke, not onely for themſelves, but alſo for others: For ſtaying their teacher thus as they doe everie foote with their vaine and ſuperfluous queſtions, as if they were walking together upon the way, they hinder the courſe of the lecture, being ſo often interrupted and broken off. Theſe fellowes then according to the ſaying of *Hierom*, in this doing are much like to cowardly & daſtardly curre dogs, which, when they be at home within houſe, will bite the hides and ſkinnes of wilde beaſts, and lie tugging at their ſhagged haire: but they dare not touch them abroad in the field. Furthermore, I would give thoſe others, who are but ſoft ſpirited and ſlow withall, this counſell that retaining the principall points of everie matter, they ſupplie the reſt apart by themſelves, exerciſing their memorie, and as it were leading it by the hand to all that dependeth thereto: to the end that when they have conceived in their ſpirit the words of others, as it were the elementarie beginning and the verie ſeede, they might nouriſh and augment the ſame: For that the minde and underſtanding of man is not of the nature of a veſſell that requireth to be filled up: but it hath neede onely of ſome match (if I may ſo ſay) to kindle and ſet it on fire (like as the matter ſtandeth ever in need of the efficient cauſe) which may ingender in it a certaine inventive motion, and an affection to finde out the truth. Well then, like as if a man going to his neighbour for to fetch fire, and finding there good ſtore, and the ſame burning light in the chimney, ſhould ſit him downe by it and warme himſelfe continually thereat, and never make care to take ſome of it home with hin, you would take him to be unwiſe: even ſo he, that commeth to another for to learne, and thinketh not that he ought to kindle his owne fire within and make light in his owne minde, but taketh pleaſure in hearing onely, and there ſitteth by his maſter ſtill, and joyeth onely in this contentment: he may well get himſelfe a kind of opinion by the words of another, like a freſh and red colour by ſitting by the fire ſide: but as for the moſſe or ruſt of his minde within, he ſhall never ſkoure it out, nor diſperſe the darkenes by the light of Philoſophie.

Now if there be neede yet of one precept more to atchieve the dutie of a good auditour, it is this, That we ought to remember eftſoones that which now I have to ſay: namely, That we exerciſe our wit and underſtanding by our ſelves, to invent ſomething of our owne, aſwell as to comprehend that which we heare of others: to the end that we may acquire within our ſelves a certaine habitude, not ſophiſticall nor hiſtoricall, that is to ſay, apparant onely, and able to recite barely that which we have beene taught by others, but a more inwardly imprinted and philoſophicall,making this account, that the verie beginning of a good life,is to heare well and as we ought.

OF MORALL VERTVE.

The Summarie.

Before he entreth into the diſcourſe of vertues and vices, he treateth of Morall vertue in generall: propounding in the firſt place the diverſitie of opinions of Philoſophers as touching this point: the which he diſcuſſeth and examineth: Wherein after that he had begun to diſpute concerning the compoſition of the ſoule, he adjoineth his owne opinion touching that propertie, which Morall vertue hath particularly by it ſelfe, as alſo wherein it differeth from contemplative Philoſophie. Then having defined the Mediocritie of this vertue, and declared the difference betweene Continence and Temperance, he ſpeaketh of the impreſſion of reaſon in the ſoule. And by this meanes addreſſeth himſelfe againſt the Stoicks,& diſputeth cōcerning the affections of the ſoule: prooving the inequalitie therein, with ſuch a refutation of the contrarie objections, that after he had taught how the reaſonleſſe part of the ſoule, ought to be mannaged, he diſcovereth by divers ſimilitudes and reaſons, the abſurdities of the ſaid Stoicke Philoſophers, who inſteed of well governing and ruling the ſoule of man, have as much as lieth in them, extinguiſhed and aboliſhed the ſame.

OF MORALL VERTVE.

MY purpoſe is to treate of that vertue, which is both called and alſo reputed Morall, and namely wherein it differeth eſpecially from vertue contemplative: as having for the ſubject matter thereof, the paſſions of the minde, and for the forme, Reaſon: Likewiſe of what nature and ſubſtance it is; as alſo, how it doth ſubſiſt and hath the Being: to wit, whether that part of the ſoule which is capable of the ſaid vertue be endued and adourned with reaſon as appropriate and peculiar unto it; or, whether it borrow it from other parts, &ſo receiving it, be like unto things mingled, and adhering to the better: or rather, for that being under the government and rule of another, it be ſaid to participate the power and puiſſance of that which commendeth it? For, that vertue alſo may ſubſiſt and have an eſſentiall being, without any ſubject matter and mixture at all, I ſuppoſe it is very evident and apparent. But firſt and formoſt, I hold it very expedient, briefly to run through the opinions of other Philoſophers, not ſo much by way of an Hiſtoricall narration and ſo an end, as, that when they be once ſhewed and laid abroad, our opinion may both appeere more plainly, and alſo be held more ſurely.

Menedemus then, who was borne in the citie *Eretria*, aboliſhed all pluralitie and difference of vertues, ſuppoſing that there was but one onely vertue, and the ſame knowen by ſundry names: For he ſaid, that it was but one and the ſame thing, which men called Temperance, Fortitude, and Iuſtice: like as if one ſhould ſay, A Reaſonable creature and a man, he meaneth the ſelfe ſame thing. As for *Ariſton* the Chian, he was of opinion likewiſe, that in ſubſtance there was no more but one vertue, the which he termed by the name of Health: mary, in ſome divers reſpects, there were many vertues, and thoſe different one from another: as namely for example, if a man ſhould call our eie-ſight, when it beholdeth white things *Leucothea*: when it ſeeth black *Melanthie*: and ſo likewiſe in other matters. For vertue, (quoth he) which concerneth and conſidereth what we ought either to do or not to do, beareth the name of Prudence: when it ruleth and ordereth our luſt or concupiſcence, limiting out a certaine meaſure, and lawfull proportion of time unto pleaſures, it is called Temperance: if it intermedle with the commerce, contracts and negotiation betweene man and man, then it is named Iuſtice: like as (to make it more plaine) a knife is the ſame ſtill, although it cut, now one thing, and then another: and the fire notwithſtanding it worketh upon ſundry matters, yet it remaineth alwaies of one and the ſame nature. It ſeemeth alſo, that *Zeno* the Citiean, inclined in ſome ſort to this opinion, who in defining Prudence, ſaith, that when it doth diſtribute to every man his owne, it ought to be called Iuſtice when it is occupied in objects either to be choſen or avoided, then it is Temperance; and in bearing or ſuffring, it ſhould be named Fortitude. Now, they that defend and mainteine this opinion of *Zeno*, affirme, that by Prudence he underſtandeth Science or Knowledge. But *Chryſyppus*, who was of this minde, that ech vertue had a peculiar qualitie, and according to it, ought to be defined and ſet downe, wiſt not how (ere he was aware) he brought into Philoſophie, and as *Plato* ſaith, raiſed a ſwarme of vertues never knowne before, and wherewith the ſchooles had not beene acquainted. For like as of Valiant he derived Valour, of Iuſt Iuſtice, of Clement Clemencie: ſo alſo of Gracious, he comes in with Gratioſitie, of Good, Goodnes, of Great, Greatneſſe, of Honeſt, Honeſtie, and all other ſuch like Dexterities, affabilities and courteſies, he termed by the name of vertues, and ſo peſtered Philoſophie with new, ſtrange and abſurd words, more iwis than was needfull.

Now theſe Philoſophers agree jointly all in this, that they ſet downe vertue to be a certeine diſpoſition and power of the principall part of the ſoule, acquired by reaſon: or rather, that it is reaſon it ſelfe: and this they ſuppoſe as a truth confeſſed, certeine, firme and irrefragable. They hold alſo, that the part of the ſoule, ſubject to paſſions, ſenſuall, brutiſh and unreaſonable, differeth not from reaſon by any eſſentiall difference, or by nature: but they imagine, that the very part and ſubſtance of the ſoule which they call underſtanding, reaſon, and the principal part, being wholy turned and changed, as well in ſodaine paſſions, as alterations by habitude and diſpoſition, becommeth either vice or vertue, and in it ſelfe hath no brutiſhneſſe at all: but is named onely unreaſonable, according as the motion of the appetite and luſt is ſo powerfull, that it becommeth miſtreſſe, and by that meanes ſhe is driven and caried forcibly to ſome diſhoneſt and abſurd courſe, contrary to the judgement of reaſon: For they would have that very motion or paſſion it ſelfe to be reaſon, howbeit depraved and naught, as taking her force and ſtrength from falſe and perverſe judgement. Howbeit, all theſe (as it may ſeeme) were ignorant of this one point; namely, that ech one of us (to ſpeake truly) is double and compound: And as for one of theſe duplicities, they never throughly ſaw; that onely which is of the twaine more evident, to wit, the mixture or compoſition of the ſoule and body they acknowledge. And yet, that there is beſides a certeine duplicitie in the ſoule it ſelfe, which conſiſteth of two divers and different natures: and namely, that the brutiſh and reaſonles part, in maner of another bodie is combined and knit into reaſon by a certeine naturall linke of neceſſitie: It ſeemeth that *Pythagoras* himſelfe was not ignorant: And this we may undoubtedly gather and conjecture by his great diligence which he emploied in that Muſicke and Harmonie which he inferred for the dulcing, taming & appeaſing of the ſoule: as knowing ful wel, that all the parts thereof were not obedient and ſubject to inſtruction, learning and diſcipline, ne yet ſuch as might by reaſon be altered and trained from vice to vertue: but required ſome other kinde of perſwaſive power cooperative with it, for to frame the ſame and make it gentle and tractable: for otherwiſe it would be hardly or never conquered by Philoſophie, and brought within the compaſſe of obedience; ſo obſtinate and rebellious it is. And *Plato* verily was of this opinion (which he profeſſed openly, and held as a firme and vndoubted trueth) that the ſoule of this univerſall world, is not ſimple, uniforme, and uncompounded, but mixed (as it were) of a certaine power of *Identitie and of Diverſity. For after one ſort, it is governed and turned about continually in an uniforme maner, by meanes of one and the ſame order, which is powerfull and prædominant over all: and after another ſort againe, it is divided into circles, ſphœres, and motions, wandering and contrary in maner to the other: whereupon dependeth the beginning of diverſitie in generation of all things in the earth. Semblably (quoth he) the ſoule of man, being a part and portion of that univerſall ſoule of the world, compoſed likewiſe of proportions and numbers anſwerable to the other, is not ſimple and of one nature or affection, but one part thereof is more ſpirituall, intelligible and reaſonable, which ought of right and according to nature have the ſoveraigntie and command in man: the other is brutiſh, ſenſuall, erronious, and diſorderly

*i. The ſame.

of it ſelfe, requiring the direction and guidance of another. Now, this is ſubdivided againe into other two parts; whereof the one is alwaies called Corporall or Vegetative; the other Thymoeides, as one would ſay, Iraſcible and Concupiſcible; which one while doeth adhere and ſticke cloſe to the foreſaid groſſe and corporall portion : and otherwhiles to the more pure and ſpirituall part, which is the Diſcourſe of reaſon; unto which according as it doth frame and apply it ſelfe, it giveth ſtrength and vigor thereto. Now the difference betweene the one and the other, may be knowen principally by the fight and reſiſtance that often times is betweene underſtanding and reaſon on the one ſide, and the concupiſcence and wrathfull part on the other; which ſheweth that theſe other faculties are often diſobedient and repugnant to the beſt part. And verily, *Ariſtotle* uſed theſe principles and grounds eſpecially above all others at the firſt, as appeareth by his writings : but afterwards, he attributed the iraſcible part unto the concupiſcible, confounding them both together in one, as if ire were a concupiſcence or deſire of revenge. Howbeit, this he alwaies held to the very end, That the brutiſh and ſenſuall part, which is ſubject unto paſſions, was wholly and ever diſtinct from the intellectuall part, which is the ſame that reaſon : not that it is fully deprived of reaſon, as is that corporall and groſſe part of the ſoule, to wit, whereby we have ſenſe onely common with beaſts, and whereby we are nouriſhed as plants. But whereas, this being ſurd and deafe, and altogether uncapable of reaſon, doth after a ſort proceed and ſpring from the fleſh, and alwaies cleave unto the bodie: the other ſenſuall part which is ſo ſubject unto paſſions, although it be in it ſelfe deſtitute of reaſon, as a thing proper unto it: yet neverthele ſſe apt and fit it is to heare and obey the underſtanding and diſcourſing part of the minde; inſomuch as it will turne vnto it, ſuffer it ſelfe to be ranged and ordered according to the rules and precepts thereof; unleſſe it be utterly ſpoiled and corrupted, either by blinde and fooliſh pleaſure, or els by a looſe and intemperate courſe of life. As for them that make a wonder at this, and do not conceive how that part being in ſome ſort brutiſh and unreaſonable, may yet be obedient unto reaſon, they ſeeme unto me as if they did not well comprehend the might and power of reaſon : namely, how great it is, and forcible, or how farre forth it may pearce and paſſe in command, guidance and direction; not by way of rough, churliſh, violent, and irregular courſes, but by faire and formall meanes, which are able to doe more by gentle inducements and perſuaſions, than all the neceſſarie conſtraints and inforcements in the world. That this is ſo, it appeareth by the breath, ſpirits, ſinewes, bones, and other parts of the body, which be altogether void of reaſon : howbeit, ſo ſoone as there ariſeth any motion of the will, which ſhaketh (as it were) the reines of reaſon never ſo little, all of them keepe their order, they agree together, and yeeld obedience. As for example, if the minde and will be diſpoſed to run, the feet are quickly ſtretched out and ready for a courſe; the hands likewiſe ſettle to their buſineſſe, if there be a motion of the minde either to throw, or take holde of any thing. And verily, the Poet *Homer* moſt excellently expreſſeth the ſympathie and conformitie of this brutiſh part of the ſoule unto reaſon, in theſe verſes;

Thus wept the chaſte Penelope,
and drench't her lovely face
With dreary teares, which from her eyes
ran trickling downe apace
For tender heart, bewailing ſore
the loſſe of husband deere,
Vlyſſes *hight, who was in place*
ſet by her ſide full neere.
And he himſelfe in ſoule, no leſſe,
did pitie for to ſee
His beſt beloved thus to weepe:
but wiſe and craftie he
Kept in his teares: for why?
his eyes within the lids were ſet
As ſtiffe as yron and ſturdy horne,
one drop would they not ſhed.

In ſuch obedience to the judgement of reaſon he had his breath, ſpirits, his blood and his teares. An evident proofe hereof is to be ſeene in thoſe, whoſe fleſh doth riſe upon the firſt ſight of faire and beautifull perſons: for no ſooner doth reaſon or law forbid to come neere and touch them, but preſently the ſame falleth, lieth downe, and is quiet againe without any ſtirring or panting at all. A thing verie ordinarie and moſt commonly perceived in thoſe, who be enamored upon faire women, not knowing at firſt who they were: For ſo ſoone as they perceive afterwards, that they be their owne ſiſters or daughters, their luſt preſently cooleth, by meanes of reaſon that toucheth it and interpoſeth it ſelfe betweene: ſo that the bodie keepeth all the members thereof decently in order, and obedient to the judgement of the ſaid reaſon. Moreover, it falleth out oftentimes, that we eate with a good ſtomacke and great pleaſure certaine meates and viands, before we know what they are: but after we underſtand and perceive once that wee have taken either that which was uncleane or unlawfull and forbidden: not onely in our judgement and underſtanding we finde trouble and offence thereby; but alſo our bodily faculties agreeing to our opinion are diſmaied thereat: ſo that anon, there enſue vomits, ſicke quawmes, and overturnings of the ſtomake, which diſquiet all the whole frame. And were it not, that I greatly feared to be thought of purpoſe, to gather and inſert in my diſcourſe ſuch pleaſant and youthfull inducements, I could inferre in this place Pſalteries, Lutes, Harpes, Pipes, Flutes, and other like muſicall inſtruments, how they are deviſed by Art, for to accord and frame with humane paſſions: for notwithſtanding they be altogether without life, yet they ceaſe not to apply themſelves unto us, and the judgement of our minds, lamenting, ſinging, and wantonly diſporting together with us, reſembling both the turbulent paſſions, and alſo the milde affections and diſpoſitions of thoſe that play upon them. And yet verily it is reported alſo of *Zeno* himſelfe, that he went one day to the Theatre for to heare the Muſician *Amœbeus*, who ſung unto the Harpe: ſaying unto his ſcholers, Let us goe Sirs and learne what harmonie and muſicke the entrailes of beaſts, their ſinewes and bones: Let us ſee (I ſay) what reſonance and melodie bare wood may yeeld, being diſpoſed by numbers, proportions and order. But leaving theſe examples, I would gladly demaund and aske of them, if when they ſee dogs, horſes, and birds, which we nouriſh and keepe in our houſes, brought to that paſſe by uſe, feeding and teaching, that they learne to render ſenſible words, to performe certaine motions, geſtures, and divers feates, both pleaſant and profitable unto us; and likewiſe, when they read in *Homer*, how *Achilles* encouraged to battell both horſe and man; they doe marvell ſtill and make doubt, whether that part and facultie in us, whereby we are angrie, do luſt, joy or grieve, be of that nature that it can well obey reaſon, and be ſo affected and diſpoſed thereby that it may give aſſent thereto: conſidering eſpecially, that it is not ſeated or lodged without, nor ſeparated from us, ne yet framed by any thing which is not in us: no nor ſhapen by forcible meanes and conſtraint, to wit, by mold, ſtroke of hammer, or any ſuch thing: but as it is fitted and forged by nature, ſo it keepeth to her, is converſant with her, and finally perfited and accompliſhed by cuſtome and continuance. Which is the reaſon that verie properly Manners be called in Greeke by the name ἦθος, to give us to underſtand, that they are nothing elſe (to ſpeake plainely and after a groſſe manner) but a certaine qualitie imprinted by long continuance of time, in that part of the ſoule which of it ſelfe is unreaſonable: and is named ἦθος, for that the ſaid reaſonleſſe part framed by reaſon, taketh this qualitie or difference (call it whether you will) by the meanes of long time and cuſtom which they terme ἔθος. For reaſon is not willing to roote out quite all paſſions (which were neither poſſible nor expedient) but onely it doth limit them within certaine bounds, and ſetteth downe a kinde of order: and thus after a ſort cauſeth Morall vertues not to be impaſſibilities, but rather mediocrities and regularities, or moderations of our affections: and this it doth by the meanes of prudence and wiſedome, which reduceth the power of this ſenſuall and patheticall part, unto a civill and honeſt habitude. For theſe three things (they ſay) are in the ſoule of man, to wit, a naturall puiſſance or facultie, a paſſion or motion, and alſo an habitude. Now the ſaid facultie or power is the verie beginning, and (as a man would ſay) the matter of paſſions, to wit, the power or aptneſſe to be angrie, to be aſhamed, or to be confident and bold. The paſſion is the actuall mooving of the ſaid power: namely, anger it ſelfe, ſhame, confidence or boldnes. The habitude is a ſettled and confirmed ſtrength eſtabliſhed in the ſenſuall or unreaſonable part by continuall uſe and cuſtome: which if the paſſions be ill governed by reaſon, becommeth to be a vice: and contrariwiſe, a vertue; in caſe the ſame be well ordered and directed thereby. Moreover, foraſmuch as Philoſophers do not hold and affirme, that everie vertue is a mediocritie nor call it Morall: to the end therefore, that we may the better declare and ſhew the difference, we had need to fetch the beginning of this diſcourſe farther off.

Of all things then that be in the world, ſome have their eſſence and being of themſelves abſolutely and ſimply: others reſpectively and in relation to us. Abſolutely have their being the earth, the heaven, the ſtars, and the ſea: Reſpectively and in regard of us, Good, evill, profitable,

ble, hurtfull, pleaſant, and diſpleaſant. Now it being ſo, that reaſon doth contemplate and behold, the one ſort aſwell as the other: the former ranke of thoſe things which are ſimply and abſolutely ſo, pertaine unto ſcience and ſpeculation, as their proper objects: the ſecond kinde of thoſe things which are underſtood by reference and regard unto us, pertaine properly unto conſultation and action. And as the vertue of the former ſort is called Sapience: ſo the vertue of the other is named Prudence. For a difference there is betweene Prudence and Sapience: in this, that Prudence conſiſteth in a certaine relation & application of the contemplative facultie of the ſoule unto Action, and unto the regiment of the ſenſuall part according to reaſon: by which occaſion, Prudence had need of the aſſiſtance of Fortune: whereas Sapience hath nothing to do with it, no more than it hath need of conſultation, for to attaine and reach unto the ende it aymeth at. For that indeed it concerneth ſuch things as be ever one and alwaies of the ſame ſort. And like as the Geometrician never conſulteth as touching a triangle, to wit, whether it hath three angles equall to twaine that be right, or no? Becauſe he knoweth aſſuredly that it hath (for all conſultations are concerning things that varie and alter ſometime after one ſort, and otherwhiles after another, and never medleth with thoſe that be firme, ſtable, and immutable) even ſo, the underſtanding and contemplative facultie of the minde, exerciſing her functions in thoſe firſt and principall things which be permanent, and have evermore the ſame nature, not capable of chaunge and mutation, is ſequeſtred and exempt altogether from conſultation. But Prudence which deſcendeth to things full of varietie, error, trouble, and confuſion, muſt of neceſſitie eftſoones intermedle with caſualties, and uſe deliberation in things more doubtfull and uncertaine: yea and after it hath conſulted to proceed unto action, calling and drawing unto it the reaſonleſſe part alſo to be aſſiſtant and preſent, as drawen into the judgement of things to be executed. For need thoſe actions have of a certaine inſtinct and motion to ſet them forward, which this Morall habitude doth make in each paſſion, and the ſame inſtinct requireth likewiſe the aſſiſtance of reaſon to limit it that it may be moderate, to the ende that it neither exceed the meane, nor come ſhort and be defective: for that it cannot be choſen but this brutiſh and paſſible part hath motions in it; ſome overvehement, quicke and ſudden, others as ſlow againe, and more ſlacke than is meet. Which is the reaſon that our actions cannot be good but after one manner: whereas, they may be evill after divers ſorts: like as a man cannot hit the marke but one way: marie he may miſſe ſundrie waies, either by overſhooting or comming ſhort. The part and dutie then, of that active facultie of reaſon according to nature, is to cut off and take away all thoſe exceſſive or defective paſſions, and to reduce them unto a mediocritie. For whereas the ſaid inſtinct or motion, either by infirmitie, effeminate delicacie, feare, or ſlothfulneſſe, doth faile and come ſhort of dutie and the end required, there active reaſon is preſent ready to rouſe, excite, and ſtirre up the ſame. Againe on the other ſide, when it runneth on end beyond all meaſure, after a diſſolute and diſorderly manner, there reaſon is preſt, to abridge that which is too much, and to repreſſe and ſtay the ſame: thus ruling and reſtraining theſe patheticall motions, it breedeth in man theſe Morall vertues whereof we ſpeake, imprinting them in that reaſonleſſe part of the mind: and no other they are than a meane betweene exceſſe and defect. Neither muſt we thinke, That all vertues do conſiſt in a mediocritie: for Sapience or Wiſedome, which ſtand in no need at all of the brutiſh and unreaſonable part, and conſiſt onely in the pure and ſincere intelligence and diſcourſe of underſtanding, and not ſubject to all paſſions, is the verie height and excellencie of reaſon, perfect and abſolute of it ſelfe: a full and accompliſhed power (I ſay) wherein is engendred that moſt divine, heavenly and happie knowledge. But Morall vertue which ſavoureth ſomewhat of the earth, by reaſon of the neceſſities of our bodie, and in which regard it ſtandeth in neede of the inſtrumentall miniſterie of the patheticall part, for to worke and performe her operations, being in no wiſe the corruption or abolition of the ſenſuall and unreaſonable part of the ſoule, but rather the order, moderation and embeliſhment thereof, is the extremitie and height of excellence, in reſpect of the facultie and qualitie: but conſidering the quantitie is rather a mediocritie, taking away the exceſſe on the one ſide and the defect on the other.

But now, foraſmuch as this terme of Meane or Mediocritie may be underſtood diverſe waies, we are to ſet downe what kinde of meane this Morall vertue is. Firſt and formoſt therefore whereas there is one meane compounded of two ſimple extremes, as a ruſſet or browne colour betweene white and blacke: alſo that which conteineth and is conteined, muſt needs be the middeſt betweene the thing that doth conteine and is conteined, as for example, the number of 8. is juſt betweene 12. and 4. like as that, which taketh no part at all of either extreame, as namely thoſe things which we call *Adiaphora*, Indifferent, and do partake neither good nor ill: In none of theſe ſignifications or ſenſes can this vertue be called a meane or mediocritie. For ſurely it may not be in any wiſe a compoſition or mixture of two vices which be both worſe: neither doth it comprehend the leſſe and defective: or is comprehended of that which is overmuch above decencie, and exceſſive, ne yet is it altogether void of paſſions and perturbations, ſubject to exceſſe and defect, to more and leſſe than is meet. But this morall vertue of ours, as it is in deed, ſo alſo it is called a Meane, eſpecially in reſpect of that mediocritie which is obſerved in the Harmonie and accord of ſounds. For like as in Muſicke there is a note or ſound called the Meane, for that it is the middes betweene the treble and baſe, which in Greeke be called *Hypate* and *Nete*, and lieth juſt betwixt the height and loudneſſe of the one, and the lowneſſe or baſeneſſe of the other: Even ſo, morall vertue being a motion and facultie about the unreaſonable part of the ſoule, tempereth the remiſſion and intention, and in one word taketh away the exceſſe and defect of the paſſions, reducing ech of them to a certeine Mediocritie and moderation that falleth not on any ſide.

Now, to begin with Fortitude, they ſay it is the meane between Cowardiſe & raſh Audacitie, of which twaine the one is a defect, the other an exceſſe of the yrefull paſſion. Liberalitie, betweene Nigardiſe & Prodigalitie: Clemencie & Mildneſſe, betweene ſenſeleſſe Indolence and Crueltie: Iuſtice, the meane of giving more or leſſe than due, in contracts and affaires betweene men: like as Temperance, a mediocritie betweene the blockiſh ſtupiditie of the minde mooved with no touch of pleaſure, & an unbrideled looſenes whereby it is abandoned to all ſenſualitie. Wherein eſpecially & moſt cleerly is given us to underſtand & ſee the difference between the brutiſh & the reaſonable part of the ſoule: & thereby evident it is that wandring paſſions be one thing, & reaſon another: for otherwiſe we ſhould not diſcerne Continency from Temperance, nor Incontinencie from Intemperance, in pleaſure and luſts, if that facultie of the mind whereby we judge, and that whereby we covet and deſire were all one and the ſame: but now, Temperance is, when reaſon is able to manage, handle and governe the ſenſuall and paſſionate part (as if it were a beaſt brought up by hand and made tame and gentle, ſo as it will be readie to obey it in all deſires and luſts, yea and willing to receive the bit) whereas Continencie is when reaſon doth rule and command concupiſcence as being the ſtronger, and leadeth it, but not without ſome paines and trouble thereof, for that it is not willing to ſhew obedience, but ſtriveth, flingeth out ſidelong, & goeth croſſed, inſomuch as it hath enough to do for to maſter it with ſtripes of the cudgell, and with hard bits of the bridle to hold it in and reſtreine it, whiles it reſiſteth all that ever it may, and putteth reaſon to much agonie, trouble and travaile: which *Plato* doth lively repreſent unto us by a proper ſimilitude, ſaying, that there be two draught beaſts which draw the chariot of our ſoules, whereof the woorſt doth both winſe and ſtrive againſt the other fellow in the ſame yoke, and alſo troubleth the cochman or charioter, who hath the conduct of them; putting him to his ſhifts that he is faine alwaies to pull in and hold his head hard, otherwhiles glad to let him ſlacke and give him the head for feare, as *Symonides* ſaith,

Leaſt that his purple reines full ſoone
out of his hands ſhould ſlip anone.

Thus you ſee what the reaſon is, why they do not vouchſafe Continencie, the name of a perfect vertue in it ſelfe, but thinke it to be leſſe than vertue. For there is not in it a certeine mediocritie ariſing from the Symphonie and accord of the worſt with the better: neither is the exceſſe of paſſion cut away, ne yet doth the appetite yeeld it ſelfe obedient and agreeable to reaſon: but doth trouble and vexe, and is troubled and vexed reciprocally, being kept downe perforce and by conſtraint; like as in a ſeditious ſtate, both parties at diſcord, intending miſchiefe and warre one againſt another, dwell together within the precinct of one wall: inſomuch as the ſoule of a continent perſon for the fight and variance betweene reaſon and appetite, may aptly be compared as *Sophocles* ſaith unto a city,

Which at one time is full of incenſe ſweete
Reſounding mirth with loud triumphant ſong,
And yet the ſame doth yeeld in every ſtreete
All ſignes of griefe, with plaints and grones among.

And hereupon it is alſo, that they hold Incõtinencie to be leſſe than Vice: mary, Intemperance they will have to be a full & compleat vice indeed: For that in it as the affection is ill, ſo the reaſon alſo is corrupt & depraved: and as by the one it is incited & led to the appetite of filthineſſe & diſhoneſtie, ſo by the other through perverſe judgement it is induced to give conſent unto diſhoneſt luſts, and withall groweth to be ſenſeleſſe & hath no feeling at all of ſinnes and faults which it comitteth: whereas Incontinencie reteineth ſtill a right and ſound judgement by meanes of reaſon: Howbeit through the vehement and violent paſſion which is ſtronger than reaſon, it is caried away againſt the owne judgement. Moreover, in theſe reſpects, it differeth from Intemperance: For that the reaſon of the incontinent perſon is overmatched with paſſion: but of the other, it doth not ſo much as enter combat therewith. He, albeit he contradict, gainſay, and ſtrives a while, yet in the end yeeldeth unto luſts and followeth them; but the Intemperate man is led thereby, and at the firſt giveth conſent, and approoveth thereof. Againe, the Intemperate perſon is well content, and taketh joy in having ſinned: whereas the other is preſently greeved thereat. Againe, he runneth willingly and of his owne accord to commit ſinne and vilanie; but the incontinent man, maugre and full againſt his minde doth abandon honeſtie. And as there is this diſtinct difference plainly ſeene in their deeds and actions, ſo there is no leſſe to be obſerved in their words and ſpeeches. For the ſayings ordinarily of the Intemperate perſon be theſe and ſuch like,

What mirth in life, what pleaſure, what delight,
Without content in ſports of Venus *bright?*
Were thoſe joies paſt, and I for them unmeet,
Ring out my knell, bring foorth my winding ſheet.

Another ſaith,

To eat, to drinke, to wench, are principall
All pleaſures elſe, I Acceſſories call.

As if with all his hart and ſoule he were wholly given to a voluptuous life, yea and overwhelmed therewith. And no leſſe than thoſe, he alſo who hath theſe words in his mouth,

Now ſuffer me to periſh by and by
It pleaſeth, nay it booteth me to dy.

ſpeaketh as one whoſe appetite and judgement both were out of order and diſeaſed. But the ſpeeches of Incontinent perſons be in another key and farre different: For one ſaith,

My mind is good and thither doth ſway,
My nature bad, and puts it away.

Another,

Alas, alas, To ſee, how Gods above
have ſent to men on earth this miſerie
To know their Good, and that which they ſhould love
yet wanting grace, to do the contrarie!

And a third,

Now plucks, now hales, of deadly yre a fire:
but ſurely, hold my reaſon can no more:
Than anchor flanke ſtay ſhip from being ſplit,
when grounded 'tis on ſands neere to the ſhore.

He nameth unproperly and without good grace the flanck of an anchor reſting lightly upon the looſe ſand, to ſignifie the feeble hold that reaſon hath which is not reſolute and firmely ſeated, but through the weakneſſe and delicacie of the ſoule, rejecteth and forſaketh judgement: And not much unlike heereunto, is this compariſon alſo that another maketh in a contrarie ſenſe;

Much like a ſhip which faſtened is to land
With cordage ſtrong, whereof we may be bold,
The windes do blow, and yet ſhe doth withſtand
And checke them all, her cables take ſuch hold.

He termeth the judgement of reaſon, when it reſiſteth a diſhoneſt act, by the name of Cable and Cordage; which notwithſtanding afterwards may be broken by the violence of ſome paſſion (as it were) with the continuall gales of a bluſtring winde. For to ſay a very truth, the intemperate perſon is by his luſts and deſires caried with full ſaile to his pleaſures; hee giveth himſelfe thereto, and thither directeth his whole courſe: but the incontinent perſon tendeth thither alſo: howbeit (as a man would ſay) crookedly and not directly, as one deſirous and endevouring to withdraw himſelfe, and to repell the paſſion that draweth and moveth him to it, yet in the end he alſo ſlideth and falleth into ſome foule and diſhoneſt act: Like as *Timon* by way of biting, ſcoffe, traduced and reproved *Anaxarchus* in this wiſe,

Here ſhew's it ſelfe the dogged force of Anaxarchus *fell,*
So ſtubburne and ſo perminent, when once he tooke a pitch:
And yet as wiſe as he would ſeeme, a wretch (I heard folke tell)
He judged was: for that to vice and pleaſures overmich
By nature prone he was: a thing that Sages moſt do ſkun,
Which brought him backe out of the way, and made him dote anon,

For neither is a wiſe Sage properly called continent, but temperate: nor a foole incontinent, but intemperate: becauſe the one taketh pleaſure and delight in good and honeſt things; and the other is not offended nor diſpleaſed with foule and diſhoneſt actions. And therefore incontinencie reſembleth properly a minde (as I may ſo ſay) Sophiſticall, which hath ſome uſe of reaſon, but the ſame ſo weake, that it is not able to perſeuere and continue firme in that which it hath once knowen and judged to be right. Thus you may ſee the differences betweene Intemperance and Incontinence: As for Continencie & Temperance, they differ alſo in certeine reſpects correſpondent in ſome proportion unto thoſe on the contrary ſide. For remorſe, ſorrow, diſpleaſure and indignation, doe not as yet abandon and quit continence: whereas in the minde of a temperate perſon, all lieth plaine and even on every ſide; nothing there but quietneſſe and integritie; in ſuch ſort, as whoſoever ſeeth the great obeiſance and the marvellous tranquillitie whereby the reaſonleſſe part is united & incorporate together with the reaſonable, might well ſay;

And then anon the winds were downe,
a calme enſued ſtraightway:
No waves were ſeene, ſome power divine
the ſea aſleepe did lay.

namely, when reaſon had once extinguiſhed the exceſſive, furious, and raging motions of the luſts and deſires. And yet theſe affections and paſſions which of neceſſity nature hath need of, the ſame hath reaſon made ſo agreeable, ſo obeiſant, ſo friendly and cooperative, yea, and ready to ſecond all good intentions and purpoſes ready to be executed; that they neither run before it, nor come dragging behinde; ne yet behave themſelves diſorderly, no, nor ſhew the leaſt diſdiſobedience: ſo as ech appetite is ruled by reaſon, and willingly accompanieth it,

Like as the ſucking foale doth go
And run with dam, both to and fro.

The which confirmeth the ſaying of *Xenocrates*, touching thoſe who earneſtly ſtudie Philoſophie, and practiſe it: For they onely (quoth he) doe that willingly, which others doe perforce and for dread of the law: who forbeare indeed to ſatisfie their pleaſures, and turne backe, as if they were ſcared from them for feare of being bitten of ſome curſt maſtive or ſhrewd cat, regarding nothing els but danger that may enſue thereupon. Now, that there is in the ſoule a ſenſe and perceivance of that ſtrength, firmity, and reſolution to encounter ſinfull luſts and deſires, as if it had a power to ſtrive and make head againe, it is very plaine and evident: howbeit, ſome there be, who holde and maintaine, That Paſſion is nothing different from Reaſon: neither (by their ſaying) is there in the mind a diſſenſion or ſedition (as it were) of two divers faculties: but al the trouble that we feele, is no more but an alteration or change of one & the ſelfe ſame thing to wit, reaſon both waies; which we our ſelves are not able to perceive, for that forſooth it changeth ſuddenly and with ſuch celeritie: never conſidereth all the while, that the ſame faculty of the minde is framed by nature to concupiſcence and repentance both: to be angrie and to feare: enclined to commit ſome foule and diſhoneſt fact, by the allurement of pleaſure, and contrariwiſe reſtrained from the ſame for feare of paine. As for luſt, feare, and all ſuch like paſſions, they are no other (ſay they) but perverſe opinions and corrupt judgements not ariſing and engendred in any one part of the ſoule by it ſelfe, but ſpread over that which is the chiefe and principall, to wit, reaſon and underſtanding: whereof they be the inclinations, aſſenſions, motions, and in one word, certaine operations, which in the turning of an hand be apt to change and paſſe from one to another: much like unto the ſudden braids, ſtarts and runnings to and fro of little children, which how violent ſoever they be and vehement, yet by reaſon of their weakneſſe are but ſlippery, unſtedfaſt and unconſtant.

But theſe aſſertions and oppoſitions of theirs, are checked and refuted by apparant evidence and common ſenſe: For what man is he that ever felt in himſelfe a change of his luſt and concupiſcence into judgement: and contrariwiſe an alteration of his judgement into luſt: neither doth the wanton lover ceaſe to love when he doth reaſon with himſelfe and conclude, That ſuch love is to be repreſſed, and that he ought to ſtrive and fight againſt it: neither doth he then give over reaſoning and judging, when being overcome through weakneſſe, he yeeldeth himſelfe priſoner and thrall to luſt: but like as when by advertiſement of reaſon he doth reſiſt in ſome ſort a paſſion ariſing, yet the ſame doth ſtill tempt him: ſo likewiſe when he is conquered and overcome therewith, by the light of the ſame reaſon at that verie inſtant, he ſeeth and knoweth that he ſinneth and doth amiſſe: ſo, that neither by thoſe perturbations is reaſon loſt and aboliſhed; nor yet by reaſon is he freed and delivered from them: but whiles he is toſſed thus to and fro, he remaineth a neuter in the mids, or rather participating in common of them both. As for thoſe who are of opinion, that one while the principall part of our ſoule is luſt and concupiſcence: and then anon that it doth reſiſt & ſtand againſt the ſame: are much like unto them, who imagine & ſay, that the hunter & the wild beaſt be not twaine, but one bodie, chaunging it ſelfe, one while into the forme of an hunter, and another time, taking the ſhape of a ſavage beaſt: For both they in a manifeſt and apparant matter ſhould ſeeme to be blind and ſee nothing: and alſo theſe beare witneſſe and depoſe againſt their owne ſenſe, conſidering that they finde and feele in themſelves really not a mutation or chaunge of one onely thing, but a ſenſible ſtrife and fight of two things together within them. But heere they come upon us againe and object in this wiſe. How commeth it to paſſe then (ſay they) that the power and facultie in man which doth deliberate and conſult is not likewiſe double (being oftentimes diſtracted, carried, and drawen to contrarie opinions, as it is, namely, touching that which is profitable and expedient) but is one ſtill and the ſame? True, we muſt confeſſe, that divided it ſeemeth to be: But this compariſon doth not hold, neither is the event and effect alike: for that part of our ſoule wherein prudence and reaſon is ſeated, fighteth not with it ſelfe, but uſing the helpe of one and the ſame facultie, it handleth divers arguments, or rather being but one power of diſcourſing it is emploied in ſundry ſubjects and matters different: which is the reaſon that there is no dolor and griefe at one end of thoſe reaſonings and diſcourſes which are without paſſion; neither are they that conſult forced (as it were) to hold one of thoſe contrarie parts againſt their minde and judgement; unleſſe peradventure it ſo fall out, that ſome affection lie cloſe to one part or other, as if a man ſhould ſecretly and under hand lay ſomewhat beſides in one of the balances or ſkales, againſt reaſon for to weigh it downe. A thing (I aſſure you) that many times falleth out: and then it is not reaſon that is poiſed againſt reaſon; but either ambition, emulation, favour, jealouſie, feare, or ſome ſecret paſſion, making ſemblance as if in ſhew of ſpeeches, two reaſons were at varience and differed one from another. As may appeere by theſe verſes in *Homer*:

They thought it ſhame the combate to reject,
And yet for feare they durſt not it accept.

Likewiſe in another Poët:

To ſuffer death is dolorous
though with renowne it meete:
Death to avoide is cowardiſe:
but yet our life is ſweete.

And verily in determining of controverſies betweene man and man in their contracts and ſuits of law, theſe paſſions comming betweene, are they, that make the longeſt delaies, & be the greateſt enimies of expedition and diſpatch: like as in the counſels of kings and princes, they that ſpeake in favour of one partie and for to win grace, doe not upon any reaſon of two ſentences encline to the one, but they accomodate themſelves to their affectiō, even againſt the regard of utility & profit. And this is the cauſe that in thoſe States which be called Ariſtocraties, that is to ſay, governed by a Senate or Counſel of the greateſt men: the Magiſtrates who ſit in judgemēt, will not ſuffer Oratours & Advocates at the Barre to moove affections in all their Pleas: for in Truth, let not the diſcourſe of reaſon be impeached and hindered by ſome paſſion, it will of it ſelfe tend directly to that which is good and juſt. But in caſe there do ariſe a paſſion betweene, to croſſe the ſame, then you ſhal ſee pleaſure and diſpleaſure to raiſe a combat and diſſenſion, to encounter that which by conſultation would have beene judged and determined. For otherwiſe, how commeth it to paſſe that in Philoſophicall diſcourſes and diſputations, a man ſhall never ſee it otherwiſe, but that without any dolor and griefe, ſome are turned and drawen oftentimes by others into their opinions, and ſubſcribe thereto willingly? Nay even *Ariſtotle* himſelfe, *Democritus* alſo and *Chryſippus* have beene knowen to retract and recant ſome points, which before time they held, and that without any trouble of mind, without griefe and remorſe, but rather with pleaſure and contentment of heart : becauſe in that ſpeculative or contemplative part of the ſoule, which is given to knowledge and learning onely, there raigne no paſſions to make reſiſtance, inſomuch as the brutiſh part being quiet and at repoſe, loveth not curiouſly to entermedle in theſe and ſuch like matters : By which meanes it hapneth, that the reaſon hath no ſooner a ſight of trueth, but willingly it enclineth thereto, and doth reject untruth and falſitie : for that there lieth in it and in no other part elſe, that power and facultie to beleeve and give aſſent one way, as alſo to be perſwaded for to alter opinion and goe another way. Whereas contrariwiſe, the counſels and deliberations of worldly affaires, judgements alſo, and arbitriments, being for the moſt part full of paſſions, make the way ſomewhat difficult for reaſon to paſſe, and put her to much trouble. For in theſe caſes, the ſenſuall and unreaſonable part of the ſoule is ready to ſtay and ſtop her courſe; yea and to fright her from going forward, meeting her either with the object of pleaſure; or elſe caſting in her way ſtumbling blocks of feare, of paine, of luſts and deſires. And verily the deciding and judgement of this diſputation lieth in the ſenſe, which feeleth aſwell the one as the other, and is touched with them both : For ſay that the one doth ſurmount and hath the victorie, it doth not therefore defeit utterly and deſtroy the other; but drawen it is thereto perforce, and making reſiſtance the while. As for example, the wanton and amorous perſon when he checketh and reprooveth himſelfe therefore, uſeth the diſcourſe of reaſon againſt the ſaid paſſion of his; yet ſo, as having them both, actually ſubſiſting together in the ſoule : much like as if with his hand he repreſſed and kept downe the one part, enflamed with an hot fit of paſſion, and yet feeling within himſelfe both parts, and thoſe actually in combat one againſt the other. Contrariwiſe, in thoſe conſultations, diſputes, and inquiſitions which are not paſſionate, and wherein theſe motions of the brutiſh part have nothing to do, ſuch I meane as thoſe be eſpecially of the contemplative part of the ſoule : if they be equall and ſo continue, there enſueth no determinat judgement and reſolution : but a doubt remaineth, as if it were a certaine pauſe or ſtay of the underſtanding, not able to proceed farther, but abiding in ſuſpenſe betweene two contrarie opinions. Now if it chance to encline unto one of them, it is becauſe the mightier hath overweighed the other & annulled it, yet ſo, as it is not diſpleaſed or diſcontent, no nor conteſteth obſtinately afterwards againſt the received opinion. To be ſhort, & to conclude all in one generall word; where it ſeemeth that one diſcourſe and reaſon is contrarie unto another; it argueth not by and by a conceit of two divers ſubjects, but one alone in ſundrie apprehenſions and imaginations. Howbeit, whenſoever the brutiſh and ſenſuall part is in a conflict with reaſon, and the ſame ſuch that it can neither vanquiſh, nor be vanquiſhed without ſome ſenſe of grievance : then incontinently this battell divideth the ſoule in twaine, ſo as the warre is evident and ſenſible. And not onely by this fight a man may know how the ſource and beginning of theſe paſſions differeth from that fountaine of reaſon : but no leſſe alſo by the conſequence that followeth thereupon. For ſeeing that poſſible it is for a man to love one childe that is ingenuous and towardly diſpoſed to vertue : as alſo affect another as well, who is ill given and diſſolute : conſidering alſo that one may uſe anger unjuſtly againſt his owne children or parents : and another contrariwiſe juſtly in the defence of children or parents againſt enemies and tyrants. Like as in the one there is perceived a manifeſt combat and reſiſtance of paſſion againſt reaſon; ſo in the other, there may be ſeene as evident a yeelding and obeiſance thereof, ſuffering it ſelfe to be directed thereby, yea and willingly running and offering her aſſiſtance and helping hand. To illuſtrate this by a familiar example, it hapneth otherwhiles, that an honeſt man eſpouſeth a wife according to the lawes, with this intention onely to cheriſh and keepe her tenderly, yea and to companie with her duly, and according to the lawes of chaſtitie and honeſtie : howbeit afterwards in tract of time, and by long continuance and converſing together, which hath bred in his heart the affection of love, he perceiveth by diſcourſe of reaſon, and findeth in himſelfe that he loveth her more deerely and entirely, than he purpoſed at the firſt. Semblably, yoong ſcholars having met with gentle and kinde maſters, at the beginning, follow and affect them in a kinde of zeale, for the benefit onely that they reape by them. Howbeit afterwards in proceſſe of time, they fall to love them; and ſo in ſtead of familiar and daily diſciples, they become their lovers, and are ſo called. The ſame is uſually to be ſeene in the behaviour and carriage of men toward good magiſtrates in cities, neighbours alſo, kinſfolke and allies : For they begin acquaintance one with another, after a civill ſort onely, by way of dutie or neceſſitie and uſe : but afterwards by little and little ere they be aware, they grow into an affectionate love of them, namely, when reaſon doth concurre, perſwading

ſwading & drawing unto it that part of the mind which is the ſeat of paſſions and affections. As for that Poet whoſoever he was, that firſt wrate this ſentence,

Two ſorts there be of baſhfulnes,
the one we cannot blame,
The other troubleth many an hower,
and doth decay the ſame.

Doth he not plainely ſhew that he hath found in himſelfe by experience oftentimes, that even this affection by meanes of lingring delay, and putting off from time to time, hath put him by the benefit of good opportunities, and hindred the execution of many brave affaires? Vnto theſe proofes and allegations precedent, the Stoikes being forced to yeeld, in regard they be ſo cleere and evident: yet for to make ſome way of evaſion and eſcape, they call ſhame, baſhfulneſſe; pleaſure, joy; and feare, warineſſe or circumſpection. And I aſſure you, no man could juſtly finde fault with theſe diſguiſements of odious things with honeſt termes: if ſo be they would attribute unto theſe paſſions the ſaid names when they be raunged under the rule of reaſon, and give them their owne hatefull termes indeed, when they ſtrive with reaſon and violently make reſiſtance. But when convinced by the teares which they ſhed, by trembling and quaking of their joints, yea by chaunge of colour going and comming; in ſtead of naming Dolour and Feare directly, come in with (I wot not what) pretie deviſed termes of Morſures, Contractions or Conturbations: alſo when they would cloke and extenuate the imperfection of other paſſions, by calling luſt a promptitude or forwardnes to a thing: it ſeemeth, that by a flouriſh of fine words, they deviſe ſhifts, evaſions, and juſtifications, not philoſophicall but ſophiſticall. And yet verily they themſelves againe do terme thoſe joies, thoſe promptitudes of the will, and warie circumſpections by the name of *Eupathies*, i. good affections and not of *Apathies*, that is to ſay, Impaſſibilities: wherein they uſe the words aright and as they ought. For then is it truly called *Eupathie*, i. a good affection, when reaſon doth not utterly aboliſh the paſſion, but guideth and ordereth the ſame well in ſuch as be diſcreet and temperate. But what befalleth unto vicious and diſſolute perſons? Surely, when they have ſet downe in their judgement and reſolution, to love father and mother as tenderly as one lover may another, yet they are not able to performe ſo much. Mary ſay, that they determine to affect a courtiſan or a flatterer, preſently they can finde in their hearts to love ſuch moſt deerely. Moreover, if it were ſo, that paſſion and judgement were both one, it could not otherwiſe be, ſo ſoone as one had determined that he ought to love or hate, but that preſently love or hate would follow thereupon. But now it falleth out clean contrarie; for that the paſſion as it accordeth well with ſome judgements and obeieth; ſo it repugneth with others, and is obſtinate and diſobedient: whereupon it is, that themſelves enforced thereto by the truth of the thing, do affirme and pronounce that every judgement is not a paſſion, but that onely, which ſtirreth up and mooveth a ſtrong and vehement appetite to a thing: confeſſing thereby, no doubt, that one thing it is in us which judgeth, and another thing that ſuffereth, that is to ſay, which receiveth paſſions: like as that which moveth, and that which is mooved be divers. Certes, even *Chryſippus* himſelfe, defininig in many places what is Patience and what is Continency, doth avouch, That they be habitudes, apt and fit to obey and follow the choiſe of reaſon: whereby he ſheweth evidently that by the force of truth, he was driven to confeſſe and avow, That there is one thing in us which doth obey and yeeld, and another which being obeied, is yeelded unto, and not obeied, is reſiſted.

Furthermore, as touching the Stoicks, who hold, That all ſinnes and faults be equall, neither wil this place, nor the time now ſerve to argue againſt them, whether in other points they ſwerve from the trueth: howbeit, thus much by the way I dare be bolde to ſay, That in moſt things they will be found to repugne reaſon, even againſt apparent and manifeſt evidence. For according to their opinion, euery paſſion or perturbation is a fault, and whoſoever grieve, feare or luſt, do ſinne: but in thoſe paſſions great difference, there is ſeene, according to more or leſſe: for who would ever be ſo groſſe, as to ſay, that *Dolons* feare was equall to the feare of *Ajax*? who as *Homer* writeth,

As he went out of field did turne
and looke behinde full oft:
With knee before knee decently,
and ſo retired ſoft.

or compare the ſorrow of King *Alexander*, who would needs have killed himſelfe for the death of *Clytus*, to that of *Plato* for the death of *Socrates*? For dolours and griefs encreaſe exceedingly when they grow upon occaſion of that which hapneth beſides all reaſon; like as any accident, which falleth out beyond our expectation, is more grievous, and breedeth greater anguiſh than that whereof a reaſon may be rendered, and which a man might ſuſpect to follow. As for example, if he who ever expected to ſee his ſonne advanced to honour, and living in great reputation among men, ſhould heare ſay that he were in priſon, and put to all maner of torture, as *Parmeno* was advertiſed of his ſonne *Philotas*. And who will ever ſay, that the anger of *Nicocreon* againſt *Anaxarchus*, was to be compared with that of *Magas* againſt *Philémon*, which aroſe upon the ſame occaſion, for that they both were ſpightfully reviled by them in reprochful termes; for *Nicocreon* cauſed *Anaxarchus* to be braid in a morter with yron peſtles: whereas *Magas* commanded the Executioner to lay a ſharpe naked ſword upon the necke of *Philémon*, and ſo to let him go without doing him any more harme. And therefore it is, that *Plato* named anger the ſinewes of the ſoule, giving us thereby to underſtand, that they might be ſtretched by bitterneſſe, and let ſlacke by mildneſſe. But the Stoicks, for to avoid and put backe theſe objections and ſuch like, denie that theſe ſtretchings and vehement fits of paſſions be according to judgement, for that it may faile and erre many waies: ſaying, they be certaine pricks or ſtings, contractions, diffuſions or dilatations, which in proportion and according to reaſon, may be greater or leſſe. Certes, what variety there is in judgement, it is plaine and evident. For ſome there be that deeme povertie not to be ill: others holde, that it is very ill: and there are againe, who account it the worſt thing in the world; inſomuch as to avoid it, they could be content to throw themſelves headlong from high rocks into the ſea. Alſo you ſhall have thoſe, who reckon death to be evill, in that onely it depriveth us of the fruition of many good things: others there be, who thinke and ſay as much, but it is in regard of the eternall torments & horrible puniſhments that be under the ground in hell. As for bodily health, ſome love it no otherwiſe than a thing agreeable to nature and profitable withall: others take it to be the ſoveraigne good in the world, as without which they make no reckoning of riches, of children,

Ne yet of crowne and regall dignitie,
Which men do match even with divinitie.

Nay, they let not in the end to thinke and ſay, That vertue it ſelfe ſerveth in no ſtead, and availeth nought, unleſſe it be accompanied with good health: whereby it appeareth, that as touching judgement, ſome erre more, ſome leſſe. But my meaning is not now to diſpute againſt this evaſion of theirs. Thus much onely I purpoſe to take for mine advantage out of their owne confeſſion, in that themſelves do grant, That the brutiſh and ſenſuall part, according to which, they ſay that paſſions be greater and more violent, is different from judgement: and howſoever they may ſeeme to conteſt and cavill about words and names, they grant the ſubſtance and the thing it ſelfe in queſtion, joining with thoſe who mainteine that the reaſonleſſe part of the ſoule which enterteineth paſſions, is altogether different from that which is able to diſcourſe, reaſon and judge. And verily *Chryſippus* in thoſe books which he entituled, Of Anomologie, after he had written and taught, that anger is blinde, and many times will not permit a man to ſee thoſe things which be plaine and apparent, and as often caſteth a darke miſt over that which he hath already perfectly learned and knowen; proceedeth forward a little further: For (quoth he) the paſſions which ariſe, drive out and chaſe forth all diſcourſe of reaſon, and ſuch things as were judged and determined otherwiſe againſt them, urging it ſtill by force unto contrary actions. Then he uſeth the teſtimonie of *Menander* the Poet, who in one place writeth thus, by way of exclamation:

Wo worth the time, wretch that I am,
how was my minde deſtraught
In body mine? where were my wits?
ſome folly (ſure) me caught,
What time I fell to this. For why?
thereof I made no choiſe.
Farre better things they were, iwis,
which had my former voice.

The ſame *Chryſippus* alſo going on ſtill: It being ſo (quoth he) that a reaſonable creature is by nature borne and given to uſe reaſon in all things, and to be governed thereby: yet notwithſtanding we reject and caſt it behinde us, being over-ruled by another more violent motion that carieth us away. In which words, what doth he elſe but confeſſe even that which hapneth upon the diſſention betweene affection and reaſon? For it were a meere ridiculous mockerie in deed, as *Plato* ſaith, to affirme that a man were better & worſe than himſelfe: or that he were able now to maſter himſelfe, & anon ready to be maſtered by himſelfe, and how were it poſſible that the ſame man ſhould be better & worſe than himſelfe, and at once both maſter and ſervant, unleſſe every one were naturally in ſome ſort double, and had in him ſomewhat better and ſomewhat worſe? And verily by that meanes, he that hath the worſe part, obedient to the better, hath powre over himſelfe, yea, and is better than himſelfe: whereas he that ſuffreth the brutiſh and unreaſonable part of his ſoule to command and go before, ſo as the better and more noble part doth follow, and is ſerviceable unto it, he no doubt is worſe than himſelfe: he is (I ſay) incontinent or rather impotent, and hath no power over himſelfe, but diſpoſed contrary to nature. For according to the courſe and ordinance of nature, meet and fit it is that reaſon being divine and heavenly, ſhould command and rule that which is ſenſuall and voide of reaſon: which as it doth ariſe and ſpring out of the very bodie, ſo it reſembleth it, as participating the properties and paſſions thereof, yea and naturally is full of them, as being deepely concorporate and throughly mixed therewith: As it may appeere by all the motions which it hath, tending to no other things but thoſe that be materiall and corporall, as receiving their augmentations and diminutions from thence, (or to ſay more properly) being ſtretched out and let ſlacke more or leſſe, according to the mutations of the body. Which is the cauſe that young perſons are quicke, prompt, and audacious raſh: alſo, for that they be full of bloud, and the ſame hot, their luſts and appetites, are likewiſe firy, violent and furious: whereas contrariwiſe in old folke becauſe the ſource of concupiſcence ſeated about the liver is after a ſort quenched, yea and become weake and feeble: reaſon is more vigorous and predominant in them: as much as the ſenſuall and paſſionate part, doth languiſh and decay together with the body. And verily this is that which doth frame and diſpoſe the nature of wilde beaſts to divers paſſions: For it is not long of any opinions good or bad which ariſe in them, that ſome of them are ſtrong, venterous and feareleſſe, yea and ready to withſtand any perils preſented before them: others againe be ſo ſurpriſed with feare and fright, that they dare not ſtirre or do any thing: but the force and power which lieth in the bloud, in the ſpirits and in the whole bodie, is that which cauſeth this diverſitie of paſſions, by reaſon that the paſſible part growing out of the fleſh as from a roote, doeth bud foorth and bring with it a qualitie and proneneſſe ſemblable. But in man that there is a ſympathie and fellow mooving of the body, together with the motions of the paſſions, may be prooved by the pale colour, the red fluſhing of the face, the trembling of the joints, and panting and leaping of the heart in feare and anger: And againe on the contrary ſide by the dilations of the arteries, heart and colour, in hope and expectation of ſome pleaſures. But when as the divine ſpirit and underſtanding of man doeth moove of it ſelfe alone without any paſſion, then the body is at repoſe and remaineth quiet, not communicating nor participating any whit with the operation of the minde and intendement, no more than it being diſpoſed to ſtudie upon any Mathematicall propoſition or other ſcience ſpeculative, it calleth for the helpe and aſſiſtance of the unreaſonable part: By which it is manifeſt, that there be two diſtinct parts in us, different in facultie and power one from another. In ſumme, Go through the univerſall world, al things (as they themſelves affirme, and evident experience doth convince) are governed and ordred, ſome by a certeine habitude: others by nature: ſome by ſenſuall and unreaſonable ſoule: others by that which hath reaſon and underſtanding. Of all which man hath his part at once, yea, and was borne naturally with theſe differences above ſaid. For, conteined he is by an habitude: nouriſhed by nature: reaſon & underſtanding he uſeth: he hath his portion likewiſe of that which is unreaſonable and inbred, there is together with him the ſource and primitive cauſe of paſſions, as a thing neceſſarie for him, neither doth it enter into him from without: in which regard it ought not to be extirped utterly, but hath neede onely of ordering and government: whereupon Reaſon dealeth not after the Thracian maner, nor like king *Lycurgus*, who commanded all vines without exception to be cut downe, becauſe wine cauſed drunkennes: it rooteth not out (I ſay) all affections indifferently one with another, the profitable as well as the hurtfull: but (like unto the good gods *Phytalmius* and *Hemorides*, who teach us to order plants that they may fructifie, and to make them gentle which were ſavage) to cut away that which groweth wilde and ranke, to ſave all the reſt and ſo to order and manage the ſame, that it may ſerve for good uſe. For neither do they ſhed and ſpill their wine upon the floure, who are afraid to be drunke, but delay the ſame with water: nor thoſe who feare the violence of a paſſion, do take it quite away, but rather temper and qualifie the ſame:

like as folke uſe to breake horſes and oxen from their flinging out with their heeles, their ſtiffenes & curſtnes of the head & ſtubburnes in receiving the bridle or the yoke,but do not reſtreine them of other motions in going about their worke and doing their deed. And even ſo verily,reaſon maketh good uſe of theſe paſſions, when they be well tamed and brought (as it were) to hand: without over weakning or rooting out cleane, that part of the ſoule which is made for to ſecond reaſon,and do it good ſervice: For as *Pindarus* ſaith,

The horſe doth ſerve in chariot at the thill,
The oxe at plough doth labour hard in field,
Who liſt in chaſe the wild Bore for to kill,
The hardy hound he muſt provide with skill.

And I aſſure you,the entertainment of theſe paſſions and their breed, ſerve in farre better ſtead, when they doe aſſiſt reaſon and give an edge (as it were) and vigour unto vertues, than the beaſts above named in their kind. Thus moderate ire doth ſecond valour and fortitude: hatred of wicked perſons helpeth the execution of Iuſtice: and indignation is juſt and due unto thoſe, who without any merit or deſert enjoie the felicitie of this life: who alſo for that their heart is puffed up with fooliſh arrogancie, and enflamed with diſdainfull pride and inſolence in regard of their proſperitie, have need to be taken downe and cooled. Neither is a man able by any meanes(would he never ſo faine) to ſeparate from true friendſhip, naturall indulgence,and kind affection: nor from humanitie, commiſeration and pitie; ne yet from perfect benevolence and good will, the fellowſhip in joy and ſorrow. Now if it be true (as it is indeed) that they do groſſely erre, who would aboliſh all love, becauſe of fooliſh and wanton love: ſurely they do amiſſe, who for covetouſnes ſake and greedines of money, do blame and condemne quite all other appetites and deſires. They do (I ſay) aſmuch as thoſe, who would forbid running altogether,becauſe a man may ſtumble and catch a fall as he runneth: or debarre ſhooting for that we may overſhoot and miſſe the marke: or to condemne hearing of muſicke, becauſe a diſcord or jarre is offenſive to the eare. For like as in ſounds, muſicke maketh an accord and harmonie, not by taking away the loud and baſe notes: And in our bodies Phyſicke procureth health, not by deſtroying heat and cold, but by a certaine temperature and mixture of them both in good proportion: Even ſo it fareth in the ſoule of man, wherein reaſon hath the predominance and victorie: namely, when by the power thereof, the paſſions, perturbations and motions are reduced into a kind of moderation and mediocritie. For no doubt exceſſive ſorrow and heavines, immeaſurable joy and gladneſſe in the ſoule, may be aptly compared to a ſwelling and inflammation in the body,but neither joy nor ſorrow ſimply in it ſelfe. And therefore *Homer* in this wiſe ſentence of his

A man of woorth doth never colour change,
Exceſſive feare in him is verie ſtrange,

doth not aboliſh feare altogether, but the extremitie thereof; to the end,that a man ſhould not thinke that either valour is deſperate follie, or confidence audacious temeritie. And therefore in pleaſures and delights,we ought likewiſe to cut off immoderate luſt: as alſo in taking puniſhment,extreme hatred of malefactours. He that can do ſo,ſhall be reputed in the one not indolent, but temperate,and in the other not bitter and cruell, but juſt and righteous. Whereas let paſſions be rid cleane away (if that were poſſible to be done) our reaſon will be found in many things more dull and idle: like as the pilot and maſter of a ſhip hath little to do, if the winde be laid and no gale at all ſtirring. And verily (as it ſhould ſeeme) wiſe Law-makers,ſeeing this well enough, have with great policie given occaſion in cities and common-wealths of Ambition and Emulation among citizens one with another: and in the field againſt enemies deviſed to excite the courage of ſouldiours,and to whet their ire and manhood by ſound of trumpets,fifes, drums,and other inſtruments. For not onely in Poetrie (as *Plato* ſaith verie well) he that is inſpired and(as it were)raviſhed with the divine inſtinct of the Muſes,wil make a rediculous foole of him, who otherwiſe is an excellent Poët, and his crafts-maſter as having learned the exquiſite knowledge of the art: but alſo in battels, the heat of courage ſet on fire with a certaine divine inſpiration is invincible and cannot be withſtood. This is that martiall furie, which (as *Homer* ſaith) the gods do infuſe or inſpire rather into warlike men:

Thus having ſaid he did inſpire
The Princes heart with might and ire.

And againe,

One god or other, ſurely doth him aſſiſt

Elſe faring thus, he never could perſiſt.

As if to the diſcourſe of reaſon they had adjoined paſſion as a pricke to incite, and a chariot to ſet it forward. Certes, even theſe verie Stoicks with whom now we argue, and who ſeeme to reject all paſſions, we may ſee oftentimes, how they ſtirre up yoong men with praiſes, and as often rebuke them with ſharpe admonitions and ſevere reprehenſions. Whereof there muſt needs enſue of the one part pleaſure, and of the other part diſpleaſure. For ſurely checkes and faultfindings, ſtrike a certaine repentance and ſhame: of which two, the former is compriſed under ſorrow, and the latter under feare: and theſe be the meanes that they uſe principally to chaſtice and correct withall. Which was the reaſon that *Diogenes* upon a time, when he heard *Plato* ſo highly praiſed and extolled. And what great and woorthy matter (quoth he) finde you in that man, who having been a Philoſopher ſo long & taught the precepts thereof, hath not in all this time greeved and wounded the heart of any one perſon? For ſurely the Mathematicall ſciences a man cannot ſo properly call the eares or handles of Philoſophie (to uſe the words of *Xenocrates*) as he may affirme that theſe affections of yoong men, to wit, baſhfulneſſe, deſire, repentance, pleaſure and paine are their handles, whereof reaſon and law together taking hold by a diſcreet apt and holeſome touch, bring a yoong man ſpeedily and effectually into the right way. And therefore the Lacedæmonian ſchoolemaſter and governour of children ſaid verie well, when he profeſſed, that he would bring to paſſe that the child whom he tooke into his tuition, ſhould joy in honeſt things, and grieve in thoſe that were foule and diſhoneſt. Then which there cannot poſſibly be named a more woorthy or commendable end of the liberall education and bringing up of a yoong youth well deſcended.

OF VERTVE AND VICE.

The Summarie.

IN this little treatiſe adjoyned aptly unto the former, the Author prooveth, that outward and corruptible things be not they that ſet the ſoule in repoſe, but reaſon well ruled and governed: And after that he hath depainted the miſerable eſtate of wicked and ſinfull perſons, troubled and tormented with their paſſions both night and day, he prooveth by proper and apt ſimilitudes, that Philoſophie together with the love of vertue, bringeth true contentment and happineſſe indeed unto a man.

OF VERTVE AND VICE.

IT ſeemeth, and commonly it is thought, that they be the garments which do heat a man; and yet of themſelves they neither doe heat nor bring any heat with them: for take any of them apart by it ſelfe, you ſhall finde it colde; which is the reaſon that men being verie hote, and in a fit of a fever, love often to change their clothes, for to coole and refreſh their bodies. But the trueth is this, Looke what heat a man doth yeeld from himſelfe, the clothes or garments that cover the body do keepe in the ſame, and unite cloſe together; and being thus included and held in, ſuffer it not to evaporate, breathe out, and vaniſh away. The ſame errour in the ſtate of this life, hath deceived many man, who imagine that if they may dwell in ſtately and gorgeous great houſes, be attended upon with a number of ſervants, retaine a ſort of ſlaves, and can gather together huge ſummes of golde and ſilver, then they ſhall live in joy and pleaſure: whereas in verie ſooth, the ſweete and joifull life proceedeth not from any thing without. But contrariwiſe, when a man hath thoſe goodly things about him, it is himſelfe that addeth a pleaſure and grace unto them, even from his owne nature and civill behaviour, compoſed by morall vertue within him, which is the very fountaine and lively ſpring of all good contentment.

For if the fire do alwaies burne out light,
More ſtately is the houſe, and faire in ſight.

Semblably, riches are more acceptable, glorie hath the better and more ſhining luſtre, yea, and authoritie carieth the greater grace, if the inward joy of the ſoule be joined therewith: For ſurely men doe endure povertie, exile and baniſhment out of their owne countries, yea, and beare the burden of olde age willingly and with more eaſe, according as their maners be milde, and the minde diſpoſed to meekneſſe. And like as ſweet odours, and Aromaticall perfumes, give a pleaſant ſmell unto thred-bare and ragged clothes; but contrariwiſe, the rich robe of *Anchyſes* yeelded from under it ſtincking matter and corrupt blood; which as the Poet ſaith,

Ran downe by drops upon his cloke
Of ſilke ſo fine, and it did ſoke.

Even ſo, with vertue, any ſort of life, and all maner of living is pleaſant & void of ſorow: whereas contrariwiſe, vice cauſeth thoſe things which otherwiſe ſeemed great, honourable, and magnificent, to be odious, lothſome and unwelcome to thoſe that have them, if (I ſay) it be mingled therewith, according to the teſtimonie of theſe vulgar verſes:

This man who whiles he walkes abroad in ſtreet
Or market place, is ever happy thought:
No ſooner ſets within his owne houſe feet,
Thrice wretched but he is, and not for nought.
His wife (as maſter) hath of all the power,
She bids, commands, ſhe chides and fights ech hower.

And yet one may with eaſe be rid and divorced from ſuch a curſt and ſhrewd wife, if he be a man in deed, and not a bond-ſlave; but for thine owne vice, no meanes will ſerve to exempt thee from it. It is not enough to command it to be gone, by ſending a little ſcript or bill of divorcement, and to thinke thereby to be delivered from troubles, and ſo to live alone in quiet and repoſe. For it cleaveth cloſe within the ribbes, it ſticketh faſt in the very bowels, it dwelleth there both night and day,

It burneth thee, yet fire-brand none is ſeene,
And haſtneth age apace before thou weene,

A troubleſome companion it is upon the way, by reaſon of arrogancy and preſumption: a coſtly and ſumptuous gueſt at the table for gluttonie and gourmandiſe: an unpleaſant and comberſome bedfellow in the night, in regard of thoughts, cares and jelouſies which breake the ſleepe, or trouble the ſame with fantaſies. For whiles men lie aſleepe, the bodie is at reſt and repoſe; but the minde all the while is diſquieted and affrighted with fearefull dreames and tumultuous viſions, by reaſon of ſuperſtitious feare of the gods,

If that I ſleepe, when ſorrowes me ſurpriſe,
Then fearefull dreames me kill before I riſe.

ſaith one. And euen ſo do other vices ſerve men: to wit, Envie, Feare, Wrath, Wanton love, and Vnbridled luſt. For in the day time, vice looking out, and compoſing it ſelfe ſomewhat unto others abroad, is ſomewhat aſhamed of herſelfe, and covereth her paſſions; ſhe giveth not herſelfe wholly to her motions and perturbations, but many times doth ſtrive againe and make reſiſtance: but in ſleepe, being without the danger of lawes and the opinion of the world, being farre remooved (as it were) from feare and ſhame: then it ſetteth all luſts aworke, then it quickeneth and raiſeth up all leaudneſſe, and then it diſplaieth all laſcivious wantonneſſe. It tempteth (as *Plato* ſaith) a man to have carnall dealing with his owne mother, and to eat of forbidden and unlawfull meats: there is no villanie that it forbeareth; executing (ſo far forth as it is able) all abomination, and hath the fruition thereof, if it be but by illuſions and fantaſticall dreames, which end not in any pleaſure, nor accompliſhment of concupiſcence, but are powerfull onely to excite, ſtirre, and provoke ſtill the fits of ſecret paſſions and maladies of a corrupt heart. Wherein lieth then, the pleaſure and delight of ſinne, if it be ſo, that in no place nor at any time it be void of penſiveneſſe, care and griefe? if it never have contentment, but alwaies in moleſtation and trouble, without repoſe? As for carnall delights and fleſhly pleaſures, the good complexion and ſound conſtitution of an healthfull bodie, giveth thereby meanes, place, opportunity and breeding. But in the ſoule it is not poſſible that there ſhould bee engendred anie mirth, joy and contentment, unleſſe the firſt foundation be laied in peace of conſcience, and tranquillitie of ſpirit, void of feare, and enjoying a ſetled calme in all aſſurance and confidence, without any ſhew of tempeſt toward. For otherwiſe, ſuppoſe that ſome hope doe ſmile upon a man; or ſay, that delight tickle a little; the ſame anon is troubled, and all the ſport is marred by ſome carefull cogitation breaking forth: like as the object and concurrence of one rocke troubleth and overthroweth all, though the water and weather both be never ſo calme.

Now gather gold and ſpare not by heapes, rake and ſcrape together maſſes of ſilver, builde faire, gallant and ſtately walking places, repleniſh all thy houſe with ſlaves, and a whole citie with debtours: unleſſe withall thou doe allay the paſſions of thy minde; unleſſe thou ſtay and appeaſe thy inſatiable luſt and deſire; unleſſe thou free and deliver thy ſelfe from all feare and carking cares: thou doſt as much as ſtreine wine, or make Ipocras for one that is ſicke of a feaver, give honie to a cholericke perſon diſeaſed with the raging motion of choler, offer meats and viands to thoſe that be ſicke of the ſtomachicall flux, continuall laske, ulceration of the guts and bloudy flix, who neither take pleaſure therein, nor are the better but the woorſe rather a great deale for them. See you not how ſicke folkes are offended, and their ſtomacks riſe at the moſt fine, coſtly and deintieſt meats that be offred unto them? how they ſpit them forth againe, and will none, though they be forced upon them? And yet afterwards, when the bodie is reduced againe into good temperature: when pure ſpirits and good freſh bloud is engendred, and when the naturall heate is reſtored and become familiar and kind: then they riſe up on their feete to their meat, then their ſtomacks ſerve to eate full ſavorly of courſe bread with cheeſe or creſſes, and therein they take great pleaſure and contentment: The like diſpoſition in the minde doth reaſon worke. Then and never before ſhalt thou be pleaſed and at peace with thy ſelfe, when thou haſt once learned what is good and honeſt indeed: In povertie thou ſhalt live deliciouſly like a king: or in a private and quiet ſtate ſequeſtred from civill and publike affaires, thou ſhalt live as well as they who have the conduct of great armies, and governe the common-weale. When thou haſt ſtudied Philoſophie and profited therein, thou ſhalt never lead a life in diſcontentment, but ſhalt learne how to away with any eſtate and courſe of life, and therein find no ſmall joy & harts eaſe. Thy riches thou wilt rejoice in, becauſe thou ſhalt have better meanes to do good unto all men: In povertie likewiſe thou wilt take joy in regard thou ſhalt have fewer cares to trouble thee: Glorie will turne to thy ſolace, when thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelfe ſo honoured: and thy low eſtate and obſcure condition will be no leſſe comfort, for that thou ſhalt be ſafe and ſecured from envie.

THAT VERTVE MAY BE TAUGHT AND LEARNED.

The Summarie.

PLutarch *refuting heere the error of thoſe, who are of opinion, That by good and diligent inſtruction a man cannot become the better; recommendeth ſufficiently the ſtudie of vertue. And to proove this aſſertion of his, he ſheweth that the apprentiſſage of that, which is of ſmall conſequence in this world, witneſſeth enough that a man ought to be trained from day to day to the knowledge of things that are beſeeming and worthy his perſon: Afterwards, he declareth that as much travel ſhould be emploied to make him comprehend ſuch things as be far diſtant from the capacity and excellencie of his ſpirit: In which diſcourſe he taxeth covertly thoſe vaine and giddy heads, who (as they ſay) runne after their owne ſhadow, whereas they ſhould ſtay and reſt upon that which is firme and permanent.*

THAT

THAT VERTUE MAY BE taught and learned.

We diſpute of vertue, and put in queſtion, whether Prudence, Iuſtice, Loialtie and Honeſtie may be taught or no? And do we admire then the works of Oratours, Sailers and Shipmaſters, Architects, Husbandmen and an infinite number of other ſuch which be extant? Whereas of good men we have nothing but their bare and ſimple names, as if they were *Hippo-Centaures*, Gyants or *Cyclopes*: and mervaile we that of vertuous actions which be entier, perfect, and unblameable, none can be found: ne yet any maners ſo compoſed according to dutie, but that they be tainted with ſome paſſions and vicious perturbations? yea and if it happen that nature of her ſelfe bring foorth ſome good and honeſt actions, the ſame ſtraightwaies are darkened, corrupted and in a maner marred, by certeine ſtrange mixtures of contrarie matters that creepe into them, like as when among good corne there grow up weeds and wilde buſhes that choke the ſame; or when ſome kinde and gentle fruit is cleane altered by ſavage nouriſhment. Men learne to ſing, to daunce, to read and write, to till the ground, and to ride horſes, they learne likewiſe to ſhew themſelves, to do on their apparell decently; they are taught to wait at cup and trencher, to give drinke at the table, to ſeaſon and dreſſe meate: and none of all this can they skill to performe and do handſomely, if they be not trained thereto: and yet ſhall that, for which theſe and ſuch like qualities they learne, to wit, good life and honeſt converſation, be reckoned a meere caſuall thing, comming by chance and fortune, and which can neither be taught nor learned? Oh good ſirs, what a thing is this? In ſaying, That vertue cannot be taught, we denie withall that it is, or hath any being. For if it be true, that the learning of it, is the generation and breeding thereof, certes he that hindereth the one diſanulleth the other: and in denying that it may be taught, we graunt that no ſuch thing there is at all: And yet as *Plato* ſaith, for the necke of a Lute not made in proportion to the reſt of the bodie, there was never knowen one brother go to warre with another, nor a friend to quarrell with his friend, ne yet two neighbour cities to fall out and mainteine deadly feud, to the interchangeable working and ſuffring of thoſe miſeries and calamities which follow open warre. Neither can any man come forth and ſay, that by occaſion of an accent (as for example, whether the word *Telchines* ſhould be pronounced with the accent over the ſecond ſyllable or no) there aroſe ſedition and diſſention in any city; or debate in a houſe betweene man and wife, about the warpe and wouſe of any webbe: Howbeit never man yet would take in hand to weare a peece of cloth, nor handle a booke, nor play upon the lute or harpe, unleſſe he had learned before; for albeit he were not like to ſuſteine any great loſſe and notall dammage thereby, yet he would feare to be mocked and laughed to ſcorne for his labor, in which caſe as *Heraclitus* ſaith, it were better for a man to conceale his owne ignorance: and may ſuch an one thinke then, that he could order a houſe well, rule a wife, and behave himſelfe as it becommeth in mariage, beare migiſtracie, or governe a common weale as he ought, being never bound and brought up to it? *Diogenes* eſpying upon a time a boy eating greedily, and unmanerly gave his maſter or Tutour a good cuffe on the eare: and good reaſon he had ſo to do, as imputing the fault rather to him, who had not taught, than to the boy, who had not learned better manners. And is it ſo indeed? ought they of neceſſitie, who would be manerly at the table, both in putting hand to a diſh of meat, and taking the cup with a good grace, or as *Ariſtophanes* ſaith,

At board not feeding greedily,
Nor laughing much, undecently,
Nor croſſing feet full wantonly.

to be taught even from their infancie. And is it poſſible that the ſame ſhould know how to behave themſelves in wedlocke, how to manage the affaires of State, how to converſe among men, how to beare office without touch and blame, unleſſe they have learned firſt how to cary themſelves one toward another? *Ariſtippus* anſwered upon a time, when one ſaid unto him, And are you ſir every where? I ſhould (quoth he, laughing merily) caſt away the fare for feriage, which I pay unto the mariner, if I were every where. And why might not a man ſay likewiſe, If children be not the better for their teaching, the ſalarie is loſt which men beſtow upon their Maſters and Teachers. But wee ſee that they taking them into their governance preſently from their nources, like as they did forme their limmes and joints featly with their hands, do prepare and frame their maners accordingly, & ſet them in the right way to vertue. And to this purpoſe anſwered very wiſely a Laconian Schoole-maſter to one who demanded of him, what good he did to the childe of whom he had the charge? Mary (quoth he) I make him to take joy and pleaſure in thoſe things that be honeſt. And to ſay a trueth, theſe teachers and governours inſtruct children to holde up their heads ſtraight as they go in the ſtreet, and not to beare it forward: alſo, not to dip into ſauce, but with one finger: not to take bread or fiſh but with twaine: to rubbe or ſcratch after this or that maner: and thus and thus to truſſe and holde up their clothes. What ſhall we ſay then to him, who would make us beleeve that the Art of Phyſicke profeſſeth to ſcoure the morphew, or heale a whit-flaw: but not to cure a pleuriſie, fever, or the phrenſie? And what differeth he from them, who holde that there be ſchooles and rules to teach petties and little children how to be manerly, and demeane themſelves in ſmall matters, but as for great, important and abſolute things, it muſt be nothing els but uſe and cuſtome, or els meere chance and fortune that doth effect them? For like as he were ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at, who ſhould ſay, that no man ought to lay hand upon the oare for to row, but he that hath beene prentiſe to it; but ſit at the ſterne and guide the helme he may, who was never taught it: euen ſo, he, who mainteineth, that in ſome inferiour arts there is required apprentiſage, but for the attaining of vertue none at all, deſerveth likewiſe to be mocked. And verily, he ſhould doe contrary unto the Scythians: For they, as *Herodotus* writeth, uſe to put out the eies of their ſlaves only, to the end that being blinde, they might turne round about with their milke, & ſo ſtirre and ſhake it. But he forſooth putteth the eie of reaſon into theſe baſe and inferior arts, which are no better than ſervants waiting upon others; but plucketh it from vertue. *Iphicrates* anſwered contrariwiſe, being demanded of *Callias* the ſonne of *Chabrias*, by way of contempt and deriſion, in this wiſe, What are you ſir? An Archer? A Targetiere? A man at armes? or a light armed ſouldiour? I am none (quoth he) of all theſe, but rather one of thoſe who commandeth them all. Well, ridiculous then is he, and very abſurd, who would ſay, There were an art to be taught, of drawing a bowe & ſhooting, of fighting cloſe at hand being armed at all pieces, of diſcharging bullets with a ſling, or of ſitting and riding an horſe; but forſooth to leade and conduct an army, there was none at all: as who would ſay, that feat, were a thing not learned, but comming by chance, I know not how. And yet I muſt needs ſay, more ſottiſh and fooliſh were he, who ſhould hold and affirme that Prudence onely could not be taught, without which no other Arts and Sciences be woorth ought, or availe any whit. That this is true, and that ſhe is alone the guide which leadeth and guideth all other Sciences, Arts and Vertues, giving them every one their due place and honour, and making them profitable to mankinde, a man may know by this, if there were nothing els, That there would be no grace at a feaſt, though the meat were never ſo well dreſſed and ſerved up by skilfull Cooks, though there were proper Eſcuirs or Shewers to ſet the diſhes upon the boord, Carvers, Taſters, Skinkers, and other Servitours and Waiters enough, unleſſe there be ſome good order obſerved among the ſaid Miniſters, to place and diſpoſe everie thing as it ought.

(*⁎*)

HOW A MAN MAY DISCERNE A FLATTERER FROM A FRIEND.

The Summarie.

THe traveller hath great occaſion and cauſe to rejoice, if in his iourney he goe with a good companion, who by his pleaſant and profitable diſcourſes may make him forget the tedious difficultie of the way: even ſo in this life, happie is the man, who can finde and meet with thoſe to beare him company, by whom he may both eaſily paſſe through the occurrent dangers that are preſented unto him, and alſo advance forward cheerefully unto vertue. In which regard, our author Plutarch *having diſcourſed as touching the Nouriture, education, and inſtruction of youth, as alſo of Vice and Vertue in generall, by good order and in great reaſon, ſheweth in this Treatiſe, what ſort of people we ought carefully to avoid, and with whom to joine and be acquainted. And as he was a man well experienced and practiſed in the affaires of this world, he affirmeth and prooveth by very ſound and firme reaſons, That there is nothing whereof we are to be more wary and heedfull, than falſe friendſhip, which he calleth Flatterie. Moreover, this being a matter of ſo great importance, as every wiſe man may well thinke and perceive, he draweth out this preſent diſcourſe in length: and for that his purpoſe is to inſtruct us in thoſe meanes whereby we may be able to diſtinguiſh betweene a flatterer and a true friend; he ſheweth in the firſt place, That the onely principall remedie to ſtop up the entrie againſt all flatterers, is to know our ſelves well: for otherwiſe, we ſhall have ſuch array and ornaments hanged upon us, that we ſhall not eaſily perceive and diſcerne who we are. And contrariwiſe, it hapneth often times, that we eſteeme them to be our perfect friends, ſo ſkilfull are they in counterfeiting; and withall, when they finde us diſpoſed to enterteine ſuch companie, our owne indiſcretion depriveth us of that true inſight and view, which our ſoule ought to have in diſcerning a falſe friend from a true. Being willing therefore to aid and helpe us in this point, he deſcribeth a crafty and wily flatterer, he diſcovereth his cunning caſts, and depainteth him in his colours, ſhewing the very draught & lineaments which may direct us to the knowledge of him, to wit, That he doth conforme and frame himſelfe to the humor and nature of thoſe whoſe companie he haunteth; how he is unconſtant and mutable, changing and turning into many and ſundry faſhions, without any right and ſyncere affection, applying himſelfe all the while to every thing els but vertue, willing to be reputed alwaies more leaud and vicious, than thoſe whom hee flattereth: without regard of doing them good any way, or ſeeking their profit, he onely aimeth at this, to pleaſe them and follow their veine in all things by cuſtome and uſe, bringing him that will give eare unto his words, to this paſſe, That he ſhall thinke vice to be vertue: working covertly and under-hand for to deceive more cleanly, transforming vertue into vice, and making it nothing ſtrange and coy to blame himſelfe, for to do the more miſchiefe afterwards to another: then he flattereth moſt, when he maketh no ſemblance or ſhew at all that he mindeth any ſuch thing, and exalteth up to the ſkie thoſe that be moſt vicious, and woorſt of all others, ſo they will give him enterteinment. Likewiſe, for that flatterers ſhew themſelves otherwhiles, very forward and bolde to ſpeake their minds and to finde fault, which is one of the beſt and ſureſt marks of true friendſhip, he treateth conſequently of this libertie and freedome of ſpeech, and how a man may know whether there be any flatterie therein or no. He declareth therefore, how flatterers uſe this franke reprehenſion in vaine and frivolous things, and never in thoſe ſinnes and groſſe faults which are in deed blame-worthy: ſo that this maner of reprehenſion, is a kinde of ſoothing them up, and lulling men aſleepe in their notorious vices: or els they charge them with faults cleane contrarie. Now after he hath ſhewed how a man ſhould take heed and beware of them, he diſcourſeth of thoſe ſervices which may make flatterers, and wherein the ſame differ from the offices and dueties of friends, and in purſuing and proſecuting this Antitheſis, he proveth that a flatterer is preſt and ready to do his pleaſure in ſhamefull matters, whereas a friend ſheweth his good will in thoſe that be honeſt: alſo that a flatterer*

flatterer is envious, and ſo is not a friend. And for that our nature is proud and blinde withall, having need of good friends to guide and direct it, he deſcribeth with what maner of eie, and eare we ought to ſee and heare thoſe that procure our good, albeit, they may ſeeme to carie with them a kinde of ſeveritie. Meane while, he exhorteth friends, ſo to temper and qualifie their libertie in reprehenſion, that all impudencie and importunate rigor be farre from it. But foraſmuch as this is (as it were) the principall thing in amitie, he ſheweth, That firſt we muſt cut away ſelfe-love in all our reprehenſions; and ſecondly all injurious, bitter and biting ſpeeches: then he adjoineth moreover, in what ſeaſons, and upon what occurrences, a man ought to reproove and ſay his minde frankly: and with what dexteritie he is to proceed: that is to ſay, that ſometimes, yea, and more often, he ought to rebuke his friend apart, or under the perſon of another: wherein he is to looke unto this, That he eſchue all vaine-glorie, and ſeaſon his reprehenſions with ſome praiſe among, to make them more acceptable and better taken. Conſequently, he teacheth us, how we muſt receive the advertiſements, admonitions, and reprehenſions of a true friend: and returning to the very point in deed, of amitie and friendſhip, he ſheweth what meane a man ſhould keepe for to avert and turne away the neighbour vice, and to urge our friends forward to their devoir: adding morcouer, That all remonſtrance and admonition ought to be tempered with mildneſſe and lenitie: wherein he concludeth this whole Treatiſe, which I aſſure you is to be well read and marked in theſe daies of all perſons, but thoſe eſpecially, who are advanced above others in worldly wealth or honourable place.

HOW A MAN MAY DISCERNE a flatterer from a friend.

PLato writeth (ô *Antiochus Philopappus*) that all men do willingly pardon him, who profeſſeth, That he loveth himſelfe beſt: Howbeit thereby (quoth he) is ingendred in us, this fault and inconvenience among may others the greateſt: that by this meanes no man can be a juſt judge of himſelfe, but partiall and favourable. For the lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unleſſe he have beene taught, yea and accuſtomed long before, to affect and eſteeme things honeſt above thoſe that be his owne properly, or inbred and familiar to him. This is it, that giveth unto a flatterer that large field, under pretence of friendſhip, where he hath a fort (as it were) commodiouſly ſeated, and with the vantage to aſſaile and endammage us, and that is, Selfe-love: whereby everie man being the firſt and greateſt flatterer of himſelfe, he can be verie well content, to admit a ſtranger to come neere and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withall, to witneſſe with him and to confirme that good ſelfe-conceit and opinion of his owne. For even he, who is juſtly reproched to be a lover of Flatterers, loveth himſelfe notwithſtanding exceeding well: and for that good affection that he hath, is both very willing, yea and fully perſwaded alſo, that all good things are in himſelfe: and the deſire whereof is not ſimply, bad, and unlawfull: but the perſwaſion is it, that is dangerous and ſlipperie, having need to be reſtrained with great heed and carefulneſſe. Now if Truth be an heavenly thing, and the verie ſource yeelding all good things (as *Plato* ſaith) aſwell to the gods as to men: we ought thus to judge, That a flatterer is an enemie to the gods, and principally to *Apollo*: For oppoſite he is alwaies and contrarie to this precept of his, *Know thy ſelfe*: cauſing a man to be abuſed and deceived by his owne ſelfe, yea and to be ignorant of the good and evill things that be in him; in making the good gifts which are in him to be defective & unperfect: but the evill parts incorrigible and ſuch as cannot be reformed. Now if it were ſo, that flatterie (as the moſt part of other vices) touched either onely or eſpecially, baſe, meane, and abject perſons, it were perhaps neither ſo hurtfull, nor ſo hard to be avoided as it is. But like as wormes breed moſt of all and ſooneſt in frimme, tender and ſweet wood: even ſo, for the moſt the part the generous and gentle natures, and thoſe mindes that are more ingenuous, honeſt, amialble, and milde than others, are readieſt to receive and nouriſh the flatterer that hangeth upon him. Moreover, as *Simonides* was woont to ſay, that the keeping of an eſcurrie or ſtable of horſes, followeth not the lampe or oile cruet, but the rich corne fields: that is, it is not for poore men to entertaine great horſes, but thoſe rather who are landed men and with their revennewes able to maintaine them:

Even ſo, we ſee it is ordinarie, that flatterie keepeth not companie nor ſorteth with poore folke, or ſuch perſons as live obſcurely & are of no abilitie: but cōmonly it is the ruine and decay of great houſes, & a maladie incidēt to mighty States; which oftentimes undoeth & overthroweth whole Monarchies, Realmes, and great Seignories. In which regard it is no ſmall matter, nor a thing that requireth little, or no forecaſt & providence to ſearch & conſider the nature thereof: leaſt being ſo active and buſie as it is, and readie to meddle in everie place (nothing ſo much) it do no hurt unto friendſhip, nor bring it into obloquie and diſcredit. For theſe flatterers reſemble lice for all the world: And why? Theſe vermine we ſee never haunt thoſe that be dead, but leave and forſake the corps ſo ſoone as ever the blood (whereof they were woont to feede) is extinct or deprived of vitall ſpirit: Semblably, a man ſhall never ſee flatterers, ſo much as approch unto ſuch perſons as are in decay, whoſe ſtate is crackt and credit waxeth coole; but looke where there is the glorie of the world, where there is authoritie and power, thither they flocke, and there they grow: no ſooner is there a chaunge of fortune but they ſneake and ſlinke away, and are no more ſeene. But we ought not to attend ſo long and ſtay for this triall, being unprofitable, or rather hurtfull and not without ſome danger: For it goeth verie hard with a man, if at the verie inſtant and not before, even when he hath moſt need of friendſhip, to perceive thoſe to be no friends whom he tooke to be, and namely, when he hath not with him at hand, a good and faithfull friend, to exchange for him that is untruſtie, diſloyal and counterfeit. For if a man did well, he ſhould be provided before hand of an approoved and tried friend, ere he have neede to employ him, aſwell as of current and lawfull money; and not then to make triall of him and finde him faultie, when he is in greateſt neceſſitie and ſtandeth in moſt need: For we ought not to make proofe with our loſſe, and finde him to be falſe to our coſt and detriment; but contrariwiſe to be ſkilfull in the meanes of ſmelling out a flatterer, that we receive no damage by him: For otherwiſe, that might befall us, which happeneth unto thoſe who for to know the force of deadly poiſons, take the aſſay, and taſte firſt themſelves thereof: well may they indeed come to the judgement thereof: but this ſkill is deerely bought, when they are ſure to die for it. And like as we do not commend ſuch; no more can we praiſe and approove of thoſe, who meaſure friendſhip onely by honeſtie and profit: thinking withall, That ſuch as converſe and company with them pleaſantly, are ſtraight waies to be attainted as flatterers, no leſſe then if they were taken in the very act of flatterie: For ſurely a friend ſhould not be unpleaſant & unſavorie, without any ſeaſoning (as it were) of delightſome qualities: neither is friendſhip to be accounted venerable in this reſpect, that it is auſtere or bitter; but even that verie beauty and gravitie that it hath is ſweet and deſireable, and as the Poet ſaith,

About her alwaies ſeated be
Delightſome Love and Graces three.

And not he onely who is in calamitie,

Doth great content and comfort find
To ſee the face of truſtie friend.

according as *Euripides* ſaith, but true amitie addeth no leſſe grace, pleaſure, and joy unto thoſe that be in proſperitie, than it eaſeth them of ſorrow and griefe who are in adverſitie. *Evenus* was woont to ſay, that of all pleaſant ſauce, fire was the beſt and moſt effectuall: And even ſo God having mingled friendſhip with this life of ours, hath made all things joious, ſweete, pleaſant and acceptable, where a friend is preſent and enjoieth his part. For otherwiſe a man can not deviſe nor expreſſe, how and in what ſort a flatterer could inſinuate himſelfe and creepe into favour, under the colour of pleaſure, if he ſaw that friendſhip in the owne nature never admitted any thing that was pleaſant and delectable. But like as falſe and counterfeit peeces of gold which will not abide the touch, repreſent onely the luſtre and bright glittering of gold: So a flatterer reſembling the ſweete and pleaſant behaviour of a friend, ſheweth himſelfe alwaies jocund, mery and delightſome, without croſſing at any time. And therefore we ought not preſently to ſuſpect all them to be flatterers who are given to praiſe others: For otherwhiles to commend a man, ſo it be done in time and place convenient, is a propertie no leſſe befitting a friend, than to blame and reprehend: Nay contrariwiſe, there is nothing ſo adverſe and repugnant to amitie and ſocietie, than teſtineſſe, thwarting, complaining, and evermore fault-finding: whereas, if a man knoweth the good will of his friend to be ever preſt and readie to yeeld due praiſes, and thoſe in full meaſure to things well done, he will beare more patiently and in better part another time, his free reprehenſions and reproofe for that which is done amiſſe: for that he is verily perſwaded of him that as he was willing ynough to praiſe, ſo he was as loth to diſpraiſe

praiſe, and therefore taketh all in good woorth. A difficult matter then it is, will ſome one ſay, to diſcerne a flatterer from a friend, ſeeing there is no difference betweene them, either in doing pleaſure, or yeelding praiſe: for otherwiſe, we ſee oftentimes, that in many ſervices, courteſies and kindneſſes beſides, a flatterer is more readie and forward than a friend. True it is indeed we muſt needs ſay: a right hard matter it is to know the one from the other; eſpecially if we ſpeake of a right flatterer indeed, who is his owne crafts-maſter, and can skill how to handle the matter artificially, and with great cunning and dexteritie: if (I ſay) we make no reckoning of them for flatterers, as the common people doe, who are theſe ordinarie ſmell-feaſts, and as ready as flies to light in everie diſh: theſe paraſites (I ſay) whoſe toong (as one ſaid verie well) will be walking ſo ſoone as men have waſhed their hands, and be readie to ſit downe to meat, cogging and ſoothing up their good maſters at everie word, who have no honeſtie at all in them, and whoſe ſcurrilitie, profane, and irreligious impuritie, a man ſhall ſoone finde with one diſh of meat and cup of wine. For ſurely there was no great need to detect and convince the flatterie of *Melanthius* the Paraſite and Ieſter of *Alexander Pheræus* the Tyrant, who being asked upon a time how *Alexander* his good Lord and maſter was murthered, Mary with a thruſt (quoth he) of a ſword, which went in at his ſide, and ranne as farre as into my belly: neither of ſuch as a man ſhall never ſee to faile, but where there is a good houſe and plentifull table kept, they will be ſure to gather round about it, in ſuch ſort as there is no fire nor iron grates, or braſſe gates, can keepe them backe, but they will be readie to put their foot under the boord: no nor of thoſe women who in times paſt were called in *Cypres*, *Colacides*. i. Flattereſſes; but after they were come to *Syria*, men named them, *Climacides*, as one would ſay, *Laddereſſes*, for that they uſed to lie along, & to make their backs ſtepping ſtooles or ladders as it were for Queenes & Great mens wives to get upon when they would mount into their coatches. What kinde of flatterer then is it ſo hard and yet needfull to beware of? Forſooth, even of him who ſeemeth none ſuch, and profeſſeth nothing leſſe than to flatter: whom a man ſhall never finde about the kitchin where the good meate is dreſſed, nor take meaſuring of ſhadowes to know how the daie goes, and when it is dinner or ſupper time: ne yet ſee drunken and lying along the ground untowardly, and full like a beaſt: But for the moſt part ſober he is enough; he loveth to bee a curious Polypragmon; he will have an oare in every boat, and thinks he is to intermedle in all matters; he hath a minde to be privie and partie in all deepe ſecrets; and in one word he carrieth himſelfe like a grave Tragedian, and not as a Comicall or Satyricall player, and under that viſion and habit he counterfeiteth a friend. For according to the ſaying of *Plato*, it is the greateſt and moſt extreame injuſtice for a man to make ſemblance of being juſt when he is not: even ſo we are to thinke, that flatterie of all others to be moſt dangerous, which is covert and not apert or profeſſed; which is ſerious (I ſay) and not practiſed by way of jeſt and ſport. And verily ſuch glozing and flatterie as this, cauſeth men oftentimes to miſtruſt true friendſhip indeed, and doth derogate much from the credit thereof: for that in many things it jumpeth ſo even therewith, unleſſe a man take verie good heed and looke narrowly into it. True it is, that *Gobrias* being runne into a darke and ſecret roome, together with one of the uſurping Tyrants of *Perſia*, called *Magi*, whom he purſued hard, and at handy gripes ſtrugling, grappling, and wreſtling cloſe together, cried out unto *Darius* comming into the place with a naked ſword, and doubting to thruſt at the Vſurper, for feare he ſhould runne *Gobrias* thorough alſo; Thruſt hardly and ſpare not (quoth he) though you diſpatch us both at once. But we who in no wiſe can allow of that common ſaying, Let a friend periſh, ſo he take an enemie with him: but are deſirous to plucke and part a flatterer from a friend, with whom he is coupled and interlaced by meanes of ſo many reſemblances: we (I ſay) have great cauſe to feare and beware, that we doe not caſt and reject from us the good with the bad: or leaſt in pardoning and accepting that which is agreeable and familiar unto us, we fall upon that which is hurtfull and dangerous. For like as among wilde ſeeds of another kind, thoſe that being of the ſame forme, faſhion, and bignes with the graines of wheat are intermingled therewith, a man ſhall hardly trie out from the reſt, for that they will not paſſe thorough the holes of the ſieve, ruddle or trie, if they be narrow; and in caſe they be large and wide, out goeth the good corne together with them; even ſo it is paſſing hard to ſeparate flatterie from friendſhip, being ſo intermedled therewith in all accidents, motions, affaires, dealings, employment and converſation as it is. For conſidering that a flatterer ſeeth well ynough, that there is nothing in the world ſo pleaſurable as friendſhip, nor yeeldeth more contentment unto man than it doth: He windeth himſelfe into favour by meanes of pleaſure, and wholy is imploied to procure mirth and delight. Alſo for that both grace and commoditie, doth alwaies accompany amitie; in which regard the common Proverbe ſaith, that a friend is more neceſſarie than either fire or water. Therefore a flatterer is readie to put himſelfe forward, and offereth his ſervice with all double diligence, ſtriving in all occaſions and buſineſſes to be ever prompt and officious. And becauſe the principall thing that linketh and bindeth friendſhip ſure at the beginning, is the conformitie and likenes of manners, ſtudies, endevours and inclinations, and in one word ſeeing that to be like affected, and to ſhew pleaſure or diſpleaſure in the ſame things, is the chiefe matter that knitteth amitie and both combineth, and alſo keepeth men together, by a certaine mutuall correſpondencie in naturall affections: the flatterer knowing ſo much, compoſeth his nature (as it were) ſome unformed matter ready to receive all ſorts of impreſſions, ſtudying to frame and accommodate himſelfe wholy to all thoſe things that he taketh in hand; yea and to reſemble thoſe perſons juſt by way of imitation whom he meaneth to ſet upon and deceive, as being ſouple, ſoft, and pliable, to repreſent them lively in everie point, ſo as a man may ſay of him after this manner,

> Achilles *ſonne thinke you he is?*
> *Nay, even* Achilles *himſelfe iwis.*

But the craftieſt caſt of all other, that he hath, is this, That ſeeing (as he doth) libertie of ſpeech, (both in trueth, and alſo according to the opinion and ſpeech of the whole world) to be the proper voice of friendſhip (as a man would ſay) of ſome living creature; inſomuch, as where there is not this freedome of ſpeaking frankely, there is no true friendſhip nor generoſitie in deed. In this point alſo, he will not ſeeme to come ſhort, nor leave it behinde for want of imitation; but after the faſhion of fine and excellent cookes, who uſe to ſerve up tart, bitter and ſharpe ſauces together with ſweet & pleaſant meats, for to divert & take away the ſatietie and fulneſſe which ſoone followeth them. Theſe flatterers alſo uſe a certaine kind of plaine and free ſpeech; howbeit, neither ſyncere and naturall is it, nor profitable, but (as we commonly ſay) from teeth outward, or (as it were) beckening and wincking ſlightly with the eie under the browes, not touching the quicke, but tickling aloft onely, to no purpoſe. Well, in theſe reſpects above ſpecified, hardly and with much adoe is a flatterer diſcovered, and taken in the maner; much like unto thoſe beaſts, who by nature have this propertie, To change their colour, and in hue to reſemble that bodily matter or place whereon they ſettle, and which they touch. Seeing then it is ſo, that he is ſo apt to deceive folke, and lieth hidden under the likeneſſe of a friend; our part it is, by unfolding the differences that are ſo hidden, to turne him out of his masking habit, and being deſpoiled of thoſe colours and habilements that he borroweth of others, for want of his owne (as *Plato* ſaith) to lay him naked and open to the eie: let us therefore enter into this diſcourſe, and fetch it from the very firſt beginning.

We have already ſaid, that the originall of friendſhip among men (for the moſt part) is our conformitie of nature and inclination, embracing the ſame cuſtomes and maners, loving the ſame exerciſes, affecting the ſame ſtudies, and delighting in the ſame actions and imploiments: concerning which, theſe verſes well and fitly runne;

> *Olde folke love beſt with aged folke to talke,*
> *And with their feeres yoong children to diſport:*
> *Women once met, do let their tongues to walke,*
> *With ſuch likewiſe, ſuch perſons beſt do ſport:*
> *The wretched man his miſeries doth lament*
> *With thoſe, whoſe ſtate like fortunes do torment.*

The flatterer then, being well aware that it is a thing naturally inbred in us, to delight in thoſe that are like our ſelves, to converſe with them, and to uſe and love them above all others, endevoureth firſt and formoſt to draw and approch, yea, and to lodge neere unto him whom he meaneth to enveagle and compaſſe, even as if he went about in ſome great paſture to make toward one beaſt, whom he purpoſeth to tame and bring to hand, by little and little joining cloſe unto him, as it were, to be concorporated in the ſame ſtudies and exerciſes, in the ſame affections, emploiments and courſe of life: and this he doth ſo long, untill the party whom he laieth for, have given him ſome advantage to take holde by, as ſuffering himſelfe gently to be touched, clawed, handled and ſtroked; during which time, he letteth ſlip no opportunitie to blame thoſe perſons, to reproove thoſe things, and courſes of life, which he perceiveth the other to hate: contrariwiſe, to praiſe and approove all that which he knoweth him to take delight in: and this he doeth not after an ordinary maner and in a meane, but exceſſively and beyond all meaſure, with a kinde of admiration and woonder; confirming this love or hatred of his, to a thing, not as if he had received theſe impreſſions from ſome ſudden paſſion, but upon a ſtaied and ſetled judgement. Which being ſo: how, and by what different marks ſhall he be knowen and convinced, that he is not the like or the ſame in deed, but onely a counterfeit of the like and of the ſame? Firſt, a man muſt conſider well, whether there be an uniforme equalitie in all his intentions and actions or no? whether he continue and perſiſt ſtill, taking pleaſure in the ſame things, and praiſing the ſame at all times? whether he compoſe and direct his life according to one and the ſame molde and paterne? like as it becommeth a man who is an ingenuous lover of that friendſhip and converſation which is ever after one maner, and alwaies like it ſelfe: for ſuch a one in deed is a true friend. But a flatterer contrariwiſe is one who hath no one permanent ſeat in his maners and behaviour, nor hath made choiſe of any life for his owne content, but onely to pleaſe another, as framing and applying his actions wholly to the humor of another, is never ſimple, uniforme, nor like himſelfe, but variable and changing alwaies from one forme to another, much like as water which is powred out of one veſſel into another, even as it runneth forth, taketh the forme and faſhion of that veſſell which receiveth it. And herein he is cleane contrarie to the ape; for the ape as it ſhould ſeeme, thinking to counterfeit a man, by turning, hopping and dauncing as he doth, is quickly caught: but the flatterer, whiles he doth imitate and counterfeit others, doth entice and draw them, as it were, with a pipe or call, into his net, and ſo beguileth them. And this he doeth not alwaies after one maner; for with one he daunceth and ſingeth; with another he wil ſeeme to wreſtle, or otherwiſe to exerciſe the bodie in feats of activitie: if he chance to meet with a man that loveth to hunt, and to keepe hounds, him he will follow hard at heeles, ſetting out a throat as loud in a maner as *Hippolytus* in the Tragedie *Phædra*, crying,

So ho, this is my joy and onely good,
With crie to lure, with tooting horne to winde,
By leave of gods to bring into the wood
My hounds, to rouſe and chaſe the dapple Hinde.

And yet hath he nothing to do at all with the wilde beaſts of the forreſt, but it is the hunter himſelfe whom hee laieth for to take within his net and toile. And ſay that hee light upon a yoong man that is a ſtudent & given to learning, then you ſhall ſee him alſo as deepe poring upon his booke, and alwaies in his Studie; you ſhall have him let his beard grow downe to his foot, like a grave Philoſopher: who but he then, in his ſide thred-bare ſtudents cloake, after the Greeke faſhion, as if he had no care of himſelfe, nor joy of any thing els in the world: not a word then in mouth, but of the Numbers, Orthangles and Triangles of *Plato*. If peradventure there fall into his hands an idle do-nothing, who is rich withall, and a good fellow, one that loveth to eat and drinke and make good cheere,

That wily Fox Vlyſſes *tho*
His ragged garments will off do.

off goes then his bare and overworne ſtudying gowne, his beard he cauſeth to be cut & ſhorne as neere as a new mowen field in harveſt, when all the corne is gone: no talke then but of flagons, bottels, pots, and cooling pans to keepe the wine cold: nothing now but merie conceits to moove laughter in everie walking place and gallerie of pleaſure: Now hee letteth flie frumpes and ſcoffes againſt ſchollers and ſuch as ſtudie philoſophie. Thus by report it fell out upon a time at *Syracuſa*: For when *Plato* thither arrived, and *Denys* all on a ſodaine was ſet upon a furious fit of love to Philoſophie, his palace and whole court was full of duſt and ſand, by reaſon of the great recourſe thither of Students in Geometrie, who did nothing but draw figures therein. But no ſooner had *Plato* incurred his diſpleaſure and was out of favor: no ſooner had *Denys* the tyrant bidden Philoſophie farewell, & given himſelfe againe to belly-cheere, to wine, vanities, wantonneſſe, and all looſeneſſe of life: but all at once, it ſeemed the whole court was transformed likewiſe, (as it were by the ſorcerie and enchantment of *Cyrces*) into hatred and deteſtation of good letters; ſo as they forgat all goodneſſe, and betooke themſelves to folly and ſottiſhneſſe. To this purpoſe it were not amiſſe for to alledge as teſtimonies, the faſhions and acts of ſome notorious flatterers, ſuch I meane as have governed Common-welths, and affected popularitie. Among whom the greateſt of all other was *Alcibiades*, who all the while he was at Athens uſed to ſcoffe, and had a good grace in merrie conceits & pleaſant jeſts: he kept great horſes, and lived in jollitie, moſt gallantly, with the love and favor of all men: when he ſojourned in *Sparta*, he went alwaies ſhaven to the bare skin, in an overworne cloke, or elſe the ſame very courſe, and never waſhed his bodie but in cold water. Afterwards, being in *Thrace,* he became a ſoldior, and would carrouſe and drinke luſtily with the beſt. He came no ſooner to *Tiſaphernes* in *Aſia,* but he gave himſelfe to voluptuouſnes and pleaſure, to riot, wantonnes, and ſuperfluous delights: Thus throughout the whole courſe of his life, he wan the love of all men, by framing himſelfe to their humors and faſhions whereſoever he came. Such were not *Epaminondas* and *Ageſilaus*: For albeit they converſed with many ſorts of people, travailed divers cities, and ſaw ſundry faſhions and maners of ſtrange nations; yet they never changed their behavior, they were the ſame men ſtill, reteining evermore a decent port which became them, in their apparel, ſpeech, diet, and their whole cariage and demeanor. *Plato* likewiſe was no changeling, but the ſame man at *Syracuſa*, that he was in the Academie or College at *Athens*: and looke what his cariage was before *Dion,* the ſame it was and no other in *Denys* his court.

But that man may very eaſily finde out the variable changes of a flatterer, as of the fiſh called the Pourcuttle, who will but ſtraine a little and take the paines to play the diſſembler himſelfe, making ſhew as if he likewiſe were transformed into divers and ſundry faſhions; namely in miſliking the courſe of his former life, and ſodainly ſeeming to embrace thoſe things which he rejected before, whether it be in diet, action or ſpeech: For then he ſhall ſoone ſee the flatterer alſo to be inconſtant, and not a man of himſelfe, taking love or hatred to this or that, joying or greeving at a thing, upon any affection of his owne that leadeth him thereto, for that he receiveth alwaies as a mirrour the images of the paſſions, motions and and lives of other men. If you chance to blame one of your friends before him, what will he ſay by and by? Ah well, You have found him out I ſee now at laſt though it were long ſince: Iwis I liked him not long a great while ago: Contrariwiſe, if your minde alter, ſo that you happen to fall a praiſing of him againe: Very well done will he ſay, and binde it with an oth, I con you thanke for that: I am very glad for the mans ſake, and I beleeve no leſſe of him. Do you breake with him about the alteration of your life, and beare him in hand that you meane to take another courſe, as for example, to give over State affaires, to betake your ſelfe to a more private and quiet life. Yea marie (quoth he) and then you do well, it is more than high time ſo to do: For long ſince we ſhould have beene disburdened of theſe troubles ſo full of envie and perill. Make him beleeve once that you will change your copie, and that you are about to ſhake off this idle life, and to betake your ſelfe unto the Common-weale, both to rule and alſo to ſpeake in publike place: you ſhall have him to ſooth you up, and ſecond your ſong, with theſe and ſuch like reſponds: A brave mind (beleeve me) and beſeeming a man of your worth and good parts: For to ſay a truth, this idle and private life, though it be pleaſant, and have eaſe enough, yet it is but baſe, abject, and diſhonorable; when you finde him there once, muffle his noſe immediately with this poſie,

Good ſir me thinks you ſoone do turne your ſtile,
You ſeeme much chang'd from him you were erewhile.

I have no neede of ſuch a friend, that will alter as I doe, and follow me every way (for my ſhadow can do that much better) I had rather have one that with me will follow the truth, & judge according to it and not otherwiſe. Avant therefore, I will have nought to do with thee. Thus you ſee one one way to diſcover a flatterer.

A ſecond difference we ought to obſerve in his imitations and reſemblances, for a true friend doth not imitate all that he ſeeth him whom he loveth to do; neither is he forward in praiſing everie thing, but that onely which is beſt: For according to *Sophocles*,

In love he would his fellow be,
But not in hate and enmitie.

And verily one friend is ready and willing to aſſiſt another in well doing and in honeſt life, and never will yeeld to be companion in leaudneſſe, or helpe him to commit any wicked and heinous fact; unleſſe peradventure through the ordinarie converſation, and continuall acquaintance together, he be tainted with infection of ſome ill qualitie and vicious condition, even againſt his will and ere he be well aware; much like as they who by contagion catch rhewmaticke and bleered eies; or as the familiar friends and ſchollers (by report) of *Plato* did imitate him in ſtouping forward: and thoſe of *Ariſtotle* in his ſtammering and maffling ſpeech; and the Courtiers of *Alexander* the Great, in bending of his necke, and rough voice when he ſpake. For even ſo, ſome there be who receive impreſſion of their manners and conditions at unawares and againſt their wils. But contrariwiſe, it fareth with a flatterer even as with the Chamœlion; For as he can take upon him any colour ſave onely white; ſemblably, a flatterer cannot poſſibly frame himſelfe to any thing that good is and of importance: but there is no naughtineſſe and badneſſe in the world which he will not quickly imitate. And well I may compare ſuch fellowes to ill painters, who when through inſufficiencie in their art they be not able to draw to the life, the beautie and favour of a good face, will be ſure yet to expreſſe the rivels, warts, moules, freckles, ſcarres and ſuch like deformities. For even ſo a flatterer can imitate verie paſſing well, Incontinencie, fooliſh ſuperſtition, haſtines and choler, bitterneſſe towards houſhold ſervants, diſtruſt and diffidence in friends & kinsfolk, yea and treacherie againſt them: for that by nature he is alwaies inclined to the woorſe; and beſides, ſo far he would be thought from blaming vice, that he undertaketh to imitate the ſame. For thoſe that ſeeke for amendment of life and reformation of manners are ever ſuſpected: ſuch (I ſay) as ſhew themſelves diſpleaſed and offended at the faults and miſdemeanors of their friends. And this was it that made *Dion* odious to *Denys* the Tyrant, *Samius* to *Philip*, and *Cleomenes* to *Ptolomæus*, and in the ende was their ruine and overthrow. The flatterer who deſireth to be both pleaſant and faithfull at once, or at leaſtwiſe ſo to be reputed, for exceſſive love and friendſhip that he pretendeth, will not ſeeme to be offended with his friend for any lewd parts, but in all things would be thought to carie the ſame affection, and to be in manner of the ſame nature and incorporate into him: whereupon it commeth to paſſe alſo, that even in caſuall things and the occurrences of this life, which happen without our will and counſell, he will needes have a part, there is no remedie. This if he be diſpoſed to flatter ſicke perſons, hee will make as though hee were ſicke alſo of the ſame diſeaſe for companie: and if hee have to doe with ſuch as bee dimme ſighted or hard of hearing, hee will be thought neither to ſee nor heare well for fellowſhip. Thus the flatterers about *Denys* the Tyrants, when he had an impediment in his eies that he could not ſee cleerely, faigned that themſelves likewiſe were halfe blinde, and to make it good, hit one upon another at the board, and overthrew the diſhes upon the table as they ſate at ſupper. Others there be that proceed farther than ſo, and becauſe they would appeere more touched with a fellow-feeling of affections, will enter as farre as to the verie inward ſecrets that are not to be revealed. For if they can perceive that they whom they do flatter, be not fortunate in their marriage, or that they are growen into diſtruſt, jealouſie, and ſiniſter opinion, either of their owne children, or their neer kinsfolke and familiars; they ſpare not themſelves but begin to complaine, & that with griefe of heart and ſorrow of their owne wives and children, of their kinred and friends, laying abroad ſome criminous matters, which were better (iwis) to be concealed and ſmothered, than uttered and revealed. And this reſemblance and likeneſſe that they take upon themſelves, cauſeth them to ſeeme more affectionate and fuller of compaſſion. The other then, thus flattered, thinking that by this means they have received from them a ſufficient pawne and aſſurance of their fidelitie, ſticke not to let fall from their mouth ſome matter of ſecrecie alſo; and when they have once committed it unto them, then they are ever after bound to uſe them, yea and be afraid to miſtruſt them in any thing. I my ſelfe knew one who ſeemed to put away his owne wedded wife, becauſe his friend whom he flattered had divorced his before: and when he had ſo done, was knowen to go ſecretly unto her, and meſſengers there were who paſſed to and fro betweene them under hand: which the divorced wife of the other perceived and found out well ynough. Certes little knew he what a flatterer was, and he had no experience of him who thought theſe Iambicke verſes to expreſſe the Sea-crab better than him,

A beaſt whoſe body and belly are meet,
The eie doth ſerve each way to ſee:
With teeth it creepes, they ſtand for feet,
Aread now what creature this may be?

For this is the very portraiture and image of a paraſite, who keepes about the frying pan (as *Eupolis* ſaith) of his good friends, and waiteth where the cloth is laid. But as touching theſe things, let us referre them to their proper place for to be diſcourſed more at large. Howbeit, for the preſent let us not leave behinde us one notable deviſe and cunning caſt, that a flatterer hath in his imitations; to wit, that if he do counterfeit ſome good qualitie that is in him whom he doth flatter, yet he giveth him alwaies the upper hand: For among thoſe that be true friends, there is no emulation at al, no jealouſie or envy betweene one & another: but whether they be equall in wel doing or come behinde, they take all in good part and never grieve at the matter. But the flatterer bearing wel in minde that he in everie place, is to play the ſecond part, yeeldeth alwaies in his imitation the equalitie from himſelfe, and doth affect to counterfeit another ſo, as he will be the inferiour, giving the ſuperioritie unto the other in all things but thoſe which are naught, for therein he chalengeth to himſelfe the victorie over his friend. If he be ſomewhat mal-content and hard to be pleaſed, then will the flatterer profeſſe himſelfe to be ſtarke melancholike: if his friend be ſomewhat too religious or ſuperſtitious, then will he make ſemblance as though he were rapt and tranſported altogether with the feare of the gods: If the other be amorous, he wil be in love furious: when the other ſaith I laughed a good; but I (will he ſay againe) laughed untill I was well neere dead. But in good things it is cleane contrarie, for when he ſpeaketh of good footmanſhip he wil ſay, I runne ſwiftly indeed; but you fly away. Againe, I ſit a horſe and rid reaſonable wel; but what is that to this Hippo-Centaure here for good horſemanſhip? Alſo, I have a pretie gift in Poetrie (I muſt needs ſay) and am not the worſt verſifier in the world; but

To thunder verſes I have no ſkill,
To Iupiter *there leave that I will.*

in theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches two things at once he doth: for firſt he ſeemeth to approove the enterpriſe of the other as ſingular good, becauſe he doth imitate him; and ſecondly he ſheweth that his ſufficiencie therein is incomparable and not to be matched, in that he confeſſeth himſelfe to come ſhort of him. And thus much of the different marks betweene a flatterer and a friend as touching their reſemblances.

Now, foraſmuch as there is a communitie of delectation and pleaſure in them both (as I have ſaid before) for that an honeſt man taketh no leſſe joy and comfort in his friends, than a lewd perſon in flatterers, let us conſider likewiſe the diſtinction betweene them in this behalfe. The onely way to diſtinguiſh them a ſunder in this point, is to marke the drift and end of the delectation both in the one and the other; which a man may ſee more cleerely by this example: There is in a ſweete ointment an odoriferous ſmell; ſo is there alſo in an Antidote or medicine; but herein lieth the difference, for that in the ointment aboveſaid, there is a reference to pleaſure onely, and to nothing elſe; but in the Antidote, beſide the delectation that the odor yeeldeth, there is a reſpect alſo of ſome medicinable vertue, namely either to purge and clenſe the bodie, or to heate and chafe it, or elſe to incarnate and make new fleſh to come. Againe, Painters do grinde and mixe freſh colours and lively tinctures; ſo the Apothecarie hath drugs and medicines of a beautifull and pleaſant colour to the eie, that it would do a man good to look upon them. But wherein is the difference? Is there any man ſo groſſe that conceiveth not readily, that the ods lieth in the uſe or end, for which both the one and the other be ordained? Semblably the mutuall offices and kindneſſes that paſſe from friend to friend, beſide the honeſtie and profite that they have, bring with them alſo that which is pleaſing and delectable, as if ſome deinty and lively flowers grew thereupon: For ſometime friends uſe plaies and paſtimes one with another: they invite one another, they eate and drinke together: yea and otherwhiles (beleeve me) you ſhall have them make themſelves mery and laugh hartily, jeſting, gauding, and diſporting one with another; all which ſerve as pleaſant ſauces to ſeaſon their other ſerious and honeſt affaires of great weight and conſequence. And to this purpoſe ſerve wel theſe verſes:

With pleaſant diſcourſes from one to another
They made themſelves mery, being met together.

Alſo,

And nothing elſe disjoined our amity,
Nor parted our pleaſures and mutuall jolity.

But the whole worke of a flatterer, and the onely marke that he ſhooteth at, is alwaies to deviſe, prepare and confect, as it were, ſome play or ſport, ſome action and ſpeech, with pleaſure and to do pleaſure. And to knit up all briefly in one word, he is of opinion that he ought to do all for to be pleaſant: whereas the true friend doing alwaies that which his dutie requireth, many times pleaſeth, and as often againe he is diſpleaſant: not that his intention is to diſpleaſe at any time; howbeit if he ſee it expedient and better ſo to do, he will not ſticke to be a little harſh and unpleaſant. For like as a Phyſician when neede requireth, putteth in ſome Saffron or Spiknard into his medicine: yea and otherwhile permitteth his patient a delicate bath, or liberall and deinty diet to his ful contentment: but ſometimes for it againe, leaving out all ſweet odors, caſteth in *Caſtorem,*

Or Polium *which ſtrong ſent doth yeeld*
And ſtinkes moſt of all herbes in field.

or elſe he bruſeth and ſtampeth ſome Ellebore, and forceth his patient to drinke of that potion: not propoſing either in the former medicine pleaſure, nor in the latter diſpleaſure for the end: but both by the one and the other, training the ſicke perſon under his hand to one & the ſame effect of his cure, to wit, his good and the health of his body; even ſo it is with a true friend:

one while with praiſes and gracious words he extolleth and cheereth up his friend, inciting him thereby alwaies to that which is good and honeſt, as he in *Homer*,

Deere heart Sir Teucer *worthie ſonne*
of Telamon *that Knight,*
Come Prince and floure of valiant knights,
Shoot thus your arrowes flight.

And another,

How can I ever put out of minde
Heavenly Vlyſſes *a Prince ſo kinde?*

Contrariwiſe, anotherwhile where there is need of chaſtiſement and correction, he will not ſpare but uſe ſharpe and biting words: yea, and that free ſpeech which carrieth with it an affection carefull to do good, and ſuch as in deed beſeemeth a tutor and governour, much after this manner:

What Menelaus! *how ever that*
from Iupiter *you diſcend:*
You play the foole, for folly ſuch
I cannot you commend.

It falleth out ſo likewiſe, that ſometime he addeth deeds to words. And thus *Menedemus* ſhut the doore againſt the ſonne of *Aſclepiades* his friend, and would not deigne once to ſalute him, becauſe he was a riotous youth, and lived diſſolutely and out of all order: by which meanes he was reclaimed from looſe life, and became an honeſt man. *Arceſilaus* in like maner excluded *Battus* out of his ſchoole, and would not ſuffer him to enter, becauſe in a Comedie that he compoſed, he had made one verſe againſt *Cleanthes*; but afterwards *Battus* repenting of that he had done, and making ſatisfaction unto *Cleanthes*, was pardoned and received againe into his favor. For a man may offend his friend with intention to doe him good; but he muſt not proceed ſo farre in diſpleaſing him, that thereby he breake or undo the knot of friendſhip: he ought (I ſay) to uſe a ſharpe rebuke, as a Phyſician doth ſome bitter or tart medicine, to ſave or peſerve the life of his patient. And a good friend is to play the part of a Muſician, who to bring his inſtrument into tune, and ſo to keepe it, ſetteth up theſe ſtrings, and letteth downe thoſe: and ſo ought a friend to exchange profit with pleaſure, and uſe one with another, as occaſion ſerveth, obſerving ſtill this rule often times, to be pleaſing unto his friend, but alwaies profitable: whereas the flatterer being uſed evermore to ſing one note, and to play upon the ſame ſtring, that is to ſay, To pleaſe: and in all his words and deeds, to aime at nothing els but the contentment of him whom he flattereth, can not skill either in act to reſiſt, or in ſpeech to reproove and offend him; but goeth on ſtill in following his humor, according alwaies with him in one tune, and keeping the ſame note juſt with him.

Now, as *Xenophon* writeth of king *Ageſilaus*, that he was well apaied to be commended of them who he knew would alſo blame him if there were cauſe; ſo we are to thinke well of friendſhip when it is pleaſant, delightſome and cheereful, if otherwhiles alſo it can diſpleaſe and croſſe againe; but to have in ſuſpition the converſation and acquaintance of ſuch, as never doe or ſay any thing but that which is pleaſing, continually keeping one courſe without change, never rubbing where the gall is, nor touching the ſore, without reproofe and contradiction. We ought (I ſay) to have ready alwaies in remembrance the ſaying of an ancient Laconian, who hearing king *Charilaus* ſo highly praiſed and extolled; And how poſſibly (quoth he) can he be good, who is neuer ſharpe or ſevere unto the wicked? The gad-flie (as they ſay) which uſeth to plague bulles and oxen, ſetleth about their eares, and ſo doth the tick deale by dogges: after the ſame maner, flatterers take holde of ambitious mens eares, and poſſeſſe them with praiſes; and being once ſet faſt there, hardly are they to be removed and chaſed away. And here moſt needfull it is, that our judgement be watchfull and obſervant, and doe diſcerne whether theſe praiſes be attributed to the thing or the perſon; wee ſhall perceive that the thing it ſelfe is praiſed, if they commend men rather abſent than in place: alſo if they deſire and affect that themſelves, which they do ſo like and approve in others: again, if they praiſe not us alone, but all others, for the ſemblable qualities: likewiſe, if they neither ſay nor do one thing now, and another time the contrary. But the principall thing of all other, is this, If we our ſelves know in our owne ſecret conſcience, that we neither repent nor be aſhamed of that, for which they ſo commend us; ne yet wiſh in our hearts, that we had ſaid or done the contrary: for the inward judgement of our mind and ſoule bearing witneſſe againſt ſuch praiſes, and not admitting thereof, is void of affections and paſſions, wherby it neither can be touched nor corrupted and ſurpriſed by a flatterer. Howbeit, I know not how it commeth about, that the moſt part of men can not abide nor receive the conſolations which be miniſtred unto them in their adverſities, but rather take delight and comfort in thoſe that weepe, lament and mourne with them: and yet the ſame men having offended or being delinquent in any duetie, if one come and find fault or touch them to the quicke therefore, do ſtrike and imprint into their hearts remorſe and repentance, they take him for no better than an accuſer and enemie: contrariwiſe, let one highly commend and magnifie that which they have done; him they ſalute and embrace, him they account their wel-willer and friend in deed. Now, whoſoever they be that are ready to praiſe and extoll with applauſe and clapping of hands, that which one hath done or ſaid, were it in earneſt or in game; ſuch (I ſay) are dangerous and hurtfull for the preſent onely, and in thoſe things which are next hand: but thoſe, who with their praiſes pierſe as farre as to the maners within, and with their flatteries proceed to corrupt their inward natures and diſpoſitions, I can liken unto thoſe ſlaves or houſholde ſervants, who rob their maſters, not onely of that corne which is in the heape, & lieth in the garners, but alſo of the very ſeed; for the inclination and towardneſſe of a man, are the ſeed that bring forth all his actions, and the habitude of conditions and maners, are the very ſource and head from whom runneth the courſe of our whole life, which they pervert in giving to vices the names of vertues. *Thucydides* in his ſtorie writeth: That during civill ſeditions and warres, men transferred the accuſtomed ſignifications of words unto other things, for to juſtifie their deeds: for deſparate raſhneſſe, without all reaſon, was reputed valour, and called Love-friend: provident delay and temporizing, was taken for decent cowardiſe: Modeſtie and temperance, was thought to be a cloke of effeminate unmanlineſſe: a prudent and wary circumſpection in all things, was held for a generall ſlouth and idleneſſe. According to which precedent, we are to conſider and obſerve in flatterers, how they terme prodigalitie by the name of liberalitie; cowardiſe is nothing with them but heedfull warineſſe: brainſickneſſe they entitle promptitude, quickneſſe, and celeritie: baſe and mechanicall niggardiſe, they account temperate frugalitie. Is there one full of love and given to be amorous? him they call good fellow, a boun-companion, a man of a kinde and good nature. See they one haſtie, wrathfull, and proud withall? him they will have to be hardie, valiant and magnanimous: contrariwiſe, one of a baſe minde and abject ſpirit, they will grace with the attribute of fellow-like, and full of humanity. Much like to that which *Plato* hath written in one place: That the amorous lover is a flatterer of thoſe whom he loveth. For if they be flat noſed like a ſhoing horne, ſuch they call lovely and gracious: be they hawk-noſed like a griffin, oh, that is a kingly ſight ſay they: thoſe that be blacke of colour, are manly: white of complexion, be Gods children. And as for the terme *Melichrüs*, that is, Hony-coloured, it is alwaies (verily) a flattering word, deviſed by a lover, to mitigate and diminiſh the odiouſneſſe of a pale hue, which he ſeemeth by that ſweet name, not to miſlike, but to take in the beſt part. And verily if hee that is foule & ill favoured, be borne in hand that he is faire and beautifull, or one of ſmall & lowe ſtature made beleeve that he is goodly & tall, he neither continueth long in this his error, neither is the damage that he ſuſteineth thereby greevous & great, nor unrecoverable: but the praiſes which induce & inure a man to beleeve, That vice is vertue, inſomuch that he is nothing at all diſcontented in his ſinne and greeved therefore, but rather taketh pleaſure therein: thoſe alſo which take away from us all ſhame and abaſhment to commit faults; ſuch were they that brought the Sicilians to ruine, and gave them occaſion to beautifie or colour the tyrannie and crueltie of *Denys* and *Phalaris*, with the goodly names of Iuſtice and Hatred of wickedneſſe: Theſe were the overthrow of *Aegypt*, in cloking the effeminate wantonneſſe, the furious ſuperſtition, the yelling noiſes after a fanaticall maner of king *Ptolomæus*, together with the marks that he caried of Lillies and Tabours in his body, with the glorious names of Devotion, Religion, and the ſervice of the gods. And this was it that at the ſame time went very neere, and had like to have corrupted and ſpoiled for ever the maners and faſhions of the Romanes, which before were ſo highly reputed, to wit, naming the riotouſnes of *Antonie*, his looſenes, his ſuperfluous delights, his ſumptuous ſhewes & publike feaſts, with their profuſion and waſting of ſo much monie, by ſmooth and gentle termes of courteſies, and meriments full of humanitie, by which diſguiſements and pretexts, his fault was mollified or diminiſhed in abuſing ſo exceſſively the grandence of his puiſſance & fortune. And what was it elſe that made *Ptolomæus* to put on the maſque or muſſle (as it were) of a piper, and to hang about him pipes and fluits? What was it that cauſed *Nero* to mount up the Stage to act Tragedies, with a viſour over his face, and buskins on his legs? was it not the praiſe of ſuch flatterers as theſe? And are not moſt of our kings being when they ſing ſmall and fine, after a puling maner, ſaluted *Apolloes* for their muſicke: and if they drinke untill they be drunke, honored with the names of *Bacchus* the god of wine: and when they ſeeme a little to wreſtle or trie ſome feats of activitie, ſtiled by and by with the glorious addition of *Hercules*, brought (thinke you) to exceeding diſhonour & ſhame by this groſſe flatterie, taking ſuch pleaſure as they do in theſe gallant ſurnames. And therefore we had moſt need to beware of a flatterer in the praiſes which he giveth, which himſelfe is not ignorant of, but being carefull and very ſubtill in avoiding all ſuſpicion, if haply he meet with one of theſe fine fooles, and delicate minions, well ſet out in gay apparell: or ſome ruſticall thicke-skin, carying on his backe a good leather pilch; or (as they ſay) one that feedeth groſly: ſuch he will not ſpare but abuſe with broad flattery, and make common laughing ſtocks of them: Like as *Struthias*, making a very aſſe of *Bias*, and riding him up and downe, yea & inſulting upon him for his ſottiſhneſſe with praiſes that he would ſeeme to hang upon him: Thou haſt (quoth he) drunk more than king *Alexander* the great, & with that turning to *Cyprius* laughed as hard as ever he could till he was ready to ſinke againe. But if a flatterer chance to deale with them that be more civill and elegant, and do perceive that they have a ſpeciall eie unto him in this point, namely that they ſtand well upon their guard in this place, for feare leſt they be ſurpriſed by him: then he goes not to worke directly in praiſing of them, but he keepeth alooſe, he fetcheth about many compaſſes a great way off at firſt, afterwards by little and little he winneth ſome ground and approcheth neerer and neerer, making no noiſe untill he can touch and handle them, much after the maner of thoſe that come about wilde beaſts, aſſaying how to bring them to hand and make them tame and gentle. For one while he will report to ſuch a one the praiſes that ſome other give out of him; imitating herein the Rhetoricians, who many times in their orations ſpeake in the third perſon, and after this maner he will begin: I was not long ſince (quoth he) in the market place, where I had ſome talke with certeine ſtrangers, and other ancient perſonages of good worth, whom I was glad at the heart to heare, how they recounted all the good in the world of you, and ſpake wonderfully in your commendation. Otherwhiles he will deviſe and fetch out of his owne fingers ends ſome light imputations againſt him, yet all forged and falſe, agreeable to his perſon and condition, making ſemblance as if he had heard others what they ſaid of him, and very cunningly will he cloſe with him, and beare him in hand that he is come in all haſte to know of him, whether ever he ſaid or did ſo as was reported of him: And if the other do denie it, (as it is no other like but he will) thereupon he takes occaſion to enter into the praiſe and commendation of the man in this wiſe: I mervaile truly how that you ſhould abuſe and ſpeake ill of any of your familiars and friends, who were never woont ſo much as to miſcall or ſay otherwiſe than well of your very enimies? or how it poſſibly could be, that you ſhould be ready to gape after other mens goods, who uſe to be ſo liberall and bountifull of your owne? Other flatterers there be, who like as Painters to ſet up their colours and to give them more beautifull light and luſtre unto them, lay neere unto them others that be more darke and ſhadowie: ſo they in blaming, reprooving, reproching, traducing & deriding the contrarie vertues to thoſe vices which are in them whom the meane to flatter, covertly and underhand do praiſe and approove thoſe faults and imperfections that they have, and ſo in praiſing and allowing, do feede and cheriſh the ſame: As for example, if they be among prodigall ding-thrifts and waſters, riotous perſons, covetous miſers, miſchievous wretches, and ſuch as have raked & ſcraped goods together by hooke and crooke, and by all indirect means they care not how: before them they will ſpeake baſely of Temperance and Abſtinence, calling it ruſticitie: and as for thoſe that live juſtly and with a good conſcience, contenting themſelves with their eſtate, and therin repoſing ſuffiſance, thoſe they will nickname, heartleſſe, and baſe minded folke, altogether inſufficient to do or dare any thing. If it fall out, that they converſe and be in companie with ſuch as be idle lusks, and love to ſit ſtill at home and do nothing, forbearing to meddle with ordinarie affaires abroad in the world: they will not baſh to finde fault with policie and civill government, calling the managing of State matters and common weale, a thankleſſe intermedling in other mens affaires, with much travaile and no profit. And as for the minde and deſire to be a magiſtrate and to ſit in place of authoritie, they will not let to ſay it is vaine glory and ambition, altogether fruitleſſe. For to flatter and claw an oratour, they will reproove in his preſence a Philoſopher. Among light huſwives that be wantonly given, they winne the price, and are very well accepted, if they call honeſt matrons and chaſte dames (who content themſelves with their owne husbands, and them love alone) rude and ruſticall women, untaught, ill bred, unlovely and having no grace with them. But herein is the very height of wickedneſſe, that theſe flatterers for advantage will not ſpare their owne ſelves: For like as wreſtlers debaſe their owne bodies and ſtoupe downe low otherwhiles, for to overthrow their fellowes that wreſtle with them, and to lay them along on the ground; ſo in blaming and finding many faults with themſelves, they winde in, and creepe cloſely to the praiſe and admiration of others: I am (quoth one of them) a very coward, and no better than a verie ſlave at ſea; I can away with no labour and travell in the world; I am all in a heat of choler, and raging mad, if I heare that one hath given me any bad termes; mary as for this man (meaning him whom he flattereth) he caſteth doubts at no perill and danger, all is one with him, ſea or land, he can endure all hardneſſe, and he counteth nothing painfull, no hurt there is in him, a ſingular man he is, and hath not his fellow, he is angry at nothing, he beareth all with patience. But ſay he meet with one at aventure, which ſtandeth upon his owne bottome, and hath ſome great opinion of his owne ſufficiency for wit and underſtanding, who hath a deſire to be auſtere, and not to depend upon the conceits of others, but reſteth in his owne judgement; and upon a certaine uprightneſſe in himſelfe, eftſoones hath theſe verſes in his mouth:

Sir Diomede, *do not me praiſe*
ſo much to more or leſſe,
Nor out of meaſure me diſpraiſe,
I love not ſuch exceſſe.

This flatterer then, who is his owne crafts-maſter and hath thoroughly learned his trade, goeth not the old way to worke in ſetting upon him, but he hath another engin and device in ſtore to aſſaile ſuch a grim ſir withall. He will make an errand to him for counſell in his owne affaires, as being the man whom he eſteemeth to have more wit and wiſdome than himſelfe. There be divers others (quoth he) with whom I have better acquaintance and familiaritie than with your ſelfe: Howbeit, ſir I am forced of neceſſitie to make bold and to importune you a little: For whither elſe ſhould wee ingram men repaire, that have neede of advice? and to whom are we to have recourſe in matters of truſt and ſecreſie. And then after he hath heard once what he will ſay, and it makes no matter what it be; he will take his leave, ſaying, that he hath received not counſell from a man, but an oracle from ſome god. Now before he departeth, if haply he perceive that he taketh upon him good skill and inſight in litterature, he wil preſent unto him ſome compoſitions of his owne penning, praying him withall to peruſe them, yea and to correct the ſame. *Mithridates* the king, affected and loved the art of Phyſicke verie well: by reaſon whereof ſome of his familiar friends about him, came and offered themſelves to be cut and cauteriſed by him: which was a meere flatterie in deed and not in word. For it ſeemed that they gave great teſtimonie of his ſoule, in that they put their lives into his hands:

Of ſubtile ſpirits, thus you may ſee,
That many formes and ſhapes there be.

But this kind of diſſimuled praiſes, requiring greater and more warie circumſpection to be taken heed of, if a man would detect and convince, hee ought of purpoſe when hee is tempted and aſſailed with ſuch flatterie, to obtrude and propoſe unto the flatterer abſurd counſell, if he ſeeme to demaund and aske it: advertiſements alſo and properly of the ſame kinde, yea and corrections without all ſenſe and to no purpoſe, when he ſhall offer his labours to be read and peruſed: In ſo doing, if he perceive the partie ſuſpected to be a flatterer, doth not gaineſay nor contradict any thing, but alloweth of all and receiveth the ſame, yea and more than that, when he ſhall to everie point crie out and ſay, Oh well ſaid and ſufficiently: O excellent wit: be ſure, then he is caught in a trap: then I ſay it will be found plainely according to the common byword,

That when he did a watchword crave,
Some other thing he ſought to have:
Or as we ſay (in Proverb old)
Draſſe was his errand, but drinke he would.

that is to ſay, he waited for ſome occaſion and opportunitie, by praiſing to puffe him up with vanitie and overweening of himſelfe. Moreover, like as ſome have defined painting to be a mute Poëſie; even ſo praiſing is a kind of ſilent and ſecret flatterie. Hunters (we ſee) then ſooneſt deceive the poore beaſts, when they ſeeme to do nothing leſſe then to hunt, making ſemblance as though they either travelled like wayfaring men, or tended their flocks, or elſe tilled the ground. Semblably flatterers touch thoſe whom they flatter, neereſt and enter to the verie quicke by praiſing, when they make no ſhew thereof, but ſeeme to do nothing leſſe than praiſe.

For he that giveth the chaire and ſeat to another comming in place, or as he is making an oration either in publike place before the people, or in Councell houſe to the Senate, breaketh off his owne ſpeech, and yeeldeth unto him his roome, giving him leave to ſpeake or to opine, and remaineth ſilent himſelfe: by this his ſilence ſheweth, that he doth repute the other a better man, and of more ſufficiencie for wiſedome and knowledge than himſelfe, much more than if he ſhould pronounce and ring it out aloude to the whole audience. And hereupon it is that this ſort of people who make profeſſion of flatterie, take up ordinarily the firſt and higheſt ſeats, aſwell at ſermons and publike orations whither men flocke to heare, as at the Theaters and ſhewen places, not that they thinke themſelves worthie of ſuch places, but becauſe they may riſe and make roome for better & richer perſons as they come, and thereby flatter them kindly. This we ſee alſo, that in ſolemne aſſemblies and great meetings or auditories, they are by their good wils the firſt that put themſelves forth, and make offer to begin ſpeech; but it is for nothing elſe, but that afterward they would ſeeme to quit the place and give aſſent to their betters, ſoone retracting their owne opinions, when they heare a mightie man, a rich or noble perſonage in authoritie to contradict and ſay the contrarie. And here we ought moſt of all to be circumſpect and warie, that we may evict them of this, That all this courting, this giving place, this yeelding of the victorie and reverence made unto others, is not for any more ſufficiencie that they acknowledge in them, for their knowledge, experience and vertues; ne yet for their worthineſſe in regard of elder age, but only for their wealth, riches, credit, and reputation in the world. **Megabyſus* a great Lord belonging to the kings court of *Perſia*, came upon a time to viſit *Apelles* the painter: and ſitting by him in his ſhop to ſee him worke, began of his owne accord to diſcourſe I wot not what, of lines, ſhadowes and other matters belonging to his art: *Apelles* hearing him, could not hold but ſaid unto him; See you not ſir theſe litle prentiſe boies here that grinde Oker and other colours? So long as you ſate ſtill and ſaid never a word, they adviſed you well and their eie was never off, wondering to ſee your rich purple robes, your chaines and jewels of gold, no ſooner began you to ſpeake, but they fell to teighing, and now they laugh you to skorne, talking thus as you doe of thoſe things which you never learned. And *Solon* being demaunded once by *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, what men he had ſeene whom he reputed moſt happie in this world? named unto him one *Tellus*, none of the great men of *Athens*, but a good plaine and meane citizen, *Cleobis* alſo and *Biton*: and theſe he ſaid were of all others moſt fortunate. But theſe flatterers will affirme that Kings and Princes, rich men and rulers, are not onely bleſſed, happie and fortunate; but alſo excell all others in wiſedome, knowledge and vertue. There is not one of them that can endure ſo much as to heare the Stoicks, who hold, that the ſage and wiſe man (ſuch a one as they depaint unto us) ought all at once to be called, rich, faire, noble, yea and a king: whereas our flatterers will have the rich man onely, whom they are diſpoſed to flatter, to be an Oratour and a Poet; yea and if he will himſelfe, a painter, a good piper, paſſing light of foote and ſtrong of limmes; inſomuch, as whoſoever wreſtleth with him, ſhall be ſure to take the foile and lye along; and whomſoever he runneth with in the race, he ſhal come behinde him a faire deale, but how? Surely even as *Criſſon* the Himeræan lagged for the nonce behind King *Alexander* the Great, when he ran with him for the beſt game: for which the King was highly diſpleaſed & wroth at him, when he once perceived it. *Carneades* was woont to ſay, that the ſons of Kings and great rich men, learned to do nothing well and right, but onely to ſit and ride an horſe. For that their maſters are woont to flatter and praiſe them in all their ſchooles where they be taught: for if they be at the exerciſe of wreſtling, you ſhall have him that wreſtleth with them, of purpoſe to take a fall and lie under them: Marie, the horſe not knowing nor having the reaſon to diſcerne a private mans ſonne from a prince; nor whether he be poore or rich that ſits upon his backe, will be ſure to caſt him over his head and lay him along whoſoever he be, that cannot skill how to hold and rule him. *Bion* therefore was but a verie lob and foole in ſaying thus: If I wiſt that with praiſing a peece of ground I could make it good, rich and fertile, it ſhould want for no praiſes; and rather would I commend it than toile and moile in digging, tilling, & doing worke about it. And yet I will not ſay, that a man is too blame and doth amiſſe in praiſing: if ſo be, that thoſe who are praiſed be the better and more fruitfull in all good things for it. Howbeit to come againe into the ground before ſaid; a field being praiſed never ſo much is not the worſe nor leſſe fertile therefore: but I aſſure you they that commend folke falſely, and beyond their deſert and due, puffe them full of winde and vanitie, and worke their overthrow in the end. But now having diſcourſed ſufficiently upon this article and point of praiſes, let us proceed forward to treat of franknes and libertie of ſpeech.

**Plinie* reporteth this of K. *Alexander*, & not of *Megabyſus*.

And verily meete and reaſon it had beene, that as *Patroclus* when he put on the armour of *Achilles*, and brought forth his horſes of ſervice to battell, durſt not meddle with his ſpeare Pelias, but left it onely untouched; ſo a flatterer alſo, although he maske and diſguiſe himſelfe with other habits, ornaments and enſignes of a friend, ſhould let this libertie onely of ſpeech alone, and not once go about to touch or counterfeit it, as being indeed

A baston of ſuch poiſe and weight
So big withall ſo ſtiffe and ſtreight,

that of all others it belongeth onely to friendſhip for to be caried and welded by it. But for as much, as our flatterers now a daies are afraid to be detected in laughing in their cups, in their jeſts, ſcoffes, and gameſome mirth; therefore to avoide ſuch diſcovery, they have learned forſooth to knit and bend the browes, they can skill iwis, to flatter, and yet looke with a frowning face and crabbed countenance, they have the caſt to temper with their glavering gloſes ſome rough reprehenſions, and chiding checks among: let us not overpaſſe this point untouched, but conſider and examine the ſame likewiſe. For mine owne part I am of this minde; That as in a Comedie of *Menander*, there comes in a counterfeit *Hercules* to play his part upon the ſtage with a club on his ſhoulder, that is (you may bee ſure) nothing maſſie, heavie, ſtiffe and ſtrong, but ſome device and gawd, hollow and emptie within, made of browne paper or ſuch like ſtuffe; Even ſo, that plaine and free ſpeech which a flatterer uſeth, will bee found light, ſoft, and without any ſtrength at all to give a blow: much like (to ſay truly) unto the ſoft bed pillowes that women lie on, which ſeeming full and plumpe to reſiſt and beare out againſt their heads, yeeld and ſinke under the ſame ſo much the more: For after the ſame maner, this counterfeit free ſpeech of theirs puffed up full of winde, or elſe ſtuffed with ſome deceitfull light matter, ſeemeth to riſe up, to ſwell, and beare out hard & ſtiffe, to the end that being preſſed downe once (and both ſides as it were comming together) it might receive, enlap and enfold him that chaunceth to fall thereupon, and ſo carie him away with it. Whereas the true and friendly libertie of ſpeech indeed, taketh hold of thoſe that are delinquent and do offend, bringing with it a kinde of paine for the time, which notwithſtanding is holſome and healthfull: reſembling heerein the nature of honie, which being applied to a ſore or ulcerous place, at the firſt doth ſmart and ſting; but it doth clenſe and mundifie withall, and otherwiſe is profitable, ſweete and pleaſant. But as touching this plaine dealing and franke ſpeech, I will write a part of purpoſe in place convenient. As for the flatterer he maketh ſhew at the firſt, that he is rough, violent, and inexorable in all dealings with others: For over his ſervants he carieth a hard hand, and is not pleaſed with their ſervice, with his familiars, acquaintance and kinſfolke he is ſharpe and eager, ready to finde fault with every thing; he maketh no reckoning nor account of any man but himſelfe; he deſpiſeth and diſdaineth all the world beſides; there is not a man living that he will pardon and forgive; he blameth and accuſeth every one; and his whole ſtudie is to win the name & reputation of a man that hateth vice, & in that regard careth not whom he doth provoke, and whoſe diſpleaſure he incur: as who, for no good in the world would he hired to hold his toung, nor willingly forbeare to ſpeake plainly the truth; who with his good will would never ſpeake or do any thing to ſooth up and pleaſe another: Then will he make ſemblance as though he neither ſaw nor tooke knowledge of any great and groſſe ſinnes indeed: but if peradventure there be ſome light and ſmall outward faults, he will make foule a doo thereat, he will keepe a woondring and crying out upon them: then ſhall you have him in good earneſt exclaime and reproove the delinquent with a loud and ſounding voice: As for example, if hee chance to eſpie the implements or any thing elſe about the houſe lie out of order; if a man be not well and neately lodged; if his beard be not of the right cut, or his haire grow out of faſhion; if a garment ſit not handſomly about him, or if a horſe or hound be not ſo carefully tended as they ſhould be. But ſay that a man ſet nought by his parents, neglect his owne children, miſuſe his wife, diſdaine and deſpiſe his kinred, ſpend and conſume his goods; none of all theſe enormities touch and moove him: Heere he is mute and hath not a word to ſay; he dares not reprove theſe abuſes: much like as if a Maſter of the wreſtling ſchoole, who ſuffreth a wreſtler that is under his hand to be a drunkard and a whooremonger, ſhould chide and rebuke him ſharpely about an oile cruſe or curry-combe; or as if a Grammarian ſhould finde fault with his ſcholar and chide him for his writing tables or his pen, letting him goe away cleere with ſolæciſmes, incongruities and barbariſmes, as if he heard them not. Alſo I can liken a flatterer to him, who will not blame an ill authour, or ridiculous Rhetorician in any thing as touching his oration it ſelfe; but rather reprooveth him for his utterance, and ſharpely taketh him up for that by drinking of cold water he hath hurt his winde-pipe,and ſo marred his voice; or to one who being bidden to reade over and peruſe a poore ſeely Epigram or other writing that is nothing woorth, taketh on and fareth againſt the paper wherein it is written, for being thicke, courſe or rugged; or againſt the writer, for negligent, ſlovenly or impure otherwiſe. Thus the claw-backs and flatterers about king *Ptolomæus*, who would ſeeme to love good letters, and to be deſirous of learning, uſed ordinarily to draw out their diſputations and conferences at length,even to midnight, debating about ſome gloſſe or ſignification of a word, about a verſe, or touching ſome hiſtorie: but all the while there was not one among ſo many of them, that would tell him of his crueltie, of his wrongs and oppreſſions, ne yet of his * drumming, tabouring, and other enormious indignities, under the colour of religion; and ſeeke to reforme him. Certes a fooliſh fellow were he, who comming to a man diſeaſed with tumors, ſwellings, impoſtumes, or hollow ulcers, called *Fiſtulaes,* ſhould with a Chirurgians launcet, or Barbers raſor, fall to cut his haires, or pare his nailes; even ſo it fareth with theſe flatterers, who applie their libertie of ſpeech to ſuch things, as neither are in paine, nor yet do any hurt. Moreover, ſome others there bee of them, who being more cunning and craftie then their fellowes, and uſe this plainneſſe of language and reprehenſion of theirs, for to pleaſe and make ſport withall. Thus *Agis* the *Argive,* ſeeing how *Alexander* the great, gave very great rewards and gifts to a certaine pleaſant and odde fellow that was a jeſter, cried out for verie envie and dolour of heart; O great abuſe and monſtrous abſurditie: The King hearing it, turned about unto him in great diſpleaſure and indignation, demaunding of him what he had to ſay? I confeſſe (quoth he) indeed, that I am grieved, and I thinke it a great indignitie, when I ſee all you that are deſcended from *Iupiter* and his ſonnes, to take pleaſure in flatterers and jeſters about you, for to make you merrie. For even ſo *Hercules* tooke a delight to have in his company certeine ridiculous *Cecropes*, and *Bacchus* had ever in his traine the *Silenes*. In your court likewiſe, a man may ſee ſuch to be in credite and highly eſteemed. When *Tiberius Cæſar* the Emperor upon a certeine day was come into the Senate houſe of Rome, one of the Senators who knew how to flatter,aroſe and ſtood up, and with a good loud voice; Meete it is(quoth he) ô *Cæſar* that men free borne, ſhould likewiſe have the libertie of ſpeech, and ſpeake their minds frankly, without diſſimuling or concealing any thing which they know to be good and profitable: with this ſpeech of his,he ſtirred up the attention of the whole houſe,ſo as they gave good eare unto him, and *Tyberius* himſelfe liſtened what he would ſay. Now when all was ſtill and in great ſilence; Hearken (quoth he) ô *Cæſar,* what it is that we all accuſe and blame you for, but no man dare be ſo bolde as to ſpeake it out: You neglect your ſelfe, and have no regard of your owne perſon; you conſume and ſpoile your body with continuall cares and travels for our ſake, taking no reſt nor repoſe either day or night. Now when he had drawen out a long traine of words to this purpoſe, *Caſſius Severus* a Rhetorician, ſtood up, and by report ſaid thus; Such libertie of ſpeech as this, will be the utter undoing of this man. But theſe flatteries are of the lighter ſort, and doe leſſe hurt: there be other more dangerous, which worke the miſchiefe and corruption of thoſe who are not wiſe, and take no heed unto them; namely, when flatterers ſet in hand to reproove them whom they flatter, for the contrary vices to thoſe that be in them. Thus *Himerius* the flatterer reproched a certaine rich man of *Athens*, the verieſt pinching miſer and the moſt covetous withall, that was in the whole city, with the imputations of prodigality, and negligence about his owne profit and gaine; charging him that one day he would ſmart for it, and both he and his children be hunger-ſterved for want wherwith to ſuſteine themſelves, if he looked no better to his thrift: or when they object miſerable niggardiſe and beggerie, unto thoſe that are knowen to be prodigall ſpenders,and conſume all. After which maner, *Titus Petronius* reprooved *Nero*. Againe, if they come to princes and great lords, who deale cruelly and hardly with their ſubjects and tenants, ſaying unto them, That they muſt lay away this overmuch lenity and fooliſh pitty of theirs, which neither is ſeemely for their perſons, nor yet profitable for their ſtate. And very like to theſe, is he who maketh ſemblance to him who is a very ſenſeleſſe ſot and fooliſh foole, that he ſtands in great feare and doubt of him, leſt hee ſhould be circumvented by him, as if he were ſome cautelous, crafty and cunning perſon. He alſo, that doth rebuke another, who is an ordinary ſlanderer, who taketh pleaſure (upon ſpight and envie) to be ever railing on all men, and backe-biting them, if hee chance any one time to breake out into the praiſe of ſome woorthy and excellent perſonage, ſaying in this maner unto him; This is a great fault that you have, and a diſeaſe that followeth you, thus to praiſe men of no woorth: What is he (I pray you) whom you thus commend? what good parts be in him?

hath

* τυμπανίζοντος ϗ τελȣ̃ντος. Some expound it, beating his ſubjects with cudgels, and oppreſſing thẽ with exceſſive exactions.

hath he at any time done any doughty deed,or delivered any ſingular ſpeech that might deſerve ſuch praiſes? But in amatorious and love matters they paſſe: there you ſhall have them moſt of all to come over thoſe whom they flatter and lay on load; to them they will joine cloſe, and ſet them on a flaming fire. For if they ſee brethren at ſome variance, or ſetting nought by their parents,or els to deale unkindly with their owne wives,and to ſet no ſtore by them,or to be jealous and ſuſpicious of them; they never admoniſh, chaſtice or rebuke them for it, that they may amend; but rather they will kindle more coales betweene, and encreaſe their anger and diſcontentment on both ſides: Nay, it is no great matter (will they ſay,) it is even well enough; you will never ſee and know who you are; you are the cauſe of all this your owne ſelfe; and ſelfe do, ſelfe have; you evermore have borne your ſelves ſo pliable, ſubmiſſe and lowly toward them, that you are but rightly ſerved. But ſay there be ſome itching heat of love, or ſmart anger upon jealouſie,in regard of a courtiſan or married wife,whom the party is amourous of; then ſhal you ſee a flatterer ready at hand to diſplay his cunning openly, and to ſpeake his minde freely unto him, putting fire to fire and feeding his love; you ſhall have him to lay the law upon this lover,accuſing and entring proceſſe againſt him in theſe termes: You have broken the lawes of love; you have done and ſaid many things not ſo kindly as beſeemed a true louer, but rather dealt hardly with your love, and enough to loſe her heart, and incurre her hatred for euer;

Vnthankefull perſon that thou art.
For kiſſes ſo many of thy ſweet hart.

Thus the flattering friends of *Antonius*, when he burned in love of the Aegyptian queene *Cleopatra*,would perſwade and make him beleeve,that ſhe it was who was enamoured upon him, and by way of opprobrious imputation they would tell him to his face, that he was proud, diſdainfull, hard hearted, and void of all kinde affection. This noble queene (would they ſay) forſaking ſo mighty and wealthy a kingdome,ſo many pleaſant palaces, and ſtately houſes of bleſſed abode, ſuch meanes and opportunities of happineſſe, for the love of you pineth away, and conſumeth herſelfe,trudging after your campe to and fro, for to doe your Honour content and pleaſure with the habit and title of your Concubine,

Whiles you in breſt do cary an hart
Which will not be wrought by any art.

neglecting her (good lady) and ſuffering her to periſh for ſorow and hearts griefe. Whereupon he being well enough pleaſed to heare himſelfe thus charged with wrong doing to her, and taking more pleaſure in theſe accuſations of theirs, than if they had directly praiſed him, was ſo blinde that he could not ſee how they that ſeemed thus to admoniſh him of his duetie, perverted and corrupted him thereby ſo much the more. For this counterfeit liberty of plaine dealing and plaine ſpeech,may be very well likened to the wanton pinches and bitings of luxurious women, who tickle and ſtirre up the luſt and pleaſure of men by that which might ſeeme to cauſe their paine. For like as pure wine, which otherwiſe of it ſelfe is a ſure remedy againſt the poiſon of hemlocke, if a man doe mingle it with the juice of the ſaid hemlocke, doth mightily enforce the poiſon thereof, and make it irremediable, for that by meanes of the heat it conveieth the ſame more ſpeedily unto the heart; even ſo theſe lewd and miſchievous flatterers, knowing full wel that franke ſpeech is a ſingular helpe and remedy againſt flattery,abuſe it to flatter withall. And therefore it ſeemeth that *Bias* anſwered not ſo well as he might have done, to one that asked of him, which was the ſhrewdeſt and moſt hurtfull beaſt of all other: If (quoth he) your queſtion be of wilde and ſavage, a Tyrant is worſe; if of tame and gentle, a Flatterer. For hee might have ſaid more truely; that of Flatterers ſome be of a tame kinde, ſuch (I meane) as theſe paraſites are who haunts the baines and ſtouphes; thoſe alſo that follow good cheere and keepe about the table. As for him, who (like as the Pourcuttle fiſh ſtretcheth out his clawes like branches) reacheth as farre as to the ſecret chambers and cabinets of women, with his buſie intermedling,with his calumniations and malicious demeanors,ſuch a one is ſavage,fell,intractable and dangerous to be approched.

Now one of the meanes to beware of this flatterie, is to know and remember alwaies, that our ſoule conſiſteth of two parts, whereof the one is addicted to the truth, loving honeſtie and reaſon; the other more brutiſh, of the owne nature unreaſonable, given to untruth and withall paſſionate. A true friend aſſiſteth evermore the better part, in giving counſell and comfort,even as an expert and ſkilfull Phyſition, who hath an eie that aimeth alwaies at the maintenance and encreaſe of health: but the flatterer doth apply himſelfe, and ſettleth to that part which is voide of reaſon and full of paſſions: this he ſcratcheth, this he tickleth continually,this he ſtroketh and handleth in ſuch ſort, by deviſing ſome vicious and diſhoneſt pleaſures, that he withdraweth and turneth it away quite from the rule and guidance of reaſon. Moreover, as there be ſome kind of viands, which if a man eate, they neither turne unto blood, nor ingender ſpirits, ne yet adde vigor and ſtrength to the nerves and the marrow; but all the good they do, is haply to cauſe the fleſh or genitall parts to riſe, to ſtirre and looſe the belly, or to breed ſome foggie, fantom and halfe rotten fleſh, which is neither faſt nor ſound within; even ſo, if a man looke neerely and have good regard unto a flatterer, he ſhall never finde that all the words he uſeth, miniſter or procure one jot of good to him that is wiſe and governed by reaſon; but feed fooles with the pleaſant delights of love; kindle and augment the fire of inconſiderate anger; provoke them unto envie; breed in them an odious and vaine preſumption of their owne wit; increaſe their ſorrow and griefe, with moaning them and lamenting with them for companie; ſet on worke and exaſperate their inbred naughtineſſe and lewd diſpoſition; their illiberall minde and covetous nature; their diffidence and diſtruſtfulneſſe of others; their baſe and ſervile timiditie, making them alwaies worſe, and apt to conceive ill; more fearefull, jealous and ſuſpicious, by the meanes of ſome new accuſations, falſe ſurmiſes and conjecturall ſuggeſtions, which they be ready to put into their heads. For evermore it getteth cloſely into ſome vicious paſſion and affection of the minde, and there lurketh; the ſame it nouriſheth and feedeth fat, but anon it appeereth like a botch, riſing eftſoones upon the corrupt, diſeaſed or inflamed parts of the ſoule. Art thou angrie with one? puniſh him (ſaith he:) Haſt thou a minde to a thing? buy it, and make no more adoe: Art thou never ſo little afraid? let us flie and be gon: Suſpecteſt thou this or that? beleeve it confidently (ſaith he.) But if peradventure, he can hardly be ſeene and diſcovered about theſe paſſions, for that they be ſo mightie and violent, that oftentimes they chaſe and expell all uſe of reaſon, he will give ſome vantage to be ſooner taken in others that be not ſo ſtrong and vehement, where we ſhall find him alwaies the ſame and like himſelfe. For ſay, a man do ſuſpect that he hath taken a ſurfeit, either by over liberall feeding or drinking headie wine, and upon that occaſion make ſome doubt to bathe his bodie, or to eate preſently againe and lay gorge upon gorge (as they ſay:) A true friend wil advice him to forbeare & abſtaine; he will admoniſh him to take heed to himſelfe and looke to his health: In comes a flatterer, and he will draw him to the baine in all haſte; he will bid him to call for ſome noveltie or other to be ſet upon the boord, willing him to fall freſh to it againe, and not to puniſh his body and do himſelfe injurie, by faſting and refuſing his meate and drinke: Alſo if he ſee him not diſpoſed to take a journey by land or voyage by ſea, or to go about any enterpriſe whatſoever it be, ſlowly and with an ill will, he will ſay unto him; either that there is no ſuch great need, or the time is not ſo convenient, but it may be put off to a farther daie, or it will ſerve the turne well enough to ſend others about it. Now if it fall out ſo, that he having made promiſe to ſome familiar friend, either to lend or let him have the uſe of ſome money, or to give him it freely, do change his minde and repent of his promiſe; but yet be ſomewhat abaſhed and aſhamed thus to breake his word; the flatterer by and by will put himſelfe to the worſe and lighter end of the ballance, and make it weigh downe on the purſe ſide, ſoone excluding and cutting off all ſhame for the matter: What man! (will he ſay) Spare your purſe and ſave your ſilver; you are at a great charge; you keepe a great houſe, and have many about you which muſt be maintained and have ſufficient; in ſuch ſort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of our ſelves, and wilfully blinde, not ſeeing that we be covetous, ſhameleſſe, timorous and baſe minded, we cannot chooſe but ſtart and finde out a flatterer; neither is it poſſible that he ſhould eſcape us. For ſurely he will evermore defend and maintaine theſe imperfections, and frankly will he ſpeake his minde in favour thereof, if he perceive us to over paſſe our ſelves therein. But thus much may ſuffice as touching theſe matters.

Let us come now to the uſes and ſervices that a flatterer is employed in: For in ſuch offices he doth confound, trouble, and darken much the difference betweene him and a true friend; ſhewing himſelfe in apparence, alwaies diligent, ready and prompt in all occurrences, without ſeeking any colourable pretenſes of ſhifting off, and a refuſing to do any thing. As for a faithfull friend, his whole carriage and behaviour is ſimple, like as be the words of truth, as ſaith ***Eurypides***, without welts and gards, plaine without plaits, and nothing counterfeit: whereas the conditions of a flatterer to ſay a truth,

By nature are diſeaſed much,
And medicines needfull are for ſuch,

not only with wiſdome to be miniſtred and applied, but alſo many in number, and thoſe (I aſſure you) of a more exquiſite making and compoſition than any other. And verily as friends many times when they meet one another in the ſtreet, paſſe by without good-morrow or god ſpeed, or any word at all betweene them; onely by ſome lightſome looke, cheerefull ſmile, or amiable regard of the eie reciprocally given and taken, without any other token els, there is teſtified the good-will and mutuall affection of the heart within: whereas the flatterer runneth toward his friend to meet him, followeth apace at his heeles, ſpreadeth foorth both his armes abroad, and that afarre off, to embrace him: and if it chance that he be ſaluted and ſpoken to firſt, becauſe the other had an eie on him before, he will with brave words excuſe himſelfe, yea, and many times call for witneſſes, and bind it with great oathes good ſtore, that he ſaw him not. Even ſo likewiſe in their affaires and negociations abroad in the world, friends omit and overſlip many ſmall and light things, not ſearching narrowly into matters, not offering or expecting againe any exquiquiſit ſervice; nothing curious and buſie in ech thing, ne yet putting themſelves forward to everie kinde of miniſterie: but the flatterer is herein double diligent, he will be continually emploied and never reſt, without ſeeming at any time to be weary, no place, no ſpace nor opportunity will he give the other to do any ſervice; he looketh to be called unto and commanded; and if he be not bidden, he will take it ill and be diſpleaſed; nay you ſhall have him then out of heart and diſcouraged, complaining of his ill fortune, and proteſting before God and man, as if he had ſome great wrong done unto him. Theſe be evident marks and undoubted arguments to ſuch as have wit and underſtanding, not of a friendſhip ſound, ſober & honeſt, but rather ſmelling of wanton and whoriſh love, which is more ready to embrace and clip, than is decent and ſeemely. Howbeit, to examine the ſame more particularly, let us conſider what difference there is betweene a flatterer and a friend, as touching the offers and promiſes that they make. They who have written of this theame before us, ſay very well, that a friends promiſe goeth in this forme,

If that I can, or if it may be done,
Fulfill I will your minde, and that right ſoone.

but the offer of a flatterer runneth in this maner,

What would you have? ſay but the word to me,
Without all doubt, effected it ſhall be.

For ſuch franke promiſers and braggers as theſe, the Poets alſo uſe to bring unto the Stage in their Comedies, after this ſort;

Now of all loves, Nicomachus, *this I crave,*
Set me againſt this ſouldier here ſo brave,
I will ſo ſwinge his coat, you ſhall it ſee,
That like a pompion his fleſh ſhall tender be:
His face, his head I ſhall much ſofter make,
Than is the ſpunge that growes in ſea or lake.

Moreover, you ſhall not ſee a friend offer his helping hand or aide in any action, unleſſe he were called before to counſell, and his opinion asked of the enterpriſe, or that he have approoved and ſet downe the ſame upon good adviſement, to be either honeſt or profitable: whereas the flatterer, if a man ſhould do him ſo much credit, as to require his conſent and approbation, or otherwiſe requeſt him to deliver his opinion of the thing, he, not onely upon a deſire to yeeld unto others and to gratifie them; but alſo for feare to give any ſuſpicion that he would ſeeme to draw backe and avoid to ſet his hand to any worke or buſineſſe whatſoever, is readie with the formoſt to applie himſelfe to the appetite and inclination of another, yea and withall, pricketh and inciteth him forward to enter upon it. And yet lightly you ſhall find even of rich men and kings, but few or none who can or will come forth with theſe words;

Would God ſome one that needy is and poore,
Yea, woorſe than he that begs from doore to doore,
Would come to me (ſo that he were my friend)
Without all feare, and ſpeake to me his mind.

But now adaies it is farre otherwiſe; for they are much like unto compoſers of Tragedies, who will be provided of a quire or dance of their friends to ſing with them, or deſire to have a Theatre of purpoſe to give applauſe and clap their hands unto them. And verily whereas *Merope* in a certeine Tragedie giveth theſe ſage and wiſe advertiſements;

Take thoſe for friends, I reed, and holde them ſo,
Whoſe ſpeech is ſound, and waves not to and fro:
But thoſe that pleaſe thy minde in word and deed,

Count lewd, and ſuch locke forth of doore with ſpeed.

Our Potentates and Grand Seigneurs doe cleane contrary; for ſuch as will not follow their humors, and ſoothe them up at every word, but gain-ſay their courſes, in making remonſtrance of that which is more profitable and expedient; ſuch they diſdaine and will not vouchſafe them a good looke. But for thoſe wicked wretches, baſe minded varlets, and coſening impoſtors, who can curry favor, they not onely ſet their doores wide open for ſuch, and receive them into their houſes, but they admit them alſo to conferences with their inward affections and the very ſecrets of their heart. Among whom you ſhall have one more plaine perhaps and ſimple than the reſt, who will ſay, that it is not for him, neither is he woorthy to deliberate and conſult of ſo great affaires; mary he could be content, and would take upon him, to be a poore ſervitour and miniſter, to execute whatſoever were concluded and enjoined him to doe: another more craftie and cunning than his fellowes, is willing enough to be uſed in counſell, where he will heare all doubts and perils that be caſt; his eie-browes ſhall ſpeake if they will, his head and eies ſhall nod and make ſignes, but his tongue ſhall not ſpeake a word: Say that the partie whom he mindeth to flatter, do utter his minde and what he thinketh good to do: then will he crie out aloud and ſay, By *Hercules* I ſweare, it was at my tongues end to have ſaid as much, had you not prevented me and taken the word out of my mouth, I would have given you the verie ſame counſell. For like as the Mathematicians do affirme, that the ſuperficial and outward extremities, the limmes alſo of the Mathematicall bodies, doe of themſelves and in their owne nature, neither bend nor ſtretch, ne yet moove at all: for that they be intellectuall onely or imaginarie, and not corporal, but according as the bodies do bow, reach or ſtirre, ſo do they; ſo you ſhall ever finde that a flatterer, will pronounce, opine, thinke and be mooved to anger, according as he ſeeth another before him. And therefore in this kind, moſt eaſie it is to obſerve the difference between a flatterer and a friend. But yet more evident you ſhall ſee it in the manner of doing ſervice. For the offices and kindneſſes which come from a friend, are ever beſt, and (as living creatures) have their moſt proper vertues inwardly, carrying leaſt in ſhew, and having no outward oſtentation of glorious pompe. And as it falleth out many times a Phyſitian cureth his patient, and ſaieth little or nothing at all unto him, but doth the deed ere he be aware; even ſo, a good friend whether he be preſent or departed from his friend, doth him good ſtill, and taketh care for him when he full little knoweth of it. Such a one was *Arceſilaus* the Philoſopher, who beſide many other kind parts which he ſhewed unto his friend *Apelles*, the painter of *Chios*, comming one day to viſite him when he was ſicke, & perceiving how poore he was, went his way for that time: and when he returned againe, brought twentie good drachmes with him: and then ſitting cloſe unto *Apelles* by his beds ſide: Here is nothing here (quoth he) I ſee well, but theſe foure bare Elements that *Empedocles* writeth of,

Hot Fire, cold Water, ſheere and ſoft:
Groſſe Earth, pure Aire that ſpreads aloft.

But me thinkes you lie not at your eaſe; and with that he remooved the pillow or bolſter under his head, and ſo conveighed underneath it privily, the ſmall pieces of coine aforeſaid. The old woman his nourſe and keeper, when ſhe made the bed, found this money: whereat ſhe marvelled not a little, and told *Apelles* thereof, who laughing thereat: This is (quoth he) one of *Arceſilaus* his theeviſh caſts. And for that it is a Maxime in Philoſophie, that children are borne like their parents, one *Lacydes* a ſchollar of *Arceſilaus* aforeſaid, being aſſiſtant with many others to a friend of his named *Cephiſocrates*, when he came to his triall in a caſe of treaſon againſt the State: in pleading of which cauſe, the accuſer his adverſarie called for *Cephiſocrates* his ring, a pregnant evidence that made againſt him, which he had cleanly ſlipped from his finger & let it fall to the ground; whereof the ſaid *Lacydes* being adviſed, ſet his foote preſently over it, and ſo kept it out of ſight: for that the maine proofe of the matter in queſtion lay upon that ring. Now after ſentence paſſed on *Cephiſocrates* his ſide, and that he was cleerely acquit of the crime, he went privately to everie one of the judges for to give them thanks: One of them who (as it ſhould ſeeme) had ſeene what was done, willed him to thanke *Lacydes*: and with that told how the caſe ſtood, and how it went with him as it did: but all this while *Lacydes* himſelfe had not ſaid a word to any creature. Thus I thinke verily, that the gods themſelves doe beſtow many benefits and favours upon men ſecretly, and whereof they be not aware; being of this nature to take joy and pleaſure in bountifulneſſe and doing good. Contrariwiſe, the office that a flatterer ſeemeth to performe, hath nothing in it that is juſt, nothing true, nothing ſimple, nothing liberall: onely you ſhall ſee him ſweat at it; you ſhall have him runne up and downe; keepe a loude crying & a great ado, and ſet his countenance upon the matter, ſo as that he maketh right good ſemblance & ſhew that he doth eſpeciall ſervice, taketh much care & paines about his buſines: & maketh haſt to diſpatch it: and much like are all his doings to a curious picture, which with ſtrange colours, with broken plaits, wrinkles and angles, affecteth and ſtriveth (as it were) to ſhew ſome lively reſemblance. Moreover, much ado he maketh, & is troubleſome in telling how he went to and fro, wandring here and there about the matter; alſo what a deale of care he tooke therein; how he incurred the evill wil & diſpleaſure of others; and a thouſand hinderances, troubles & dangers, as beſides he reckoneth up; inſomuch as a man that heareth, would ſay; All that ever he did was not worth ſo much as the twittle twattle that he maketh. For ſurely a good turne that is upbraided in that wiſe, becōmeth burthenſome, odious, & not thankfully accepted, but intollerable. In all the offices & ſervices of a flatterer, you ſhall find theſe upbraidings and ſhamefull reports, that would make one bluſh to heare them, and thoſe not onely after the deed done, but at the verie inſtant when he is about it. But in ſteed hereof, a true friend, if it fall out ſo, that he be forced and urged to relate what is done, maketh a plaine report and narration in modeſt manner; but of himſelfe he will neuer ſay word. After which ſort did the Lacedæmonians in times paſt, when they had ſent corne unto the Smyrnæans, which, in their extreme neceſſitie they craved at their hands: For at what time as the men of *Smyrna* magnified, and wonderfully extolled this liberalitie of theirs, they returned this anſwere againe: This is not ſo great a matter that it ſhould deſerve ſo highly to be praiſed or wondered at: for (ſay they) gathered we have thus much, and made this ſupply of your neceſſities, onely by cutting our ſelves and our labouring beaſts ſhort of one daies pittance and allowance. Bountie in this wiſe performed, is not onely gentleman-like and liberall indeed, but alſo more welcome and acceptable to the receivers; in as much as they thinke it was no great damage, nor much out of their way that did it. Furthermore, not onely this odious faſhion of doing any ſervice with ſuch paine and trouble, or the readineſſe to make offer and promiſe ſo quickly, doth principally bewray the nature of a flatterer: but herein alſo much more he may be diſcovered: for that a friend is willingly employed in honeſt cauſes: but a flatterer in ſhameful and diſhoneſt: as alſo in the divers ends that they purpoſe; for the one ſeeketh to profit his friend, the other to pleaſe onely a friend; as *Gorgias* was woont to ſay, will never require that his friend ſhould do him a pleaſure, but in juſt things onely: whiles a flatterer ſerveth his turne in many things that are unjuſt: For why?

To do good deeds friends ſhould be joint,
But not to ſinne in any point.

whereas he ſhould endevour to avert and withdraw him from that which is not decent, or ſeemly: Now if it happen that the other will not be perſwaded by him, then were it not amiſſe to ſay unto him, as *Antipater* once anſwered *Phocion*; You cannot have me to be a friend and flatterer too (that is to ſay) a friend, and no friend. For one friend is to ſtand to another, and to aſſiſt him in doing, and not in miſdoing, in conſulting, and not in complotting and conſpiring, in bearing witneſſe with him of the truth, and not in circumventing any one by falſhood, yea and to take part with him in ſuffring calamitie, and not to beare him company in doing injurie: For ſay that we may chance to be privie unto ſome ſhamefull and reprochfull deeds of our friend; yet we ought not to be partie unto them therein, nor willing to aide them in any undecent action. For like as the Lacedæmonians being defaited in battell by king *Antipater*, and treating with him about the capitulations and articles of peace, made requeſt unto him, That he would impoſe upon them what conditions he would himſelfe, were they never ſo chargeable and diſadvantageous unto them, but in no wiſe enjoine them to do any ſhamefull indignitie; even ſo a faithfull friend ought to be ſo diſpoſed, that if his friends occaſions do require any matter of expence, danger, or travaile, he ſhew himſelfe at the firſt call and holding up of his finger, ready to come, and cheerefully to take his part and undergo the ſame, without any ſhifting off, or allegation of any excuſe whatſoever: mary, if there be never ſo little ſhame or diſhonor that may accrew thereby, he ſhall then refuſe and pray him to hold him excuſed; he ſhall requeſt pardon and deſire to have leave for to be diſmiſſed and depart in peace. The flatterer is quite contrary: for in painfull, difficult and dangerous affaires, which require his helpe and aſſiſtance, he draweth backe, and is ready to plucke his necke out of the collar: if (I ſay) in this caſe you ſeeme for triall ſake to knocke (as it were upon a pot) to ſee whether he be right, he will not ring cleere; but you ſhall ſee by the dead ſound of his pretended and forged excuſes, that he is full of cracks and flawes: contrariwiſe, in diſhoneſt, vile, baſe and ſhamefull miniſteries, I am for you (will he ſay) I am yours to command; doe with me what you will, tread me under your foot, abuſe me at your pleaſure : to be ſhort, he will thinke nothing to be an ignominious indignity unto him. See you not the ape? good he is not to keepe the houſe and to give warning of thieues, as dogs do; cary upon his backe any burdens he can not, like the horſe; neither yet is he fit to draw or to plough the ground, as the oxe doth; and therefore he beareth all kinde of abuſe and miſuſing, all wrongs, all unhappy ſports and trickes that can be deviſed, ſerving onely as an inſtrument of mockerie, and a meere laughing ſtocke. Even ſo it fareth with a flatterer, being not meet to plead at the barre for a friend, to aſſiſt him in counſell, to lay his hand to his purſe and ſupply his wants that way, nor to fight as his champion in maintenance of his quarrell, as one that can away with no labour, no paines taking, or ſerious emploiment; and in one word, fit for nothing, that good is: mary in ſuch affaires as may be done under the arme, that is to ſay, which be cloſe ſecret and filthy ſervices, he is the forwardeſt man in the world, and maketh no excuſes. A truſtie currier he is betweene, in love matters, in finding favour with a bawd and bringing a wench or harlot to your bedde, he is excellent, and hath a marvellous gift; to make the ſhot, and cleere the recknoning of any ſumptuous feaſt or banket hee is ready and perfect; in providing for a great dinner or ſupper, and ſetting the ſame foorth accordingly, he is nothing ſlow, but nimble enough. To give enterteinment unto concubines he is very handſome, obſequious and ſerviceable; if one bid him to ſpeake audaciouſly and malapertly againſt a father in law, a guardian, tutour, or any ſuch, or to put away his true eſpouſed wife, like as he ſeeth his good maſter do before him, he is without all ſhame & mercy: ſo that even heerein alſo it is no hard matter to ſee what kinde of man he is, and how much he differeth from a true friend: For commaund him to commit what villanie and wickedneſſe you will, ready he is to execute the ſame, and ſo he may gratifie and pleaſure you that ſet him on worke, he careth not to do any injurie to himſelfe.

There is moreover another meanes not of the leaſt conſequence, whereby a man may know how much a flatterer differeth from a friend indeed, namely, by his diſpoſition and behaviour towards his other friends: for a true friend findeth contentment in nothing ſo much as to love many, and likewiſe to be loved of many; and herein he laboureth eſpecially with his friend to procure himſelfe many others to love and honor him: for being of this opinion, that among good friends all things are common, he thinketh that nothing ought to be more common than friends themſelves. But the ſuppoſed, falſe and counterfeit friend, being privie to his owne conſcience, that he doth great injurie to true amitie and friendſhip, which he doth corrupt in manner of a baſe piece of money: as he is by nature envious, ſo he exerciſeth that envie of his, upon ſuch as be like himſelfe, ſtriving with a kinde of emulation to ſurpaſſe them in ſcurrile ſpeech, giving of taunts and garrulitie, but before ſuch as he knoweth better than himſelfe, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth dare not come neere nor ſhew his face to ſuch an one, no more (I aſſure you) than a footman to go and keepe pace (according to the Proverb) with a Lydian chariot, or rather (as *Simonides* ſaith,

Laid to fine gold tried cleane from droſſe,
He hath not ſo much as lead ſo groſſe.

Being compared with true, ſound and grave friendſhip, which (as they ſay) will endure the hammer, he cannot chooſe but finde himſelfe to be but light, falſified and deceitfull: ſeeing then that he muſt needs be detected and knowen, for ſuch an one as he is, what doth he thinke you? Surely he plaieth like an unskilfull painter, who had painted certaine cockes, but verie badly: For like as he gave commandement to his boy for to keepe away naturall and living cockes in deed, farre ynough off from his pictures; ſo a flatterer will doe what he can to chaſe away true friends, and not ſuffer them to approch neere; or if he be not able ſo to do, than openly and in publike place, he will ſeeme to currie favour with them, to honor and admire them, as farre better than himſelfe: but ſecretly, underhand, and behinde their backs, he will not let to raiſe ſome privie calumniations, & ſowe ſlanderous reports tending to their diſcredit: but if he ſee that by ſuch privie girds and pinches which will fret and gall the ſore, he cannot at the firſt bring his purpoſe about: yet hee remembreth full well and obſerveth the ſaying of *Medius*. This *Medius* was the chiefe captaine of the troupe, or the maſter rather of the quire (if I may ſo ſay) of all thoſe flatterers that uſed the court of king *Alexander* the great, & came about his perſon; the principall Sophiſter alſo that oppoſed himſelfe and banded againſt all good men, and never reſted to ſlander and backbite them: This rule and leſſon he taught his ſcholars and quiriſters that were under his hand, To caſt out ſlanders boldly, and not to ſpare, therewith to bite others: For (quoth he) although the ſore may heale up againe, yet the ſcarre will remaine and be ever ſeene. By theſe cicatrices and ſcarres of falſe imputations, or (to ſpeake more properly and truly) by ſuch gangrenes and cankerous ulcers as theſe, *Alexander* the king being corroded and eaten, did to death *Caliſthenes, Parmenion,* and *Philotas*, his faſt & faithfull friends: but to ſuch as *Agnon, Bagoas, Ageſias* and *Demetrius* were, he abandoned and gave himſelfe wholy to be ſupplanted and overthrowen at their pleaſure, whiles he was by them adored, adorned, arraied gorgeouſly with rich robes, and ſet out like a Barbarian image, ſtatue or idoll. Loe what is the force and power of flatterie to win grace and favor; and namely in thoſe, who would be reputed the mightieſt monarches and greateſt potentates of the world, it beareth moſt ſway: For ſuch are perſwaded, and deſirous alſo, that the beſt things ſhould be in themſelves; and this is it, that giveth both credite and alſo boldneſſe unto a flatterer. True it is I muſt confeſſe, that the higheſt places and forts ſituate upon the loftieſt mounts, are leaſt acceſſible and moſt hard to be gained by thoſe who would ſurpriſe and force them; but where there is an high ſpirit and haughtie minde by nature, not guided by the ſame judgement of reaſon, but lifted up with the favors of fortune, or nobilitie of birth, it is the eaſieſt matter in the world even for moſt baſe and vile perſons to conquer ſuch, and the avennes to them lie ready and open, to give the vantage of eaſieſt entrance. And therefore as in the beginning of this Treatiſe I gave warning; ſo now I admoniſh the Readers againe in this place; That every man would labour and ſtrive with himſelfe to roote out that ſelfe-love and overweening that they have of their owne good parts and woorthineſſe: For this is it that doth flatter us within, and poſſeſſeth our minds before hand, whereby we are expoſed and lie more open unto flatterers that are without, finding us thus prepared already for to worke upon. But if we would obey the god *Apollo*, and by acknowledging how much in all things we ought to eſteeme that oracle of his, which commandeth us To know our ſelves, ſearch into our owne nature, and examine withall our nouriture and education: when we finde there an infinite number of defects, and many vanities, imperfections and faults, mixed untowardly in our words, deeds, thoughts and paſſions, we would not ſo eaſily ſuffer theſe flatterers to tread us under their feete, and make a bridge of us as they do at their pleaſure. King *Alexander* the great was woont to ſay, that two things there were eſpecially which mooved him to have leſſe beleefe in them, who ſaluted and greeted him by the name of a God: The one was Sleepe, & the other the uſe of *Venus*: in both which he found that he was worſe than himſelfe, that is to ſay, ſubject to infirmities and paſſions more than in any thing els: But if we would looke into our ſelves and ever and anon conſider, how many groſſe vices, troubleſome paſſions, imperfections and defects we have, ſurely we ſhall finde that we ſtood in great neede, not of a falſe friend to flatter us in our follies, and to praiſe and extoll us; but rather of one that would frankely finde fault with our doings, and reproove us in thoſe vices that ech one privately and in particular doth commit. But very few there be among many others, who dare freely and plainely ſpeake unto their friends, but rather ſooth them up and ſeeke to pleaſe them in every thing: And even in thoſe, as few as they be, hardly ſhall you find any that know how to do it well, but for the moſt part they thinke that they ſpeake freely, when they do nothing but reproove, reproch and raile. Howbeit, this libertie of ſpeech whereof I ſpeake, is of the nature of a medicine, which if it be not given in time convenient and as it ought to be, beſides, that it doth no good at all, it troubleth the body, worketh greevance, and in ſtead of a remedie prooveth to be a miſchiefe: For even ſo, he that doth reprehend and find fault unſeaſonably, bringeth foorth the like effect with paine, as a flatterer doth with pleaſure. For men are apt to receive hurt and damage, not onely by overmuch praiſe; but alſo by inordinate blame when it is out of due time: for it is the onely thing that of all others maketh them ſooneſt to turne ſide unto flatterers, and to be moſt eaſily ſurpriſed by them; namely, when from thoſe things that ſtand moſt oppoſite and higheſt againſt them, they turne aſide like water, and run downe thoſe waies that be more low, eaſie, and hollow. In which regard it behooveth that this libertie in fault finding, be tempered with a certaine amiable affection, and accompanied with the judgement of reaſon, which may take away the exceſſive vehemencie and force of ſharpe words, like the over-bright ſhining of ſome glittering light, & for feare leſt their friends being dazeled as it were and frighted with the flaſhing beames of their rebukes, ſeeing themſelves ſo reprooved for ech thing, and blamed every while, may take ſuch a griefe and thought thereupon, that for ſorrow they be ready to flie unto the ſhadow of ſome flatterer, and turne toward that which will not trouble them at all. For we muſt avoid all vice, (ô *Philopappus*) and ſeeke to correct the ſame by the meanes of vertue (& not by another vice contrary unto it) as ſome do; who for to ſhun fooliſh and ruſticall baſhfulneſſe, grow to be overbold and impudent; for to eſchew rude incivilitie, fall to be ridiculous jeſters and pleaſants; and then they thinke to be fartheſt off from cowardiſe and effeminate tenderneſſe, when they come neereſt to extreme audacitie and boaſting braverie. Others there be, who to proove themſelves not to be ſuperſtitious, become meere Atheiſts; and becauſe they would not be thought and reputed idiots and fooles, proove artificiall conny-catchers. And ſurely in redreſſing the enormities of their maners, they do as much as thoſe, who for want of knowledge and skill to ſet a peece of wood ſtreight that twineth and lieth crooked one way, do curbe and bend it as much another way. But the moſt ſhamefull means to avoid & ſhun the ſuſpicion of a flatterer, is to make a mans ſelfe odious & troubleſom without profit; and a very rude and ruſticall faſhion this is, of ſeeking to win favor, and that with ſavour of no learning, skill, and civilitie, to become unpleaſant, harſh, and ſowre to a friend, for to ſhunne that other extreame, which in friendſhip ſeemeth to be baſe and ſervile; which is as much, as if a freed ſlave newly franchiſed, ſhould in a Comedie thinke that he could not uſe and enjoy his libertie of ſpeech, unleſſe he might be allowed licenciouſly to accuſe another without controlment. Conſidering then, that it is a foule thing to fall to flatterie, in ſtudying to pleaſe, as alſo for the avoiding of flatterie, by immoderate libertie of ſpeech, to corrupt and marre, aſwell the grace of amitie and winning love, as the care of remedying and reforming that which is amiſſe: and ſeeing that we ought to avoid both the one and the other: and as in all things elſe, ſo free ſpeaking, is to have the perfection from a meane and mediocritie; reaſon would, and by order it were requiſit, that toward the end of this Treatiſe, we ſhould adde ſomewhat in maner of a corollarie and complement, as touching that point.

Foraſmuch as therefore we ſee that this libertie of language and reprehenſion hath many vices following it, which doe much hurt: let us aſſay to take them away one after another, and begin firſt with blinde ſelfe-love and private regards: where we ought eſpecially to take heed that we be not ſeene to do any thing for our owne intereſt, and in reſpect of our ſelves; and namely, that we ſeeme not, for wrong that we have received our ſelves, or upon any griefe of our owne, to reproch, upbraid, or revile other men: for they will never take it as done for any love or good will that we beare unto them, but rather upon ſome diſcontentment and heart-burning that we have, when they ſee that our ſpeech tendeth unto a matter wherein we are intereſſed our ſelves; neither will they repute our words ſpoken by way of admonition unto them, but rather interpret them as a complaint of them. For ſurely the libertie of ſpeech whereof we treat, as it reſpecteth the welfare of our friend, ſo it is grave and venerable; whereas complaints ſavour rather of ſelfe-love and a baſe minde. Hereupon it is that we reverence, honour and admire thoſe who for our good deliver their minds frankly unto us: contrariwiſe, we are ſo bolde as to accuſe, challenge and charge reciprocally, yea, and contemne thoſe that make complaints of us. Thus we reade in *Homer*, That *Agamemnon*, who could not beare and endure *Achilles*, when he ſeemed to tell him his minde after a moderate maner; but he was well enough content to abide and ſuffer *Ulyſſes*, who touched him neere, and bitterly rebuked him in this wiſe:

Ah wretch, would God ſome abject hoaſt
beſide us, by your hand
Conducted were; ſo that in field
you did not us command.

As ſharpe a checke as this was, yet being delivered by a wiſe man, proceeding from a carefull minde, and tendering the good of the common weale, he gave place thereto, and kicked not againe: for this *Ulyſſes* had no private matter, nor particular quarell againſt him, but ſpake frankly for the benefit of all *Greece*: whereas *Achilles* ſeemed to be offended and diſpleaſed with him principally, for ſome private matter betwene them twaine. And even *Achilles* alſo himſelfe, although he was never knowen for to be a man of a gentle nature and of a milde ſpirit,

But rather of a ſtomacke full,
and one who would accuſe
A guiltleſſe perſon for no cauſe,
and him full ſoone abuſe.

endured *Patroclus* patiently, and gave him not a word againe, notwithſtanding he taunted and tooke him up in this wiſe:

Thou mercileſſe and cruell wretch,
ſir Peleus *valiant knight*
Was never (ſure) thy father true,
ne yet dame Thetis *bright*

Thy mother kinde: but ſea ſo greene,
or rocks ſo ſteepe and hard
Thee bare, (thy heart of pittie hath
ſo ſmall or no regard.)

For like as *Hyperides* the Oratour required the Athenians (who complained that his orations were bitter) to conſider of him, not onely whether he were ſharpe & eager ſimply, but whether he were ſo upon no cauſe, nor taking any fee; even ſo, the admonition and reprehenſion of a friend, being ſyncere and cleanſed pure from all priuate affection, ought to be reverenced: it carieth (I ſay) authoritie with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eie againſt it: in ſuch ſort, as if it appeare that he who chideth freely, and blameth his friend, doeth let paſſe and reject all thoſe faults which hee hath committed againſt him, and maketh no mention therof, but toucheth thoſe errours & miſdemeanors only which concerne others, and they ſpare him not, but pierce & bite to the quicke: the vehemency of ſuch free ſpeech is invincible, and can not be challenged, for the mildnes & good will of the chaſtiſer, doth fortifie the auſteritie & bitternes of the chaſtiſement. Well therefore it was ſaid in old time; That whenſoever we are angry, or at ſome jarre & variance with our friends, then moſt of all we ought to have an eie unto their good, and to ſtudy how to do ſomewhat that is either profitable unto them, or honorable for them. And no leſſe materiall is this alſo to the maintenance of friendſhip, if they that thinke themſelves to be deſpiſed and not well regarded of their friends, do put them in mind, and tell them frankly of others, who are neglected by them, and not accounted of as they ſhould be. Thus dealt *Plato* with *Denys*, at what time he was in diſgrace, and ſaw how he made no reckoning at all of him: For he came unto the Tyrant upon a time, and requeſted that he might have a day of audience and leave to conferre with him: *Denys* graunted his requeſt, ſuppoſing verily that *Plato* had a purpoſe to complaine and expoſtulat with him in his owne behalfe, and thereupon to diſcourſe with him at large: But *Plato* reaſoned and debated the matter with him in this manner: Sir (quoth he) ô *Denys*, if you were advertiſed and knew that ſome enemie or evill willer of yours were arrived and landed in *Sicilie*, with a full intention to do you ſome diſpleaſure, although he had no opportunitie or meanes to execute and effect the ſame, would you let him ſaile away againe & depart from *Sicily*, with impunity, and before he were talked withall? I tro not ô *Plato* (quoth *Denys*) but I would looke to him well enough for that: For we ought to hate & puniſh not the actions onely, but the verie purpoſes and intentions alſo of enemies. But how and if (quoth *Plato* againe) on the contrarie ſide; ſome other being expreſſely and of purpoſe come for meere love and affection that he beareth unto you, and fully minded to doe you ſome pleaſure, or to advice you for your good, you will give him neither time nor opportunitie therfore; is it meet (think you) that he ſhould be thus unthankfully dealt withal, or hardly entreated at your hands? With that *Dionyſius* was ſomewhat mooved, and demanded who that might be? *Aeſchines* (quoth *Plato*) is he, a man faire conditioned, and of as honeſt carriage and behaviour, as any one that ever came out of *Socrates* ſchoole, or daily and familiarly converſed with him; ſufficient and able by his eloquence and pithie ſpeech to reforme the maners of thoſe with whom he keepeth companie: This *Aeſchines* (I ſay) having taken a long voyage over ſea and arrived here, intending for to conferre with you philoſophically is nothing regarded, nor ſet by at all. Theſe words touched *Denys* ſo to the verie quicke, that preſently he not onely tooke *Plato* in his armes, embracing him moſt lovingly, and yeelding him great thankes for that kindneſſe, & highly admiring his magnanimity; but alſo from that time forward, entreated *Aeſchines* right courteouſly, and did him all the honor that he could.

Secondly, this libertie of ſpeech which now is in hand, we ought to cleere and purge cleane from all contumelious and injurious words, from laughter, ſcoffes, and ſcurrile taunts, which are the hurtfull and unholeſome ſauces (as I may ſay) wherewith many uſe to ſeaſon their free language. For like as a Chirurgian, when he maketh inciſion and cutteth the fleſh of his patient, had need to uſe great dexteritie, to have a nimble hand and an even; yea and every thing neat and fine belonging to this worke and operation of his: as for all dauncing, geſticulations beſides of his fingers, toyiſh motions, and ſuperfluous agitation thereof, to ſhew the agilitie of his hand, he is to forbeare for that time: So this libertie of ſpeech unto a friend, doth admit well a certaine kind of elegancie and civilitie, provided, alwaies that the grace thereof retaine ſtill a decent and comely gravitie, whereas if it chaunce to have audacious braverie, ſaucie impuritie, and inſolencie, to the hurt or hinderance of credit, it is utterly marred and looſeth all authoritie. And therefore it was not an unproper and unelegant ſpeech, wherewith a muſitian upon a time ſtopped King *Philips* mouth that he had not a word to ſay againe: For when he was about to have diſputed and conteſted againſt the ſaide minſtrell, as touching good fingering, and the ſound of the ſeverall ſtrings of his inſtrument: Oh ſir (quoth he) God forbid that ever you ſhould fall to ſo low an eſtate, as to be more cunning in theſe matters than I. But contrariwiſe *Epicharmus* ſpake not ſo aptly and to the purpoſe in this behalfe: For when King *Hiero* who a little before had put to death ſome of his familiar acquaintance, invited him not many daies after to ſupper. Yea marie ſir, but the other day when you ſacrificed, you bad not your friends to the feaſt. And as badly anſwered *Antiphon*, who upon a time when there was ſome queſtion before *Denys* the Tyrant, what was the beſt kinde of braſſe: Marie that (quoth he) whereof the Athenians made the Statutes of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. Such ſpeeches as theſe, are tart, and biting, and no good can come thereof, neither hath that ſcurrilite and ſcoffing manner any delight, but a kinde of intemperance it is of the toong, mingled with a certaine maliciouſnes of minde, implying a will to do hurt and injurie, and ſhewing plaine enmitie, which as many as uſe, worke their owne miſchiefe and deſtruction, dauncing (as the Proverb ſaith) a daunce untowardly about a pits brinke, or jeſting with edged tooles. For ſurely it coſt *Antiphon* his life, who was put to death by the ſaid *Denys*. And *Timagenes* loſt for ever the favour and friendſhip of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, not for any franke ſpeech and broad language that ever he uſed againſt him; but onely becauſe he had taken up a fooliſh faſhion at everie feaſt or banket, whereunto the Emperor invited him, and whenſoever he walked with him, eftſoones and to no purpoſe he would come out with theſe verſes in *Homer*,

For naught elſe but to make ſome ſport
Among the Greekes he did reſort.

pretending that the cauſe of that favour which he had with the Emperor, was the grace and gift that he had in flouting and reviling others: and even the verie comicall Poëts in old time, exhibited and repreſented to the Theaters, many grave, auſtere and ſerious remonſtrances, and thoſe pertaining to policy & goverment of State: but there be ſcurrile ſpeeches intermingled among, for to moove laughter, which (as one unſavorie diſh of meate among many other good viands) marre all their libertie of ſpeech and the benefit thereof; ſo as it is vaine and doth no good at all: And even ſo the Authors and Actors of ſuch broad jeſts get nothing thereby, but an opinion and imputation of a malicious diſpoſition and impure ſcurrilitie: and to the hearers there accreweth no good nor profit at all. At other times and in other places, I hold well with it, and grant, that to jeſt with friends and moove laughter is tolerable enough: but ſurely the libertie of ſpeech then, ought to be ſerious and modeſt, ſhewing a good intention without any purpoſe to gall or ſting. And if it do concerne weightie affaires indeed, let the words be ſo ſet and couched, the affection ſo appeere, the countenance be ſo compoſed, and the geſture ſo ordred, and the voice ſo tuned, that all concurring together may win credite to the ſpeech, and be effectuall to moove. But as in all things els, fit opportunity overſlipt and neglected doth much hurt; ſo eſpecially it is the occaſion that the fruit of free ſpeech is utterly loſt, in caſe it be omitted and forgotten. Moreover this is evident, that we muſt take heed how we ſpeake broad at a table where friends be met together to drinke wine liberally and to make good cheere: for he that amid pleaſant diſcourſes and mery talke mooveth a ſpeech that cauſeth bending and knitting of browes, or others, maketh men to frowne and be frowning, he doth as much as overcaſt faire weather with a blacke and darke cloud; oppoſing himſelfe unto that God * *Lyæus*, who by good right hath that name, as *Pindarus* the Poet ſaith,

For that the cord he doth untie
Of cares that breed anxietie.

* Some read *Lydius*.

Beſides, this neglect of opportunitie bringeth with it great danger; for that our minds and ſpirits, kindled once with wine, are eaſie enflamed with cholar; yea and oftentimes it falleth out, that a man after he hath taken his drinke well, when he thinketh but to uſe his freedome of tongue for to give ſome wholeſome advertiſement and admonition, miniſtreth occaſion of great enmitie. And to ſay all in few words, it is not the part of a generous, confident, and reſolute heart, but rather of a craven kind and unmanly, to forbeare plaine ſpeech when men are ſober, and to keepe a barking at the boord, like unto thoſe cowardly cur dogs who never ſnarle but about a bone under the table. And now of this point, needleſſe it is to diſcourſe any longer.

But foraſmuch as many men neither will nor dare controll and reforme their friends when they do amiſſe, ſo long as they be in proſperitie; as being of opinion that ſuch admonition can not have acceſſe nor reach into a fortunate ſtate that ſtandeth upright; and yet the ſame perſons

ſons when men are falling, are ready to lay them along, and being once downe, to make a foot-ball of them, or tread them under feet, or elſe keepe them ſo when they be once under the hatches, giving their libertie of ſpeech full ſcope to run over them all at once; as a brooke-water which having beene kept up perforce againſt the nature and courſe thereof, is now let go, and the floud-gates drawen up; rejoicing at his change and infortunitie of theirs, in regard as well of their pride and arrogancie, who before diſdained and deſpiſed them; as alſo of themſelves, who are but in meane and low eſtate: it were not impertinent to this place for to diſcourſe a little of this matter, and to anſwere that verſe of *Euripides*,

When fortune doth upon men ſmile,
What need have they of friends the while?

Namely, that even then when as they ſeeme to have fortune at commaund, they ſtand in moſt neceſſitie, and ought to have their friends about them, to plucke downe their plumes and bring under their haughtineſſe of heart, occaſioned by proſperitie: for few there be who with their outward felicitie continue wiſe and ſober in mind, breaking not foorth into inſolence; yea & many there are who have need of wit, diſcretion and reaſon to be put into them from without, to abate and depreſſe them being ſet a gog and puffed up with the favors of fortune: But ſay, that the Divine power do change and turne about, and overthrow their ſtate, or clip their wings and diminiſh their greatneſſe and authoritie, then theſe calamities of themſelves are ſcourges ſufficient, putting them in minde of their errors, and working repentance: and then in ſuch diſtreſſe there is no uſe at all either of friends to ſpeake unto them frankly, or of pinching and biting ſpeeches, to moleſt, and trouble them, but to ſay a truth, in theſe mutations

It greatly doth content our minds
To ſee the face of pleaſant friends.

who may yeeld conſolation, comfort and ſtrength to a diſtreſſed heart, like as *Xenophon* doth write, that in battailes and the greateſt extremities of danger, the amiable viſage and cheerefull countenance of *Clearchus* being once ſeene of the ſouldiors, encouraged them much more to play the men and fight luſtily: whereas he that uſeth unto a man diſtreſſed, ſuch plaine ſpeech as may gall and bite him more, doth as much as one who unto a troubled and inflamed eie applieth ſome quicke eie-ſalve or ſharpe drug that is proper for to cleere the ſight: by which meane he cureth not the infirmitie beforeſaid, neither doth he mitigate or alay the paine, but unto ſorrow and griefe of minde already addeth anger moreover, and doth exaſperate a wounded heart. And verily ſo long as a man is in the latitude of health, he is not ſo teſtie, froward, and impatient, but that he will in ſome ſort give eare unto his friend, and thinke him neither rough nor altogether rude and uncivill, in caſe he tell him of his looſeneſſe of life, how he is given too much either unto women or wine; or if he finde fault with his idleneſſe and ſitting ſtill, or contrariwiſe his exceſſive exerciſe; if he reproove him for haunting ſo often the baines or hot-houſes, and never lying out of them, or blame him for gourmandiſe and belly cheere, or eating at undue houres. But if he be once ſicke, then it is a death unto him and a griefe inſupportable, which doth aggravate his maladie, to have one at his bedſide ſounding ever in his eares; See what comes of your drunkenneſſe, your idleneſſe, your ſurfetting and gluttony, your wenching and leacherie, theſe are the cauſes of your diſeaſe. But what will the ſicke man ſay againe: Away good ſir with theſe unſeaſonable words of yours: you trouble me much, and do me no good iwis: I am about making my laſt will and teſtament; my Phyſicians are buſie preparing and tempering a potion of *Scammonie*, or a drinke of *Caſtorium* for me: and you come preaching unto me with your Philoſophicall reaſons and admonitions to chaſtiſe me: I have no need of them now, nor of ſuch friends as you. Semblably it fareth with thoſe who are fallen to decay & be downe the winde; for capable they be not of ſententious ſawes; they have no need as the caſe now ſtands of free reprehenſions: then lenitie and gentle uſage, aide and comfort are more meet for them. For even ſo, kinde nurſes when their little babes and infants have caught a fall, run not by and by to rate or chide them, but to take them up, waſh and make them cleane where they were berayed, and to ſtill them by all meanes that they can; afterwards, they rebuke and chaſtiſe them for looking no better to their feet. It is reported of *Demetrius* the Phalerian, when being baniſhed out of his countrey, he lived at *Thebes* in meane eſtate and very obſcurely, that at the firſt he was not well pleaſed to ſee *Crates* the Philoſopher, who came to viſit him, as looking ever when he would begin with ſome rough words unto him, according to that libertie of ſpeech which thoſe Cynicke Philoſophers then uſed: but when he heard *Crates* once ſpeake kindly unto him, and diſcourſing after a milde maner, of the ſtate of his baniſhment: namely, That there was no miſerie fallen unto him by that meanes, nor any calamitie at all, for which he ſhould vexe and torment himſelfe; but rather that he had cauſe to rejoice, in that he was ſequeſtred and delivered from the charge and management of ſuch affaires as were tickliſh, mutable and dangerous; and withall exhorting him to plucke up his heart, and be of good cheere, yea, and repoſe all his comfort in his owne ſelfe and a cleere conſcience. Then *Demetrius* being more lightſome, and taking better courage, turned to his friends and ſaid, Shame take thoſe affaires and buſineſſes; out upon thoſe troubleſome and reſtleſſe occupations, which have kept me from the knowledge and acquaintance of ſuch a worthy man: For

If men be in diſtreſſe and griefe,
Sweet words of friends do bring reliefe:
But fooliſh ſots in all their actions,
Have need eftſoones of ſharpe corrections.

And verily this is the maner of generous and gentle friends; but other baſe minded and abject fellowes, who flatter and fawne whiles fortune doth ſmile; like unto olde ruptures, ſpaſmes and cramps (as *Demoſthenes* ſaith) do then ſtirre and ſhew themſelves, when any new accident happeneth unto the bodie, ſo they alſo ſticke cloſe to every change and alteration of fortune, as being glad thereof, and taking pleaſure and contentment therein. For, ſay that a man afflicted, were to be put in mind of his fault and miſgovernment of himſelfe, by reaſon that he hath taken lewd courſes and followed ill counſell, and ſo fallen into this or that inconvenience, it were ſufficient to ſay thus unto him,

You never tooke by mine advice this courſe,
Againſt the ſame how oft did I diſcourſe?

In what caſes and occurrences then, ought a friend to be earneſt and vehement? and when is he to uſe his libertie of ſpeech, and extend it to the full? even then, when occaſion is offered, and the time ſerveth beſt to repreſſe exceſſive pleaſure, to reſtraine unbridled choler, to refraine intollerable pride and inſolencie, to ſtay inſatiable avarice, or to ſtand againſt any fooliſh habitude and inconſiderate motion. Thus *Solon* ſpake freely unto king *Crœſus*, when hee ſaw how he was cleane corrupted, and growen beyond all meaſure arrogant upon the opinion that he had of his felicitie in this world, which was vncertaine, advertiſing him to looke unto the end. Thus *Socrates* clipped the wings of *Alcibiades*, and by convincing his vice and errour, cauſed him to weepe bitterly, and altered quite the diſpoſition of his heart. Such were the remonſtrances and admonitions of *Cyrus* to *Cyaxares*, and of *Plato* to *Dion*, even when he was in his greateſt ruffe, in the very height of his glory: when (I ſay) all mens eies were upon him, for his worthie acts and great ſucceſſe in all affaires, willing him even then to take heed and beware of arrogancie and ſelfe-conceit, as being the vice that dwelleth in the ſame houſe together with ſolitude, (that is to ſay) which maketh a man to live apart from the whole world. And to the ſame effect wrote *Speuſippus* alſo unto him, when he bad him looke to himſelfe, and not take a pride and preſume much vpon this; That there was no talke among women and children, but of him; rather that he ſhould have a care ſo to adorne *Sicilie* with religion and pietie towards the gods, with juſtice and good lawes in regard of men, that the ſchoole of the Academie might have honour and credit by him. Contrariwiſe, *Euctæus* and *Eulæus*, two minions and favourites of king *Perſeus*, who followed his veine and pleaſed his humor in all things, like other courtiours of his, all the while that he flouriſhed, and ſo long as the world went on his ſide: but after he had loſt the field in a battell againſt the Romans, fought neere the citie *Pydna*, and was fled, they let flie at him groſſe tearmes and reprochfull ſpeeches, bitterly laying to his charge all the miſdemeanors and faults that he had before committed, caſting in his diſh thoſe perſons whom he had evill intreated or deſpiſed; which they ceaſed not to doe ſo long, untill the man (partly for ſorrow, and partly for anger) was ſo mooved, that he ſtabbed them both with his dagger, and ſlew them in the place. Thus much in generall may ſuffice, to determine and define as touching the opportunity of free ſpeech to friends: meane while a faithfull and carefull friend muſt not reject ſuch occaſions as many times are preſented unto him by them, but to take hold thereof quickly, and make good uſe of them: for otherwhiles it falleth out, that a demand or queſtion asked, a narration related, a reprehenſion or commendation of like things in other perſons, open the doore and make way for us to enter, and giveth us leave to ſpeake frankly. After this maner it is ſaid, that *Demaratus* tooke his vantage to utter his minde freely: who comming upon a time from *Corinth* to *Macedonie*, when as King *Philip* was in ſome termes of diſſenſion with his wife and ſonne, was friendly received by *Philip* and bidden kindly welcome. Now after ſalutations and other complements paſſed betweene; the King asked him whether the Greekes were at accord and unitie one with another? *Demaratus*, as he was a friend verie inward with him, and one that loved him hartily, anſwered thus; It becommeth you well in deed ſir to enquire of the concord and agreement betweene the Athenians and the Peloponneſians, when in the meane while you ſuffer your owne houſe to be full of domeſticall quarrels and debates. Well did *Diogenes* likewiſe, who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, when he had an expedition or journey againſt the Greekes, was taken and brought before the King, who not knowing what hee was, demaunded of him, If hee were not a ſpie: Yes marie (quoth hee) and come I am to ſpie out your inconſiderate folly (ô *Philip*) and want of forecaſt, who being not urged nor compelled by any man, are come thus farre to hazard in one hower the State of your kingdome and your owne life, and to lay all upon the chance and caſt of a die. But ſome man peradventure will ſay, This was a ſpeech ſomewhat with the ſharpeſt, and too much biting. Moreover, another fit time and occaſion there is of admonition, when thoſe whom we minde to reproove, having beene reproched and taunted already by others for ſome faults which they committed, are become ſubmiſſe and caſt downe to our hands. Which opportunitie a wiſe and skilfull friend will not omit, but make eſpecial good uſe of: namely, by ſeeming in open place to check thoſe that thus have ſlandered them, yea and to repulſe and put backe ſuch opprobrious imputations, but privatly he will take his friend apart by himſelfe, and put him in minde to live more warily and give no ſuch offence, if for no other thing elſe; yet becauſe his enemies ſhould not take vantage, and beare themſelves inſolently againſt him: For how ſhall they be able to open their mouthes againſt you, & what miſ-word can they have to ſay unto you, if you would leave theſe things and caſt them behinde you, for which you heare ill and are growen to ſome obloquie? In this ſort if the matter be handeled, all the offence that was taken ſhall light upon the head of the firſt ſlanderer, and the profit ſhall be attributed unto the other that gave the friendly advertiſement, and he ſhall goe away with all the thankes.

Some there be moreover who after a more cleanly and fine maner in ſpeaking of others, admoniſh their owne familiar friends: for they will accuſe ſtrangers in their hearing for thoſe faults which they know them to commit, and by this meanes reclaime them from the ſame. Thus *Ammonius* our maſter perceiving when he gave lecture in the after-noone that ſome of us his ſcholars, had taken a larger dinner, and eate more than was meet for ſtudents, commanded a ſervant of his a franchiſed, to take up his owne ſonne and to beate him, and why ſo? He cannot forſooth make his dinner (quoth he) but he muſt have ſome vineger to his meat. And in ſaying ſo, he caſt his eie upon us, in ſuch ſort, that as many as were culpable, tooke themſelves to be rebuked, & thought that he meant them. Furthermore, this good regard would be obſerved, that we never uſe this faſhion of free ſpeech, and reprooving our friend in the preſence of many perſons, but we muſt remember that which befell unto *Plato*: for when upon a time, *Socrates* in a diſputation held at the table, inveighed ſomwhat too bitterly againſt againſt one of his familiars before them all: had it not beene better (quoth *Plato*) to have told him of this privately, but thus to ſhame him before all this companie? But *Socrates* taking him preſently therewith. And you alſo might have done better to have ſaide this to my ſelfe, when you had found me alone. *Pythagoras* by report gave ſuch hard tearmes by way of reproofe to one of his ſcholars, and acquaintance in the hearing of many, that the yoong man for very griefe of heart was weary of his life and hanged himſelfe. But never would *Pythagoras* after to his dying day, reproove or admoniſh any man, if another were in place. And to ſay a truth, as well the detection as the correction of a ſinne ought to be ſecret, and not in publike place, like as the diſcoverie and cure alſo of ſome filthie and foule diſeaſe: it muſt not I ſay be done in the veiw of the world (as if ſome ſhew or pompe were to be exhibited unto the people) with calling witneſſes or ſpectators thereto. For it is not the part of a friend, but a tricke of ſome Sophiſter, to ſeeke for glorie in other mens faults, and affect outward ſhew and vaine oſtentation in the preſence of others: much like to theſe Mount-bank Chirurgians, who for to have the greater practiſe, make ſhew of their cunning caſts, and operations of their art in publike Theatres, with many geſticulations of their handy-worke. Moreover, beſides that there ſhould no infamie grow to him that is reprooved (which in deed is not to be allowed in any cure or remedie) there ought alſo to be ſome regard had of the nature of vice and ſinne, which for the moſt part of it ſelfe is opinionative, contentious, ſtubborne and apt to ſtand to it, and make meanes of defence. For as *Euripides* ſaith,

We daily ſee, not onely wanton love
Doth preſſe the more, when one doth it reprove.

But any vice whatſoever it be and everie imperfection, if a man do reproove it in publike place before many, and ſpare not at all, putteth on the nature of impudence and turneth to be ſhameleſſe: like as therefore *Plato* giveth a precept, that elder folke, if they would imprint ſhame and grace in their yoong children, ought themſelves firſt to ſhew ſhamefaſt behavior among them; even ſo, the modeſt and baſhfull libertie of ſpeech which one friend uſeth, doth ſtrike alſo a great ſhame in another. Alſo to come and approch by little and little unto one that offendeth, and after a doubting maner with a kind of feare to touch him, is the next way to undermine the vice that he is prone and given unto, and the ſame, whiles he can not chooſe but be modeſtly diſpoſed, who is ſo modeſtly and gently entreated. And therefore it would be alwaies verie good in thoſe reprehenſions to obſerve what he did, who in like caſe reprooving a friend,

Held head full cloſe unto his eare,
That no man els but he might heare.

But leſſe ſeemly and convenient it is for to diſcover the fault of the husband before his wife; of a father in the preſence of his ſonnes; of a lover before his love; or of a ſchoolmaſter in the hearing of his ſcholars: that were enough to put them beſide their right wits, for anger and griefe when they ſhall ſee themſelves checked and diſcredited before thoſe of whom they deſire to be beſt eſteemed. And verily of this mind I am, hat it was not the wine ſo much that ſet king *Alexander* in ſuch a chaſe & rage againſt *Clitus* whē he reproved him, as for that he did it in the preſence and hearing of ſo many. *Ariſtomenes* alſo, the maſter and tutor of king *Ptolomæus*, for that in the ſight of an embaſſador he awaked him out of a ſleepe, & willed him to give eare unto the embaſſage that was delivered, miniſtred unto his evil-willers and the flatterers about the court great vantage, who thereupon tooke occaſion to ſeeme diſcontented in the kings behalfe, and thus to ſay: What if after ſo many travels that your Majeſtie doth undergo, and your long watching for our ſakes, ſome ſleep do overtake you otherwhiles; our part it were to tell you of it privatly, & not thus rudely to lay hand as it were upō your perſon in the preſence of ſo many men. Whereupon *Ptolomæus* being mooved at theſe ſuggeſtions, ſent unto the man a cup of poiſon, with cōmandement that he ſhould drinke it off. *Ariſtophanes* alſo, caſteth this in *Cleon* his teeth,

For that when ſtrangers were in place
The towne with termes he did diſgrace,

and thereby provoke the *Athenians* & bring their high diſpleaſure upon him. And therfore this regard would be had eſpecially above all others, that when we would uſe our libertie of ſpeech, we do it not by way of oſtentation in a vaine glorie to be popular, and to get applauſe, but onely with an intention to profit and do good, yea and to cure ſome infirmitie thereby. Over and beſides that which *Thucydides* reporteth of the *Corinthians*, how they gave out of themſelves and not unfitly, that it belonged unto them, and meet men they were to reproove others; the ſame ought they to have in them that will take upon them to be correctours of other perſons. For like as *Lyſander* anſwered to a certeine Megarian who put himſelfe forward in an aſſemblie of aſſociates and allies to ſpeake frankely for the libertie of *Greece*: Theſe words of yours (my friend) would beſeeme to have beene ſpoken by ſome puiſſant State or citie; even ſo it may be ſaid to every one that will ſeeme freely to reprehend another, that he had need himſelfe to be in maners wel reformed. And this moſt truly ought to be inferred upon all thoſe that wil ſeeme to chaſtice and correct others, namely, to be wiſer and of better government than the reſt: for thus *Plato* proteſted that he reformed *Speuſippus* by example of his owne life: and *Xenocrates* likewiſe caſting but his eie upon *Polemon*, who was come into his ſchoole like a Ruffian, by his very looke onely reclaimed him from his looſe life: whereas on the contrary ſide, if a light and lewd perſon, one that is full of bad conditions himſelfe, would ſeeme to finde fault with others and be buſie with his tongue, he muſt be ſure alwaies to heare this on both ſides of his eares,

Himſelfe all full of ſores impure
Will others ſeeme to heale and cure.

Howbeit, foraſmuch as oftentimes the caſe ſtandeth ſo, that by occaſion of ſome affaires we be driven to chaſtice thoſe with whom we converſe, when we our ſelves are culpable and no better than they: the moſt cleanly & leaſt offenſive way to do it, is this, To acknowledge in ſome ſort that we be likewiſe faulty and to include and comprehend our owne perſons together with them: after which maner is that reproofe in *Homer*,

Sir Diomede *what aileth us?*
how is it come about?
That we ſhould thus forget to fight,

who earſt were thought ſo ſtout?
Alſo in another place:
And now we all unwoorthy are
With Hector *onely to compare.*

Thus *Socrates* mildly and gently would ſeeme to reproove yoong men, making ſemblance as if himſelfe were not void of ignorance, but had need alſo to be inſtructed in vertue, and profeſſing that he had need with them to ſearch for the knowledge of trueth: for ſuch commonly do win love and credit, yea and ſooner ſhall be beleeved, who are thought ſubject to the ſame faults, and ſeeme willing to correct their friends like as they do their owne ſelves; whereas he who ſpreadeth and diſplaieth his owne wings, in clapping other mens, juſtifying himſelfe as if he were pure, ſincere, faultleſſe, and without all affections and infirmities, unleſſe he be much elder than we, or in regard of ſome notable and approoved vertue in farre higher place of authoritie and in greater reputation than our ſelves, he ſhall gaine no profit nor do any good, but be reputed a buſie body and troubleſome perſon. And therefore it was not without juſt cauſe that good *Phœnix* in ſpeaking to *Achilles* alledged his owne miſfortunes, and namely how in a fit of choler he had like one day to have killed his owne father, but that ſodeinly he bethought himſelfe and changed his minde,

Leaſt that among the Greekes I ſhould be nam'd
A parricide and ever after ſham'd:

which he did no doubt to this end, becauſe he would not ſeeme in chiding him to arrogate this praiſe unto himſelfe, that he was not ſubject to anger, nor had ever done amiſſe by occaſion of that infirmitie and paſſion. Certes ſuch admonitions as theſe enter and pierce more effectually into the heart, for that they are thought to proceed from a tender compaſſion; and more willing are we to yeeld unto ſuch as ſeeme to have ſuffred the like, than to thoſe that deſpiſe and contemne us. But foraſmuch as neither the eie when it is inflamed can abide any cleere and ſhining light, nor a paſſionate minde endure franke ſpeech, or a plaine and bare reprehenſion, one of the beſt and moſt profitable helps in this caſe, is to intermingle therewith a little praiſe, as we reade thus in *Homer*,

Now (ſure) me thinks you do not well,
thus for to leave the field,
Who all are knowen for doughty knights,
and beſt with ſpeare and ſhield.
A coward if I ſaw to flee,
him would I not reproove:
But ſuch as you, thus for to ſhrinke,
my heart doth greatly moove.
Likewiſe,
O Pandar, *where is now thy bowe,*
where are thine arrowes flight:
Where is that honour, in which none
with thee dare ſtrive in fight?

And verily ſuch oblique reprehenſions alſo as theſe, are moſt effectuall and woonderfull in reclaming thoſe that be ready to run on end, and fall to ſome groſſe enormities: as for example,

What is become of wiſe Oedipus,
In riddles areeding who was ſo famous.
Alſo,
And Hercules, *who hath endur'd ſuch paine,*
Speakes he theſe words, ſo fooliſh and ſo vaine?

For this kinde of dealing doth not onely aſſwage and mitigate the roughneſſe and commanding power that is in a reprehenſion and rebuke, but alſo breedeth in the partie in ſuch ſort reprooved, a certeine emulation of himſelfe, cauſing him to be abaſhed and aſhamed for any follies and diſhoneſt pranks, when he remembreth and calleth to minde his other good parts and commendable acts, which by this meanes he ſetteth before his eies, as examples, and ſo taketh himſelfe for a paterne and preſident of better things: But when we make compariſon betweene him and others, to wit, his equals in age, his fellow-citizens, or kinſefolks; then his vice, which in the owne nature is ſtubburne and opinionative enough, becommeth by that meanes more froward and exaſperate, and often times he will not ſticke in a fume and chaſe to fling away, and grumble in this wiſe, Why goe you not then to thoſe that are ſo much better than I? why can you not let me alone, but thus trouble me as you do? And therefore we muſt take heed eſpecially, that whiles we purpoſe to tel one plainly of his faults, we do not praiſe others, unleſſe haply they be his parents: as *Agamemnon* did unto *Diomedes*,

> *A ſonne (iwis) ſir* Tideus *left behinde,*
> *Unlike himſelfe, and much growen out of kinde.*

And *Ulyſſes* in the Tragedie entituled *Scyrij*,

> *You ſir, whoſe father was a knight,*
> *the beſt that ever drew*
> *A ſword, of all the Greeks, in field,*
> *and many a captaine ſlew,*
> *Sit you heere carding like a wench,*
> *and ſpinning wooll on rocke,*
> *There by the glorious light to quench*
> *of your moſt noble ſtocke?*

But moſt unſeemely it were and undecent of all other, if when one is admoniſhed by his friend, he ſhould fall to admoniſh him againe; and being tolde freely of his fault, ſerve him the like, and quit him with as much: for this is the next way to kindle coales, and to make variance and diſcord; and in one word verily, ſuch a rejecting & ſpurning againe as this, may ſeeme in effect to bewray, not a reciprocall libertie of rendring one for another, but rather a peeviſh minde that can abide no maner of reproofe. Better therefore it is, to endure patiently for the time, a friend that telleth us plainly of our faults; and if himſelfe afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehenſion, this after a ſort giveth free libertie unto him that was rebuked afore, to uſe the ſame libertie of ſpeech againe unto the other: For calling to minde by this occaſion, without any remembrance of old grudge and former injurie, that himſelfe alſo was woont not to neglect his friends when they did amiſſe and forgat themſelves, but tooke paines to reproove, redreſſe, and teach them how to amend, he will the ſooner yeeld a fault, and receive that chaſtiſement and correction, which he ſhall perceive to be a retribution of like love and kindneſſe, and not a requitall of complaint and anger. Moreover, like as *Thucidides* ſaith, That the man is wiſe and well adviſed, who incurreth the envie of men for matters of greateſt weight and importance; even ſo we ſay: That if a friend will adventure the danger and heavy load and ill will for blaming his friends, hee muſt make choiſe of ſuch matters as be of great moment and much conſequence: for if he will take exceptions at every trifle and little thing indifferent; if he will ſeeme evermore to be finding fault, and cary himſelfe not like a kind and affectionate friend, but a preciſe, ſevere and imperious ſchoole-maſter, to ſpie all faults, and correct every point and title; certes he ſhall finde afterwards, that his admonitions even for the greateſt offences, ſhall not be regarded, nor any whit effectuall: for that he hath uſed already to no purpoſe, his franke reprehenſion (the ſoveraigne remedie for groſſe and maine faults) in many others that are but ſlight, and not woorthy reproofe: much like unto a Phyſician, who hath emploied and ſpent a medicine that is ſtrong and bitter, howbeit, neceſſary and coſtly, in ſmall infirmities, and of no reckoning to ſpeake of. A friend therefore is to looke unto this; That it be not an ordinary matter with him to be alwaies quarrelſome, and deſirous to finde one fault or other. And if peradventure he meet with ſuch a companion as is apt to ſearch narrowly into all light matters, to cavill and wrangle for every thing, and ready to raiſe calumniations like a petty Sycophant for toies and trifles, he may take the better advantage and occaſion thereby for to reproove him againe, in caſe he chance to faile in greater and more groſſe faults.

Philotimus the Phyſician anſwered pretily unto one, who having an impoſtume growen to ſuppuration about his liver, ſhewed unto him a finger that was ſore, and troubled with ſome bliſter or whitflaw, and deſired his counſell for the ſame: My good friend (quoth he) the diſeaſe that you are to looke unto, is not a whitflaw nor about your naile roote; even ſo, there may be occaſion and opportunitie offered unto a friend, to ſay unto one that ever and anon is finding fault, and reprooving ſmall errors not woorth the noting, to wit, ſports and paſtimes, feaſting and merrie meeting, or ſuch like trifling trickes of youth: Good ſir, let us finde the meanes rather, that this man whom you thus blame, may caſt off the harlot that he keeps, or give over his dice playing; for otherwiſe, he is a man of excellent and woonderfull good parts. For he that perceiveth how he is tolerated or winked at, yea and pardoned in ſmall matters, will not be unwilling, that a friend ſhould uſe his libertie in reprooving his greater vices: whereas he that is evermore urgent upon one, preſſing and lying hard unto him; alwaies bitter and unpleaſant, prying and looking into everie corner, and taking knowledge of all things: ſuch an one (I ſay) there is neither childe nor brother will endure; nay, he is intolerable to his verie ſervants: But like as **Euripides** ſaith,

All is not naught that old age brings,
We may in it finde ſome good things.

No more is the folly of friends ſo bad but that we may picke ſome goodnes out of them: we ought therefore to obſerve diligently, not onely when they do amiſſe, but alſo when they doe well: and verily at the firſt to be willing and moſt readie to praiſe: but afterwards we muſt doe as the Smithes who temper yron: For when they have given it a fire, and made it by that meanes ſoft, looſe and pliable, they drench and dip it in cold water, whereby it becommeth compact and hard, taking thereby the due temperature of ſtiffe ſteele; even ſo, when we perceive that our friends be well heat and relaxed (as it were) by hearing themſelves praiſed by us, then we may come upon them by little and little with a tincture (as I may ſo ſay) of reproofe, and telling them of their faults. Then will it be a fit time to ſpeake unto a friend thus: How ſay you, are theſe pranks woorthie to be compared with thoſe parts? See you not the fruits that come of vertue? Loe what we your friends require of you: theſe are the duties and offices which are beſeeming your perſon: for theſe hath nature made and framed you. As for thoſe lewd cauſes, fie upon them,

Send ſuch away, confine them farre,
unto the mountaine wild,
Or into roaring ſea, from land
let them be quite exil'd.

For like as an honeſt minded and diſcreet Phyſitian, will chooſe rather to cure the maladie of his patient by reſt and ſleepe, or by good nutriture & diet, than by *Caſtorium* or *Scammonium*: even ſo, a kinde & courteous friend, a good father and gentle ſchoolemaſter, taketh pleaſure and joyeth more to uſe praiſes than reproofes, in the reformation of manners. For there is nothing that maketh the man, who boldly findeth fault with his friends to bee ſo little offenſive unto them, or to do more good and cure them better, than to be voide of anger, and to ſeeme after a milde ſort in all love and affectionate good will to addreſſe himſelfe unto them, when they doe amiſſe. And therefore neither ought he to urge them overmuch, and ſeeme too eagerly to convince them if they denie the thing, ne yet to debarre them of libertie to make their anſwere and cleere themſelves: but rather to helpe them out, and after a ſort to miniſter unto them ſome honeſt and colourable pretenſes, to excuſe and juſtifie their facts: and when a man ſeeth them do amiſſe by reaſon of ſome woorſe cauſe indeed, to lay the fault upon another occaſion that is more tolerable: As **Hector** when he ſaid unto **Paris**,

Unhappie man, alas, you do not well
To beare in breſt a heart ſo fell.

As if his brothers retire out of battell and refuſall to combat with **Menelaus**, had not beene a meere flight and running away, but verie anger and a curſt ſtomake. Likewiſe **Neſtor** unto **Agamemnon**,

But you gave place unto your haughty mind:
And feed thoſe fits which come to you by kind.

For in mine advice a more milde reprehenſion is this than to have ſaid: This was injuriouſly done of you, or this was a ſhamefull and vilanous part of yours; As alſo to ſay unto one, You could not tel what you did; you thought not of it; or you were altogether ignorant what would come thereof, is better and more civill, than bluntly to charge him and ſay: This was a meere wrong, and a wicked act of yours. Alſo thus, Do not conteſt and quarrell in this wiſe with your brother, is leſſe offenſive than to ſay: Deale not thus enviouſly and ſpitefully againſt your brother: Likewiſe it were a more gentle manner of reproofe to ſay unto a man: Avoid this woman that ſpoileth and abuſeth you; than thus: Give over this woman, ſpoile and abuſe her no more. Thus you ſee what meanes are to be uſed in this libertie of ſpeech, when a friend would cure a maladie.

But for to prevent the ſame, there would be practiſed a cleane contrarie courſe: for when it behooveth to avert and turne our friends from committing a fault, whereto they are prone and enclined; or to withſtand ſome violent and diſordinat paſſion, which carrieth them a cleane contrarie way; or when we are deſirous to incite and ſtirre them forward unto good things, being

ing of themſelves ſlow and backward: when, I ſay, we would give an edge unto them, who are otherwiſe dull, and heat them being cold, we ought to transferre the thing or act in hand to ſome abſurd cauſes, and thoſe that be unſeemely and undecent. Thus *Ulyſſes* pricked on *Achilles* in a certaine Tragedie of *Sophocles,* when he ſaid thus unto him: It is not for a ſupper *Achilles* that you are ſo angrie, but

For that you have already ſeene
The wals of Troy, *your fearfull teene.*

And when upon theſe words *Achilles* tooke greater indignation, and chaſed more and more, ſaying, that he would not ſaile forward but be gone backe againe, he came upon him a ſecond time with this rejoynder:

I wote well why you gladly would depart:
Tis not becauſe at checks or taunts you chafe,
But Hector *is not far: he kils your hart;*
For dread of him to ſtay it is not ſafe.

By this meanes when we ſcar a valiant and hardy man with the opinion of cowardiſe; an honeſt, chaſte and civill perſon, with the note of being reputed looſe & incontinent; alſo a liberall and ſumptuous *Magnifico,* with the feare to be accounted a niggard or a mechanicall micher; we do mightily incite them to wel doing, and chaſe them from bad waies. And like as when a thing is done and paſt, and where there is no remedie, there ſhould be borne a modeſt and temperate hand, in ſuch ſort that in our libertie of ſpeech we ſeeme to ſhew more commiſeration, pittie and fellow-griefe of minde for the fault of a friend, than eager reprehenſion; ſo contrariwiſe where it ſtands upon this point that he ſhould not fault, where (I ſay) our drift is to fight againſt the motion of his paſſions, there we ought to be vehement, inexorable and never to give over nor yeeld one jot unto them. And this is the very time when we are to ſhew that love of ours and good will which is conſtant, ſetled, and ſure, and to uſe our true libertie of ſpeech to the full. For to reproove faults already committed, we ſee it is an ordinary thing among arrant enimies. To which purpoſe ſaid *Diogenes* very well; That a man who would be an honeſt man ought to have either very good friends, or moſt ſhrewd and bitter enimies: for as they do teach and inſtruct; ſo theſe are ready to finde fault and reproove. Now far better it is for one to abſtaine from evill doing, in beleeving and following the ſound counſell of his friends, than to repent afterwards of ill doing, when he ſeeth himſelfe blamed and accuſed by his enimies. And therefore if it were for nothing els but this, great diſcretion and circumſpection would be uſed in making remonſtrances & ſpeaking freely unto friends: and ſo much the rather, by how much it is the greater and ſtronger remedie that friendſhip can uſe, and hath more need to be uſed in time and place convenient, and more wiſely to be tempered with a meane and mediocrity. Now foraſmuch as I have ſaid ſundry times already, that all reprehenſions whatſoever are dolorous unto him that receiveth them; we ought in this caſe to imitate good Phyſicians and Chirurgians: for when they have made inciſion or cut any member, they leave not the place in paine and torment ſtill, but uſe certeine fomentations and lenitive infuſions to mitigate the anguiſh: No more do they that after a civill maner have chid or rebuked, run away preſently ſo ſoone as they have bitten and pricked the partie, but by changing their maner of ſpeech, entertaine their friends thus galled and wounded, with other more mild and pleaſant diſcourſes; to aſwage their griefe and refreſh their hart againe that is caſt downe and diſcomforted: and I may well compare them to theſe cutters and carvers of images, who after they have rough hewen and ſcabbled over certeine peeces of ſtone for to make their ſtatures of, do poliſh and ſmooth them faire, yea and give them a lightſome luſtre. But if a man be ſtung and nipped once, or touched to the quicke by ſome objurgatorie reprehenſion, and ſo left rough, uneven, diſquieted, ſwelling and puffing for anger, he is ever after hardly quieted or reclaimed, and no conſolation will ſerve the turne to appeaſe and comfort him againe. And therefore they who reproove & admoniſh their friends, ought to obſerve this rule above all others; Not to forſake them immediately when they have ſo done, nor to breake off their conference ſodainly, or to conclude their ſpeech with any word that might greeve and provoke them.

OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A MAN SHOVLD REFRAINE CHOLER.

A TREATISE IN MANER of a Dialogue.

The perſons that be the Speakers:
SYLLA and FUNDANUS.

The Summarie of the Dialogue.

AFter we are taught how to diſcerne a flatterer from a friend, it ſeemeth that this Treatiſe, as touching Mildneſſe and how we ought to bridle Anger, was ſet heere in his proper place. For like as we may ſoone erre groſly in choiſe of thoſe whom we are willing and well content to have about us, and in that reſpect are to be circumſpect, and to ſtand upon our guard; ſo we have no leſſe cauſe to conſider how we ſhould converſe among our neighbours. Now of all thoſe vices and imperfections which defame mans life, and cauſe the race & courſe thereof to be difficult & wondrous painfull to paſſe, anger is one of thoſe which are to be ranged in the firſt ranke; in ſuch ſort, that it booteth not to be provided of good friends, if this furious humor get the maſtery over us: like as contrariwiſe flatterers & ſuch other peſtilent plagues have not ſo eaſie entrance into us, nor ſuch ready meanes to be poſſeſſed of us, ſo long as we be accōpanied with a certaine wiſe and prudent mildneſſe. In this diſcourſe then, our authour doing the part of an expert Phyſician, laboureth to purge our mindes from all choler, and would traine them to modeſtie and humanitie, ſo farre foorth as Philoſophie morall is able to performe. And for to attaine unto ſo great a benefit, he ſheweth in the firſt place, that we ought to procure our friends for to obſerve and marke our imperfections, that by long continuance of time we may accuſtome our ſelves to holde in our judgement by the bit of reaſon. After certaine proper ſimilitudes ſerving for this purpoſe, and a deſcription of the inconveniences and harmes that come by wrath, he prooveth, that it is an eaſie matter to reſtraine and repreſſe the ſame: to which purpoſe he ſetteth downe divers meanes, upon which he diſcourſeth after his uſuall maner, that is to ſay, with reaſons and inductions, enriched with notable ſimilitudes and examples: afterwards, having ſpoken of the time and maner of chaſtiſing and correcting thoſe who are under our power and governance, he propoſeth aſwell certaine remedies to cure choler, as preſervatives to keepe us from relapſe into it againe: Which done, he repreſenteth ire lively, as in a painted table, to the end that thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriſed therewith, may be abaſhed and aſhamed of their unhappy ſtate: and therewith he giveth five notable advertiſements for to attaine thereto, which be as it were preſervatives: by meanes whereof we ſhould not feele our ſelves attaint any more with this maladie.

OF

OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A man ſhould refraine choler.

A TREATISE IN MANNER of a Dialogue.

SYLLA.

IT ſeemeth unto me (ô *Fundanus*) that painters doe verie well and wiſely, to view and conſider their workes often and by times betweene, before they thinke them finiſhed and let them go out of their hands: for that by ſetting them ſo out of their ſight, and then afterwards having recourſe thither againe to judge thereof, they make their eies(as it were) new judges,to ſpie and diſcerne the leaſt fault that is,which continuall looking thereupon, and the ordinarie view of one and the ſame thing doth cover and hide from them. But foraſmuch as it is not poſſible that a man ſhould depart from himſelfe for a time, and after a certaine ſpace returne againe; nor that he ſhould breake, interrupt and diſcontinue his underſtanding and ſenſe within (which is the cauſe that each man is a worſe judge of himſelfe than of others.) A ſecond meanes and remedie therefore in this caſe would be uſed: namely, to review his friends ſundrie times,and eftſoones likewiſe to yeeld himſelfe to be ſeene and beheld by them; not ſo much to know thereby whether he aged apace and grow ſoone old; or whether the conſtitution of his bodie be better or worſe than it was before,as to ſurvey and conſider his manners and behaviour,to wit,whether time hath added any good thing, or taken away ought that is bad and naught. For mine owne part,this being now the ſecond yeere ſince I came firſt to this citie of *Rome*,and the fifth month of mine acquaintance with you, I thinke it no great woonder, that conſidering your towardnes and the dexteritie of your nature, thoſe good parts which were alreadie in you, have gotten ſo great an addition and be ſo much increaſed, as they are: but when I ſee how that vehement inclination, and ardent motion of yours to anger, whereunto by nature you were given, is by the guidance of reaſon become ſo milde, ſo gentle and tractable,it commeth into my minde to ſay thereunto,that which I read in *Homer*,

O what a woondrous change is here?
Much milder are you than you were.

And verily this gentleñes and meekenes of yours is not turned into a certaine ſloth, and generall diſſolution of your vigour: but like as a peece of ground well tilled,lieth light and even, and beſides more hollow than before, which maketh much for the fertilitie thereof; even ſo, your nature hath gotten in ſtead of that violent diſpoſition and ſudden propenſion unto choler, a certaine equalitie and profunditie, ſerving greatly to the management of affaires, whereby alſo it appeereth plainely that it is not long of the decaying ſtrength of the bodie,by reaſon of declining age; neither yet of the owne accord,that your haſtineſſe and cholericke paſſion is thus faded, but rather by meanes of good reaſons and inſtructions well cured. And yet verily (for unto you I will be bold to ſay the truth) at the firſt I ſuſpected and could not well beleeve *Eros* our familiar friend, when he made this report of you unto me; as doubting that he was readie to give this teſtimonie of you in regard of affection and good will, bearing me in hand of thoſe things which were not indeed in you, but ought to be in good and honeſt men: and yet (as you know well ynough) he is not ſuch a man, as for favour of any perſon, and for to pleaſe,can be eaſily perſwaded and brought to ſay otherwiſe than he thinketh. But now as he is freed and acquit from the crime of bearing falſe witneſſe: ſo you (ſince this journey and travell upon the way affoordeth you good leaſure) will (I doubt not) at my requeſt, declare and recount unto us the order how you did this cure upon your ſelfe; and namely what medicines and remedies you uſed, to make that cholericke nature of yours, ſo gentle, ſo tractable, ſo ſoft and ſupple, ſo obeiſant(I ſay)and ſubject wholy to the rule of reaſon?

FUNDANUS.

But why do you not your ſelfe (ô *Sylla*) my deereſt and moſt affectionate friend, take heed, that for the amitie and good will which you beare unto me, you be not deceived and ſee one thing in me for another? As for *Eros*, who for his owne part hath not alwaies his anger ſtedfaſtly ſtaied with the cable and anchor of *Homers Peiſa* (that is, obedient and abiding firme in one place) but otherwhiles much mooved and out of quiet, for the hatred that he hath of vice and vicious men it may verie wel be, and like it is that unto him I ſeeme more milde and gentle than before: like as we ſee in changing and altering the notes of prick-ſong, or the Gam-ut in muſicke, certaine Netæ or notes which are the baſe in one 8. being compared which other Netæ more low and baſe, become Hypatæ, that is, the Trebles.

SYLLA.

It is neither ſo nor ſo (ô *Fundanus*) but of all loves, do as I deſire you, for my ſake.

FUNDANUS.

Since it is ſo (*Sylla*) among many good advertiſements of *Muſonius* which come to my minde, this is one; That whoſoever would live ſafe and in health, ought all their life time to looke to themſelves, and be as it were in continuall Phyſicke. For I am not of this minde, neither doe I thinke it convenient that like as *Elleborus*, after it hath done the deed within a ſicke mans bodie and wrought a cure, is caſt up againe together with the maladie; ſo reaſon alſo ſhould be ſent out after the paſſion which it hath cured, but it ought to remaine ſtill in the mind for to keepe and preſerve the judgement. For why? reaſon is not to be compared with medicines and purgative drugs, but rather to holeſome and nouriſhing meates, engendring mildly in the minds of them unto whom it is made familiar, a good complexion and faſt habit together with ſome perfect health: whereas admonitions and corrections applied or miniſtred unto paſſions when they ſwell and rage, and bee in the height of their heat and inflammation, hardly and with much adoe worke any effect at all, and if they doe, it is with much paine. Neither differ they in operation from thoſe ſtrong odors which well may raiſe out of a fit thoſe who are fallen and be ſubject to the *Epilepſy* or falling ſicknes; but they cure not the diſeaſe, nor ſecure the patient for falling againe: True it is that all other paſſions of the minde, if they be taken in hand at the very point and inſtant when they are in their higheſt furie, do yeeld in ſome ſort, and they admit reaſon comming from without into the minde for to helpe and ſuccour, but anger not onely, as *Melanthius* ſaith,

Commits lewd parts, and reaſon doth diſplace
Out of her ſeat, and proper reſting place.

but alſo turneth her cleane out of houſe & home, ſhutteth and locketh her out of doores for altogether; nay it fareth for all the world like to thoſe who ſet the houſe on fire over their owne heads, and turne themſelves and it together: it filleth all within full of trouble, ſmoke, and confuſed noiſes, in ſuch ſort that it hath neither eie to ſee, nor eare to liſten unto thoſe that would, & might aſſiſt and give aide: and therefore ſooner will a ſhip abandoned of her maſter in the mids of the ſea, and there hulling dangerouſly in a ſtorme and tempeſt receive a pilot from ſome other ſhip without; than a man toſſed with the waves of furie and anger, admit the reaſon and remonſtrance of a ſtranger; unleſſe his owne reaſon at home were before-hand well prepared: But like as they who looke for no other but to have their citie beſieged, gather together and lay up ſafe their owne ſtore and proviſion, and all things that might ſerve their turne, not knowing nor expecting any aide or reliefe abroad during the ſiege; even ſo ought we to have our remedies ready and provided long before, and the ſame gathered out of all parts of Philoſophie and conveied into the minde for to withſtand the rage of choler: as being aſſured of this, that when neede and neceſſitie requireth to uſe them, wee ſhall not eaſily admit the ſame, and ſuffer them to have entrance into us. For ſurely at ſuch a time of extremitie, the ſoule heareth not a word that is ſaid unto it without, for the trouble and confuſion within, unleſſe her owne reaſon be aſſiſtant ready both to receive and underſtand quickly every commandement and precept, and alſo to prompt the ſame accordingly unto her. And ſay that ſhe doth heare: looke what is ſaid unto her after a milde, calme, and gentle maner, that ſhe deſpiſeth; againe, if any be more inſtant, and do urge her ſomewhat roughly, with thoſe ſhe is diſpleaſed, and the woorſe for their admonitions: for wrath being of the owne nature proud, audacious, unruly, and hardly ſuffering it ſelfe to be handled or ſtirred by another, much like unto a tyrant attended with a ſtrong guard about his perſon, ought to have ſomething of the owne which is domeſticall, familiar, and (as it were) in-bred together with it, for to overthrow and diſſolve the ſame. Nowe the continuall cuſtome of anger and the ordinary or often falling into a chafe, breedeth in the minde an ill habit called wrathfulneſſe, which in the end groweth to this paſſe, that it maketh a man cholericke and haſty, apt to be mooved at every thing; and beſides, it engendreth a bitter humor of revenge, and a teſtineſſe implacable, or hardly to be appeaſed; namely, when the mind is exulcerate once, taking offence at every ſmall occaſion, quarreling and complaining for toies and trifles, much like unto a thin or a fine edge that entreth with the leaſt force that the graver putteth it to. But the judgement of reaſon oppoſing it ſelfe ſtreightwaies againſt ſuch motions and fits of choler, and readie to ſuppreſſe & keepe them downe, is not onely a remedie for the preſent miſchiefe, but alſo for the time to come doeth ſtrengthen and fortifie the mind, cauſing it to be more firme and ſtrong to reſiſt ſuch paſſions when they ariſe. And now to give ſome inſtance of my ſelfe: The ſame hapned unto me after I had twice or thrice made head againſt choler, as befell ſometimes to the Thebanes; who having ones repelled and put to flight the Lacedæmonians (warriors thought in thoſe daies invincible) were never in any one battell afterward defeated by them. For from that time forward I tooke heart and courage, as ſeeing full well, that conquered it might be with the diſcourſe of reaſon. I perceived moreover, that anger would not onely be quenched with cold water powred and caſt upon it, as *Ariſtotle* hath reported unto us, but alſo that it would go out and be extinguiſhed, were it never ſo light a fire before, by preſenting neere unto it ſome object of feare: nay (I aſſure you) by a ſudden joy comming upon it unlooked for, in many a man, according as *Homer* ſaith, choler hath melted, diſſolved & evaporated away. And therefore this reſolution I made, that anger was a paſſion not incurable, if men were willing to be cured: for ſurely the occaſions and beginnings thereof are not alwaies great and forcible; but we ſee that a jeſt, a ſcoffe, ſome ſport, ſome laughter, a winke of the eie, or nod of the head, and ſuch ſmall matters, hath ſet many in a pelting chafe: even as Lady *Helena* ſaying no more but thus unto her niece or brothers daughter at their firſt meeting,

Electra *virgin, long time ſince I you ſaw &c.*

drave her in ſuch a fit of choler, that therewith ſhe was provoked to breake off her ſpeech with this anſwer,

Wiſe now at laſt, though all too late,
you are I may well ſay,
Who whilom left your husbands houſe,
and ran with ſhame away.

Likewiſe *Caliſthenes* mightily offended *Alexander* with one word, who when a great bole of wine went round about the table, refuſed it as it came to his turne, ſaying: I will not (I trow) drinke ſo to your health *Alexander*, that I ſhall have need thereby of *Aeſculapius* (i. a Phyſician.) A fire that newly hath caught a flame with hares or conies haire, drie leaves, hurds and light ſtraw, ſtubble and rakings, it is an eaſie matter to put out and quench; but if it have once taken to ſound fewell and ſuch matter as hath ſolidity, ſubſtance and thickneſſe in it, ſoone it burneth and conſumeth as *Aeſchylus* ſaith:

By climbing up and mounting hie
The ſtately works of Carpentrie.

Semblably, he that will take heed unto choler at the beginning, when he ſeeth it once to ſmoke or flame out by occaſion of ſome merry ſpeech, flouting ſcoffes, and fooliſh words of no moment, needs not to ſtrive much about the quenching of it: for many times if he do no more but hold his peace, or make ſmall account or none at all of ſuch matters, it is enough to extinguiſh and make it go out. For he that miniſtreth not fewell to fire, putteth it out; and whoſoever feedeth not his anger at the firſt, and bloweth not the coales himſelfe, doth coole and repreſſe the ſame. And therefore *Hierommus* the Philoſopher, although otherwiſe he have taught us many good leſſons and inſtructions; yet in this point he hath not pleaſed and ſatisfied me, when he ſaith; That a man is not able to perceive in himſelfe the breeding of anger, (ſo quicke and ſudden it is) but onely when it is bred, then it may be felt: for ſurely, there is no vice or paſſion in us, that giveth ſuch warning, or hath either ſo evident a generation or ſo manifeſt an augment whiles it is ſtirred and mooved, as anger, according as *Homer* himſelfe right ſkilfully, and as a man of good experience, giveth us to underſtand, who bringeth in *Achilles* ſore mooved to ſorrow and griefe of heart, even with a word, and at the very inſtant, when he heard the ſpeeches of *Agamemnon*: for thus reporteth the Poët of him:

Out of the king his ſovereignes mouth,
the word no ſooner paſt,
But ſtraight a blacke and miſtie cloud
of ire him overcaſt.

But of *Agamemnon* himſelfe, he ſaith, that it was long ere he was angrie; namely, after he had beene kindled with many hard ſpeeches, that were dealt to and fro, which if any third perſon ſtepping betweene, would have ſtaied or turned away, certes their quarrell and debate had not growen to ſuch tearmes of extremity as it did. And therefore *Socrates* ſo often as he felt himſelfe ſomewhat declining and more mooved than he ſhould, againſt any one of his friends, and avoiding as it were a rocke in the ſea, before the tempeſt came and the billowes aroſe, would let fall his voice, ſhew a ſmiling countenance, and compoſe his looke and viſage to mirth and lenitie, and thus by bending and drawing another away to that whereunto his affection enclined, and oppoſing himſelfe to a contrary paſſion, he kept upright on his feet, ſo that he fell not, nor was overthrowen. For there is (my good friend) a ready meanes in the very beginning, to breake the force of choler, like as there is a way to diſſolve a tyrannicall rule and dominion, that is to ſay, not to obey at the firſt, not to give eare and be ruled by her commandement, when ſhe ſhal bid thee to ſpeake & cry out aloud, or to looke with a terrible countenance, or to knocke or beat thy ſelfe; but to be ſtill and quiet, and not to re-enforce and encreaſe the paſſion, as men do exaſperate a ſickneſſe with ſtrugling, ſtriving, toſſing and roaring out aloud. For thoſe things which ordinary lovers and amourous yoong men practiſe, that is to ſay, to go in a wanton and merry maske, to ſing and daunce at the doores of their ſweet hearts and miſtreſſes, to bedecke their windowes with coronets & floure-garlands, bring ſome eaſe and alleviation (ſuch as it is) of their paſſions, and the ſame not altogether undecent and uncivill, according to that which we reade in the Poet:

And when I came, aloud I cried not,
And asked who ſhe was, or daughter whoſe?
But kiſt my love full ſweetly, that I wot:
If this be ſinne? but ſinne I can not chooſe.

Alſo that which we permit thoſe to doe who are in ſorrow, namely, to mourne, to lament and weepe for loſſes or miſhaps; certeinly with their ſighs which they fetch, & teares that they ſhed, they do ſend out and diſcharge a good part of their griefe and anguiſh. But it is not ſo with the paſſion of anger: for ſurely, the more that they ſtirre and ſpeake who are ſurpriſed therewith, the more hote it is, and the flame burneth out the rather; and therefore the beſt way is, for a man to be quiet, to flie and keepe him out of the way, or els to retire himſelfe into ſome haven of ſurety and repoſe, when he perceiveth that there is a fit of anger toward, as if he felt an acceſſe of the falling evill comming. This (I ſay) we ought to do, for feare leſt we fall downe, or rather runne and ruſh upon ſome one or other. But who be they that we run upon? Surely our very friends, for the greateſt part, & thoſe we wrong moſt. As for our affection of love, it ſtandeth not to all things indifferently, neither do we hate ne yet feare we every thing alike: But what is it that ire ſetteth not upon? nothing is there but it doth aſſaile and lay hands on; we are angry with our enemies; we chafe with our friends; with children, with parents are we wrath; nay, the very gods themſelves we forbeare not in our cholericke mood; we flie upon dumbe and brute beaſts; we ſpare not ſo much as our utenſile veſſels and implements which have neither ſenſe nor life at all, if they ſtand in our way, we fare like *Thamyris* the Muſician,

Who brake his cornet, finely bound
And tipt with golde: his lute he hent,
Well ſtrung and tun'd to pleaſant ſound,
And it anon to fitters rent.

Thus did *Pandarus* alſo, who curſed, and betooke himſelfe to all the fiends in hell, if he did not burſt his bowe and arrowes with his owne hands, and throw them into the fire when he had ſo done. As for *Xerxes*, he ſtucke not to whip, to laſh and ſcourge the ſea, and to the mountaine *Athos* he ſent his minatorie letters in this forme; *Thou wretched and wicked* Athos, *that beareſt up thy head aloft into the skie; ſee thou bring foorth no great craggie ſtones, I adviſe thee, for my works, and ſuch as be hard to be cut and wrought: otherwiſe, if thou doe, I ſhall cut thee through and tumble thee into the maine ſea.* Many fearefull and terrible things there be that are done in anger, and as many for them againe, as fooliſh and ridiculous, and therefore of all paſſions that trouble the minde, it is both hated and deſpiſed moſt. In which regards expedient it were, to conſider diligently aſwell of the one as the other: for mine owne part, whether I did well or ill, I know not; but ſurely, when I began my cure of choler in my ſelfe, I did as in olde time the Lacedæmonians were woont to do by their Ilotes, men of baſe and ſervile condition: For as they taught their children what a foule vice drunkenneſſe was, by their example when they were drunke, ſo I learned by obſerving others, what anger was, and what beaſtly effects it wrought. Firſt and formoſt therefore, like as that maladie according to *Hippocrates*, is of all others, woorſt and moſt dangerous, wherein the viſage of the ſicke perſon is moſt diſfigured and made unlikeſt it ſelfe; ſo, I ſeeing thoſe that were poſſeſſed of choler, and (as it were) beſide themſelves thereby, how their face was changed, their colour, their countenance, their gate and their voice quite altered, I imagined thereupon unto my ſelfe a certeine forme and image of this maladie, as being mightily diſpleaſed in my minde, if haply at any time I ſhould be ſeene of my friends, my wife and the little girles my daughters, ſo terrible and ſo farre mooved and tranſported beſide my ſelfe: not onely fearefull and hideous to beholde, and farre otherwiſe than I was woont, but alſo unpleaſant to be heard; my voice being rough, rude and churliſh: like as it was my hap to ſee ſome of my familiar friends in that caſe, who by reaſon of anger could not reteine and keepe their ordinary faſhions and behavior, their force of viſage, nor their grace in ſpeech, ne yet that affability and pleaſantneſſe in company and talke as they were woont.

This was the reaſon that *Caius Gracchus* the Oratour, a man by nature blunt, rude in behaviour, and withall over-earneſt and violent in his maner of pleading, had a little flute or pipe made for the nonce, ſuch as Muſicians are woont to guide and rule the voice gently by little and little up and downe, betweene baſe to treble, according to everie note as they would themſelves, teaching their ſcholars thereby to have a tunable voice. Now when *Gracchus* pleaded at the barre at any time, he had one of his ſervants ſtanding with ſuch a pipe behinde him: who obſerving when his maſter was a little out of tune, would ſound a more mild and pleaſant note unto him, whereby he reclaimed and called him backe from that loude exclaiming, and ſo taking downe that rough and ſwelling accent of his voice,

Like as the Neat-heards pipes ſo ſhrill
made of the marriſh reeds ſo light;
The joints whereof with waxe they fill,
reſound a tune for their delight:
Which while the heard in field they keepe,
Brings them at length to pleaſant ſleepe.

dulced and allaied the cholericke paſſion of the orator, Certes my ſelfe, if I had a pretie page to attend upon me, who were diligent, neceſſarie and handſome about me, would not be offended but verie well content, that when he ſaw me angrie he ſhould by and by preſent a mirror or looking glaſſe unto me, ſuch a one as they uſe to bring and ſhew unto ſome that newly are come out of the baine, although no good or profit at all they have thereby. But certainely for man to ſee himſelfe at ſuch a time, how diſquieted he is, how farre out of the way and beſide the courſe of nature, it were no ſmall meanes to checke this paſſion, and to ſet him in hatred therewith for ever after. They who are delighted in tales and fables, doe report by way of merrie ſpeech and paſtime, that once when *Minerva* was a piping, there came a Satyre and admoniſhed her, that it was not for her to play upon a flute; but ſhe for the time tooke no heed to that advertiſement of his, notwithſtanding he ſpake thus unto her:

This forme of face becomes you not,
lay up your pipes, take armes in hand:
But firſt this would not be forgot,
your cheekes to lay, that puft now ſtand.

But afterwards when ſhe had ſeene her face in a certaine river, what a paire of cheekes ſhe had gotten with her piping, ſhe was diſpleaſed with her ſelfe and flung away her pipes: And yet this art and skill of playing well upon the pipe, yeeldeth ſome comfort and maketh amends for the deformitie of a diſfigured viſage, with the melodious tune and harmonie that it affoordeth; yea and afterwards, *Marſyas* the Minſtrell (as it is thought) deviſed firſt with a certaine hood and muzzle faſtened round about the mouth, as well to reſtraine and keepe downe the violence of the blaſt encloſed thus by force, as alſo to correct and hide the deformitie and undecent inequalitie of the viſage;

With glittring gold both cheekes as farre
as temples he did binde:
The tender mouth with thongs likewiſe,
faſt knit the necke behinde.

But anger contrariwiſe, as it doth puffe up and ſtretch out the viſage after an unſeemely maner, ſo much more it ſendeth out undecent and unpleaſant voice,

And ſtirs the ſtrings at ſecret note of heart
Which touched ſhould not be, but by a part.

The ſea verily, when being troubled and diſquieted with bluſtring winds, it caſteth up moſſe, reits, and ſuch like weeds (they ſay) it is cleanſed and purged thereby: but the diſſolute, bitter, ſcurrile, and fooliſh ſpeeches, which anger ſendeth out of the minde when it is turned upſide downe, firſt pollute and defile the ſpeakers themſelves, and fill them full of infamy, for that they be thought to have their hearts full of ſuch ordure and filthineſſe at all times; but the ſame lurketh there, untill that choler diſcovereth it: And therefore, they pay moſt deerely for their ſpeech, the lighteſt matter of all others (as *Plato* ſaith) in that they ſuffer this heavie and grievous puniſhment, to be held and reputed for malicious enemies, curſed ſpeakers, and ill conditioned perſons. Which I ſeeing and obſerving well enough, it falleth out that I reaſon with my ſelfe, & alwaies call to mind, what a good thing it is in a feaver, but much better in a fit of choler to have a tongue faire, even and ſmooth: For in them that be ſicke of an ague, if the tongue be not ſuch as naturally it ought to be, an ill ſigne it is, but not a cauſe of any harme or indiſpoſition within. Howbeit, if their tongues who are angry, be once rough, foule, and running diſſolutely at random to abſurd ſpeeches, it caſteth foorth outragious and contumelious language, the verie mother and work-miſtreſſe of irreconciliable enmitie, and bewraieth an hidden and ſecret maliciouſnes. As for wine, if a man drinke it, of it ſelfe undelaied with water, it putteth foorth no ſuch wantonneſſe, no diſordinate and lewd ſpeeches, like to thoſe that proceed of ire. For drunken talke ſerveth to make mirth, and to procure laughter rather than any thing elſe: but words of choler are tempered with bitter gall and rankor. Moreover, he that ſitteth ſilent at the table when others drinke merrily, is odious unto the companie and a trouble: whereas in choler there is nothing more decent and beſeeming gravitie, than to be quiet and ſay nothing: according as *Sappho* doth admoniſh,

When furious choler once is up,
diſperſt and ſpred in breſt,
To keepe the tongue then apt to barke,
and let it lie at reſt.

The conſideration of theſe things collected thus together, ſerveth not onely to take heede alwaies unto them that are ſubject to yre and therewith poſſeſſed, but alſo beſides to know throughly the nature of anger: how it is neither generous or manfull, nor yet hath anie thing in it that ſavoreth of wiſedome and magnanimitie. Howbeit the common people interpret the turbulent nature thereof to be active and meet for action: the threats and menaces thereof, hardineſſe and confidence, the peeviſh and froward unrulineſſe to be fortitude and ſtrength. Nay ſome there be who would have the crueltie in it, to be a diſpoſition and dexteritie to atchieve great matters; the implacable malice thereof to be conſtancie and firme reſolution: the moroſitie and difficultie to be pleaſed; to be the hatred of ſinne and vice; howbeit herein they do not well but are much deceived, for ſurely the very actions, motions, geſtures, and countenance of cholerike perſons do argue and bewray much baſeneſſe and imbecilitie: which we may perceive not onely in theſe brain-ſicke fits that they fall upon little children, and them pluck, twitch, and miſuſe; flie upon poore ſeely women, and thinke that they ought to puniſh and beat their horſes, hounds and mules, like unto *Cteſiphon* that famous wreſtler and profeſſed champion, who ſtucke not to ſpurne and kicke his mule; but alſo in their tyrannicall and bloudly murders, wherein their crueltie and bitterneſſe which declareth their puſillanimity & baſe mind; their actions which ſhew their paſſions & their doing to others, bewraying a ſuffering in themſelves, may be compared to the ſtings and bitings of thoſe venemous ſerpents which be very angrie, exceeding dolorous and burne moſt themſelves when they do inflict the greateſt inflamation upon the patients, and put them to moſt paine: For like as ſwelling is a ſymptome or accident following upon a great wound or hurt in the fleſh: even ſo it is in the tendereſt and ſofteſt minds, the more they give place and yeeld unto dolor and paſſion, the more plentie of choler and anger they utter foorth as proceeding from the greater weaknes. By this you may ſee the reaſon why women ordinarily be more waſpiſh, curſt and ſhrewd than men; ſicke folke more teſtie than thoſe that are in health; old people more waiward and froward than thoſe that be in the floure and vigor of their yeeres; and finally ſuch as be in adverſitie and upon whom fortune frowneth, more prone to anger than thoſe who proſper and have the world ſmiling upon them. The covetous mizer and pinching peni-father is alwaies moſt angrie with his ſteward that laieth foorth his monie; the glutton is ever more diſpleaſed with his cooke and cater; the jealous husband quickly falleth out and brawleth with his wiſe; the vaine-glorious foole is ſooneſt offended with them that ſpeake any thing amiſſe of him; but the moſt bitter and intollerable of all others, are ambitious perſons in a citie, who lay for high places and dignities, ſuch alſo as are the heads of a faction in a ſedition; which is a trouble and miſchiefe (as *Pindarus* ſaith) conſpicuous and honorable. Loe, how from that part of the mind which is wounded, greeved, ſuffreth moſt and eſpecially upon infirmitie and weakeneſſe, ariſeth anger, which paſſion reſembleth not (as one would have it) the ſinewes of the ſoule, but is like rather to their ſtretching ſpreines and ſpaſmatick convulſions, when it ſtreineth and ſtriveth overmuch in following revenge.

Well, the examples of evill things yeeld no pleaſant ſight at all, onely they be neceſſary and profitable, and for mine owne part ſuppoſing the precedents given by thoſe who have caried themſelves gently and mildly in their occaſions of anger, are moſt delectable, not onely to behold, but alſo heare: I begin to contemne and deſpiſe thoſe that ſay thus:

To man thou haſt done wrong: be ſure
At mans hand wrong for to endure.

Likewiſe

Downe to the ground with him, ſpare not his coate,
Spurne him and ſet thy foote upon his throate,

and other ſuch words which ſerve to provoke wrath and whet choler; by which ſome go about to remoove anger out of the nurcery, and womens chamber into the hall where men do ſit and keepe; but heerein they do not well: For proweſſe and fortitude according in all other things with juſtice, and going fellow-like with her, me thinkes is at ſtrife and debate with her about meekeneſſe and mildneſſe onely, as if ſhe rather became her, and by right apperteined unto her: For otherwhiles it hath beene knowne that the woorſt men have gone beyond and ſurmounted the better. But for a man to erect a Trophee and ſet up a triumphall monument in his owne ſoule againſt ire (with which as *Heraclitus* ſaith the conflict is hard and dangerous: for what a man would have he buieth with his life) it is an act of rare valour and victorious puiſſance, as having in trueth the judgement of reaſon, for ſinewes, tendons, and muſkles to encounter and reſiſt paſſions. Which is the cauſe that I ſtudie, and am deſirous alwaies to reade and gather the ſayings and doings, not onely of learned clearks and Philoſophers; who as our Sages and wiſe men ſay, have no gall in them, but alſo and much rather of Kings, Princes, Tyrants, and Potentates: As for example, ſuch as that was of *Antigonus*, who hearing his ſouldiors upon a time revile him behinde his pavilion, thinking that he heard them not, put forth his ſtaffe from under the cloth unto them and ſaid: A whorſon knaves, could you not go a little farther off, when you meant thus to raile upon us. Likewiſe when one *Arcadian* an *Argive* or *Achæan* never gave over reviling of King *Philip*, and abuſing him in moſt reprochfull tearmes, yea and to give him warning

So far to flie, untill he thither came
Where no man knew nor heard of Philips *name.*

And afterwards the man was ſeene (I know not how) in *Macedonia*; the friends and courtiers of king *Philip* were in hand with him to have him puniſhed, and that in any wiſe he ſhould not let him go and eſcape: *Philip* contrariwiſe having him once in his hands, ſpake gently unto him, uſed him courteouſly, ſending unto him in his lodging gifts and preſents, and ſo ſent him away. And after a certeine time he commanded thoſe courtiours of purpoſe to enquire what words he gave out of him unto the Greekes: but when everie one made report againe and teſtified that he was become another man, and ceaſed not to ſpeake woonderfull things in the praiſe of him; Lo (quoth *Philip*) then unto them: Am not I a better Phyſician than all you, and can I not skill how to cure a foule tongued fellow? Another time at the great ſolemnitie of the Olympian games, when the Greekes abuſed him with verie bad language, his familiar friends about him ſaid they deſerved to be ſharply chaſtiſed and puniſhed, for ſo miſcalling and reviling him, who had beene ſo good a benefactor of theirs: what would they doe and ſay then (quoth he) if I ſhould deale hardly by them and doe them ſhrewd turnes? Semblably, notable and excellent was the carriage of *Piſiſtratus* to *Thraſibulus*: of king *Porſenna* to *Mutius*, and of *Magas* to *Philemon*, who in a publike and frequent Theatre, had mocked and ſcoffed at him in this maner,

Magas, *there are ſome letters come*
unto you from a king

But letter Magas *none can reade,*
nor write for any thing.

Now it chanced afterwards that by a tempeſt at ſea he was caſt upon the Port-towne *Parætonium*, whereof *Magas* was governor, and ſo fell into his hands, who did him no other harme, but commaunded one of his guard or officers about him, onely with his naked ſword to touch his bare necke, and ſo gently to goe his waies and do no more to him: marie afterwards, he ſent unto him little bones for cock-all, and a pretie ball to play withall, as if he had beene a childe that had no wit nor diſcretion, and ſo ſent him home againe in peace. King *Ptolomæus* upon a time geſting and ſcoffing at a ſimple and unlearned Gramarian, asked him, who was the father of *Peleus*: I will anſwere you ſir (quoth he) if you tell me firſt who was the father of *Lagus*: This was a drie flout and touched King *Ptolomæus* very neere, in regard of the meane parentage from whence he was deſcended: whereat, all about the King were mightily offended, and thought it was too broad a jeſt and frump intolerable. But *Ptolomæus*, if it be not ſeemely for a King to take and put up a ſcorne: ſurely as little decent it is for his perſon to give a ſcorne *

* It ſeemeth that heere is ſomewhat wanting.

Alexander the Great was more bitter and cruell (than otherwiſe his ordinarie manner was to others) towards *Calliſthenes* and *Clytus*. But King *Porus* being taken priſoner by him in a battell, beſought that he would uſe him royally, or like a King. And when King *Alexander* demaunded moreover what he had more to ſay, and what he would have elſe? No more (quoth he) for under this word Royally is compriſed all. And therefore I ſuppoſe it is, that the Greeks call the King of the gods, by the name of *Milichius*, that is to ſay, Milde and ſweete as honie. And the Athenians named him *Mumactes*, which is as much as, Readie to helpe and ſuccour: For to puniſh and torment, pertaineth to divels and the furious fiends of hel: there is no celeſtiall, divine, and heavenly thing in it. And like as one ſaid of King *Philip*, when he had raſed & deſtroyed the citie *Olynthus*: Yea marie, but he is not able to ſet up ſuch another citie in the place: even ſo, a man may well ſay unto Anger; Thou canſt overthrow, demoliſh, marre and pull downe: but to reare and erect againe, to ſave, to pardon, and to endure; be the properties of meekneſſe, clemencie, mildnes, patience, and moderation: they be the parts (I ſay) of *Camillus*, *Metellus*, *Ariſtides* and *Socrates*: whereas to ſticke cloſe unto the fleſh, to pinch, pricke and bite, are the qualities of piſmires, flies and mice. Moreover and beſides, when I looke unto Revenge, and the manner thereof, I finde for the moſt part, that if men proceede by way of choler, they miſſe of their purpoſe: for commonly all the heat & deſire of revenge is ſpent in biting of lips, gnaſhing and grating of teeth, vaine running to and fro, in railing words with fooliſh threats and menaces among, that ſavour of no wit at all: By which meanes it fareth with them afterwards, as with little children in running of a race, who for feebleneſſe being not able to hold out, fall downe before they come unto the goale, whereunto they made ſuch ridiculous and fooliſh haſte. And therfore in my conceit, it was not an improper anſwere which a certaine Rhodian made unto one of the Lictours and officers of a Romane Generall or Lord Prœtor, who with wide mouth bauled at him, and made a glorious bragging and boaſting. I paſſe not (quoth he) one whit what thou ſaiſt; I care rather for that which he thinketh there, that ſaith nothing. In like manner *Sophocles* when he had brought in *Eurypylus* and *Neoptolemus* all armed, ſpeaketh bravely in their commendation thus,

They dealt no threates in vaine, no taunts
they made, nor boaſting words:
But to't they went and on their ſhields
they laid on load with ſwords.

And verily, ſome barbarous nations there are who uſe to poiſon their ſwords, & other weapons of iron; but valour hath no need at all of the venim of choler, for dipped it is in reaſon & judgement; whereas whatſoever is corrupted with ire and furie is brittle, rotten, and eaſie to be broken into pieces. Which is the reaſon that the Lacedæmonians doe allay the choler of their ſouldiors, when they are fighting with the melodious ſound of flutes and pipes; whoſe manner is alſo before they goe to battell, to ſacrifice unto the Muſes, to the ende that their reaſon and right wits may remaine in them ſtill, and that they may have uſe thereof: yea, and when they have put their enemies to flight, they never purſue after nor follow the chaſe, but reclaime and hold their furious anger within compaſſe, which they are able to weld and manage as they liſt; no leſſe than theſe daggers or courtlaces which are of a meane ſize and reaſonable length. Contrariwiſe, anger hath beene the cauſe that many thouſands have come ſhort of the execution of vengeance, and miſcarried by the way. As for example, *Cyrus* and *Pelopidas* the Thebane among the reſt. But *Agathocles* endured patiently to heare himſelfe reproched and reviled, by thoſe whom hee beſieged : and when one of them ſaid : You Potter there ? Heare you ? Where will you have ſilver to pay your mercenarie ſouldiers and ſtrangers their wages ? Hee laughed againe and made anſwere ; Even out of this citie when I have once forced it. Some there were alſo that mocked and ſcorned *Antigonus* from the verie walles, and twitted him with his deformitie and evill favoured face. But he ſaid no more than thus, Why ! And I tooke my ſelfe before to have beene verie faire and well favoured. Now when he had woon the towne he ſold in open port-ſale thoſe that had ſo flouted him, proteſting withal unto them, that if from that time forward they mocked him any more, he would tell their maſters of them and call them to account.

Moreover, I doe ſee that hunters, yea, and oratours alſo commit many faults in their choler. And *Ariſtotle* doth report, that the friends of *Satyrus* the Oratour, in one cauſe that he had to plead for them, ſtopped his eares with waxe, for feare leſt that he, when he heard his adverſaries to raile upon him in their pleas, ſhould marre all in his anger. And do not (I pray you) we our ſelves many times miſſe of puniſhing our ſervants by this meanes, when they have done ſome faults : for when they heare us to threaten, and give out in our anger, that we will doe thus and thus unto them, they be ſo frighted that they runne away farre enough off from us. Like as nurſes therefore, are wont to ſay unto their little children ; Crie not, and you ſhall have this or that; ſo we ſhall do very wel, to ſpeake unto our choler in this wiſe; Make no ſuch haſte, ſoft and faire, keepe not ſuch a crying, make not ſo loud a noiſe, be not ſo eager and urgent upon the point: ſo ſhall you ſee every thing that you would have, ſooner done and much better. And thus a father, when he ſeeth his childe going about to cut or cleave any thing with a knife or edge toole, taketh the toole or knife out of his hand, and doth it himſelfe ; even ſo he that doth take revenge out of the hands of choler, puniſheth not himſelfe, but him that deſerveth it : and thus he doth ſurely, putting his owne perſon in no danger, without damage and loſſe, nay, with great profit and commodity. Now, whereas all paſſions whatſoever of the minde had need of uſe and cuſtome, to tame (as it were) and vanquiſh by exerciſe, that which in them is unruely, rebellious and diſobedient to reaſon : certes, in no one point beſides had we need to be more exerciſed, (I meane as touching thoſe dealings that we have with our houſholde ſervants) than in anger : for there is no envy & emulation that ariſeth in us toward thẽ, there is no feare that we need to have of them, neither any ambition that troubleth or pricketh us againſt them; but ordinary and continuall fits of anger we have every day with them, which breed much offence and many errours, cauſing us to tread awry, to ſlip and do amiſſe ſundry waies, by reaſon of that licentious libertie unto which we give our ſelves, all the whiles that there is none to controll, none to ſtay, none to forbid and hinder us : and therefore being in ſo tickliſh a place, and none to ſuſtaine and holde us up, ſoone we catch a fall, and come downe at once. And a hard matter it is (I may ſay to you) when we are not bound to render an account to any one, in ſuch a paſſion as this, to keepe our ſelves upright, and not to offend ; unleſſe we take order before-hand to reſtraine and empale (as it were) round about, ſo great a libertie with meekneſſe and clemencie, unleſſe (I ſay) we be well inured and acquainted to beare and endure many ſhrewd and unhappy words of our wives, much unkinde language of friends and familiars, who many times do chalenge us for being too remiſſe, over-gentle, yea, and altogether careleſſe and negligent in this behalfe. And this in trueth, hath bene the principall cauſe that I have bene quicke and ſharpe unto my ſervants, for feare leſt they might proove the woorſe for not being chaſtiſed. But at the laſt, though late it were, I perceived ; Firſt, that better it was by long ſufferance and indulgence, to make them ſomewhat woorſe, than in ſeeking to reforme and amend others, to diſorder and ſpoile my ſelfe with bitterneſſe and choler : Secondly, when I ſaw many of them often-times, even becauſe they were not ſo puniſhed, feare and ſhame to do evil, and how pardon and forgiveneſſe was the beginning of their repentance and converſion, rather than rigour and puniſhment ; and that I aſſure you, they would ſerve ſome more willingly with a nod or winke of the eie, and without a word ſpoken, than others with all their beating and whipping : I was at laſt perſwaded in my minde and reſolved, that reaſon was more woorthy to command and rule as a maſter, than ire and wrath. For true it is not that the Poet ſaith:

Where ever is feare,
Shame alſo is there :

but cleane contrary : Looke who are baſhfull and aſhamed ; in them there is imprinted a certaine feare that holdeth them in good order: whereas continuall beating and laying on without mercy, breedeth not repentance in ſervants for evill doing, but rather a kinde of forecaſt and providence, how they ſhould not be ſpied nor taken in their evill doing. Thirdly, calling to remembrance, and conſidering evermore with my ſelfe, that he who taught us to ſhoot, forbad us not to draw a bowe or to ſhoot an arrow, but to miſſe the marke: no more will this be any let or hinderance, but that we may chaſtiſe and puniſh our ſervants, if we be taught to do it in time and place, with moderation and meaſure, profitably, and decently as it apperteineth. And verily I do enforce my ſelfe, and ſtrive to maſter my choler and ſubdue it principally, not denying unto them who are to be puniſhed, the libertie and meanes to juſtifie themſelves, but in hearing them to ſpeake what they can for their excuſe. For as time and ſpace doeth in the meane time finde the paſſion occupied another way, and withall bring a certaine delay, which doeth ſlacke and let downe (as it were) the vehemencie and violence thereof; ſo judgement of reaſon, all the while meeteth both with a decent maner and alſo with a convenient meane and meaſure of doing puniſhment accordingly. And beſides, this courſe and maner of proceeding, leaveth him that is puniſhed, no cauſe, occaſion or pretenſe at all, to reſiſt and ſtrive againe, conſidering that he is chaſtiſed and corrected not in choler and anger, but being firſt convinced, that he had well deſerved his correction: and (which were yet woorſe than all the reſt) the ſervant ſhall not have vantage to ſpeake more juſtly and to better reaſon than his maſter. Well then, like as *Phocion* after the death of *Alexander* the great, having a care not to ſuffer the Athenians to riſe overſoone, or make any inſurrection before due time, ne yet to give credit raſhly unto the newes of his death: My maſters of *Athens* (quoth he) if he be dead to day, he will be dead to morow alſo, and three daies hence to; even ſo ſhould a man (in mine opinion) who by the impulſion and inſtigation of anger, maketh haſte to take puniſhment, thus ſuggeſt and ſecretly ſay to himſelfe: If this ſervant of mine hath made a fault to day, it will be as true to morrow, and the next day after that he hath done a fault; neither will there be any harme or danger at all come of it, if hee chaunce to be puniſhed with the lateſt: but beleeve me, if he be puniſhed over-ſoone, it will be alwaies thought that he had wrong, and did not offend: a thing that I have knowen to happen full often. For which of us all is ſo curſt & cruel, as to puniſh and ſcourge a ſervant, for burning the roaſt five or ten daies ago? or for that ſo long before he chanced to overthrow the table? or was ſomewhat with the ſloweſt in making anſwer to his Maſter; or did his errand or other buſines not ſo ſoone as he ſhould? and yet we ſee theſe & ſuch like be the ordinary cauſes for which (whiles they be freſh and new done) we take on, we ſtampe and ſtare, we chafe, we frowne, we are implacable and will heare of no pardon: And no marvaile, for like as any bodies ſeeme bigger through a miſt; even ſo every thing appeereth greater than it is, through anger. And therefore at theſe and ſuch like faults, we ſhould winke for the time, and make as though we ſaw them not, and yet thinke upon them nevertheleſſe, and beare them in minde. But afterwards when the ſtorme is well overblowen, we are with out paſſion, & do not ſuſpect our ſelves, then we may do well to conſider thereof: and then if upon mature deliberation, when our mind is ſtaied and our ſenſes ſetled, the thing appeere to be naught, we are to hate and abhor it, and in no wiſe either to for-let and put of, or altogether to omit and forbeare correction, like as they refuſe meats who have no ſtomacke nor appetite to eat. For certeinly it is not a thing ſo much to be blamed, for to puniſh one in anger, as not to puniſh when anger is paſt and alaied, and ſo to be retchleſſe and deſolute: doing as idle mariners, who ſo long as the ſea is calme and the weather faire, loiter within the harbor or haven, but afterwards when a tempeſt is up, ſpread ſailes and put themſelves into danger. For even ſo we, condemning and neglecting the remiſſeneſſe and calmneſſe of reaſon in caſe of puniſhment, make haſte to execute the ſame during the heat of choler, which no doubt is a bluſtring and turbulent winde. As for meat he calleth for it in deed, and taketh it naturally who is a hungrie: but ſurely he executeth puniſhment beſt, who neither hungreth nor thirſteth after it: neither hath he need to uſe choler as a ſauce or deintie diſh for to get him a ſtomacke and appetite to correct: but even when he is fartheſt off from deſire of revenge, then of neceſſitie he is to make uſe of reaſon and wiſdome to direct him: for we ought not to do, as *Ariſtotle* writeth in his time the maner was in *Tuſkane*; To whip ſervants with ſound of flutes and hautboies; namely to make a ſport and paſtime of puniſhing men, and to ſolace our ſelves with their puniſhment for pleaſures ſake, and then afterwards when we have done, repent us of it: for as the one is brutiſh and beaſtlike; ſo the other is as womaniſh and unmanly: but without griefe and pleaſure both, at what time as reaſon and judgement is in force, we ought to let juſtice take puniſhment, and leave none occaſion at all for choler to get advantage. But peradventure ſome one will ſay, that this is not properly the way to remedie or cure anger; but rather a putting by or precaution that we ſhould not commit any of thoſe faults which ordinarily follow that paſſion: Unto whom I anſwere thus; That the ſwelling of the Spleene is not the cauſe but a ſymptome or accident of a fever: howbeit if the ſaid humour be fallen and the paine mitigated, the feaver alſo will be much eaſed, according as *Hieronymus* ſaith. Alſo when I conſider by what meanes choler is engendred: I ſee that one falleth into it upon this cauſe, another upon that: but in all of them, it ſeemeth this generall opinion there is, that they thinke themſelves to be deſpiſed and naught ſet by. And therefore we ought to meet with ſuch as ſeeme to defend and mainteine themſelves, as being angry for juſt cauſe, and to cure them after this maner; namely, by diverting and remooving from them, as far as ever we can, all ſuſpicion of contempt and contumacie in thoſe that have offended them and mooved their anger; in laying the fault upon inconſiderate follie, neceſſitie, ſickneſſe, infirmitie and miſerie, as *Sophocles* did in theſe verſes,

For thoſe my Lords whoſe ſtate is in deſtreſſe,
Have not their ſpirits and wits as heretofore:
As fortune frownes, they waxen ever leſſe,
Nay gone are quite, though freſh they were before.

And *Agamemnon*, albeit he laid the taking away of *Briſeis* from *Achilles* upon *Ate* (that is to ſay) ſome fatall infortunitie, yet

He willing was and preſt, him to content,
And unto him rich gifts for to preſent.

For to beſeech and intreat, are ſignes of a man that deſpiſeth not, and when the partie who hath given offence becometh humble and lowly, he remooveth all the opinion that might be conceived of contempt. But he that is in a fit of choler muſt not attend and waite until he ſee that, but rather helpe himſelfe with the anſwer of *Diogenes*. Theſe fellowes here ſaid one unto him, do deride thee *Diogenes*; but I (quoth he againe) do not finde that I am derided: even ſo ought a man who is angry not to be perſwaded that he is contemned of another, but rather that himſelfe hath juſt cauſe to contemne him, and to thinke that the fault committed did proceed of infirmitie, error, heady-raſhneſſe, ſloth and idleneſſe, a baſe and illiberall minde, age or youth. And as for our ſervants and friends we muſt by all meanes quit them hereof, or pardon them at leaſtwiſe: For ſurely they cannot be thought to contemne us, in regard that they thinke us unable to be revenged, or men of no execution if we went about it: but it is either by reaſon of our remiſſenes and mildneſſe, or elſe of our love and affection that we ſeeme to be ſmally regarded by them, whiles our ſervants preſume of our tractable nature, eaſie to be pacified, and our friends of our exceeding love that cannot be ſoone ſhaken off. But now we are provoked to anger, not onely againſt our wives, or ſervitors and friends, as being contemned by them; but alſo many times in our choler we fall upon In-keepers, Mariners and Muliters, when they be drunke, ſuppoſing that they deſpiſe us. And that which more is, we are offended with dogs when they bay or barke at us; and with aſſes if they chance to fling out and kicke us. Like unto him who lifted up his hand to ſtrike and beat him that did drive an aſſe; and when the man cried that he was an Athenian: But thou I am ſure art no Athenian (quoth he) to the aſſe, and laid upon the poore beaſt as hard as he could, and gave him many a blow with his cudgell. But that which chiefly cauſeth us to be angrie, and breedeth a continuall diſpoſition thereto in our minds, cauſing us ſo often to breake out into fits of choler, which by little and little was ingendred and gathered there before, is the love of our owne ſelves, and a kinde of froward ſurlineſſe hardly to be pleaſed, together with a certaine daintineſſe and delicacie, which all concurring in one, breed and bring foorth a ſwarme (as it were) of bees, or rather a waſpes neaſt in us. And therefore there cannot be a better meanes for to carrie our ſelves mildly and kindly, towards our wives, our ſervants, familiars and friends, than a contented minde, and a ſingleneſſe or ſimplicitie of heart, when a man reſteth ſatisfied with whatſoever is preſent at hand, and requireth neither things ſuperfluous nor exquiſite,

But he that never is content
With roſt or ſod, but cooke is ſhent:
How ever he be ſerv'd, I meane
With more, with leſſe, or in a meane:
He is not pleas'd, nor one good word
Can give of viands ſet on boord,
Without ſome ſnow who drinks no draught,

Nor eateth bread in market bought.
Who taſtes no meate, b'it never ſo good,
Serv'd up in diſh of earth or wood:
And thinkes no bed nor pillow ſoft,
Unleſſe with downe like ſea aloft
Stird from beneath, it ſtrut and ſwell;
For otherwiſe he ſleepes not well.

who with rods and whips plieth and haſtneth the ſervitors at the table, making them to runne untill they ſweat againe, crying and bawling at them to come away apace, as if they were not carying diſhes of meat, but plaſters and cataplaſmes for ſome inflammation or painfull impoſtume: ſubjecting himſelfe after a ſlaviſh manner to a ſervile kinde of diet and life, full of diſcontentment, quarrels and complaints: little knoweth ſuch an one how by a continuall cough, or many concuſſions & diſtemperatures, he hath brought his ſoule to an ulcerous and rheumatike diſpoſition about the ſeat and place of anger. And therfore we muſt uſe the body by frugalitie to take up and learne to be content with a competent meane (foraſmuch as they who deſire but a little, can never be diſappointed nor fruſtrat of much) finding no fault, nor keeping any ſtir at the beginning about meat, but ſtanding ſatisfied without ſaying a word, with that which God ſendeth whatſoever it be, not fretting, vexing and tormenting our ſelves at the table about everie thing, and in ſo doing, ſerving both our ſelves and our companie about us of friends, with the moſt unſavorie meſſe of meat, that is to wit, choler:

A ſupper worſe than this I do not ſee
How poſſibly one can deviſed bee.

Namely, whiles the ſervants be beaten, the wife chidden and reviled for the meat burnt, for ſmoke in the parlor, for want of ſalt, or for the bread over ſtale and drie. But *Arceſilaus* upon a time with other friends of his, feaſted certaine ſtrangers and hoſts of his abroad, whoſe gueſt he had beene; and after the ſupper was come in, and meat ſet upon the boord, there wanted bread, by reaſon that his ſervants had forgotten and neglected to buy any: for ſuch a fault as this, which of us here would not have cried out that the walles ſhould have burſt withall, and beene readie to have throwen the houſe out of the window? And he laughing at the matter: He had need be a wiſe man (quoth he) I ſee well, that would make a feaſt and ſet it out as it ſhould be. *Socrates* alſo upon a time, when he came from the wreſtling ſchoole, tooke *Euthydemus* home with him to ſupper: but *Xantippe* his wife fel a chiding and ſcoulding with him at the boord, reviling him with moſt bitter tearmes, ſo long, until at laſt in an anger downe went table and all that was upon it: Whereupon *Euthydemus* aroſe, and was about to depart; but *Socrates:* Will you be gone (quoth he?) Why, do you not remember that the other day as we ſat at ſupper in your houſe, there flew up to the boord a hen and did as much for you? and yet were not we offended nor angrie for the matter. And in verie truth, we muſt entertaine our friends and gueſts, with courteſie, mirth, a ſmiling countenance, and affectionate love: and not to brow-beat them, nor yet put the ſervitors in a fright, and make them quake and tremble with our frowning lookes. Alſo we ought ſo to accuſtome our ſelves that we may be content to be ſerved with any kinde of veſſels whatſoever, and not upon a daintineſſe to have a minde to this, rather then to that, but to like all indifferently. And yet there be ſome ſo divers, that although there be manie cups and goblets ſtanding upon the boord, chooſe one from the reſt, and cannot drinke forſooth but out of that one: according as the Stories doe report of *Marius*, who loved one mazar, and could drinke out of no other. Thus they doe by their oile cruets and currying combs or rubbers, when they are at the baines or ſtouphes, taking a fancie and affection to ſome one above the reſt: but if it chaunce that one of them be crackt, broken, or be loſt and miſcarie any way; then they are exceeding angrie and fall to beating of their ſervants. Such men therefore as finde themſelves to be cholerike, ſhould do well to forbeare all rare and exquiſite things, to wit, pots, cups, ſeale rings of excellent workmanſhip and pretious ſtones. For that ſuch coſtly jewels if they be marred or loſt, breed more anger and ſet men out of order, more than thoſe which be ordinarie and eaſie to be come by. And therefore when *Nero* the Emperour had cauſed to be made a certaine pavilion or tabernacle eight ſquare, which was both for the beautie and coſt, exceeding faire and ſumptuous, and indeed an admirable piece of worke. In this Tabernacle (quoth *Seneca*) unto him, you have bewraied ô *Cæſar* that you are but a poore man: for if you loſe this once, you ſhall never be able to recover and get the like againe. And ſo it fell out indeed, for the ſhip, wherein the ſame Tabernacle was, chanced to be caſt away upon on the ſea, and all was drowned. But *Nero* calling to minde the words of *Seneca,* tooke the loſſe more patiently.

Moreover, this contentment of mind, and eaſineſſe to be pleaſed with any thing in the houſe, cauſeth a man alſo to be more gentle, milde, and better contented with his ſervants and people about him: now if it worke this effect in us toward our houſholde ſervants, evident it is that we ſhalbe likewiſe affected to our friends & thoſe that be under our government. We ſee alſo, that ſlaves new bought, are inquiſitive as touching him who hath bought them; not whether he be ſuperſtitious and envious; but whether he be cholerike and haſty or no. And to be briefe, neither can husbands endure the pudicity and honeſty of their wives; nor wives the love of their husbands; ne yet friends the mutuall converſation one with another, if there doe an angry and cholerike humor goe withall. Thus we ſee, that neither mariage nor amity be tollerable with choler. Contrariwiſe, if anger be away, even drunkenneſſe it ſelfe is tollerable and we can eaſily abide it: for the very *ferula* of god *Bacchus* is a ſufficient puniſhment of drunkenneſſe, if ſo be there be not choler therewith, which may cauſe *Bacchus*, that is, Strong wine, in ſtead of *Lyæus* and *Chorius*, that is to ſay, The Looſer of cares and Leader of daunces (which are his ſurnames) to be called *Omeſtes* and *Mænoles,* which ſignifie Cruell and Furious. As for ſimple madneſſe of it ſelfe alone, the *Ellebore* growing in *Antycira,* is ſufficient to cure: but if it be mingled with choler, it cauſeth Tragicall fits, and thoſe ſo ſtrange, that a man would repute them for meere fables. And therefore we muſt not give place to anger, neither in ſport and paſtime; for in lieu of good-will it breedeth enmitie: nor in conference and diſputations; for it turneth the love and deſire of knowledge into debate and contention: nor in deciding and judging cauſes; becauſe to authority it addeth violence and inſolency: nor in the teaching and inſtruction of our children; for it maketh them deſperate and haters of learning: nor in proſperity; for it encreaſeth the envy and grudge of men: ne yet in adverſity, becauſe it taketh away pitty and compaſſion, when they who are fallen into any misfortune, ſhew themſelves teſtie, froward and quarellous to thoſe who come to moane and mourne with them. This did *Priamus*, as we reade in *Homer*:

Avant (quoth he) you chiding gueſts,
you odious mates be gone:
Have you no ſorrowes of your owne,
but you come me to moane?

On the other ſide, faire conditions and milde behaviour, yeeldeth ſuccour and helpe in ſome caſes; compoſeth and ordereth matters aright in others; dulceth and alaieth that which is tart and ſowre: and in one word, by reaſon of that kinde, meeke and gentle quality, it overcommeth anger and all waiward teſtineſſe whatſoever. Thus it is reported of *Euclides* in a quarrell or variance betweene him and his brother: For when his brother had conteſted and ſaid unto him; I would I might die, if I be not revenged of thee: he inferred againe; Nay, let me die for it, if I perſwade thee not otherwiſe before I have done; by which one word he preſently woon his brothers heart, ſo that he changed his mind, and they parted friends. *Polemon* likewiſe, at a certaine time, when one who loved precious ſtones, & was ſicke for faire & coſtly rings & ſuch like curious jewels, did raile at him outragiouſly; anſwered not a word againe, but looked very wiſtly upon one of the ſignets that the other had, and well conſidered the faſhion and workemanſhip thereof: which when the party perceived, taking as it ſhould ſeeme no ſmall contentment, and being very well pleaſed that he ſo peruſed his jewell; Not ſo *Polemon* (quoth he againe) but looke upon it thus, betweene you and the light, and then you will thinke it much more beautifull. *Ariſtippus* fell out upon a time (I know not how) with *Aeſchines*, and was in a great choler and fit of anger: How now *Ariſtippus* (quoth one who heard him ſo high & at ſuch hot words) where is your amity & friendſhip all this while? Mary, aſleepe (quoth he) but I wil waken it anon. With that he ſtept cloſe to *Aeſchines*, and ſaid: Thinke you me ſo unhappy every way and incurable, that I deſerved not one admoniſhment at your hands? No marvell (quoth *Aeſchines* againe) if I thought you (who for naturall wit in all things els excel me) to ſee better in this caſe alſo than I, what is meet and expedient to be done. For true it is that the Poet ſaith;

The boare ſo wilde, whoſe necke with briſtles ſtrong
Is thicke beſet, the tender hand and ſoft
Of woman nice, yea and of infant yong,
By ſtroking faire, ſhall bend and turne (full oft)
Much ſooner farre, and that with greater eaſe
Than wreſtlers ſtrong with all their force and peiſe.

And we our ſelves can ſkill how to tame wilde beaſts, we know how to make yoong woolves gentle, yea, and lions whelps other-whiles we cary about with us in our armes: but ſee, how we againe afterwards in a raging fit of choler, be ready to fling from us and caſt out of our ſight, our owne children, our friends and familiars, and all our houſhold ſervants, our fellow-citizens and neighbours, we let looſe our ire like ſome ſavage and furious beaſt, and this rage of ours we diſguiſe and cloke forſooth with a colourable and falſe name, calling it Hatred of vice. But heerein (I ſuppoſe) we doe no otherwiſe than in the reſt of our paſſions and diſeaſes of the minde; tearming one, Providence and forecaſt; another Liberalitie; and a third Pietie and religion: and yet for all theſe pretenſes of goodly names, we can not be cured of the vices which they palliate; to wit, Timorouſneſſe, Prodigalitie and Superſtition.

And verily, like as our naturall ſeed (as *Zeno* ſaid) is a certeine mixture and compoſition, derived and extracted from all the powers and faculties of the ſoule; even ſo, in mine opinion, a man may ſay that choler is a miſcellane ſeed (as it were) and a dregge, made of all the paſſions of the mind: for plucked it is from paine, pleaſure and inſolent violence: Of envie it hath this qualitie to joy in the harmes of other men: it ſtandeth much upon murder, but woorſe it is ſimply than murder: for the wrathfull perſon ſtriveth and laboureth not to defend and ſave himſelfe from taking harme; but ſo he may miſchiefe and overthrow another, he careth not to come by a hurt and ſhrewd turne himſelfe. It holdeth likewiſe of concupiſcence and luſt, and taketh of it the worſe and more unpleaſant part, in caſe it be (as it is indeed) a deſire and appetite to greeve, vexe, and harme another. And therefore when we approch and come neere to the houſes of luxurious and riotous perſons, we heare betimes in the morning a minſtrel-wench, ſounding and playing the Morrow-watch by breake of day: we ſee the muddy-grounds and dregs (as one was wont to ſay) of the wine, to wit, the vomits of thoſe who caſt up their ſtomacks: we behold the peeces and fragments of broken garlands and chaplets: and at the dore we finde the lackies and pages of them who are within, drunken and heavie in the head with tipling ſtrong wine. But the ſignes that tell where haſtie, cholericke, and angry perſons dwell, appeere in the faces of their ſervants, in the marks and wales remaining after their whipping, and in their clogs, yrons, and fetters about their feete. For in the houſes of haſtie and angrie men, a man ſhall never heare but one kind of muſicke; that is to ſay, the heavie note of wailing grones and piteous plaints; whiles either the ſtewards within are whipped and ſcourged, or the maidens racked & put to torture, in ſuch ſort that you would pitie to ſee the dolors & paines of yre which ſhe ſuffreth in thoſe things that ſhe luſteth after & taketh pleaſure in. And yet as many of us as happen to be truly & juſtly ſurpriſed with choler oftentimes, for the hatred & deteſtation that we have of vices, ought to cut off that which is exceſſive therein and beyond meaſure, together with our over-light beleefe and credulitie of reports concerning ſuch as converſe with us: For this is one of the cauſes that moſt of all doth engender and augment choler, when either he whom we tooke for an honeſt man prooveth diſhoneſt, and is detected for ſome naughtineſſe, or whom we reputed our friend is fallen into ſome quarrell and variance with us: as for my ſelfe, you know my nature and diſpoſition, what ſmall occaſions make me both to love men effectually, and alſo to truſt them confidently; and therefore (juſt as it falleth out with them who go over a falſe floore where the ground is not faſt, but hollow under their feete) where I leane moſt and put my greateſt truſt for the love that I beare, there I offend moſt and ſooneſt catch a fall: there (I ſay) am I grieved moſt alſo, when I ſee how I was deceived: As for that exceeding inclination and frowardnes of mind, thus to love and affect a man, could I never yet to this day weane my ſelfe from, ſo inbred it is and ſetled in me: mary to ſtay my ſelfe from giving credit over-haſtily and too much, I may peradventure uſe that bridle which *Plato* ſpeaketh of, to wit, wary circumſpection: for in recommending the Mathematician *Helicon*, I praiſe him (quoth he) for a man, that is as much to ſay, as a creature by nature mutable and apt to change. And even thoſe who have beene well brought up in a citie, to wit, in *Athens*, he ſaith that he is afraid likewiſe of them, leſt being men, and comming from the ſeed of man, they do not one time or other bewray the weakneſſe and infirmitie of humane nature: and *Sophocles* when he ſpeaketh thus,

> *Who liſt to ſearch through all deeds of mankind*
> *More bad then good he ſhall be ſure to find.*

ſeemeth to clip our wings, and diſable us wonderfully. Howbeit this difficultie and caution in judging of men and pleaſing our ſelves in the choiſe of friends, will cauſe us to be more tractable and moderate in our anger: for whatſoever commeth ſodainly and unexpected, the ſame ſoone tranſporteth us beſide our ſelves. We ought moreover as *Panatius* teacheth us in one place to practiſe the example of *Anaxagoras*, and like as he ſaid when newes came of his ſons death; I know well (quoth he) that I begat him a mortall man; ſo in every fault of our ſervants or others that ſhall whetten our choler, ech one of us may ſing this note to himſelfe: I knew wel that when I bought this ſlave, he was not a wiſe Philoſopher: I wiſt alſo that I had gotten for my friend not one altogether void of affections and paſſions: neither was I ignorant when I tooke a wife, that I wedded a woman. Now if withall a man would evermore when he ſeeth others do amiſſe, adde this more unto the dittie as *Plato* teacheth us, and ſing thus: Am not I alſo ſuch an other? turning the diſcurſion of his judgement from things abroad, to thoſe which are within himſelfe, and among his complaints and reprehenſions of other men, come in with a certeine caveat of his owne, and feare to be reproved himſelfe in the like; he would not haply be ſo quicke & forward in the hatred and deteſtation of other mens vices, ſeeing that himſelfe hath ſo much need of pardon. But on the contrary ſide, every one of us when he is in the heat of choler and puniſheth another, hath theſe words of ſevere *Ariſtides* and preciſe *Cato* ready enough in his mouth: Steale not Sirrha: Make no more lies: Why art thou ſo idle then? &c. To conclude (that which of all others is moſt unſeemely and abſurd) we reproove in anger, others for being angry; and ſuch faults as were committed in choler, thoſe our ſelves will puniſh in choler; not verily as the Phyſicians uſe to do, who

A bitter medicine into the body poure,
When bitter choler they meane to purge and ſcoure.

But we rather doe encreaſe the ſame with our bitterneſſe, and make more trouble than was before. And therefore when I thinke and diſcourſe with my ſelfe of theſe matters, I endevour withall and aſſay to cut off ſomewhat from needleſſe curioſitie. For ſurely this narrow ſearching and ſtreight looking into everie thing, for to ſpie and find out a fault; as for example to ſift thy ſervant and call him into queſtion for all his idle houres; to prie into every action of thy friend; to ſee where about thy ſonne goeth, and how he ſpendeth all his time; to liſten what whiſpering there is betweene thy wife and another, be the verie meanes to breed much anger, daily braules, and continuall jarres, which grow in the end to the height of curſtneſſe and frowardnes, hard to be pleaſed with any thing whatſoever. For according as *Euripides* ſaith in one place, we ought in ſome ſort to do:

All great affaires God ay himſelfe directeth,
But matters ſmall, to Fortune he committeth.

For mine owne part, I do not thinke it good to commit any buſines to Fortune; neither would I have a man of underſtanding to be retchleſſe in his owne occaſions: But with ſome things to put his wife in truſt; others to make over unto ſervants, and in ſome matters to uſe his friends. Herein to beare himſelfe like a Prince and great commaunder, having under him his Deputies, Governours, Receivers, Auditors, and Procurators; reſerving unto himſelfe and to the diſpoſition of his owne judgement, the principall affaires, and thoſe of greateſt importance. For like as little letters or a ſmall print do more offend and trouble the eies then greater, for that the eies be verie intentive upon them; even ſo, ſmall matters doe quickly moove choler, which thereupon ſoone getteth an ill cuſtome in weightier matters. But above all, I ever reckon that ſaying of *Empedocles* to be a divine precept and heavenly oracle, which admoniſheth us *To faſt from ſin.* I commended alſo theſe points and obſervations, as being right honeſt, commendable, and beſeeming him, that maketh profeſſion of wiſedome and philoſophie, which we uſe to vow unto the gods in our praiers: Namely, *To forbeare both wine and women, and ſo to live ſober and chaſte a whole yeere together, and in the meane while to ſerve God with a pure and undefiled heart: Alſo, to limit and ſet out a certaine time, wherein we would not make a lie, obſerving preciſely not to ſpeake any vaine and idle word, either in earneſt or in bourd.* With theſe and ſuch like obſervations alſo, I acquainted and furniſhed my ſoule, as being no leſſe affected to religion and godlines, than ſtudious of learning and philoſophie: Namely, firſt enjoined my ſelfe to paſſe a certaine few Holy-daies without being angrie, or offended upon any occaſion whatſoever; no leſſe than I would have vowed to forbeare drunkenneſſe, and abſtaine altogether from wine, as if I ſacrificed at the feaſt *Nephalta* [wherein no wine was ſpent] or celebrated the ſolemnitie *Meliſſonda,* [in which Honie onely was uſed.] Thus having made an entrance; I tried afterwards a moneth or two by little and little what I could do, and ever I gained more and more time, exerciſing my ſelfe ſtill to forbeare ſinne with all my power and might. Thus I proceeded and went forward daily, bleſſing my ſelfe with good words and ſtriving to be milde, quiet and voide of malice;

lice, pure and cleane from evill ſpeeches awd lewd deeds: but principally from that paſſion which for a little pleaſure, and the ſame not verie lovely, bringeth with it great troubles and ſhamefull repentance in the end. Thus with the grace of God, aſſiſting me ſomewhat (as I take it) in this good reſolution and courſe of mine, experience it ſelfe approoved and confirmed my firſt intent and judgement, whereby I was taught, That this mildneſſe, clemency, and debonaire humanitie, is to none of our familiars who live and converſe daily with us, ſo ſweete, ſo pleaſant and agreeable, as to our ſelves who have theſe vertues and good qualities within us.

OF CVRIOSITIE.

The Summarie.

THE former Treatiſe hath ſhewed unto us, how many miſchiefes and inconveniences Anger cauſeth, teaching us the meanes how to beware of it. Now Plutarch *dealeth with another vice, no leſſe dangerous than it, which bendeth to the oppoſite extremity. For whereas ire doth ſo bereave a man of the uſe of reaſon during the acceſſe and fit thereof, that the cholericke and furious perſons differ not one from another, but in the ſpace of time. This curioſitie which now is in hand, being maſked under the name of wiſedome and habilitie of ſpirit is (to ſay a trueth) a covert and hidden furie, which carrieth the minde of the curious perſon paſt himſelfe, for to gather and heape from all parts the ordure and filthineſſe of another, and afterwards to bring the ſame into himſelfe, and to make thereof a verie ſtore-houſe, for to infect his owne ſelfe firſt, and then others, according as the malignitie and malice, the follies, backbiting, and ſlanders of theſe curious folke do ſufficiently declare. To the ende therefore that everie man who loveth vertue, ſhould divert from ſuch a maladie, our author ſheweth that the principall remedie for to preſerve us from it, is to turne this curioſitie to our owne ſelves; namely, to examine our owne perſons more diligently than others. Which point he amplifieth by ſetting downe on the contrary ſide, the blindneſſe of thoſe who are over-buſie and curious. Then commeth he to declare, why a curious perſon goeth foorth alwaies out of his owne houſe for to enter into another mans; to wit, becauſe of his owne filthineſſe, which by that meanes he cannot ſmell and perceive; but whiles he will needs go to ſtirre and rake into the life of others, he ſnareth and entangleth himſelfe, and ſo periſheth in his owne folly and indiſcretion. Afterwards proceeding to preſcribe the remedies for the cure of curioſitie, when he had deciphered the villanies and indignities thereof, together with the nature of curious perſons, and the enormous vices which accompanie them, he requireth at our hands, that we ſhould not be deſirous to know things which be vile, baſe, lewd or unprofitable; that we ſhould hold in our eies, and not caſt them at random and aventure within the houſe of another, that we ſhould not ſeeke after the bruite and rumours that are ſpread in meetings and companies; that we otherwhiles ſhould forbeare even ſuch things, whereof the uſe is lawfull and permitted: alſo to take heed that we doe not enter nor ſound too deepe into our owne affaires; Finally, not to be raſh and heady in thoſe things that we do, be they never ſo ſmall. All theſe points premiſed, he adorneth with inductions, ſimilitudes and choiſe examples, and knitteth up all with one concluſion, which prooveth, that curious folk ought to be ranged among the moſt miſchievous and dangerous perſons in the world.*

OF CVRIOSITIE.

THe beſt way haply it were altogether to avoid an houſe and not therein at all to dwell, which is cloſe without freſh aire, darke, ſtanding bleake and colde, or otherwiſe unhealthfull: Howbeit, if a man by reaſon that he hath beene long uſed to ſuch an houſe, delight in that ſeat, and will there abide, he may either by altering the proſpects and remooving the lights, or by changing the ſtaires into another place, or elſe by opening the dores of one ſide, & ſhutting them upon another, make the houſe more lightſome, better expoſed to the wind for to receive freſh aire, & in one word more holſome than before. And verily ſome have much amended whole cities by the like alterations: as for example, men ſay that one *Chæron* in times paſt turned my native citie and place of nativitie *Chæronea* to lie eaſtward, which before looked toward the weſterne winde *Zephyrus*, and received the ſunne ſetting from the mount *Pernaſſus*. And *Empedocles* the naturall Philoſopher, by ſtopping up the mouth or deepe chinke of a certeine mountaine between two rocks, which breathed out a noiſome and peſtilent ſoutherne winde upon all the champian countrey and plaine underneath, was thought to have put by the plague, which by occaſion of that wind reigned ordinarily before in that countrie. Now foraſmuch as there be certeine hurtfull and peſtiferous paſſions, which ſend up into our ſoule tempeſtuous troubles and darkneſſe, it were to be wiſhed, that they were chaſed out quite, and throwne downe to the very ground; whereby we might give our ſelves a free proſpect, an open and cleere light, a freſh and pure aire; or if we be not ſo happie, yet at leaſtwiſe endevour, we ought by all meanes poſſible to change, alter, tranſlate, tranſpoſe and turne them ſo about, as they may be found more fit and commodious to ſerve our turnes. As for example, and to go no farther for the matter, Curioſitie, which I take to be a deſire to know the faults and imperfections in other men, is a vice or diſeaſe which ſeemeth not cleere of envie and maliciouſneſſe: And unto him that is infected therewith may very well be ſaid,

Moſt ſpightfull and envious man,
why doeſt thou ever finde
With piercing eies thy neighbours faults,
and in thine owne art blinde?

avert thine eies a little from things without, and turne thy much medling and curioſity to thoſe that be within. If thou take ſo great a pleaſure and delight to deale in the Knowledge and Hiſtorie of evill matters, thou haſt worke enough iwis at home, thou ſhalt finde plentie thereof within to occupie thy ſelfe;

For looke what water run's along
an Iſthus or Iſle we ſee,
Or leaves lie ſpred about the Oke,
which numbred cannot be.

Such a multitude ſhalt thou finde of ſinnes in thy life, of paſſions in thy ſoule, and of overſights in thy duties. *For like as *Xenophon* ſaith, That good ſtewards of an houſhold have one proper roome by it ſelfe for thoſe utenſiles or implements which ſerve for ſacrifice; another for veſſell that cometh to the table; in one place he laieth up the inſtruments & tooles for tillage and huſbandry, and in another apart from the reſt, he beſtoweth weapons, armour, and furniture for the wars; even ſo ſhalt thou ſee within thy ſelfe a number of manifold vices how they are digeſted: ſome proceeding from envie, others from jealouſie; ſome from idleneſſe, others from nigardiſe: take account of theſe (I adviſe thee) ſurvey and peruſe them over well: ſhut all the dores and windowes that yeeld proſpect unto thy neighbors; ſtop up the avennes that give acceſſe and paſſage to Curioſity: But ſet open all other doores that lead into thine owne bed-chamber, and other lodgings for men, into thy wives cabinet & the nourcery, into the roomes where thy ſervants keepe: There ſhalt thou meet wherewith to amuſe and buſie thy ſelfe: there may curioſitie and deſire to know every thing be emploied in exerciſes, neither unprofitable nor malicious: nay, in ſuch as be commodious, holſome and tending to ſalvation: namely, whiles every one calleth himſelfe to account, ſaying thus,

Where have I beene, what good I have done,
or what have I miſdone?
Where have I ſlipt, what duty begun
is left by me undone?

But now according as fables make report, that ***Lamia*** the Witch whiles ſhe is at home is ſtarke blind, & doth nothing but ſing, having her eies ſhut up cloſe within a little boxe; but when ſhe meanes to go abroad, ſhe takes them foorth, and ſetteth them in their right place, and ſeeth well enough with them; even ſo, every one of us when we go foorth, ſet unto that evill meaning and intention which we have to others, an eie to looke into them, and that is curioſity and overmuch medling; but in our owne errors, faults and treſpaſſes we ſtumble and faile through ignorance, as having neither eies to ſee, nor light about them whereby they may be ſeene. And therefore it is, that a buſie fellow and curious medler, doth more good to his enimies than to himſelf; for their faults he diſcovereth & bringeth to light, to them he ſheweth what they ought to beware of, and what they are to amend: but all this while he overſeeth, or rather ſeeth not the moſt things that are done at home, ſo deeply amuſed he is and buſie in ſpying what is amiſſe abroad. Howbeit wiſe *Ulyſſes* would not abide to ſpeake and confer with his owne mother, before he had enquired of the Prophet thoſe things for which he went downe into hel; and when hee had once heard them, then he turned to his mother and other women alſo, asking what was *Tyro*? what was *Chloris*? and for what was the occaſion and cauſe that *Eperaſte* came by her death?

Who knit her necke within a deadly ſtring,
And ſo from beame of lofty houſe did hing.

But we quite contrary, ſitting ſtill in ſupine idleneſſe and ignorance, neglecting and never regarding that which concerneth our ſelves, goe to ſearch into the genealogie and pedigrees of others; and we can tell readily, that our neighbours grandfather was no better than a baſe and ſervile Syrian; that his nourſe came out of barbarous *Thracia*; that ſuch an one is in debt, and oweth three talents, and is behinde hand beſides, and in arrerages for non-paiment of intereſt for the uſe thereof. Inquiſitive alſo we are in ſuch matters as theſe: From whence came ſuch a mans wife? what it was that ſuch a one and ſuch a one ſpake when they were alone together in an odde corner? *Socrates* was cleane of another quality; he would goe up and downe enquiring and caſting about what were the reaſons wherewith *Pythagoras* perſwaded men to his opinion. *Ariſtippus* likewiſe, at the ſolemnitie of the Olympian games, falling into the companie of *Iſchomachus*, asked of him, what were the perſwaſions that *Socrates* uſed to yong folk, wherby they became ſo affectionate unto him; and after he had received from him ſome ſmall ſeeds (as it were) and a few ſamples of thoſe reaſons & arguments, he was ſo mooved and paſſionate therewith, that preſently his body fell away, he looked pale, poore and leane, untill he having ſailed to *Athens* in this woonderfull thirſt and ardent heat, had drunke his fill at the fountaine and wellhead it ſelfe, knowen the man, heard his diſcourſes and learned his Philoſophie; the ſumme and effect whereof was this: That a man ſhould firſt know his owne maladies, and then the meanes to be cured and delivered of them. But ſome there be, who of all things can not abide to ſee their owne life, as being unto them the moſt unpleaſant ſight of all others; neither love they to bend and turne their reaſon as a light to their owne ſelves: but their minde being full of all ſorts of evill, fearing and ready to quake for to beholde what things are within, leapeth foorth (as one would ſay) out of doores, and goeth wandring to and fro, ſearching into the deeds and words of other men, and by this meanes feedeth and fatteth (as it were) her owne malicious naughtineſſe. For like as a hen many times having meat enough within houſe ſet before her, loveth to go into ſome corner, and there keepeth a pecking and ſcraping of the ground,

To finde perhaps one ſeely barley corne
As ſhe was woont on doung hill heertoforne;

even ſo theſe buſie Polypragmons, paſſing by thoſe ordinary ſpeeches and matters which are expoſed and open for every man; not regarding (I ſay) the reports and narrations which are free for ech one to diſcourſe of, and which neither any man hath to doe, to forbid and warne them for to aske and enquire of, nor will be diſpleaſed if peradventure hee ſhould be demanded and asked the queſtion of them, goe up and downe in the meane time to gather and learne all the ſecret and hidden evils of every houſe. Certes, a pretty anſwere it was of an Aegyptian, and pertinent to the purpoſe, who when one asked him, what it was that he caried covered all over, and ſo enwrapped within a cloth: Mary (quoth he) covered it is even for this cauſe, that thou ſhouldeſt not know what it is: And thou likewiſe, that art ſo buſie, why doeſt thou intermeddle in that which is concealed? Be ſure, that if there were no evill therein, kept cloſe it ſhould not be. And verily, it is not the maner and cuſtome for any body to enter boldly into the houſe of another man, without knocking at the doore; for which purpoſe we uſe Porters in theſe daies; whereas in olde time there were rings and hammers which ſerved the turne, and by rapping at the gates, gave warning to thoſe within, to the end that no ſtranger might meet the miſtreſſe at unawares in the hall or mids of the houſe; or come ſuddenly upon a virgin or yong damoſell her daughter, and find her out of her chamber; or take ſome of the ſervants a beating, or the wenches and chambermaids chiding and ſcoulding aloud: whereas a buſie fellow loveth a-life to ſtep ſecretly into a houſe, for to ſee and heare ſuch diſorders; and you ſhall never know him willingly to come and ſee an honeſt houſe and well governed (though one ſhould call and pray him never ſo faire,) but ready he is to diſcover and ſet abroad in the view of the whole world ſuch things; for which we uſe locks, keies, bolts, barres, portals and gate-houſes. Thoſe windes (ſaith *Ariſton*) are we moſt troubled and offended with, which drive open our cloaks and garments that cover us, or blow and whiske them over our heads: but buſie Polypragmons doth lay abroad and diſplay not the cloaks of their neighbours nor their coats; but diſcovereth their walles, ſetteth wide open their doores, and like a winde, pierceth, creepeth and entreth ſo farre, as to the tender bodied and ſoft ſkinned maiden, ſearching and inquiring in every bacchinall, in all dauncings, wakes and night feaſts, for ſome matter to raiſe ſlanders of her. And as one *Cleon* was noted by an olde Comicall Poet upon the Stage,

Whoſe hands were both in Aetolie,
But heart and minde in Clopidie;

Even ſo the ſpirit of a curious and buſie perſon, is at one time in the ſtately palaces of rich and mighty men, in the little houſes of meane and poore folke, in Kings Courts, and in the bedchambers of new wedded wives; it is inquiſitive in all matters, ſearching aſwell the affaires of ſtrangers and travellers, as negotiations of Lords and Rulers, and other-while not without danger of his owne perſon. For much like as if a man upon a kinde of wanton curioſitie, will needs be taſting of *Aconite* or *Libard-baine*, to know (forſooth) the quality of it, commeth by a miſchiefe, & dieth of it before he can know any thing therof; ſo they that love to be prying into the faults of great perſons, many times overthrow themſelves before they come to any knowledge. For ſuch as can not be content with the abundant raies and radiant beames of the Sunne which are ſpread ſo cleere over all things, but will needs ſtrive and force themſelves impudently to looke full upon the circle of his body, and audaciouſly will preſume and venture to pierce his brightneſſe, and enter into the very minds of his inward light, commonly dazzle their eies, and become ſtarke blinde. And therefore well and properly anſwered *Philippides* the writer of Comedies upon a time when King *Lyſimachus* ſpake thus unto him; What wouldeſt thou have me to impart unto thee of my goods, *Philippides*? What it pleaſeth your Maieſty (quoth he) ſo it be nothing of your ſecrets. For to ſay a truth, the moſt pleaſant and beautifull things ſimply, which belong to the eſtate of Kings, do ſhew without, and are expoſed to the view and ſight of every man; to wit, their ſumptuous feaſts, their wealth and riches, their magnificent port and and pompe in publike places, their bountifull favours, and liberall gifts: But is there any thing ſecret and hidden within. Take heed I adviſe thee how thou approch and come neere, beware (I ſay) that thou do not ſtirre and meddle therein.

The joy and mirth of a Prince in proſperitie can not be concealed; hee cannot laugh when he is diſpoſed to play and be merry but it is ſeene; neither when he mindeth and doth prepare to ſhew ſome gracious favour or to be bountifull unto any is his purpoſe hidden; but marke what thing he keepeth cloſe and ſecret, the ſame is terrible, heavie, ſtearne, unpleaſant, yea miniſtring no acceſſe nor cauſe of laughter: namely the treaſure houſe (as it were) of ſome ranckor and feſtered anger; a deepe deſigne or project of revenge; Jealouſie of his wife, ſome ſuſpicion of his owne ſonne; or diffidence and diſtruſt in ſome of his minions, favorites and friends. Flie from this blacke cloud that gathereth ſo thicke; for when ſoever that which is now hidden ſhall breake foorth, thou ſhalt ſee what cracks of thunder and flaſhes of lightning will enſue thereupon. But what be the meanes to avoid it? mary (even as I ſaid before) to turne and to withdraw thy curioſitie another way; and principally to ſet thy minde upon matters that are more honeſt and delectable: Adviſe thy ſelfe and conſider curiouſly upon the creatures in heaven, in earth, in the aire, & in the ſea. Art thou delighted in the contemplation of great or ſmal things? if thou take pleaſure to behold the greater, buſie thy ſelfe about the Sunne; ſeeke where he goeth

eth downe, and from whence he riſeth? Search into the cauſe of the mutations in the Moone, why it ſhould ſo change and alter as it doth, like a man or woman? what the reaſon is that ſhe looſeth ſo conſpicuous a light? and how it commeth to paſſe that ſhe recovereth it againe?

How is it, when ſhe hath beene out of ſight
That freſh ſhe ſeemes and doth appeere with light?
Firſt yoong and faire whiles that ſhe is but new
Till round and full we ſee her lovely hew:
No ſooner is her beautie at this height
But fade ſhe doth anon, who was ſo bright,
And by degrees ſhe doth decreaſe and waine
Untill at length ſhe comes to naught againe.

And theſe truly are the ſecrets of nature, neither is ſhe offended and diſpleaſed with thoſe who can find them out. Diſtruſteſt thou thy ſelfe to atteine unto theſe great things? then ſearch into ſmaller matters, to wit, what might the reaſon be that among trees and other plants, ſome be alwaies freſh and greene, why they flouriſh at all times, and be clad in their gay clothes, ſhewing their riches in every ſeaſon of the yeere; why others againe be one while like unto them in this their pride and glorie; but afterward you ſhall have them againe like unto an ill husband in his houſe; namely, laying out all at once, and ſpending their whole wealth and ſubſtance at one time, untill they be poore, naked, and beggerly for it? Alſo what is the cauſe that ſome bring foorth their fruit long-wiſe, others cornered, and others round or circular? But peradventure thou haſt no great mind to buſie thy ſelfe and meddle in theſe matters, becauſe there is no hurt nor danger at all in them. Now if there be no remedie, but that Curioſitie ſhould ever apply it ſelfe to ſearch into evill things after the maner of ſome venemous ſerpent, which loveth to feed, to live and converſe in peſtilent woods, let us lead & direct it to the reading of hiſtories, and preſent unto it abundance and ſtore of all wicked acts, leawd and ſinfull deeds. There ſhall Curioſitie finde the ruines of men, the waſting and conſuming of their ſtate, the ſpoile of wives and other women, the deceitfull traines of ſervants to beguile their maſters, the calumniations and ſlanderous ſurmiſes raiſed by friends, poiſoning caſts, envie, jealouſie, ſhipwracke and overthrow of houſes, calamities and utter undoing of princes and great rulers: Satisfie thy ſelfe herewith to the full, and take thy pleaſure therein as much as thou wilt; never ſhalt thou trouble or grieve any of thy friends & acquaintance in ſo doing. But it ſhould ſeeme that curioſity delighteth not in ſuch naughtie things that be very old and long ſince done; but in thoſe which be freſh, fire new, hot and lately committed, as joying more to beholde new Tragedies. As for Comedies and matters of mirth, ſhe is not greatly deſirous to be acquainted with ſuch. And therefore, if a man do make report of a mariage, diſcourſe of a ſolemne ſacrifice, or of a goodly ſhew or pompe that was ſet foorth, the curious buſie-bodie (whom we ſpeake of) will take ſmall regard thereto and heare it, but coldly and negligently. He will ſay that the moſt part of all this he heard alreadie by others, and bid him who relateth ſuch narrations, to paſſe them over or be briefe, and cut off many circumſtances. Marie if one that ſits by him chance to ſet tale on end, and begin to tell him there was a maiden defloured, or a wife abuſed in adulterie: if he recant of ſome proceſſe of law or action commenced, of diſcord and variance betweene two brethren; you ſhall ſee him then not to yawne and gape as though hee had liſt to ſleepe; you ſhall not perceive him to nod; hee will make no excuſe at all that his leiſure will not ſerve to heare out the tale,

But bids ſay on, and tell us more:
And cloſe he holds his eare therefore.

So that this ſentence,

How ſooner much are ill newes underſtood,
And heard by men (alas) than tidings good!

is well and truely verified of theſe curious Polypragmons. For like as cupping glaſſes, boxes, and ventoſes, draw the woorſt matter out of the fleſh; even ſo, the eares of curious and buſie folke, are willing to receive and admit the moſt lewd and haughtieſt ſpeeches that are: or rather, to ſpeake more properly, as townes and cities have certaine curſed and unluckie gates, at which they ſend out malefactors to execution, carrie and throw foorth their dung, ordure, filthines, and cleanſings whatſoever, but never commeth in or goeth out that way, any thing that pure is and holy; ſemblably, the eares of theſe curious intermedlers be of the ſame nature: for there entreth and paſſeth into them nothing that is honeſt, civill and lovely; but the bruit and rumours of cruell murders have acceſſe unto them, and there make aboad, bringing therewith wicked, abominable, profane and curſed reports: and as one ſaid:

The onely bird that in my houſe doth ever ſing
Both night and day, is dolefull moane, much ſorrow and wailing.

So this is the *Muſe, Syrene*, & *Mere-maid* alone, that Buſie folke have; neither is there any thing that they hearken to more willingly: for Curioſitie is an itching deſire to heare ſecrets and hidden matters: and well you wot that no man will lightly conceale any good thing that he hath; conſidering that manie times we make ſemblance of good parts that be not in us. And therefore the buſie intermedler who is ſo deſirous to know and heare of evils, is ſubject to that which the Greekes call ἐπιχαιρεκακία, a vice, cooſen germaine or ſiſter rather to envie and eie-biting. Foraſmuch as envie is nothing elſe, but the griefe for another mans good: and the foreſaide ἐπιχαιρεκακία, the joy for his harme: and verily both theſe infirmities proceed from an untoward roote, even another untamed vice and ſavage diſpoſition, to wit, malignitie or malice. And this we know well, that ſo irkeſome and odious it is to everie man for to bewray and reveale, the ſecrets, evils and vices which he hath, that many men have choſen to die, rather than to diſcover and open unto Phyſicians any of their hidden maladies, which they carrie about them. Now ſuppoſe that *Heraclitus* or *Eroſiſtratus* the phyſicians; nay *Æſculapius* himſelfe whiles he was a mortall men, ſhould come to an houſe furniſhed with drugs, medicines and inſtruments requiſite for the cure of diſeaſes, and aske whether any man their had a Fiſtula in *Ano*, that is, an hollow and hidden ulcer within his fundament? Or if ſhe be a woman, whether ſhe have a cankerous ſore within her matrice: (albeit in this art ſuch inquiſitive curioſitie is a ſpeciall meanes, making for the good and the health of the ſicke) each one I ſuppoſe would be readie to hunt and chaſe away from the houſe ſuch a Phyſician, who unſent for, and before any neede required, came upon his owne accord and motion in a braverie to enquire and learne other folks maladies. What ſhall we ſay then to theſe buſie medlers, who enquire of another the ſelfe ſame infirmities and worſe too? Not of any minde at all to cure and heale the ſame, but onely to detect and ſet them abroad; In which reſpect they are by good right the moſt odious perſons in the world. For we hardly can abide Publicanes, Cuſtomers, and Tol-gatherers, but are mightily offended with them, not when they exact of us, and cauſe us to pay toll for any commodities or wares that are openly brought in; but when they keepe a firetting and ſearching for ſuch things as be hidden, and meddle with the wares and carriages of other men: notwithſtanding that law granteth and publike authoritie alloweth them ſo to do; yea and if they doe it not, they ſuſtaine loſſe and dammage themſelves. But contrariwiſe, theſe curious fellowes let their owne buſineſſe alone, and paſſe not which ende go forward, caring not to hinder themſelves, whiles they be intentive to the affaires of other men. Seldome go they into the countrie, for that they cannot endure the quietnes and ſtill ſilence of the wilde and ſolitarie fields. But if haply after long time they make a caſt thither, they caſt an eie to their neighbours vines, rather than to their owne; they enquire how many beeves or oxen of his died? or what quantity of wine ſowred under his hand? and no ſooner are they full of theſe newes, but into the citie they trudge and make haſte againe. As for the good farmer and painefull husbandman indeed, he is not verie willing to give eare unto thoſe newes, which without his hearkning after come from the citie of the owne accord, and are brought unto him, for his ſaying is:

My ditcher will anon both tell and talke
upon what points concluded was the peace,
For now the knave about ſuch newes doth walke,
And buſie he, to liſten doth not ceaſe.

But in trueth, theſe buſie-bodies, avoiding countrey life and husbandrie, as a vaine trade and fooliſh occupation, a cold maner of living, which bringeth forth no great and tragicall matter, intrude and thruſt themſelves into the high courts of Juſtice, the tribunal ſeats, the market place and publike pulpits where ſpeeches be made unto the people, great aſſemblies, and the moſt frequented quarter of the haven where the ſhips ride at ankor, what: No newes? ſaith one of them. How now? Were you not this morning at the market or in the common place? What then: How thinke you, is not the citie mightily changed and transformed within theſe three houres? Now if it chaunce that ſome one or other make a overture, and have ſomething to ſay as touching thoſe points, downe he alights on foot from his horſe, he embraceth the man, kiſſeth him, and there ſtands attending and giving eare unto him. But ſay that the partie whom he thus encountreth and meeteth upon the way, tell him that he hath no newes to report: what ſaiſt thou? (will he infer againe and that in diſpleaſure and diſcontentment:) Wert not thou in the market place of late? Didſt not thou paſſe by the Princes court? Hadſt thou no talke or conference at all with thoſe that came out of *Italie*? In regard of ſuch therefore as theſe, I hold well with the Magiſtrates of the citie *Locri*, and commend a law of theirs: That if any citizen had beene abroad in the countrey, and upon his returne home demaunded what newes? he ſhould have a fine ſet on his head. For like as Cookes pray for nothing, but good ſtore of fatlings to kill for the kitchin, and Fiſhmongers plentie of fiſhes; even ſo curious and buſie people wiſh for a world of troubles and a number of affaires, great newes, alterations and changes of State: to the ende that they might evermore be provided of gaine, to chaſe and hunt after, yea and to kill. Well and wiſely therefore did the Law-giver of the Thurians, when he gave order and forbad expreſſely, That no citizen ſhould be taxed, noted by name, or ſcoffed at upon the Stage in any Comedie, ſave onely adulterers and theſe buſie perſons. For ſurely adulterie may be compared well to a kinde of curioſitie, ſearching into the pleaſures of another: ſeeking (I ſay) and enquiring into thoſe matters which are kept ſecret, and concealed from the view of the whole world. And as for curioſitie, it ſeemeth to be a reſolution or looſenes, like a palſie or corruption, a detection of ſecrets and laying them naked: For it is an ordinarie thing with thoſe who be inquiſitive and deſirous of many newes, for to be blabs alſo of their tongues, and to be pratling abroad; which is the reaſon that *Pythagoras* injoyned yoong men five yeeres ſilence, which he called *Echemythia*, Abſtinence from all ſpeech, or holding of their tongue.

Moreover, it can not otherwiſe be choſen, but that foule and curſed language alſo ſhould accompany curioſity; for looke what thing ſoever buſie bodies heare willingly, the ſame they love to tell and blurt out as quickly; and ſuch things as with deſire and care they gather from one, they utter to another with joy: Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that over and above other inconveniences which this vice miniſtreth unto them that are given to it, an impediment it is to their owne appetite. For as they deſire to know much, ſo every man obſerveth them, is beware of them, and endevoureth to conceale all from them. Neither are they willing to doe any thing in their ſight, nor delighted to ſpeak ought in their hearing, but if there be any queſtion in hand to be debated, or buſineſſe to be conſidered and conſulted of, all men are content to put off the concluſion and reſolution unto another time; namely, untill the curious and buſie perſon be out of the way. And ſay, that whiles men are in ſad and ſecret conference, or about ſome ſerious buſineſſe, there chance one of theſe buſie bodies to come in place, preſently all is huſht, and every thing is remooved aſide and hidden, no otherwiſe than folke are woont to ſet out of the way victuals where a cat doth haunt, or when they ſee her ready to run by; inſomuch as many times thoſe things which other men may both heare and ſee ſafely, the ſame may not be done or ſaid before them onely. Therefore alſo it followeth by good conſequence, that a buſie and curious perſon is commonly ſo farre out of credit, that no man is willing to truſt him for any thing; in ſuch ſort, that we commit our letters miſſive and ſigne manuell, ſooner to our ſervants and meere ſtrangers, than to our friends and familiars, if we perceive them given to this humor of much medling. But that woorthy knight *Bellerophontes* was ſo farre from this, that he would not breake open thoſe letters which he caried, though they were written againſt himſelfe, but forbare to touch the Kings epiſtle, no leſſe than he abſtained from the Queen his wife, even by one and the ſame vertue of Continence. For ſurely, curioſity is a kinde of incontinency, aſwel as is adultery; and this moreover it hath beſides, that joined there is with it, much folly and extreame want of wit: For were it not a part (thinke you) of exceeding blockiſh ſenſeleſſeneſſe, yea, and madneſſe in the higheſt degree, to paſſe by ſo many women that be common, and every where to be had; and then to make meanes with great coſt and expenſe, to ſome one kept under locke and key, and beſides ſumptuous: notwithſtanding it fall out many times that ſuch an one is as ill-favored as ſhe is foule? Semblably, and even the ſame do our curious folke: they omit and caſt behinde them many faire and goodly ſights to beholde, many excellent lectures woorth the hearing, many diſputations, diſcourſes, honeſt exerciſes and paſtimes; but in other mens letters they keepe a puddering, they open and reade them, they ſtand like eavesdroppers under their neighbours walles, hearkening what is done or ſaid within, they are readie to intrude themſelves to liſten what whiſpering there is betweene ſervants of the houſe; what ſecret talke there is among ſeely women when they be in ſome odde corner, and, as many times they are by this meanes not free from danger; ſo alwaies they meet with ſhame and infamie. And therefore very expedient it were for ſuch curious folke, if they would ſhift off and put by this vice of theirs, eftſoones to call to mind (as much as they can) what they have either knowen or heard by ſuch inquiſition: for if (as *Simonides* was woont to ſay) that when hee came (after ſome time betweene) to open his desks and coffers, he found one which was appointed for gifts and rewards alwaies full, the other ordeined for thanks and the graces void and empty: ſo, a man after a good time paſt, ſet open the ſtore-houſe of curioſity, and looke into it what is therein, and ſee it toppe full of many unprofitable, vaine and unpleaſant things; peradventure the very outward ſight and face thereof will diſcontent and offend him, appearing in every reſpect ſo loveleſſe and toyiſh as it is. Goe to then: if one ſhould ſet in hand to turne over leafe by leafe the books of ancient writers, and when he hath picked forth and gathered out the woorſt, make one volume of all together, to wit, of thoſe headleſſe and unperfect verſes of *Homer*, which haply beginne with a ſhort ſyllable, and therefore be called ἀκέφαλοι: or of the ſolæciſmes and incongruities which be found in Tragedies: or of the undecent and intemperate ſpeeches which *Archilochus* framed againſt women, wherby he defamed and ſhamed himſelfe: were he not (I pray you) woorthy of this Tragicall curſe:

A Foule-ill take thee, thou lewd wretch,
that loveſt to collect
The faults of mortall men now dead,
the living to infect.

but to let theſe maledictions alone, certes this treaſuring and ſcoring up by him of other mens errors and miſdeeds, is both unſeemly, and alſo unprofitable: much like unto that city which *Philip* built of purpoſe, and peopled it with the moſt wicked, graceleſſe, and incorrigible perſons that were in his time, calling it *Poneropolis* when he had ſo done. And therefore theſe curious meddlers in collecting and gathering together on all ſides the errours, imperfections, defaults, and ſolæciſmes (as I may ſo ſay) not of verſes or Poëmes, but of other mens lives, make of their memorie a moſt unpleaſant Archive or Regiſter, and uncivile Record, which they ever carie about them. And like as at Rome, ſome there be who never caſt eie toward any fine pictures, or goodly ſtatures, no nor ſo much as make any account to cheapen beautifull boies and faire wenches which there ſtand to be ſold, but rather go up and downe the market where monſters in nature are to be bought, ſeeking and learning out where be any that want legs, whoſe armes and elbowes turne the contrary way like unto cats; or who haue three eies apeece in their heads, or be headed like unto the Oſtrich: taking pleaſure (I ſay) to ſee if there be borne

A mungrell mixt of divers ſorts,
Falſe births, unkinde or ſtrange aborts.

But if a man ſhould bring them to ſee ſuch ſights as theſe ordinarily, the very thing it ſelfe would ſoone give them enough, yea and breed a lothing in them of ſuch ugly monſters; even ſo it fareth with thoſe who buſie themſelves and meddle in ſearching narrowly into the imperfections of other mens lives, the reproches of their ſtocks and kinred, the faults, errors, and troubles that have hapned in other houſes; if they call to mind what like defects they have found and knowen before time, they ſhall ſoone finde that their former obſervations have done them ſmall pleaſure, or wrought them as little profit.

But the greateſt meanes to divert this vicious paſſion, is uſe and cuſtome; namely, if we begin a great way off, and long before to exerciſe and acquaint our ſelves in a kind of continencie in this behalfe, and ſo learne to temper and rule our ſelves; for ſurely uſe it was and cuſtome that cauſed this vice to get ſuch an head, encreaſing daily by little and little, and growing from worſe to worſe: But how and after what maner we ſhould be inured to this purpoſe, we ſhall ſee and underſtand as we treat of Exerciſe withall.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, begin we will at the ſmalleſt and moſt ſlender things, and which moſt quickly may be effected. For what matter of difficultie is it for a man in the way as he travelleth, not to enuſe and buſie his head in reading Epitaphes or inſcriptions of Sepulchres? or what paine is it for us as we walke along the galleries, to paſſe over with our eies the writings upon the walles; ſuppoſing thus much ſecretly within our ſelves, as a maxime or generall rule: That there is no goodnes, no pleaſure, nor profit at all in ſuch writings: for there you may reade, That ſome one doth remember another, and make mention of him by way of hearty commendations in good part; or ſuch an one is the beſt friend that I have, and many other ſuch like mottoes, are there to be ſeene and read, full of toies and vanities, which at firſt ſeeme not to do any hurt if one reade them, but in trueth, ſecretly they do much harme, in that they breed in us a cuſtome and deſire to ſeeke after needleſſe and impertinent matters. For like as hunters ſuffer not their hounds to range out of order, nor to follow everie ſent, but keepe them up and hold them in by their collars, reſerving by that meanes their ſmelling pure and neat, altogether for their proper worke, to the end that they ſhould be more eager and hot to trace the footing of their game, and as the Poët ſaith,

With ſent moſt quicke of noſethrils after kind,
The tracts of beaſt ſo wild, in chaſe to find;

even ſo, we ought to cut off theſe excurſions and fooliſh traines that curious folke make to heare and ſee everie thing; to keepe them ſhort (I ſay) and turne them another way to the ſeeing and hearing onely of that which is good and profitable. Alſo, as we obſerve in Eagles and Lions, That whiles they go upon the ground they draw their talons and clawes inward, for feare leſt they ſhould dull the ſharpe edge and weare the points thereof; ſo conſidering that curioſitie hath a certaine quicke conceit and fine edge (as it were) apt to apprehend and know many things, let us take heed that we do not imploy and blunt the ſame in the woorſt and vileſt of all others.

Secondly, we are to accuſtome our ſelves as we paſſe by another mans doore, not to looke in, nor to caſt our eies to any thing whatſoever that there is: for that the eie is one of the hands that curioſitie uſeth. But let us alwaies have in readineſſe and thinke upon the Apothegme of *Xenocrates*, who was woont to ſay, That it skilled not, but was all one, whether we ſet our feet, or eies within the houſe of another man. For it is neither meet and juſt, nor an honeſt and pleaſant ſight, according to the old verſe,

My friend or ſtranger, what ever you be,
You ſhall within, all things deformed ſee.

And what be thoſe for the moſt part which are ſeene in houſes? diſhes, trenchers, and ſuch like utenſiles and ſmall veſſels lying on the bare ground, or one upon another diſorderly: the wenches ſet and doing juſt nothing: and lightly a man ſhall not finde ordinarily ought of importance or delight. Now the verie caſt of the eie upon ſuch things, doth therewith turne away the minde; the intentive looking thereupon is unſeemely, and the uſing thereof ſtarcke naught. *Diogenes* verily upon a time ſeeing *Dioxippus*, when he entred in his triumphant chariot into the citie for winning the beſt priſe at the Olympian games, how as he rode he could not chuſe but ſet his eie upon a certaine faire damozell, who was in place to behold this pompe and ſolemne entrance of his, but evermore his eie followed her, whether ſhe were before or behinde him: Behold (quoth he) our victorious and triumphant champion, how a yoong wench hath him ſure enough by the necke, and doth writhe him which way ſhe liſt! Semblably, ſee you not how theſe curious folke have their neckes bended aſide at everie fooliſh ſight, and how they turne about with each vanitie that they heare and ſee, after once they have gotten an habit or cuſtome, to looke everie way and to carie a rouling eie in their heads? But in mine opinion, it is not meet that our ſenſes ſhould gad and wander abroad, like a wilde and untaught girle, but when reaſon hath ſent it foorth to ſome buſineſſe; after it hath beene there emploied and done the errand about which it was ſet, to returne ſpeedily againe unto her miſtreſſe the ſoule, and make report how ſhe hath ſped and what ſhe hath done? and then afterwards to ſtay at home decently like a modeſt waiting maiden, giving attendance upon reaſon, and readie alwaies at her command. But now hapneth that which *Sophocles* ſaith,

The headſtrong jades *that will no bit abide,*
Hate him perforce who ſhould them reine and guide.

The ſenſes having not met with good inſtructions (as I ſaid before) nor beene trained to right waies, runne before reaſon upon their owne accord, and draw with them many times the underſtanding, and ſend it headlong after ſuch things as are not ſeemely and decent. And therefore falſe is that which is commonly reported of *Democritus* the Philoſopher: namely, that willingly he dimmed and quenched (as it were) his owne ſight, by fixing his eies faſt upon a fiery and ardent mirror, to take the reverberation of the light from thence, to the end that they ſhould not diſturbe the minde, by calling out eftſoones the inward intelligence, but ſuffer it to keepe houſe within, and to be emploied in objects intellectuall, as if the windowes that regard to the ſecret and high way were ſhut up. Howbeit moſt true it is, that thoſe who for the moſt part occupie their underſtanding have leaſt uſe of their ſenſes: which is the reaſon that in olde time they both builded the temples of the Muſes, that is to ſay, houſes ordained for ſtudents, which they named *Muſæa*, as farre as they could from cities and great townes: and alſo called the night *Euphrone*, as one would ſay, a friend to ſage advice and counſell; as ſuppoſing that quiet reſt, repoſe, and ſtilnes from all diſturbance make verie much for contemplation, and invention of thoſe things that we ſtudie and ſeeke for.

Moreover, no harder matter is it nor of greater difficultie than the reſt, when in the open market place or common hall, men are at high words, reproching & reviling one another, not to approch and come neere unto them. Alſo if there be any great concurſe and running of people together upon ſome occaſion, not to ſtirre at all but ſit ſtill, or if thou art not able to containe and rule thy ſelfe, to riſe up and goe thy waies. For ſurely gaine thou ſhalt no good at all by intermedling with ſuch buſie and troubleſome perſons; but contrariwiſe, much fruit maiſt thou reape by turning away ſuch curioſitie, in repreſſing the ſame and conſtraining it by uſe and cuſtome to obey reaſon. Having made this good entrance & beginning, to proceed now unto farther and ſtronger exerciſe, it were verie good, whenſoever there is any play exhibited upon the Stage in a frequent Theater, where there is aſſembled a great audience to heare and ſee ſome woorthie matter for to paſſe by it, and to put backe thy friends who ſollicite thee to goe thither with them, for to ſee either one daunce excellent well, or to act a Comedie; nor ſo much as to turne backe when thou heareſt ſome great ſhout and outcrie, either from out of the race or the grand-cirque, where the horſe-running is held for the prize. For like as *Socrates* gave counſell to forbeare thoſe meates which provoke men to eate when they are not hungrie, and thoſe drinkes which incite folke to drinke when they have no thirſt; even ſo, we ought to avoide and beware, how we either ſee or heare any thing whatſoever, which may either draw or hold us thereto, when there is no need at all thereof. The noble Prince *Cyrus* would not ſo much as ſee faire Ladie *Panthea*, and when *Araſpes* one of his courtiours and minions made report unto him, that ſhe was a woman of incomparable beautie, and therefore woorthie to be looked on: Nay rather (quoth he) for that cauſe I ought to forbeare the ſight of her; for if by your perſwaſion I ſhould yeeld to goe and ſee her, it may peradventure fall out ſo, that ſhe her ſelfe might tempt and induce me againe to repaire unto her; even then haply when I ſhall not have ſuch leaſure, yea and ſit by her and keepe her company, neglecting in the meane time the weightie affaires of the State. In like manner *Alexander* the Great, would not come within the ſight of King *Darius* his wife, notwithſtanding that ſhe was reported unto him for to be a moſt gallant and beautifull Ladie: Her mother an auncient Dame and elderly matrone he did not ſticke to viſite, but the yoong gentlewoman her daughter (freſh, faire and yoong) he could not be brought ſo much as once to ſee. As for us, we can caſt a wanton eie ſecretly into the coatches and horſe-litters of wives and women as they ride, we can looke out of our windowes, and hang with our bodies halfe foorth, to take the full view of them as they paſſe by: and all this while we thinke that we commit no fault, ſuffering our curious eie and wandring minde to ſlide and run to everie thing.

Moreover, it is meet and expedient for the exerciſe of juſtice, otherwhiles to omit that which well and juſtly might be done; to the end that by that meanes a man may acquaint himſelfe to keepe farre off from doing or taking any thing unjuſtly. Like as it maketh much for temperance and chaſtitie, to abſtaine otherwhiles from the uſe of a mans owne wife, that thereby he might be never mooved to luſt after the wife of his neighbour; taking this courſe likewiſe againſt curioſity, ſtrive and endevour ſometimes to make ſemblance as though thou didſt neither heare nor ſee thoſe things that properly concerne thy ſelfe: And if a man come and bring thee a tale of matters concerning thine owne houſholde, let it paſſe, and put it over, yea, and thoſe words which ſeeme to have beene ſpoken as touching thine owne perſon, caſt them behinde, and give no eare thereto. For default of this diſcretion, it was the inquiſitive curioſity of King *Oedipus*, which intangled and enwrapped him in exceeding great calamities and miſeries: for when he would needs know who himſelfe was, as if he had beene not a Corinthian, but a ſtranger, and would needs goe therefore to the Oracle for to be reſolved, he met with *Laius* his owne father by the way, whom he ſlew, and ſo eſpouſed his owne mother, by whoſe meanes he came to be King of *Thebes*: and even then when he ſeemed to be a moſt happy man, he could not ſo ſtay, but proceeded further to enquire concerning himſelfe, notwithſtanding his wife did what ſhe poſſibly could to diſſwade him from it; but the more earneſt ſhe was with him that way, the more inſtant was he with an old man who was privie to all, uſing all meanes to enforce him for to bewray that ſecret: at length when the thing it ſelfe was ſo pregnant, that it brought him into farther ſuſpicion, and withall when the ſaid old man cried out in this maner,

Alas, how am I at the point perforce

To utter that which will cauſe remorſe?

the king ſurpriſed ſtill with his humor of curioſitie, notwithſtanding he was vexed at the verie heart, anſwered,

And I likewiſe for my part am as neere
To beare as much, but yet I muſt it heare.

So bitter-ſweet is that itching-ſmart humor of curioſitie, like unto an ulcer or ſore, which the more it is rubbed and ſcratched, the more it bleedeth and bloodieth it ſelfe. Howbeit he that is delivered from this diſeaſe and beſides of nature milde and gentle, ſo long as he is ignorant and knoweth not any evill accident, may thus ſay,

O bleſſed Saint, when evils are paſt and gone
How ſage and wiſe art thou, oblivion.

And therefore we muſt by little and little accuſtome our ſelves to this, that when there be anie letters brought unto us, we do not open them preſently and in great haſte, as many do, who if their hands be not quicke enough to doe the feat, ſet their teeth to, and gnaw in ſunder the threds that ſewed them up faſt. Alſo if there be a meſſenger comming toward us from a place with any tidings, that we run not to meete him, nor ſo much as once riſe and ſtir for the matter; and if a friend come unto thee ſaying, I have ſome newes to tell you of: yea mary (muſt you ſay againe) but I had rather that you brought me ſomething indeed that were profitable, fruitfull and commodious. I remember upon a time when I declaimed and read a lecture at *Rome*, that Oratour *Ruſtius* whom afterwards *Domitian* put to death for envie that he bare to his glory, hapned to be there to heare me: Now in the mids of my lecture there came into the place a Soldiour with letters from the Emperour, which he delivered to *Ruſtius* aforeſaid, whereupon there was great ſilence in the ſchoole, and I my ſelfe made ſome pauſe, whiles he might reade the letter, but he would not reade it then, nor ſo much as breake it open before I had made an end of my diſcourſe, and diſmiſſed the auditory: for which all the company there preſent, highly praiſed and admired the gravitie of the man. Now if one do feed and nouriſh all that he can, (be it but in lawfull and allowable things) this veine and humor of curioſitie, ſo as thereby it becommeth in the end mighty and violent, it will not be an eaſie matter to reſtraine and hold it in when it ſhall breake out & run on end to ſuch things as be unlawful & forbidden, by reaſon that it is ſo uſed already to intermeddle & be doing. But ſuch men as theſe, breake open and unſeale letters (as I ſaid) intrude themſelves into the ſecret counſels of their friends; they will needs diſcover and ſee thoſe ſacred myſteries, which it is not lawfull for to ſee; in place whereunto there is no lawfull acceſſe they love to be walking; enquire they do into the ſecret deeds and words of kings and princes; and notwithſtanding there be nothing in the world that cauſeth tyrants, who muſt of neceſſitie know all, ſo odious as this kinde of people, who be called their eares; (promoters I meane, and ſpies) who heare all and bring all unto their eares. The firſt that ever had about him theſe Otaconſtes (as a man would ſay, Princes eares) was *Darius* the yoonger; a prince diſtruſting himſelfe, ſuſpecting alſo and fearing all men. As for thoſe which were called Proſagogidæ, that is to ſay, Courries, Spies, and Enformers, the *Dionyſii*, tyrants of *Sicilie*, intermingled ſuch among the Syracuſians: wherupon, when the State was altered, thoſe were the firſt that the Syracuſians apprehended and maſſacred. Alſo thoſe whom we call Sycophants, are of the confraternitie, houſe and linage of theſe curious perſons, ſave onely this difference there is, that Sycophants enquire what evill any man hath either deſſeigned or committed; whereas our Polypragmons hearken after and diſcover the very calamities and miſadventures of their neighbours, which happen even againſt their will and purpoſe: and when they have ſo done, ſet them abroad to the view of the whole world. Furthermore, it is ſaid, that the name *Aliterius* came up firſt by occaſion of this over-much medling, called Curioſity. For when there was (by all likelihood) a great famine at *Athens*, they that had corne, kept it in and would not bring it abroad to the market, but privily & in the night, ground the ſame into meale within their houſes: Now theſe fellowes, named *Aliterij*, would go up and downe cloſely hearkening where the querne or mill went, and thereupon tooke the ſaid name. Semblably, as it is reported, the name of Sycophants aroſe upon the like occaſion: for when there was a law made, forbidding that any figges ſhould be carried foorth out of the land, ſuch promoters as bewraied the delinquents, and gave information againſt thoſe that conveied figges away, were alſo thereupon called Sycophants. To conclude therefore, it were not unprofitable for theſe curious Polypragmons (of whom we haue diſcourſed all this while) to know thus much; That they might be aſhamed in themſelves to be noted for maners and profeſſion to be like unto thoſe who are accounted the moſt odious and hatefull perſons in the world.

OF THE TRANQVILLITY AND CONTENTMENT OF MINDE.

The Summarie.

IN this Treatiſe a man may ſee the excellent diſcourſes and moſt ſound arguments of Morall Philoſophie; the ſcope whereof is to make the ſcholars and ſtudents therein reſolute, and to keepe them from wavering and tottering to and fro; notwithſtanding that either the skie were ready to fall upon their heads, or the earth to chinke and open under their feet. True it is, that in this place Plutarch *ſheweth ſufficiently what blindneſſe there is in humane wiſedome, when the queſtion is to pronounce and ſpeake preciſely, Wherein conſiſteth true repoſe and aſſured felicitie? For to teach a man whom he calleth vertuous, to ſearch for contentment and quiet reſt in his owne reaſon, were as much as to fetch light out of darknes, and life out of death it ſelfe. And therefore (for this time) needleſſe it is to treat long upon this point, conſidering that we minde not to diſpute or declare how inſufficient humaine learning and Philoſophy is, in compariſon of true Divinity & Theology. For the preſent, this may ſuffice, that ſeeing he was no better than a pagan, who hath diſputed of this theame, let us receive both this diſcourſe and other ſuch, wherein he endevoureth to withdraw us from vice, and bring us unto vertue, as written and penned by a man, guided and conducted by a dimme and darke light: in which notwithſtanding appeare certaine ſparks of the truth, which as they are not able to ſhew the way ſufficiently, ſo they give them to underſtand, who be farre remote from the true light, how miſerable and wretched they are every way. Prooved he had before, that Flattery, Choler, and Curioſitie are vices that overturne the ſoule up-ſide downe, and tranſport it ſo farre off that it is not at home, nor miſtreſſe of herſelfe: and after he had taught how a man might reclaime and reduce her againe to her owne houſe, he treateth now of thoſe meanes, whereby ſhe may be kept quiet, peaceable, joious and contented within. For the effecting hereof, at the very entry of this Treatiſe, he propoſeth one expedient meane to attaine thereto, requiring that a man ſhould fortifie and defend his minde with reaſons againſt the evils and dangers to come: then he confuteth the Epicureans, who for to ſet a man in peace, would make him blockiſh, ſenſeleſſe and good for nothing: he anſwereth likewiſe to thoſe who are of opinion that a man may finde a certaine kinde of vacation and impaſſibilitie without all trouble and moleſtation: which done, he ſheweth that reaſon well ruled & ordered, is the foundation and ground of our tranquillity: and all in one and the ſame traine, he teacheth how a man may be furniſhed & aſſiſted with this reaſon. Having thus ſufficiently in generall tearmes diſcourſed of theſe premiſſes, he doth particulariſe and deſcipher the ſame point by point, giving fifteene ſeverall counſels, whereby a man may attaine to this contentment and repoſe of Spirit; the which we have diſtinguiſhed particularly, and ſhewed in ech one the ſubſtance of them, which I thought not good to inſert in this place, becauſe the* Summary *ſhould not exceed over-much. Furthermore, the ſaid counſels be enriched with notable examples, ſimilitudes and ſentences; which (no doubt) would have bene much more forcible and effectuall, if the principall in deed had bene joined therewith, to wit, true pietie and religion: which hath beene cleane omitted by the authour, who in deed never knew what was the onely true and perfect tranquillitie of the ſoule. Howbeit, woonderfull it is, how he ſhould proceed ſo farre as he doeth, having no other helpe and meanes but his owne ſelfe: which may ſo much the better ſerve our turnes, conſidering that we have aides and guides farre more excellent to bring us ſo farre, as to make entrie, and take aſſured poſſeſſion of that ſoveraigne good and felicity, whereof hee here ſpeaketh.*

OF THE TRANQVILLITY AND contentment of minde.

Plutarch *to* Paccius *ſendeth greeting:*

OVerlate it was before I received your letter, wherein you requeſted me to write ſomwhat as touching the Tranquillity of the Soule, and withall of certaine places in *Platoes* Dialogue *Timæus*, which ſeeme to require more exact expoſition: but ſo it happened, that at the very ſame time, your friend and mine *Eros*, had occaſion to ſaile with ſpeed to *Rome*, upon the receit of certeine letters from that right worſhipfull gentleman *Fundanus*, by vertue whereof he was to depart ſuddenly and to repaire unto him with all expedition. By which occaſion having not ſufficient time and leaſure to performe your requeſt in ſuch maner as I purpoſed, & yet unwilling that the man cóming from me, ſhould be ſeene of you emptie-handed; I have collected certaine notes, choſen out of thoſe commentaries, which for mine owne memorie & private uſe I had compiled long before, concerning this argument, to wit, The Tranquillity & contentment of ſpirit: ſuppoſing that you alſo demaund this preſent diſcourſe, not for any pleaſure that you take to read a treatiſe penned curiouſly, and affecting or hunting after fine phraſes and exquiſite words; but onely in regard of ſome doctrine that may ſerve your turne and helpe you to the framing of your life as you ought; knowing withall full well (for the which I doe congratulate and rejoice heartily on your behalfe) that notwithſtanding your inward acquaintance, friendſhip and favor with the beſt and principall perſons of the citie, and that for eloquence you come behind none that plead cauſes at the bar in open court, but are reputed a ſingular Oratour, yet for all that, you do not as that Tragicall *Merops*, ſuffer your ſelfe fooliſhly and beyond the courſe of nature to be carried away as he was with the vaine-glorie and applauſe of the multitude, when they do admire and account you happie therefore; but ſtill you keepe in memorie that which oftentime you have heard from us; That it is neither a rich Patritians ſhooe that cureth the gout in the feet; nor a coſtly and pretious ring that healeth the whitflaw or felon in the fingers; nor yet a princely diademe that eaſeth the head-ach. For what uſe is there at all of goods and riches to deliver the ſoule from griefe and ſorrow, or to lead a life in reſt and repoſe without cares and troubles? What good is there of great honors, promotions, and credit in court? unleſſe they that have them know how to uſe the ſame well and honeſtly; and likewiſe if they be without them, can ſkill how to finde no miſſe of them, but be alwaies accompanied with contentment; never coveting that which is not? And what is this elſe but reaſon accuſtomed and exerciſed before hand, quickly to reſtreine and eftſoones to reprehend the paſſionate and unreaſonable part of the ſoule, which is given oftentimes to breake out of her bounds: and not to ſuffer her to range and vague at her pleaſure, and to be tranſported by the objects preſented unto her? Like as therfore *Xenophon* giveth us good counſell: Alwaies to remember the gods, and moſt of all to worſhip and honor them when we are in proſperitie, to the end that whenſoever we ſtand in neede, we may more boldly invocate and call upon them, with full aſſurance that they will ſupply our neceſſities, being thus before-hand made propitious and gratious unto us; even ſo, wiſemen and ſuch as are of good conceit, ought alwaies to be furniſhed and well provided of reaſons ſufficient to ſerve their turne for to encounter their paſſions before they ariſe, to the end that being once laide up in ſtore, they may doe moſt good when time ſerveth. For as curſt and angrie maſtives by nature, which at every noiſe that they heare keepe an eager baying and barking as if they were affrighted, become quiet and appeaſed by one onely voice which is familiar unto them, and wherewith they have beene acquainted; ſo it is no ſmall paine and trouble to ſtill and compoſe the paſſions of the minde (ſkittiſh as they be and growne wilde) unleſſe a man have ready at hand proper and familiar reaſons to repreſſe the ſame ſo ſoone as ever they begin to ſtir and grow out of order.

Now as touching thoſe who affirme that if a man would live in tranquillity and reſt, he ought not to meddle nor deale in many affaires, either in publike or private: Firſt and formoſt thus I ſay, that they would make us pay deere for tranquillitie of minde, when they would have us buy it with idleneſſe and doing nothing; which were as much as if they adviſed each one to doe as *Electra* did to her ſicke brother *Oreſtes* when ſhe ſaid unto him,

Lie ſtill poore wretch and keepe thy bed,
Stirre not from thence, and have no dred.

But ſurely as this were untoward Phyſicke for the bodie, to preſcribe for the allaying of paine, a medicine that would benumbe and ſtupifie the ſenſes; ſo verily he were no better Phyſician for the ſoule, who to deliver her from trouble and griefe, ordeined that ſhe ſhould be made idle, ſluggiſh, ſoft and tender, which in one word is as much, as to forget all dutie and to betraie friends, kinsfolke, and countrie. Moreover a falſe poſition it is: That they enjoy tranquillitie of life, who intermeddle not in much buſineſſe: for if that were true, women ſhould live in more repoſe and quietneſſe of minde than men, foraſmuch as they keepe home and ſit ſtil within dores for the moſt part, and ſeldom go abroad: but now although it cannot be denied but that as the Poët *Heſiodus* ſaith,

Cold Boreas *a winde that blowes*
from Northren pole full oft,
Doth never pierce the tender skin
of damſell ſmooth and ſoft.

Yet many heart-griefes, troubles, perturbations, diſcontentments and cares ariſing upon jealouſie, ſuperſtition, pride, ambition, fooliſh and vaine opinions, (which are ſo many as hardly a man is able to number them) finde way and entrance even to the ſecret chambers and cabinets of our fine and daintie dames: And *Laiertes* who lived apart for the ſpace of twentie yeeres in the country

With one old woman and no more
Who meat and drinke ſet him before,

far from his native countrey, his owne home, from court and kingdome; yet nevertheleſſe he had alwaies dwelling with him ſadneſſe of heart, accompanied with languiſhing, idleneſſe and heavie ſilence. And more than that, this non-imploiment in affaires is that which many times hath caſt ſome men into a dumpiſh melancholie and heavineſſe of ſpirit, like to him of whom *Homer* thus writeth,

Here ſat Achilles *ſwift of foote, by him deſcended right*
From Iupiter, *though ſonne he were of* Peleus *worthy knight,*
And ſtir'd not from his fleete in rode, but in an angry fit
Would neither fight in open field, nor yet in counſell ſit:
Thus ydle he aboad ſo long untill his heart within
Conſum'd, and nothing wiſht he more, than battaile to begin.

whereupon being in a paſſionate humor, and thinking it a great indignitie thus to weare away and do nothing, he breaketh foorth himſelfe afterwards into this ſpeech:

But here ſit I cloſe to my ſhips, from action more and leſſe
An idle luske to load the earth, I cannot but confeſſe.

Inſomuch as *Epicurus* himſelfe that great patron and mainteiner of pleaſure, would not adviſe nor thinketh meete that thoſe who by nature are of an ambitious and aſpiring minde, or deſirous of glorie, ſhould take their eaſe and ſit ſtill, but by the guidance and direction of their naturall inclination, to manage the weightie affaires of State and governe the common weale: ſaying, that men borne for action would be more troubled and diſcontented in minde with doing nothing, namely when they ſee how they miſſe and faile of that which ſo greatly they deſired. Howbeit I muſt note the abſurd folly of the man and his want of judgement, in that he ſeemeth to call and exhort unto the rule of weale-publike not thoſe who are able and ſufficient, but ſuch onely as cannot away with a private life and ſitting ſtill: neither ought we to meaſure and determine either the tranquillitie or trouble of the ſpirit, by the paucitie or multitude of affaires, but rather by their honeſtie or diſhoneſtie: for as we have alreadie ſaid, no leſſe diſcontentment and trouble, groweth to the minde by neglecting and omitting things honeſt, than by affecting and committing things diſhoneſt. As for thoſe who have determinately ſet by one ſpeciall kinde of life, as voide of all, griefe and trouble, to wit, ſome making choiſe to live as husbandmen in tillage of the ground; others to lead a ſingle and unmaried life, and ſome againe have eſteemed a Kings-life to be it: to ſuch *Menander* anſwereth pretily in theſe verſes:

I thought one while, that rich and monied men

§Phanias,

ô Phanias, *who were not hard beſted*
To pay for uſe in everie hundred ten,
Do neither groane nor ſigh all night in bed:
Nor as they turne and toſſe from top to toe
Eftſoones, wo is me, alas, what ſhall I doe?
Breath out from heart ful penſive and oppreſt,
But ſweetly take repoſe and ſleepe in reſt.

And comming more neerely unto the point, when he perceived that rich men were as reſtles, and as much diſquieted as the poore, he concludeth thus:

But now, I wot, that life and penſive paine
Are neere of kin and couſin germaines twaine.
Who live in wealth, I ſee, feele griefe of hart,
And men in honour, of ſorrowes have their part
No leſſe than thoſe, whoſe want and penurie
Doth age with them, and keepe them companie.

And the caſe is all one as with thoſe that be either timorous or ſtomack-ſicke at ſea, wherof they be under ſaile: for ſuppoſing that they ſhall be better at eaſe, they goe out of a barke into a brigandine, and out of it into a galley: but they finde no good thereby, for that they carie about them ſtill choler and a falſe heart, which are the cauſe of this their diſtemperature; even ſo, eftſoones to change from one courſe of life unto another, is not the meanes to deliver the minde from troubles and perturbations, which hinder the repoſe and quietnes thereof. And what be theſe troubles? even want of experience in affaires; inconſiderate raſhneſſe, and default of diſcretion; inſufficiencie and want of knowledge, how to uſe and accommodate things aright to the preſent occaſions. Theſe be they that moleſt and vexe aſwell the rich as the poore; theſe torment and hurt ſingle perſons no leſſe than married folke. In regard hereof, ſome having bidden the court and civill affaires farewell, yet ſoone after againe could not away with a private and quiet life. And for no other cauſe but this, many make all the meanes they can to be advanced to high places, and to inſinuate themſelves into Princes courts; and when they have attained thereto, anon repent them and miſlike of that courſe: But true it is the Poët *Iön* ſaith,

He that lieth ſicke is hard to pleaſe,
He wants adviſe, that ſhould him eaſe.

For his wife is a trouble unto him; the phyſician he findeth fault with, and the bed is not to his minde; beſides,

A friend comes to viſit, he welcomes him nought,
And when he departs, unkind he is thought.

But afterwards as the diſeaſe beginneth to breake away or decline, and the former temperature of the bodie to returne, health commeth againe which maketh everie thing pleaſant and agreeable; inſomuch as he who the day before was readie upon a peeviſhneſſe of ſtomacke to caſt up daintie egges, fine *Amydum* and marchpaine, and the faireſt cocked manchet that is, will be content the morrow after, yea and glad withall his heart to feed ſavourly and with a good ſtomacke of downe right houſhold bread, of ſome Olives or Creſſes. Such a contentment and alteration worketh judgement of reaſon in everie kind and courſe of life. It is reported that King *Alexander* the Great, hearing *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher diſcourſing and maintaining this Poſition: That there were worlds innumerable: fell a weeping: and when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed. Have I not (quoth he) good cauſe to weepe, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am not yet the Lord of one? Whereas *Crates* having no more than a wallet at his necke, and a poore threadbare cloke upon his backe, ſpent his whole life in mirth and joy, laughing alwaies full merrily as if it had beene alwaies a feaſtivall holiday. As for *Agamemnon* he complained in theſe words, and thought it an intolerable burden to be a king and commander of ſo great a people.

Wot well you ſee Atreus *his ſonne,*
  King Agamemnon *hight:*
Whom Jupiter *clogs more with care,*
  than any mortall wight.

Contrariwiſe *Diogenes*, when he was to be bought and ſold among other ſlaves in open market, ſcoffed at the Crier who made ſale; and lying along on the ground, would not ſo much as riſe when he was bidden to ſtand up, but cavilled with him after a mocking and jeſting maner, what (quoth he) and if you ſold a fiſh would you bid it riſe up? Likewiſe *Socrates* diſcourſed familiarly with his fellowes and followers as touching Philoſophie, even when he was in priſon. Wheras *Phaethon*, notwithſtanding he was mounted up into heaven, wept for anger and deſpight that no man would give him the rule and regiment of the charriot-ſteeds belonging to the ſunne his father. And as a ſhoe is wreſted and turned according to the faſhion of a crooked or ſplay-foot, but never doth the foot writhe to the forme of a ſhoe; even ſo it is for all the world with the diſpoſitions of mens minds; they frame their lives and make them like thereto. For it is not uſe and cuſtome that cauſeth the beſt life to be pleaſant alſo unto them that have made choiſe thereof, as ſome one haply is of opinion; but wiſedome rather and diſcretion maketh that life which is beſt to be alſo ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant. Since that therefore the ſource and fountaine of all tranquillitie and contenment of ſpirit is in our ſelves, let us cleanſe and purifie the ſame ſpring, as cleane as poſſibly we can, that all outward and caſuall occurrences whatſoever, may be made familiar and agreeable unto us, knowing once how to uſe them well.

If things go croſſe, we ought not, iwis,
To fret; for why? ſuch choler will not boot:
But he that know's when ought is done amiſſe,
To ſet all ſtraight, ſhall chieve full well, I wot.

Plato therefore compared our life to a game at Tables; wherein the plaier is to wiſh for the luckieſt caſt of the dice, but whatſoever his chance is, he muſt be ſure to play it well, and make the beſt of it: Now of theſe two points, the former, to wit, a good throw, is not in our power and choiſe; but the other reſteth in us, namely, whatſoever our lot is, to take in good woorth, and to diſpoſe every thing in that place where it may profit moſt if it fortuned well: and contra- and contrariwiſe, if it fell out croſſe, where it may doe leaſt harme. This (I ſay) is our part and duety to performe, if we be as wiſe as we ſhould be. As for brain-ſicke fooles, and ſuch as know not how to carrie themſelves in this life (like unto thoſe that have craſie and diſeaſed bodies, who neither can abide burning heat nor chilling colde) as in proſperity they ſpread and ſet up their ſailes too high, ſo in adverſitie they ſtrike them as low. Troubled they are mightily with both extremities; or to ſpeake more truely, with themſelves, as much in the one as the other, and no leſſe in that ſtate which yeeldeth thoſe things that we call and repute Goods. *Theodoru* that infamous Philoſopher, who for his profane opinion was ſurnamed *Atheos*, that is to ſay, The Atheiſt, was woont to ſay: That he delivered his ſpeeches with the right hand to his auditours and ſcholars, but they tooke the ſame with their left; even ſo ignorant and untaught perſons many times when fortune preſenteth herſelfe unto them on the right hand, receive her awkly, turning to the left ſide undecently, and by that meanes commit many untoward & lewd parts. But thoſe that be wiſe doe farre better: for as Thyme yeeldeth unto Bees the quickeſt and drieſt hony; even ſo they out of the moſt unfortunate accidents that be, can skill often-times to get ſomewhat which is agreeable and commodious unto themſelves. This is then the firſt and principall point, wherein a man ought to be trained and exerciſed, upon this muſt he ſtudy and meditate. And like as that fellow, when he flung a ſtone at a curſt bitch, miſſed her, and chanced to hit his ſtep-mother, ſaying withall: It makes no matter; for it hath not light amiſſe; even ſo we, may turne all our fortune to our owne purpoſe, and make the beſt uſe of it, in caſe things fall out otherwiſe than we would or meant. *Diogenes* his hap was to be baniſhed and driven out of his owne countrey; yet this exile of his prooved not ill to him; for by that meanes and thereupon he beganne to ſtudie and profeſſe Philoſophie. *Zeno* the Cittiæan had but one frigat or flie-boat left him, and hearing newes that both it and all therein was caſt away, drowned and periſhed in the mids of the ſea: ô Fortune (quoth he) thou haſt done well, to drive us againe to put on our poore and ſimple ſcholars habit, and to ſend us to our gallerie and ſchoole of Philoſophie. What ſhould hinder us then, but that we may follow the examples of theſe men. Art thou deprived and put out of ſome publike office or magiſtracie which thou didſt exerciſe? Go and live in the countrey; there follow thine owne buſineſſe, and plie thy private affaires. Haſt thou made ſute and great meanes to be entertained in the Court, and to winde into ſpeciall favour with ſome Prince and Potentate, and after all thy travell ſuffered repulſe? Well, thou ſhalt live privately at home, without danger, without trouble. Againe, Art thou entred into action, and doeſt thou manage State affaires, wherein thou haſt cares enough, and no time to breathe thy ſelfe?

The holſome waters and hot baines

Do not ſo much alay our paines:
And if our limmes be dull or ſicke,
Refreſh the ſame and make them quicke:
As when a man himſelfe doth ſee
Advanc't to honour and high degree,
His glory, care and paine doth eaſe,
No travell then will him diſpleaſe.

as *Pindarus* ſaith very well: Art thou in ſome diſgrace, and caſt out of favour with reproch, by reaſon of ſome ſlanderous calumniation or envie? Thou haſt a gale of fore-wind at the poope, which will ſoone bring thee directly to the Muſes and to the Academie; that is to ſay, to follow thy booke, and ſtudy Philoſophie: for this was *Platoes* helpe, when he was in diſfavour with *Denys* the tyrant. And therefore one meanes this is (of no ſmall importance) to worke contentment in a mans mind; namely, to looke backe unto the ſtate of famous and renowmed perſons, and to ſee whether they (haply) have not ſuffered the like at any time; as for example: Art thou diſcontented with thy childleſſe eſtate, for that thy wife hath brought thee no children? Doe but marke the Kings of *Rome*, how there was not one of them that left the crown unto his ſonne. Is it povertie that pincheth thee, ſo as thou art not able to endure it? Tell mee which of all the Bœotians wouldeſt thou chuſe to reſemble, ſooner than *Epaminondas*? or what Romane wouldeſt thou be like unto, rather than *Fabricius*? But ſay thy wife hath plaied falſe by thee, and made thee weare hornes? Didſt thou never reade that Epigram of King *Agis* at *Delphos*?

Ὑγρᾶς καὶ * τραφερᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἆγις μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν.

Agis, *of ſea and land a crowned king,*
Gave me ſometime a ſacred offering.

*Not τρυφερᾶς, as it is cõmõly printed, & according to which *Budæus* hath trãſlated it, and made no ſenſe at all in Latin. But in *Homer* the ſame maner of phraſe is uſed. *Iliad.* ξ. οἵ μ᾽ οἴσουσιν ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε κ᾽ ὑγρήν. *i.* over land and ſea.

And yet as mightie a Prince as he was, you have heard (I am ſure) that *Alcibiades* lay with his wife *Tunæa*, and ſhe would not baſh to call the ſonne that ſhe had by him in adulterie, *Alcibiades*, eſpecially amongſt her women & waiting-maidens, whiſpering and ſpeaking as much ſoftly unto them: But what of all that? This crooked croſſe was no bar unto K. *Agis*, but that he prooved the greateſt and moſt renowmed perſonage of all the Greeks in his time. No more was it any hinderance to *Stilpo*, but that he lived all the daies of his life moſt merrily, and no Philoſopher like to him in thoſe daies, notwithſtanding he had a daughter that plaied the harlot: and when *Metrocles* the Cynick reproched him therewith; Is this (quoth he) my fault or hers? To which when *Metrocles* anſwered againe: The fault is indeed hers, but the infortunity and miſhap is yours: What now, (replied *Stilpo* again) how can that be? Are not (I pray you) all faults rightly named Slips or falles? Yes truely, ſaid the other: And are not falles (quoth *Stilpo*) miſchances or misfortunes? *Metrocles* could not denie it: Why then (inferred *Stilpo* at laſt) what are miſchances or misfortunes, other than infortunities and miſhaps to them whoſe miſchances they are. By this milde kinde of Sorites and Philoſophicall reaſoning thus from point to point, he ſhewed that the reprochfull language of this Cynicall *Metrocles*, was nothing els, but a vaine and fooliſh baying and barking of a cur-dogge. But on the contrary ſide, the moſt part of men are provoked and troubled not onely for the vices of their friends, familiars, and kinſfolke, but alſo of their very enimies. For reprochfull taunts, anger, envie, malice, and ſpightful jealouſies, are the miſchiefes and plagues (I muſt needs ſay) of ſuch eſpecially that have them; howbeit they moleſt and vexe thoſe alſo that are witleſſe and without diſcretion, no otherwiſe than the haſty and cholericke fits of our neighbors, the peeviſh and froward diſpoſitions of our familiar acquaintance, and ſome ſhrewd demeanors of our ſervants in that they go about: with which me thinks you alſo troubling and diſquieting your ſelfe as much as with any thing elſe, like unto thoſe Phyſicians of whom *Sophocles* thus writeth;

Who bitter choler clenſe and ſcoure
With Drugs as bitter and as ſoure.

do unſeemely and not iwis for the credite of your perſon, thus to chafe and fret at their paſſions and imperfections beyond all reaſon, and ſhew your ſelfe as paſſionate as they. For ſurely the affaires and negotiations wherewith you are put in truſt, and which be managed by your direction, are not executed ordinarily by the miniſterie of ſuch perſons whoſe dealings be plaine, ſimple and direct, as inſtruments moſt meet and fit for ſuch a purpoſe; but for the moſt part by crooked, rough, and crabbed pieces. To reforme and amend theſe enormities, I would not have you thinke that it is either your worke and dutie, or an enterpriſe otherwiſe eaſily performed. But if you making uſe of theſe, being ſuch by nature as the Chirurgians do of tooth-drawing pincers, and thoſe inſtruments wherewith they doe bring the edges of a wound together; will ſhew you ſelfe milde, moderate, and tractable in every reſpect, according as the preſent occaſion will give leave; ſurely you ſhall not receive ſo much diſcontentment and diſpleaſure at the untoward and unhappie dealings of others, as joy in the conſcience of your owne good diſpoſition, as making this account, that ſuch miniſters of yours do but their kind, like as dogs when they barke: But if you feed and cheriſh this puſillanimitie and weakneſſe of yours, as other follies, you ſhall be ſure to heape up many troubles and follies of other men ere you be aware, which will be ready to fall and run as into ſome low ground and hollow trench, unto that weakeneſſe of yours. For what ſhould I ſay, that ſome Philoſophers reproove the pittie and commiſeration which we have for them that are in diſtreſſe & miſerie, acknowledging that it is a good and charitable deed to helpe and ſuccour ſuch as be in calamitie, but not commending that condolence and fellow-feeling with our neighbours, as if we yeelded with them unto Fortune? And more than ſo, the ſame Philoſophers will not permit and give us leave, in caſe we be ſubject to ſome vice and ill diſpoſed, for to be ſeene and knowen for to grieve and ſorrow therefore: but rather to correct and amend what is amiſſe, without any ſhew at all of ſad cheere and heavineſſe; which being ſo, conſider then how little reaſon and ſmall cauſe we have, nay how abſurd it were, that we ſhould ſuffer our ſelves to be troubled, vexed and angry, in caſe all thoſe who commerce and converſe with us, deale not ſo well and kindly as they ſhould? But above all things my good friend *Paccius*, let us ſee to this, that our ſelfe-love deceive and ſeduce us not; let us beware (I ſay) that we do not ſo much ſhew an hatred and deteſtation of wickedneſſe and ſinne in generall; as bewray ſome private and particular regard of our owne, in that we ſeeme ſo to abhorre and dread the naughtineſſe of thoſe that have to do with us. For to be exceeding much mooved and beyond all meaſure affectionate at ſome time to ſuch and ſuch affaires; to covet (I ſay) and purſue the ſame over-hotly, and otherwiſe than is meete and beſeeming; or contrariwiſe, to loth, deſpiſe, and abhor the ſame, muſt needs breed diſcontentments, ſuſpitions, and offences in thoſe perſons by whom we ſeeme either to have beene prevented & diſappointed of ſome things, or to have runne and fallen too ſoone upon other: But he that is uſed to carie himſelfe cheerefully and with moderation in his affaires, (fall out as they will) and can frame to their events, he will ſoone learne to negotiate and converſe with any man in all dexteritie and gentle behaviour. Well then, let us ſet in hand againe to diſcourſe of thoſe matters which we have intermitted for a while: for like as in a feaver all things that we taſte ſeeme at the firſt bitter and unſavorie; but when we ſee others take without any ſhew and ſignification of diſlike the ſame which we ſpit out, then we blame no more either meats or drinks, but lay the fault upon our diſeaſe; even ſo, when we perceive that other men have entred upon and gone through the ſame affaires with great alacritie, and without any paine at all, whereof we complained and made much adoe; let us for ſhame ceaſe to find fault and bee offended ſo much at the things. And therefore if at any time there ſhall befall unto us ſome adverſe and crooked accident againſt our wils, it will be very good for the working of our contentment in minde, not to paſſe over but to regard ſuch things as at other times have hapned to our minds and as we could wiſh them; but to conferre them together, and by a good medly of them both to darken and dor the worſt with laying the better to. But now, whereas we are wont when our eies be dazzeled and offended with beholding that which is too bright & glittering, we refreſh & comfort our ſight againe with looking upon pleaſant colours of flowers, and greene graſſe; herein contrariwiſe wee direct our mindes and cogitations upon heavie and dolorous objects, and violently force our thoughts to be amuzed upon the remembrance of calamities and adverſe fortunes, plucking them perforce as it were from the conſideration of better. And heere in this place me thinks I may very fitly applie that ſentence to our preſent purpoſe, which was ſaid to a buſie and curious perſon,

Ah ſpitefull minde and moſt envious hart
Why others faults do'ſt thou ſo quickly ſpie
With eagles ſight, but in thine owne thou art
Starke blinde or elſe do'ſt winke with howlets eie?

Even ſo good ſir, How is it that you regard and adviſe ſo wiſtly your owne miſerie and calamitie, making it alwaies apparent and freſh in remembrance, but upon your preſent proſperitie you ſet not minde? And like as ventoſes, cupping glaſſes or boxes draw the muſt corrupt humors to them out of the fleſh; even ſo you gather againſt your ſelfe the worſt things you have, being no better than the merchant of *Chios*, who when he ſold to others a great quantity of the beſt wine, ſought up and downe taſting every veſſell untill he met with that for his owne dinner, which began to ſowre and was little better than ſtarke naught. This man had a ſervant who ranne away, and being demaunded what his man had done unto him, for which hee ſhould ſhew him a paire of heeles? Becauſe (quoth hee) when hee had plentie of that which was good, he would needes ſeeke for naught. And moſt men verily are of the ſame nature, who paſſing by good and deſireable things, which be (as a man would ſay) the pleaſant and potable liquors that they have, betake themſelves to thoſe that bee harſh, bad, and unſavourie. But *Ariſtippus* was of another humour; for like a wiſe man and one that knew his owne good, hee was alwaies diſpoſed to make the beſt of everie occurrence, raiſing and lifting up himſelfe to that end of the ballance which mounted aloft, and not to that which went downeward. It fortuned one day that he loſt a faire mannor or Lordſhip of his owne, and when one of his friends above the reſt made moſt ſemblance to lament with him, and to be angrie with Fortune in his behalfe; Heare you (quoth he) know you not that your ſelfe have but one little farme in the whole world, and that I have yet three houſes more left, with good lands lying to them? Yes marie do I (quoth the other:) Why then (quoth *Ariſtippus* againe) wherefore doe not we rather pittie your caſe, and condole with you? For it is meere madneſſe to grieve and ſorrow for thoſe things that are loſt and gone, and not to rejoice for that which is ſaved. And like as little children, if a man chance to take from them but one of their gauds, among many other toies that they play withall, throw away the reſt for verie curſt-heart, and then fall a puling, weeping and crying out aright; ſemblably, as much folly and childiſhneſſe it were, if when fortune thwarteth us in one thing, we be ſo farre out of the way and diſquieted therewith, that with our plaints and moanes we make all her other favours unprofitable unto us. But wil ſome one ſay, What is it that we have? Nay, What is it that we have not? might he rather ſay: One man is in honour, another hath a faire and goodly houſe; one hath a wife to his minde, and another a truſtie friend.

Antipater of *Tarſus* the Philoſopher, when he drew toward his end and the houre of his death, in recounting and reckoning up all the good and happie daies that ever he ſaw in his life time, left not out of this roll ſo much as the Bon-voiage that he had when he ſailed from *Cilicia* to *Athens*. And yet we muſt not forget nor omit thoſe bleſſings and comforts of this life which we enjoy in common with many more, but to make ſome reckoning & account of them: and namely to joy in this, that we live; that we have our health; that we behold the light of the ſunne; that we have neither warre abroad nor civill ſedition and diſſenſion at home; but that the land yeeldeth it ſelfe arable and to be tilled, and the ſea navigable to everie one that will, without feare of danger; that it is lawful for us to ſpeake, and keepe ſilence at our pleaſure; that we have libertie to negotiate and deale in affaires, or to reſt and be at our repoſe. And verily the enjoying of theſe good things preſent, will breed the greater contentment in our ſpirit, if wee would but imagine within our ſelves that were abſent; namely, by calling to minde eftſoones, what a miſſe and deſire thoſe perſons have of health, who bee ſicke and diſeaſed? How they wiſh for peace, who are afflicted with warres? How acceptable it is either to a ſtranger or a meane perſon and unknowen, for to bee advaunced unto honour, or to bee friended in ſome famous and puiſſant citie? And contrariwiſe, what a great griefe it is to forgoe theſe things when a man once hath them? And ſurely a thing can not bee great or precious when we have loſt it, and the ſame of no valour and account all the while wee have and enjoy it: for the not being thereof, addeth no price and woorth thereto. Neither ought wee to holde theſe things right great and excellent, whiles wee ſtand alwaies in feare and trembling to thinke that we ſhall be deprived and bereft of them, as if they were ſome woorthie things: and yet all the time that they be ſure and ſafe in our poſſeſſion, neglect and little regard them as if they were common and of no importance. But we ought to make uſe of them whiles they be ours, and that with joy, in this reſpect eſpecially, that the loſſe of them if it ſhall ſo fall out, wee may beare more meekly and with greater patience. Howbeit, moſt men are of this opinion (as *Arceſilaus* was woont to ſay) that they ought to follow diligently with their eie and cogitation the Poemes, Pictures, and Statues of others, and come cloſe unto them for to behold and peruſe exactly each of them; yea, and conſider everie part and point therein from one ende to the other: whiles in the meane time they neglect and let alone their owne lives and manners; notwithſtanding there be many unpleaſant ſights to be ſpied and obſerved therein: looking evermore without, and admiring the advancements, welfare and fortunes of others: much like as adulterers who have an eie after their neighbours wives, but loath and ſet naught by their owne.

And verily this one point alſo is of great conſequence, for the ſetling of a mans minde in ſure repoſe; namely, to conſider principally himſelfe, his owne eſtate and condition; or at leaſt wiſe (if he do not ſo) yet to looke backe unto thoſe that be his inferiours and under him; and not as the moſt ſort do, who love alwaies to looke forward and to compare themſelves with their betters and ſuperiors. As for example, ſlaves that are bound in priſon and lie in irons, repute them happy who are abroad at libertie; ſuch as be abroad and at libertie, thinke their ſtate bleſſed who be manumiſed and made free; being once a franchiſed, they account themſelves to be in verie good caſe if they were citizens; and being citizens they eſteeme rich men moſt happie; the rich imagine it a gay matter to be Lords and Princes; Lords and Princes have a longing deſire to be Kings and Monarchs; Kings and Monarchs aſpire ſtill higher and would be Gods; and yet they reſt not ſo, unleſſe they may have the power to flaſh lightnings and ſhoot thunderbolts, aſwell as *Jupiter*. Thus whiles they evermore come ſhort of that which is above them and covet ſtill after it, they enjoy no pleaſure at all of thoſe things that they have, nor be thankfull therefore.

The treaſures great I care not for
of Gyges *King ſo rich in gold;*
Such avarice I do abhor,
nor money will I touch untold.
I never long'd with gods above,
in their high works for to compare:
Grand ſeignories I do not love,
far from mine eies all ſuch things are.

A Thraſian he was that proteſted thus. But ſome other, that were a Chian, a Galatian or a Bithynian (I dare warrant you) not contenting himſelfe with his part of honor, credit & authoritie in his owne countrie and among his neighbours and fellow-citizens, would be ready to weepe and expoſtulate the matter with teares, if he might not alſo weare the habite and ornaments of a Patritian or Senatour of *Rome*. And ſay it were graunted and allowed him to be a noble Senatour, he would not be quiet untill he were a Romaine Lord Pretor: Be he Lord Pretor, he will aſpire to a Conſulſhip; and when he is created Conſull, whine he will and crie if he were not nominated and pronounced the former of the twaine, but elected in the ſecond place. And I pray you what is all this? What doeth a man herein but gather pretended excuſes of ingratitude to Fortune, in puniſhing and chaſtiſing himſelfe after this manner? But the man who is wiſe and of ſound judgement, in caſe ſome one or two among ſo infinite thouſands of us mortall men

Whom ſunne from heaven ſo daily doth behold,
Who feed on fruits of earth ſo manifold,

be either more honoured or richer than himſelfe, will not therefore be caſt downe ſtraight way, and ſit mourning and lamenting for ſorrow: but rather in the way as he goeth, and whenſoever he commeth abroad, ſalute & bleſſe with praiſe and thankſgiving, that good fortune of his and bleſſed angell that guideth his life, for that his lot is to live farre better, more at hearts eaſe, and in greater reputation than many millions of millions of other men. For true it is, that in the ſolemne games at *Olympia*, no champion may chooſe his concurrents with whom he is to wreſtle or enter into combat for a prize: but in this life, our ſtate ſtandeth ſo, and our affaires bee in that manner compoſed, that everie man hath meanes to match, yea and excell many others, and ſo to beare himſelfe aloft, that he be rather envied than envious; unleſſe haply he be ſuch an one, as will preſume to deale with *Briareus* or *Hercules* for the Maſtrie. Well, when thou ſhalt behold ſome great Lord or honorable perſonage borne aloft in a litter upon mens ſhoulders, ſtand not wondring ſo much at him, but rather caſt thine eies downe a litle lower, & looke upon the poore porters that carrie him. Againe, when thou ſhalt repute that great Monarch *Xerxes* a right happy man, for that he made a bridge of ſhips over the Streights of *Helleſpont*; conſider withall, thoſe painfull ſlaves who under the verie whip and for feare of ſcourging, digged thorough the mountaine *Atlas*, and made paſſage that way for an arme of the ſea; as alſo thoſe miſerable wretches, who had their eares cropt and their noſes cut off, for that the foreſaid bridge by a mightie tempeſt was injointed and broken; and therewith imagine with thy ſelfe what thoſe ſeely ſoules might thinke, and how happie they would repute thy life and condition in compariſon of their owne. *Socrates* upon a time when one of his familiar friends ſeemed to complaine and ſay: What a coſtly place is this? How deere are things ſold in this citie? The wine of *Chios* will coſt a pound; purple is ſold for three, and a pinte of honie is held at five dragmes: Tooke him by the hand and led him to the Meale-hall. Loe (quoth he) you may buy here halfe a ſextare of good meale for an half-penie. The market (God be thanked) is cheape: from thence he brought him into an Oile-cellar, and where they ſold Olives: Here you ſhall have (quoth he) a meaſure called *Chœnix*, for two braſen dodkins (a good market beleeve me.) He tooke him then with him to the Brokers ſhops that ſold clothes, where a man might buy a ſuite of apparell for ten dragmes. You ſee (quoth he) that the peni-woorths are reaſonable, and things be bought and ſold good cheape throughout the citie; even ſo we, when we ſhall heare other men ſay; Our ſtate is but meane, we are exceeding bare, & our condition is paſſing baſe: For why? We can not come to be Conſuls, we ſhall never be rulers & governors of Provinces, nor riſe to the higheſt places of authoritie. We may verie well anſwere in this wiſe; Nay marie, but our caſe is right good; we live gallantly, and lead a bleſſed and happie life: we beg not; we go not from doore to doore to crave folks almes; we are no porters; we beare no burdens; neither like paraſites and ſmell-feaſts, do we get our bread by flatterie. But foraſmuch as we are for the moſt part growen to this folly, that we are accuſtomed to live rather according to others than our ſelves, and our nature is ſo far corrupted with a kinde of jealous affectation and envie, that it joyeth not ſo much in her owne proper goods, as grieveth at the welfare of another) I would adviſe you not onely to regard thoſe things that be reſplendent, glorious and renowmed in thoſe whom you admire and eſteeme ſo happie; but alſo to ſet open and lift up the vaile a little, and to draw (as it were) that glittering courtaine of outward ſhew, apparance and opinion that men have of them which covereth all, and ſo to looke in. Certes, you ſhall finde that they have within them many matters of trouble, many grievances and diſcontentments. That noble *Pittacus*, ſo famous for his valor and fortitude, and as much renowmed alſo for wiſedome and juſtice, feaſted upon a time certaine of his friends that were ſtrangers: and his wife comming in at mids of the dinner, being angry at ſomewhat els, overthrew the table, and there lay all under foot. Now when his gueſts and friends were woonderouſly diſmaied and abaſhed hereat: *Pittacus* made no more ado at the matter, but turning unto them. There is not one of us all (quoth he) but he hath his croſſe, and one thing or other to exerciſe his patience: and for mine owne part this is the onely thing that checketh my felicitie: for were it not for this ſhrow my wife, I were the happieſt man in the world: So that of me may theſe verſes be well verified:

This man who while he is in ſtreet
or publike place is happie thought,
No ſooner ſets in houſe his feet
but wo is him: and not for nought.
His wife him rules, and that's a ſpight
She chides, ſhe fights, from morne to night.

Well my maſters, you have many occaſions (I am ſure) that vexe you: as for my ſelfe I grieve at nothing. Many ſuch ſecret ſores there be that put them to anguiſh and paine who are rich and in high authoritie, yea and trouble Kings and Princes themſelves; howſoever the common people ſee no ſuch matter; and why, their pompe and outward glorie covereth and hideth all. For when we read thus in *Homer*,

O happy King, ſir Agamemnon *hight*
The ſonne of Atreus *that woorthy knight*
Borne in good howre, and lull'd in fortunes lap,
Moſt puiſſant, rich, and thrall to no miſhap.

This is a rehearſall ſurely of an outward beatitude onely, in regard of his armes, horſes, and men of war about him: for the voices which are breathed out and uttered from his paſſions, which do falſifie that opinion of him, and beare witneſſe of the contrarie: as may appeere by this teſtimonie of himſelfe in *Homer*,

Great Jupiter *god* Saturnes *ſonne,*
Hath plung'd me deepe in wo begon.

Euripides alſo to the like effect;

Your ſtate, old ſir, I happy deeme,
and his no leſſe I do admire
Who led his life, unknowne, unſeene,
from danger far, from vaine deſire,

By theſe and ſuch like meditations, a man may by litle & litle ſpend & diminiſh that quarelſome and complaining diſcontentment of the minde againſt Fortune, in debaſing and caſting downe his owne condition with the wonderfull admiration of his neighbors ſtate. But there is nothing that doth ſo much hurt unto our tranquillitie of minde as this, when our affection and will to a thing is diſproportioned unto our might and power; as if we ſet up greater ſailes then our veſſel will beare, building our hopes and deſires as caſtles in the aire without a ſound foundation, and promiſing our ſelves more than reaſon is; for afterwards when by proofe we ſee, that we cannot reach thereto, and finde that the ſucceſſe is not anſwerable to our conceit, we grumble by and by againſt fortune, and we blame our deſtinie; whereas we ſhould accuſe our owne follie and raſhnes. For neither he that would ſeeme to ſhoote an arrow out of a plough; or ride upon an Oxe backe to hunt the Hare; can ſay that he is unluckie; nor hee that goeth about to catch the Hart and Hinde with fiſhers drag-nets, or with grins, ſnares and traps, may juſtly finde fault with his fortune, and give out that ſome wicked angel doth croſſe him, or malignant ſpirit haunt him, if he faile and miſſe of his purpoſe: but ſurely ſuch are to condemne their owne fooliſhneſſe and inconſiderate temeritie, in attempting things impoſſible. And what might be the cauſe of ſuch errors and groſſe overſight? ſurely our fond and blinde ſelfe-love. This is it that cauſeth men to affect ever to be foremoſt; this mooveth them to ſtrive and contend for the higheſt place; this maketh them opinonative in every thing, aiming and reaching at all things unſatiably, and never reſt contented. For it ſufficeth them not to be both rich and learned; eloquent withall and mightie; good fellowes at the table and pleaſant companions; minions and favorites of Kings and Princes; rulers of cities and governors of provinces; unleſſe they may be maſters alſo of the ſwifteſt and hoteſt hounds for running; the principall horſes for ſervice and ſtomacke; quailes and cocks of the beſt game for fight; If they faile in any of theſe, they be caſt downe, and their hearts are done. *Denys* the elder of that name, not being contented and ſatisfied in minde that he was the moſt mighty and puiſſant tyrant in his time; but becauſe hee was not a better Poet than *Philoxenus*; nor able to diſcourſe and diſpute ſo learnedly as *Plato*; in great choler and indignation, he caſt the one into a dungeon within the Stone quarries, where malefactors, felons, and ſlaves were put to puniſhment; and confined the other as a caitife, and ſent him away into the Iſle *Aegine*. *Alexander* the great was not of that diſpoſition, who when *Briſon* the famous runner in the race contended with him for the beſt game in foot-manſhip, and for the nonce to pleaſe the King, ſeemed to faint and lag behinde, and ſo to yeeld the honour of the courſe unto him; being advertiſed thereof, was mightily offended and diſpleaſed with him for it. Very wiſely therefore and aptly to this purpoſe the Poet *Homer* when he had given this commendation of *Achilles*,

Like unto him there is not one in field
Of all the Greekes that ſerve with ſpeare and ſhield.

He inferred preſently upon it,

In feats of armes: but for to ſpeake and plead
Others there be who can him teach and lead.

Megabyzus the Perſian, a great lord, went up one day into the ſhop of *Apelles*, where he uſed to paint; and when he was about to ſpeake (I wot not what) as touching painting-craft, *Apelles* not enduring to heare him talke ſo fooliſhly, ſtaied him and ſtopped his mouth, ſaying pretily thus unto him: So long ſir as you held your tongue, you were taken to be ſome great man, by reaſon of your chaines, corquans, and brooches of gold; your purple robes alſo, which together with your ſilence commended your perſon: but now the very prentiſe boies here, who grinde oker and ſuch like colours, are ready to laugh at you, hearing you talke ſo fooliſhly, you know not what. And yet ſome there be who thinke that the Stoicks do but mocke and jeſt when they heare them hold this opinion: That the wiſe man (ſuch as they imagine to themſelves) is not onely Prudent, Juſt and Valiant, but ought alſo to be called an Oratour, a Captaine and a Poet, a rich and mightie man, yea and a very King; whiles they themſelves will needs be inveſted in theſe titles, and if they be not, then they are diſpleaſed and miſcontent by and by; what reaſon they have ſo to be let them anſwere. Sure I am that among the gods themſelves, ſome have power one way, and ſome another; and thereupon tooke their ſundry denominations accordingly, & reſt contented therewith: as for example, one is ſurnamed *Eugalius*, i. the god of war; another *Mantous*, i. the preſident of Propheſies; and a third *Cerdous*, which is as much to ſay, as the patron of thoſe that gaine by trafficke. And heereupon it is that *Iupiter* in *Homer* forbidding *Venus* to meddle in warlike and martiall affaires, as nothing pertinent unto her, ſendeth her to weddings and bride-chambers, and bids her attend them. Moreover ſome qualities and things there be, that we ſeeme to affect and wiſh; the which are in nature contrary, and will not concur and ſort well together: as for example, the profeſſion of eloquence, and the ſtudie of Arts Mathematicall require reſt and quietneſſe, neither have the ſtudents therein neede to be emploied in any affaires. Contrariwiſe, policie and managing of the State and weale publicke, the favors of princes and potentates, are not compaſſed without much adoo; neither can a man be idle at any time, who either is emploied in the ſervice of his countrey, or attendant in the Court. Much feeding upon fleſh and liberall drinking of wine, maketh (I muſt needs ſay) the bodie able and ſtrong, but the minde feeble and weake. Likewiſe, the continuall and exceſſive care both in getting and keeping goods, may well augment riches and increaſe our ſubſtance: but ſurely it is the contempt and deſpiſement of worldly wealth, that is a great helpe and meanes to learning and Philoſophy. And therefore wee may well conclude; that every man is not fit for every thing: but heerein ech one muſt be ruled by the ſage ſentence of *Pythius Apollo*, and firſt learne, To know himſelfe; then marke and obſerve to what one thing he is moſt framed and enclined; and thereto both apply and employ his wits, and not to offer violence to nature, and draw her perforce, as it were, againſt the haire, to this or that courſe of life, which ſhe liketh not.

The horſe ſerv's beſt in chariot at the thill,
The oxe at plough, the ground to eare and till:
Ships under ſaile the dolphins when they ſpy,
Moſt ſwiftly then do ſwim their ſides faſt by:
Who would in wood the wilde bore chaſe and ſlay,
Muſt bring with him the hardie hound away.

Now if there be one that ſhall bee angry with himſelfe and diſpleaſed, that he is not at once both a ſavage lion of the forreſt, bolde and venturous of his owne ſtrength, and withall a daintie fine puppie of *Malta*, cheriſhed and foſtered in the lappe and boſome of ſome delicate dame and rich widdow; commend me to him for a ſenſeleſſe foole of all fooles, and to ſay a ſooth, I holde him alſo as very an aſſe and doltiſh fop, who will needs bee ſuch an one as *Empedocles, Plato* and *Democritus*; namely, to write of the world, of the nature and true eſſence of all things therein, and withal, to keepe a rich olde trot and ſleepe with her every night, as *Euphorion* did; or els like unto thoſe who kept company with *Alexander* the great, in drinking and gaming (as one *Medius* did) and yet thinke it a great abuſe and indignity (forſooth) if he may not be as much admired for his wealth as *Iſmenias*, and eſteemed no leſſe for his vertue than *Epaminondas*. We ſee that the runners in a race be not diſcontented at all, if they weare not the garlands and coronets of wreſtlers, but reſt pleaſed with their owne rewards, and therein delight and rejoice. It is an olde ſaid ſaw, and a common proverbe: *Sparta* is thy lot and Province, looke well to it, and adorne the ſame. For it is a ſaying alſo of wiſe *Solon*;

And yet we will not change our boone
With them, for all their wealth and golde:
Goods paſſe from man to man full ſoone,
Ours vertue is, a ſure free holde.

Strato the naturall Philoſopher, when he heard that *Menedemus* his Concurrent had many more ſcholars by far than he: What marvel is that (quoth he) if there more that deſire to be waſhed and bathed, than are willing to be anointed & rubbed. *Ariſtotle* writing to *Antipater*: It is not meet (quoth he) that *Alexander* alone ſhould thinke highly of himſelfe, in that he is able to command ſo many men; but they alſo have good cauſe to be aſwell conceited of themſelves, who have the grace to beleeve of the gods as they ought. For ſurely, they that thus can make the beſt uſe of their owne eſtate, ſhall never be vexed, nor at their neighbours wel-fare pine away for very envie. Which of us now doeth require or thinke it fit, that the vine-tree ſhould beare figges, or the olive grapes? and yet we our ſelves, if we may not have all at once, to wit, the ſuperiority and preeminence among rich men, among eloquent orators and learned clearks, both at home and abroad, in the ſchooles among Philoſophers, in the field among warriors; aſwell among flattering claw-backs as plaine ſpoken and tel-troth friends: to conclude, unleſſe we may goe before all pinching peny-fathers in frugalitie; yea, and ſurpaſſe all ſpend-thrifts in riot and prodigallity; we are out of our little wits; we accuſe our ſelves daily like ſycophants; we are unthankeful; we repine and grumble as if we lived in penury and want. Over and beſides, do we not ſee that Nature herſelfe doeth teach us ſufficiently in this point? For like as ſhe hath provided for ſundry kinds of bruit and wilde beaſts, divers ſorts of food: for all feed not upon fleſh, all pecke not upon ſeeds and graines of plants, neither doe all live upon roots which they worke from under the ground; even ſo ſhe hath beſtowed upon mankinde many meanes to get their living, while ſome live by graffing and feeding of cattell, others by tillage, ſome be Fowlers, others Fiſhers: and therefore ought every man to chuſe that courſe of life which ſorteth beſt with his owne nature, and wholly to apply and ſet his minde thereto; leaving unto others that which pertaineth to them, and not to reprove and convince *Heſiodus* when he thus ſpeaketh, although not to the full and ſufficiently to the point:

The Potter to Potter doth beare envie,
One Carpenter to another hath a ſpightfull eie.

For jealous we are not onely of thoſe who exerciſe the ſame art, and follow that courſe of life which we do; but the rich alſo do envie the learned and eloquent; noble men the rich; advocates and lawiers, captious and litigious ſophiſters; yea, and (that which more is) gentlemen freeborne, and deſcended from noble and auncient houſes, envie Comedians when they have acted well and with a good grace upon the ſtage in great Theaters; dauncers alſo and jeſters in the court, whom they ſee to be in favor and credite with Kings and Princes; and whiles they do admire theſe, and thinke them happie for their good ſpeed and ſucceſſe in compariſon of their owne doings, they fret and grieve, and out of meaſure torment themſelves. Now, that everie one of us hath within himſelfe treaſuries laid up of contentment and diſcontentment, and certeine tunnes of good things and evil; not beſtowed as *Homer* ſaid: unto the doore-ſill and entrie of *Jupiters* houſe; but placed in each of our owne mindes, the divers paſſions whereunto we are ſubject do ſufficiently proove and ſhew. For ſuch as are fooliſh and unadviſed, doe neglect and let go the very good things that preſently they have, and never care to enjoy them, ſo intentive and earneſtly bent are their mindes and ſpirits alwaies to that which is comming, and future expectation: whereas wiſe men on the contrary ſide, call to their freſh remembrance thoſe things that are paſt, ſo as they ſeeme to enjoy the ſame as if they were preſent, yea and to make that which is no more, to be as beneficiall unto them, as if they were ready and at hand. For ſurely that which is preſent, yeelding it ſelfe to be touched by us but the leaſt moment of time that is, & immediately paſſing our ſenſes, ſeemeth unto fooles to be none of ours, nor any more to concerne us. But like as the Roper which is painted in the tẽple of *Pluto*, or deſcription of Hell, ſuffereth an aſſe behind him to gnaw & eate a rope as faſt as he twiſteth it of the Spartbroome; even ſo the unthankfull and ſenſeleſſe oblivion of many ready to catch and devoure al good things as they paſſe by, yea and to diſſipate and cauſe to vaniſh away every honeſt and notable action, all vertuous deeds, duties, delectable recreations and pleaſant paſtimes, all good fellowſhip and mutuall ſocietie, and all amiable converſation one with another, will not permit, that the life be one and the ſame, linked (as it were) and cheined by the coppulation of things paſſed and preſent; but deviding yeſterday from to day, and this day from the morrow, as if they were ſundry parts of our life, bringeth in ſuch a forgetfulneſſe, as if things once paſt had never beene. As for thoſe verily who in their diſputations and Philoſophicall diſcourſes admit no augmentation of bodies, affirming that every ſubſtance continually fadeth and vaniſheth, would make us beleeve in word, that each one of us every howre altereth from himſelfe, and no man is the ſame to day, that he was yeſterday: but theſe for fault of memorie not able to reteine and keepe thoſe things that are done and paſt, no nor to apprehend and eftſoones call them againe to minde, but ſuffer every thing to paſſe away and runne as it were through a ſieve, doe not in word but in deed and effect, make themſelves voide and emptie every day more than other, depending onely upon the morrow, as if thoſe things which were done the yeere paſt, of late, and yeſterday, nothing appertained unto them, nor ever were at all. This is therefore one thing that hindreth & troubleth that equanimity & repoſe of ſpirit which we ſeeke for: & yet there is another that doth it more; and that is this; Like as flies creeping upon the ſmooth places of glaſſes or mirrors, cannot hold their feet but muſt needs fal down, but cõtrariwiſe they take hold where they meet with any roughnes, & ſtick faſt to rugged flawes, that they can find; even ſo theſe men gliding & glanſing over al delectable & pleaſant occurrences, take hold of any adverſe & heavy calamities, thoſe they cleave unto & remember very wel; or rather as (by report) there is about the city *Olynthus* a certain place, into which if any flies called *Beetles* enter in once, they can not get forth againe, but after they have kept a turning about, and fetching compaſſes round to no purpoſe a long time, they die in the end, wherupon it tooke the name of *Cantharolethron*; ſemblably, men after they fal to the reckoning up & commemoration of their harmes & calamities paſt, are not willing to retire backe, nor to breath themſelves and give over multiplying thereupon ſtill. And yet contrariwiſe, they ought to do after the maner of Painters, who when they paint a table to lay upon the ground, or by a courſe of dead and duskiſh colours ſuch as be freſh, gay and gallant, for to palliat & in ſome ſort to hide the unpleaſantnes of the other, they ought (I ſay) to ſmother and keepe downe the heavineſſe of the heart occaſioned by ſome croſſe miſhaps, with thoſe that have fallen out of their minde, for to obliterate and wipe them out of their minde quite, and to be freed cleane from them it is not poſſible: and ſurely the harmonie of this world is reciprocall and variable, compounded (as it were) of contraries, like as we do ſee in an harpe or bow; neither is any earthly thing under the cope of heaven, pure, ſimple, and ſincere without mixture. But as Muſicke doth conſiſt of baſe and treble ſounds; and Grammar of letters, which be partly vocall, & partly mute, to wit, vowels and conſants, and he is not to be counted a Grammarian and Muſician, who is offended and diſpleaſed with either of thoſe contrarie elements of the arte, but he that affecteth the one as well as the other, and knoweth how to uſe and mixe both together with skil for to ſerve his purpoſe; even ſo conſidering that in the occurrences of mans life there be ſo many contrarieties, and one weigheth againſt another in maner of counterpoiſe; for (according to *Eurypides*)

It cannot ſtand with our affaires,
that good from bad ſhould parted bee:
A medley then of mixed paires
doth well, and ſerves in each degree.

It is not meet that we ſhould let our hearts fall and be diſcouraged with the one ſort whenſoever it hapneth, but we ought according to the rules of harmonie in Muſicke, to ſtop the point alwaies of the woorſt, with ſtrokes of better, and by overcaſting misfortunes (as it were) with a vaile and curtaine of good haps, or by ſetting one to the other, to make a good compoſition and a pleaſant accord in our life, fitting and ſorting our owne turnes. For it is not as *Menander* ſaid,

Each man ſo ſoone as he is borne,
one ſpirit good or angell hath,
Which him aſſiſts both even and morne,
and guides his ſteps in every path.

but rather according to *Empedocles*: No ſooner are we come into the world, but each one of us hath two angels, called *Dæmones*: two Deſtinies (I ſay) are allotted unto us, for to take the charge and government of our life, unto which he attributeth divers and ſundry names,

Here Chthonie *was, a downward looke that hath,*
Heliope *eke, who turneth to the ſunne,*
And Deris *ſhee, that loves in blood to bath,*
Harmonie *ſmiles ever and anon,*
Caliſto *faire and* Aeſchre *foule among,*
Thooſa *ſwift,* Dinæa *ſtout and ſtrong,*
Nemertes *who is lovely white and pure,*
But Aſaphie *with fruit black and obſcure.*

Inſomuch, as our Nativitie receiving the ſeeds of each of all theſe paſſions blended and confuſed together, and by reaſon thereof the courſe of our life not being uniforme, but full of diſordered and unequall diſpoſitions, a man of good and ſound judgement ought to wiſh and deſire at Gods hand the better, to expect and looke for the woorſe, and to make an uſe of them both, namely by abridging and cutting off that which is exceſſive and too much: For not he onely (as *Epicurus* was woont to ſay) ſhall come with moſt delight and pleaſure to ſee the morrow-ſunne, who made leaſt account thereof on the eeven; but riches alſo, glorie, authoritie and rule doth moſt rejoice their hearts who leaſt feared the contrarie: for the vehement and ardent deſire that a man hath to any of theſe things, doth imprint likewiſe an exceeding feare of forgoing and looſing the ſame, and thereby maketh the delight of enjoying them to be feeble and nothing firme and conſtant; even as the blaſe and flame of the fire which is blowen and driven to and fro with the wind. But the man who is ſo much aſſiſted with reaſon, that he is able without feare and trembling to ſay unto Fortune:

ἡδὺ μὲν ἄν τι φέρῃς, ὀλίγον δ' ἄχος ἢν ἀπολείπῃς.
Wel come to me, if good thou bringeſt ought,
And if thou faile, I will take little thought.

Or thus:

Well maiſt thou take from me ſome joy of mind,
But little griefe, thou ſhalt me leave behind.

hath this benefit by his confidence and reſolution: that as he taketh moſt joy of his good fortunes when they are preſent; ſo he never feareth the loſſe of them, as if it were a calamitie inſupportable. And herein we may aſwell imitate as admire the diſpoſition and affection of *Anaxagoras*, who when he heard the newes of his ſons death I know full well (quoth he) when I begot him that die he muſt: and after his example, whenſoever any infortunitie hapneth, to be readie with theſe & ſuch like ſpeeches: I know that riches were not permanent, but tranſitorie and for a day: I never thought other, but that they who conferred theſe dignities upon me both might and could deprive me of them I wiſt: that I had a good wife and vertuous dame, but withall a woman and no more: I was not ignorant that my friend was a man (that is to ſay) a living creature by nature mutable, as *Plato* uſed to ſay. And verily, ſuch preparations and diſpoſitions of our affections as theſe, if peradventure there ſhall befall unto us any thing againſt our intent and minde, but not contrarie to our expectation, as they will never admit ſuch paſſionate words as theſe (I never thought it would have fallen out ſo, I was in great hope of other matters, and little looked I for this) ſo they ſhall be able to rid us of all ſudden pantings and leapings of the hart, of unquiet & diſorderly beating of the pulſes, and ſoone ſtay and ſettle the furious & troubleſome motions of impatience. *Carneades* was woont in time of greateſt proſperitie to put men in minde of a change; for that the thing which hapneth contrarie to our hope and expectation, is that which altogether and wholy doth breed ſorrow and griefe. The kingdome of the Macedonians was not an handfull to the Romaine Empire and dominion; and yet king *Perſeus* when he had loſt *Macedonie*, did not only himſelfe lament his owne fortune moſt pitiouſly, but in the eies alſo of the whole world he was reputed a moſt unfortunate and miſerable man. But behold *Paulus Aemelius* whoſe hap it was to vanquiſh the ſaid *Perſeus*, when he departed out of that Province, and made over into the hands of another his whole armie, with ſo great commaund both of land and ſea, was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and ſo did ſacrifice unto the gods with joy and thankſ-giving in the judgement of all men, woorthily extolled and reputed as happie. For why? when he received firſt that high commiſſion and mightie power withall, he knew full well, that he was to give it over and reſigne it up when his time was expired; whereas *Perſeus* on the contrarie ſide, loſt that which he never made account to loſe. Certes even the Poet *Homer* hath given us verie well to underſtand, how forcible that is, which hapneth beſides hope and unlooked for, when he bringeth in *Ulyſſes* upon his returne, weeping for the death of his dog; but when he ſate by his owne wife who ſhed teares plentifully, wept not at all; for that he had long before at his leaſure againſt this comming home of his, prevented and brought into ſubjection (as it were) by the rule of reaſon, that paſſion which otherwiſe hee knew well enough would have broken out; whereas, looking for nothing leſſe than the death of his dog, he fell ſuddenly into it, as having had no time before to repreſſe the ſame. In ſumme, of all thoſe accidents which light upon us contrarie to our will; ſome grieve and vexe us by the courſe and inſtinct of nature; others (and thoſe be the greater part) we are woont to be offended and diſcontented with, upon a corrupt opinion and fooliſh cuſtome that we have taken: and therefore we ſhould do verie well, againſt ſuch temptations as theſe, to be ready with that ſentence of *Menander*:

No harme nor loſſe thou doſt ſuſtaine:
But that thou liſt ſo for to faine.

And how (quoth he) can it concerne thee?

For if no fleſh without it wound,
Nor ſoule within, then all is ſound.

As for example, the baſe parentage and birth of thy father; the adulterie of thy wife; the loſſe or repulſe of any honor, dignitie or preeminence: for what ſhould let, notwithſtanding all theſe croſſes, but that thy bodie and minde both may be in right good plight and excellent eſtate? And againſt thoſe accidents which ſeeme naturally to grieve and trouble us, to wit, maladies, paines and travels; death of deere friends and toward children, we may oppoſe another ſaying of *Euripides* the Poët:

Alas, alas, and well a-day:
But why alas, and well away?
Nought elſe to us hath yet beene delt,

But that which daily men have felt.

For no remonſtrance nor reaſon is ſo effectuall to reſtraine and ſtay this paſſionate and ſenſuall part of our mind, when it is readie to ſlip and be carried headlong away with our affections, as that which calleth to remembrance the common and naturall neceſſitie; by meanes whereof a man in regard of his bodie, being mixed and compounded, doth expoſe and offer this handle (as it were) and vantage whereby fortune is to take hold when ſhe wreſtleth againſt him; for otherwiſe, in the greateſt and moſt principall things, he abideth faſt and ſure. King *Demetrius* having forced and woon the citie *Megara*, demaunded of *Stilpo* the wiſe Philoſopher, whether he had loſt any goods in the ſackage and pillage thereof? Sir (quoth he) I ſaw not ſo much as one man carrying any thing of mine away; ſemblably, when fortune hath made what ſpoile hee can, and taken from us all other things, yet ſomewhat there remaineth ſtill within our ſelves,

Which Greeks do what they can or may,
Shall neither drive nor beare away.

In which regard we ought altogether ſo to depreſſe, debaſe and throw downe our humaine nature, as if it had nothing firme, ſtable and permanent, nothing above the reach and power of fortune: but contrariwiſe, knowing that it is the leaſt and woorſt part of man, and the ſame fraile, brittle, and ſubject to death, which maketh us to lie open unto fortune and her aſſaults; whereas in reſpect of the better part we are maſters over her, and have her at command, when there being ſeated and founded moſt ſurely the beſt and greateſt things that we have, to wit, ſound and honeſt Opinions, Arts and Sciences, good diſcourſes tending to vertue, which be all of a ſubſtance incorruptible, and whereof we can not be robbed: we (I ſay) knowing thus much, ought in the confidence of our ſelves to cary a minde invincible and ſecure againſt whatſoever ſhall happen, & be able to ſay that to the face of Fortune, which *Socrates* addreſſing his ſpeech indeed covertly to the Judges, ſeemed to ſpeake againſt his two accuſers, *Anytus* and *Melitus*: Well may *Anytus* and *Melitus* bring me to my death, but hurt or harme me they ſhall never be able. And even ſo Fortune hath power to bring a diſeaſe or ſickneſſe upon a man, his goods ſhe can take away, raiſe ſhe may a ſlander of him to tyrant, prince or people, and bring him out of grace and favour; but him that is vertuous, honeſt, valiant and magnanimous, ſhe can not make wicked, diſhoneſt, baſe-minded, malicious & envious: and in one word, ſhe hath not power to take from him a good habitude, ſetled upon wiſdome and diſcretion, which whereſoever it is alwaies preſent, doth more good unto a man for to guide him how to live, than the pilot at ſea for to direct a ſhip in her courſe; for ſurely the pilot, be he never ſo ſkilfull, knoweth not how to ſtill the rough and ſurging billowes when he would, he can not allay the violence of a tempeſt, or bluſtering winde, neither put into a ſafe harbor and haven, or gaine a commodious bay to anker in at all times and in every coaſt, would he never ſo faine, nor reſolutely without feare and trembling when he is in a tempeſt, abide the danger and under-goe all; thus farre foorth onely his art ſerveth, ſo long as he is in no deſpaire, but that his skill may take place;

To ſtrike main-ſaile, and downe the lee
To let ſhip hull, untill he ſee
The foot of maſt no more above
The ſea: while he doth not remove,
But with one hand in other faſt
Quaketh and panteth all agaſt.

But the diſpoſition and ſtaied minde of a prudent man, over and beſides that it bringeth the body into a quiet and calme eſtate, by diſſipating and diſpatching for the moſt part the occaſions and preparatives of diſeaſes, and that by continent life, ſober diet, moderate exerciſes, and travels in meaſure; if haply there chance ſome little beginning or indiſpoſition to a paſſion, upon which the minde is ready to runne it ſelfe, as a ſhip, upon ſome blinde rocke under the water, it can quickly turne about his nimble and light croſſe-ſaile yard, as *Aſclepiades* was woont to ſay, and ſo avoid the danger.

But ſay there come upon us ſome great and extraordinary accident, ſuch as neither we looked for, nor be able by all the power we have, either to overcome or endure; the haven is neere at hand, we may ſwim ſafely thither out of the body, (as it were) out of a veſſell that leaketh and taketh water, and will no longer holde a paſſenger: as for fooliſh folke, it is the feare of death, and not the love of life that cauſeth them to cling and ſticke ſo cloſe to the body, hanging and claſping thereunto no otherwiſe than *Ulyſſes* to the wilde figge tree, when hee feared with great horror, the gulfe *Charybdes* roaring under him;

Whereas the winds would not permit to ſtay,
Nor ſuffer him to rowe or ſaile away:

diſpleaſed infinitely in the one, and dreading fearefully the other. But he that in ſome meaſure (be it never ſo little) knoweth the nature of the ſoule, and caſteth this with himſelfe: That by death there is a paſſage out of this life, either to a better ſtate, or at leaſt-wiſe not to a woorſe: certes he is furniſhed with no meane way-faring proviſion to bring him to the ſecuritie of mind in this life, I meane the feareleſſe contempt of death: for he that may (ſo long as vertue and the better part of the ſoule (which indeed is proper unto man) is predominant) live pleaſantly; and when the contrary paſſions, which are enemies to nature, doe prevaile, depart reſolutely and without feare, ſaying thus unto himſelfe:

God will me ſuffer to be gone
When that I will my ſelfe, anon.

What can we imagine to happen unto a man of this reſolution, that ſhould encumber, trouble or terrifie him? for whoſoever he was that ſaid: I have prevented thee (ô Fortune) I have ſtopped up all thy avenewes, I have intercepted and choked all the waies of acceſſe and entry; ſurely he fortified himſelfe, not with barres and barricadoes, not with locks and keies, ne yet with mures and walles, but with Philoſophicall and ſage leſſons, with ſententious ſawes, and with diſcourſes of reaſon, whereof all men that are willing, be capable. Neither ought a man to diſcredit the trueth of theſe and ſuch like things which are committed in writing, and give no beleefe unto them, but rather to admire, and with an affectionate raviſhment of ſpirit embrace and imitate them; yea, and withall to make a triall and experiment of himſelfe; firſt in ſmaller matters, proceeding afterwards to greater, untill he reach unto the higheſt, and in no wiſe to ſhake off ſuch meditations, nor to ſhift off and ſeeke to avoid the exerciſe of the minde in this kinde, and in ſo doing, he ſhall haply finde no ſuch difficultie as he thinketh. For as the effeminate delicacy and niceneſſe of our mind, amuſed alwaies and loving to be occupied in the moſt eaſie objects, and retiring eſt-ſoones from the cogitation of thoſe things that fall out croſſe, unto ſuch as tend unto greateſt pleaſure, causeth it to be ſoft and tender, and imprinteth a certaine daintineſſe not able to abide any exerciſe; ſo if the ſame minde would by cuſtome learne and exerciſe it ſelfe in apprehending the imagination of a maladie, of paine, travell, and of baniſhment, and enforce it ſelfe by reaſon to withſtand and ſtrive againſt ech of theſe accidents, it will be found and ſeene by experience, that ſuch things which through an erronious opinion were thought painefull, grievous, hard and terrible, are for the moſt part but vaine in deed, deceitfull and contemptible: like as reaſon will ſhew the ſame if a man would conſider them each one in particular. Howbeit the moſt part mightily feare and have in horror that verſe of *Menander*,

No man alive can ſafely ſay,
This caſe ſhall never me aſſay.

as not knowing how materiall it is to the exempting and freeing of a man from all griefe and ſorrow, to meditate before-hand, and to be able to looke open-eied full againſt fortune, and not to make thoſe apprehenſions and imaginations in himſelfe ſoft and effeminate, as if hee were foſtered and nouriſhed in the ſhadow, under many fooliſh hopes which ever yeeld to the contrarie, and bee not able to reſiſt ſo much as any one. But to come againe unto *Menander*, we have to anſwer unto him in this maner: True it is indeed, there is no man living able to ſay: This or this ſhal never happen unto me; howbeit, thus much may a man that is alive ſay and affirme: So long as I live I will not do this, to wit, I will not lie; I will never be a couſiner, nor circumvent any man; I will not defraud any one of his owne; neither will I fore-lay and ſurpriſe any man by a wile. This lieth in our power to promiſe and performe, and this is no ſmall matter, but a great meanes to procure tranquillitie and contentment of minde. Whereas contrariwiſe, the remorſe of conſcience when as a man is privie to himſelfe, and muſt needs confeſſe and ſay: Theſe and theſe wicked parts I have committed, feſtereth in the ſoule like an ulcer and ſore in the fleſh, and leaveth behind it repentance in the ſoule, which fretteth, galleth, gnaweth, and ſetteth it a bleeding freſh continually. For, whereas all other ſorrowes, griefes, and anguiſhes, reaſon doth take away; repentance onely it doth breed and engender, which together with ſhame biteth and puniſheth it ſelfe; for like as they who quiver and ſhake in the feavers called *Epioli*; or contrariwiſe burne by occaſion of other agues, are more afflicted and more at eaſe than thoſe who ſuffer the ſame accidents by exterior cauſes, to wit, winters cold or ſummers heat; even ſo all miſchances and caſuall calamities, bring with them lighter dolors and paines as comming from without. But when a man is forced thus to confeſſe,

My ſelfe I may well thanke for this,
None els for it blame woorthy is.

which is an ordinary ſpeech of them who lamentably bewaile their ſinnes from the bottome of their hearts, it cauſeth griefe and ſorrow to be ſo much more heavy, and it is joyned with ſhame and infamie: whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that neither houſe richly and finely furniſhed, nor heapes of gold and ſilver; no parentage or nobilitie of birth, no dignitie of eſtate and authoritie how high ſoever, no grace in ſpeech; no force and power of eloquence; can yeeld unto a mans life ſuch a calme (as it were) and peaceable tranquillitie; as a ſoule and conſcience cleere from wicked deeds, ſinfull cogitations and leaud deſſeignes, which having the ſource & fountaine of life (I meane the inward diſpoſition of the heart) not troubled & polluted, but clere and clenſed; from whence all good and laudable actions do flowe and proceed, and the ſame doe give a lively, cheerefull, and effectuall operation, even by ſome divine inſtinct and heavenly inſpiration, together with a bold courage and haughty minde, and withall yeeld the remembrance of a vertuous and well led life, more ſweete, pleaſant, firme and permanent, than is that hope whereof *Pindarus* writeth, the nurſe and foſtreſſe of old age: for we muſt not thinke, that (as *Carneades* was wont to ſay) the * Cenſers or perfuming pannes wherin ſweet incenſe is burned, reteine and render the pleaſant odor along time after they be emptie, and that the vertuous deeds of a wiſe and honeſt man, ſhould not alwaies leave behinde them in the ſoule an amiable, delightful, and freſh remembrance thereof; by meanes whereof, that inward joy being watered, is ever greene, buddeth and flouriſheth ſtill, deſpiſing the ſhamefull errour of thoſe who with their plaints, moanes, and wailings, diffame this life of ours; ſaying: It is a very hell and place of torments, or elſe a region of confined and exiled ſoules, into which they were ſent away and baniſhed forth of heaven. And heere I cannot chooſe but highly commend that memorable ſaying of *Diogenes,* who ſeeing once a certeine ſtranger at *Lacedæmon* dreſſing and trimming himſelfe very curiouſly againſt a feaſtivall & high day: What meanes all this (quoth he) my good friend? to a good and honeſt man is not everie day in the yeere a feaſt and holy day? yes verily, and if we be wiſe we ſhould thinke all daies double feaſts, and moſt ſolemne gaudie-daies: for ſurely this world is a right ſacred and holy temple, yea and moſt divine, beſeeming the majeſtie of God, into which man is inducted and admitted at his nativitie, not to gaze and looke at ſtatues and images cut and made by mans hand, and ſuch as have no motion of their owne, but to behold thoſe works and creatures which that divine ſpirit and almightie power in woonderfull wiſedome and providence hath made and ſhewed unto us ſenſible; and yet (as *Plato* ſaith) repreſenting and reſembling intelligible powers, from whence proceed the beginnings of life and mooving, namely the ſunne, the moone, the ſtarres; what ſhould I ſpeake of the rivers which continually ſend out freſh water ſtill; and the earth which bringeth foorth nouriſhment for all living creatures, and yeeldeth nutriment likewiſe to every plant? Now if our life be the imitation of ſo ſacred myſteries, and (as it were) a profeſſion & entrance into ſo holy a religion of all others moſt perfect, we muſt needs eſteeme it to be full of contentment & continuall joy: neither ought we (as the common multitude doth) attend & wait for the feaſts of *Saturne, Bacchus,* or *Minerva,* and ſuch other high daies wherein they may ſolace themſelves, make merrie and laugh, buying their mirth and joy for money, giving unto plaiers, jeſters, dauncers, & ſuch like their hire and reward for to make them laugh. In which feaſts and ſolemnities, we uſe to ſit with great contentment of minde, arraied decently according to our degree and calling, (for no man uſeth to mourne and lament, when he is profeſſed in the myſteries of *Ceres*, and received into that confraternitie; no man ſorroweth when he doth behold the goodly ſights of the *Pythian* games; no man hungreth or faſteth during the *Saturnals*:) what an indignitie and ſhame is it then that in thoſe feaſts which God himſelfe hath inſtituted, and wherein (as a man would ſay) he leadeth the daunce, or is perſonally himſelfe to give inſtitution and induction, men ſhould contamminate, pollute and profane as they do, diſhonoring their life for the moſt part, with weeping, wailing, ſighing and groning, or at the leaſtwiſe in deepe thoughts & penſive cares. But the greateſt ſhame of all other is this; that we take pleaſure to heare the organs and inſtruments of muſicke ſound pleaſantly; we delight to heare birdes ſinging ſweetly; we behold with right good will, beaſts playing, ſporting, dauncing, and skipping featly; and contrariwiſe wee are offended when they houle, roare, ſnarle, and gnaſh their teeth, as alſo

* Or Roſe-marie banks after they be cut downe and left void, as ſome expound.

when they ſhew a fierce, ſterne, and hideous looke; and all this while ſeeing our owne lives heavie, ſad, travailed and oppreſſed with moſt unpleaſant paſſions, moſt intricate and inexplicable affaires, and overwhelmed with infinite and endleſſe cares; yet we will not affoord our ſelves ſome reſt and breathing time; nay (that which more is) we will not admit the ſpeech and remonſtrances of our friends and familiars, whom if we would give eare unto, we might without fault-finding receive the preſent, remember with joy and thankſgiving that which is paſt, and without diſtruſt, ſuſpition and feare, expect with joyfull and lightſome hope that which is to come.

OF VNSEEMELY AND NAVGHTY BASHFVLNESSE.

The Summarie.

ALthough it be needleſſe to ſtand curiouſly upon the concatenation and coherence of theſe matters handled by Plutarch, *how they be knit and linked together, conſidering that he penned theſe diſcourſes of his at ſundrie times; and both they who have reduced them into one volume; and thoſe alſo who have tranſlated them out of Greeke into other languages, have not all followed one order: yet I thinke verily that this preſent Treatiſe, as concerning Naughtie Baſhfulnes, is fitly joined next to the former, as touching the repoſe and tranquillitie of the ſpirit. For one of the greateſt ſhaking cracks that our ſoule can receive in her tranquillitie, is when ſhe ſecretly and by ſtealth may be lifted from her ſeat, for to drive a man to thoſe things which may trouble him immediately, and much more afterwards. Now this evill baſhfulneſſe hath this vicious and dangerous qualitie, to know how to ſeduce and draw us by faire ſemblant, and nevertheleſſe to trouble & confound after a ſtrange faſhion the contentment of our ſpirits, as appereth plainely in this little booke, which deſerveth to be well peruſed and conſidered by all ſorts of people. Now after he hath ſhewed what this evill ſhamefaſtnes is; he declareth that it is no leſſe pernicious and hurtfull then impudencie; adding moreover that wee ought to take good heed, leſt in avoiding it, we fall into contrarie extremities, as they do who are envious, ſhameleſſe, obſtinate, idle and diſſolute. Then he proceedeth to teach us, that the firſt and principall preſervative againſt this poiſon is, to holde it for to be moſt dangerous and deadly, which he doth verifie and proove by notable examples. Which done, he deſcribeth particularly and from point to point, the incommodities, perils, and misfortunes that come by naughty baſhfulnes, applying thereto good and proper remedies, giving withall many ſage and wiſe counſels drawen out of Philoſophie, tending to this ſtop and marke; that neither the regard of our friends, kinſfolke and familiars, nor yet the reſpect of any thing elſe beſides, ought to draw from our thought, our mouth or hands, any thing contrarie to the dutie of an honeſt man: which both for the preſent, and alſo all the reſt of our life may leave in our ſoule, the cicatrice or skar of repentance, ſorrow and heavineſſe. In concluſion, to the end that we ſhould not commit thoſe deeds in haſte, which afterwards we may repent at leaſure; he ſheweth that we ought to have before our eies the hurts and inconveniences cauſed before by evil baſhfulneſſe, that the conſideration thereof might keepe us from falling into freſh and new faultes.*

OF UNSEEMELY AND naughtie baſhfulneſſe.

AMong thoſe plants which the earth bringeth foorth, ſome there are which not onely by their owne nature bee wilde and ſavage, and withall bearing no fruit at all; but (that which woorſe is) in their growth doe hurt unto good ſeeds and fruitfull plants: and yet skilful gardiners and husbandmen, judge them to be arguments and ſignes, not of bad ground, but rather of a kinde and fat ſoile; ſemblaby the paſſions and affections of the minde, ſimply and in themſelves are not good, howbeit they ſpring as buds and flowers from a towardly nature, and ſuch as gently can yeeld it ſelfe to be wrought, framed, and brought into order by reaſon. In this kinde I may raunge that which the Greekes call Δυσωπία, which is as much to ſay, as a fooliſh and ruſticall ſhamefaſtnes; no evill ſigne in it ſelfe, howbeit the cauſe and occaſion of evill and naughtineſſe. For they that be given to baſh and ſhame over-much and when they ſhould not, commit many times the ſame faults that they doe, who are ſhameleſſe and impudent: heere onely is the difference, that they, when they treſpaſſe and do amiſſe, are diſpleaſed with themſelves, and grieve for the matter; whereas theſe take delight & pleaſure therin: for he that is graceleſſe and paſt ſhame, hath no ſenſe or feeling of griefe when he hath committed any foule or diſhoneſt act; contrariwiſe, whoſoever be apt to baſh & be aſhamed quickly, are ſoone moved & troubled anon, even at thoſe things which ſeeme onely diſhoneſt, although they be not indeed. Now, leſt the equivocation of the word might breed any doubt, I meane by *Dyſopia*, immoderate baſhfulneſſe, whereby one bluſheth for ſhame exceedingly and for every thing, whereupon ſuch an one is called in Greeke *Dyſopetus*, for that his viſage and countenance together with his mind changeth, falleth and is caſt downe: for like as Κατήφεια in Greeke is defined to be a ſacred heavineſſe, which cauſeth a downe-looke; even ſo, that ſhame and diſmaiedneſſe which maketh us that we dare not looke a man in the face as we ſhould and when we ought, the call Δυσωπία. And hereupon it was that the great Oratour *Demoſthenes* ſaid of an impudent fellow, that he had in his eies not κόρας, but πόρνας. i. harlots, playing pretily upon the ambiguity of the word κόρη, which ſignifieth both the round apple in the eies, and alſo a maiden or virgine: but contrariwiſe the over-baſhfull perſon (whom wee ſpeake of) ſheweth in his countenance a minde too ſoft, delicate and effeminate, and yet he flattereth himſelfe therein, and calleth that fault (wherein the impudent perſon ſurpaſſeth him) Shamefaſtneſſe. Now *Cato* was woont to ſay, That he loved to ſee yoong folke rather to bluſh than to looke pale; as having good reaſon to acquaint and teach youth to dread ſhame and reproch more than blame and reproofe; yea, and ſuſpition or obloquie, rather than perill or danger.

Howbeit, we muſt abridge & cut off the exceſſe and over-much, which is in ſuch timidity and feare of reproch; for that often-times it commeth to paſſe in ſome, who dreading no leſſe to heare ill and be accuſed, than to be chaſtiſed or puniſhed; for falſe hearts are frighted from doing their duty, and in no wiſe can abide to have an hard word ſpoken of them. But as we are not to neglect theſe that are ſo tender, nor ought to feed them in their feebleneſſe of heart; ſo againe, we muſt not praiſe their diſpoſition who are ſtiffe and inflexible: ſuch as the Poët deſcribeth, when he ſaith:

Who feareleſſe is, and baſheth not
all men faſt to beholde;
In whom appeares the dogged force
of Anaxarchus *bolde:*

but we ought to compound a good mixture and temperate medley of both extremities, which may take away this exceſſive obſtinacie which is impudence, and that immoderate modeſtie which is meere childiſhneſſe and imbecilitie. True it is that the cure of theſe two maladies is difficult; neither can this exceſſe both in the one and the other be cut off without danger. For like as the skilfull husbandman when he would rid the ground of ſome wilde buſhes and fruitleſſe plants, he laieth at them mainely with his grubbing hooke or mattocke, untill he have fetched them up by the roote; or elſe ſets fire unto them and ſo burneth them; but when he comes to proine or cut a vine, an appletree, or an olive, he carrieth his hand lightly for feare of wounding any of the ſound wood, in fetching off the ſuperfluous and ranke branches, and ſo kill the heart thereof; even ſo the Philoſopher, entending to plucke out of the mind of a yoong man, either envie, an unkind and ſavage plant, which hardly or unneth at all may be made gentle and brought to any good uſe; or the unſeaſonable and exceſſive greedines of gathering good, or diſſolute and diſordinate luſt; he never feareth at all in the cutting thereof, to draw blood, to preſſe and pierce hard to the bottom, yea and to make a large wound and deepe skarre. But when he ſetteth to the keene edge of remonſtrance and ſpeech, to the tender and delicate part of the ſoule, for to cut away that which is exceſſive or overmuch, to wit, wherein is ſeated this unmeaſurable and ſheepiſh baſhfulneſſe, he hath a great care and regard, leſt ere he be aware he cut away therewith, that ingenuous and honeſt ſhamefaſtneſſe that is ſo good and commendable. For we ſee that even nourſes themſelves when they thinke to wipe away the filth of their little infants, and to make them cleane; if they rub any thing hard, otherwhiles fetch off the skin withall, make the fleſh raw and put them to paine. And therefore we muſt take heed, that in ſeeking by all meanes to do out this exceſſive baſhfulneſſe utterly in yoong people, we make them not braſen faced, ſuch as care not what is ſaid unto them, and bluſh thereat no more than a blackdog, and in one word ſtanding ſtiffe in any thing that they do; but rather we ought to doe, as they, who demoliſh and pull downe the dwelling houſes that be neere unto the temples of the gods; who for feare of touching any thing that is holy or ſacred, ſuffer thoſe ends of the edifices and buildings to ſtand ſtill, which are next and joined cloſe thereto; yea and thoſe they underprop and ſtay up, that they ſhould not fall downe of themſelves; even ſo (I ſay) beware and feare we muſt, whiles we be tempering about this immoderate ſhamefacedneſſe for to remoove it, that we do not draw away with it grace and modeſty, gentlenes and debonarity which be adjacents and lie cloſe unto it; under which qualities lieth lurking and ſticketh cloſe to, the foreſaid naughtie baſhfulneſſe, flattering him that is poſſeſſed therewith, as if he were full of humanitie, courteſie, civilitie and common ſenſe; not opinionative, ſevere, inflexible and untractable: which is the reaſon, that the Stoicke Philoſophers when they diſpute of this matter, have diſtinguiſhed by ſeverall names, this aptnes to bluſh or over-much baſhfulneſſe, from modeſtie and ſhamefacedneſſe indeed: for feare leſt the equivocation and ambiguitie of one common word, might give ſome occaſion and vantage to the vicious paſſion it ſelfe to do ſome hurt. As for us, they muſt give us leave to uſe the tearmes without calumniation, or rather permit us to diſtinguiſh according to *Homer*, when he ſaith,

Shame is a thing that doth mickle harme, and profiteth as much.

neither without good cauſe is it, that in the former place he putteth downe the harme and diſcommoditie thereof: for ſurely it is not profitable but by the meanes of reaſon, which cutteth off that which is ſuperfluous, and leaveth a meane behinde.

To come then unto the remedies thereof; it behooveth him firſt and formoſt, who is given to bluſhing at every ſmal matter, to beleeve & be perſwaded, that he is poſſeſſed with ſuch an hurtfull paſſion: (now there is nothing hurtfull, which is good and honeſt) neither ought he to take pleaſure and delight when he ſhall be tickled in the eare with praiſes and commendations, when he ſhall heare himſelfe called gentle, jolly and courteous, in ſteed of grave, magnanimous and juſt; neither let him do as *Pegaſus* the horſe in *Euripides*, who

When mount his back Bellerophontes *ſhould,*
With trembling ſtoup'd more than his owne ſelfe would.

that is to ſay, give place and yeeld after a baſe manner to the demaunds and requeſts of everie man; or object himſelfe to their wil and pleaſure, for feare (forſooth) leſt one ſhould ſay of him Lo what a hard man is this? See how inexorable he is. It is reported of *Bocchoris* a king of *Egypt*, that being rough, fell & auſtere, the goddeſſe *Iſis* ſent the ſerpent called *Aſpis*, for to wind and wreath about his head, and ſo to caſt a ſhadow over him from above, to the ende that hee might be put in minde to judge aright: but this exceſſive ſhamefaſtneſſe which alwaies overſpreadeth and covereth them, who are not manly but faint-hearted and effeminate, not ſuffering them once to dare, to deny, or gainſay any thing, ſurely, would avert and withdraw judges from doing juſtice cloſe up their mouthes, that in counſels and conſultations ſhould deliver their opinion frankly; yea and cauſe them both to ſay and do many things inconſiderately againſt their minde, which otherwhiles they would not. For looke whoſoever is moſt unreaſonable and importunate, he will ever tyrannize and dominier over ſuch an one, forcing by his impudencie the baſhfulneſſe of the other: by which meanes, it commeth to paſſe that this exceſſive ſhame, like unto a low piece of ſoft ground which is ready to receive all the water that comes, and apt to be overflowed and drowned, having no power to withſtand and repulſe any encounter, nor ſay a word to the contrarie whatſoever is propoſed, yeeldeth acceſſe to the lewdeſt deſſeignes, acts and paſſions that be. An evill guardian and keeper of childhood and yoong age, is this exceſſive baſhfulneſſe, as *Brutus* well ſaid, who was of this minde, that neither he nor ſhe could well and honeſtly paſſe the flower of their freſh youth, who had not the heart and face to refuſe and denie any thing; even ſo likewiſe, a bad governeſſe it is of the bride-bed and womens chamber, according to that which ſhee ſaide in *Sophocles* to the adulterer, who repented of the fact,

Thy flattering words have me ſeduced,
And ſo perſwaded, I am abuſed.

In ſuch ſort as this baſhfulnes, over and beſides, that it is vicious and faultie it ſelfe, ſpoileth and marreth cleane the intemperate & incontinent perſon, by making no reſiſtance to his appetites and demaunds, but letting all ly unfortified, unbard, and unlockt, yeelding eaſie acceſſe and entrance to thoſe that will make aſſault and give the attempt, who may by great gifts and large offers catch and compaſſe the wickedeſt natures that be: but ſurely by perſwaſions and inductions, and by the meanes withall of this exceſſive baſhfulneſſe, they oftentimes conquer and get the maſtrie even of ſuch as are of honeſt and gentle diſpoſition. Here I paſſe-by the detriments and damages that this baſhfulneſſe hath beene the cauſe of, in many matters and that of profit and commoditie: namely, how many men having not the heart to ſay nay, have put forth and lent their money even to thoſe whoſe credite they diſtruſt; have beene ſureties for ſuch as otherwiſe they would have beene loth and unwilling to engage themſelves for, who can approove and commend this golden ſentence (written upon the temple of *Apollo*) Be ſurety thou maiſt, but make account then to pay: howbeit, they have not the power to do themſelves good by that warning, when they come to deale in the world. And how many have come unto their end and died by the meanes of this fooliſh qualitie, it were hard to reckon. For *Creon* in *Euripides* when he ſpake thus unto *Medea*,

For me Madame, it were much better now
by flat deniall your minde to diſcontent,
Than having once thus yeelded unto you
ſigh afterwards full ſore, and ay repent.

gave a very good leſſon for others to follow; but himſelfe overcome at length through his fooliſh baſhfulneſſe, graunting one day longer of delay at her requeſt, overthrew his owne ſtate, and his whole houſe. Some there were alſo who doubting and ſuſpecting that they were laide for, to be bloodily murdered, or made away by poiſon, yet upon a fooliſh modeſtie not refuſing to go into the place of daunger, came to their death and were ſoone deſtroied. Thus died *Dion*; who notwithſtanding hee knew well enough that *Callippus* laide wait for him to take away his life, yet (forſooth) abaſhed he was to diſtruſt his friend and hoſt, and ſo to ſtand upon his guard. Thus was *Antipater* the ſonne of *Caſſander* maſſacred; who having firſt invited *Demetrius* to ſupper, was bidden the morrow after to his houſe likewiſe; and for that he was abaſhed to miſtruſt *Demetrius*, who the day before had truſted him, refuſed not to go, but after ſupper he was murdered for his labour. Moreover, when *Polyſperchon* had undertaken and promiſed unto *Caſſander* for the ſumme of one hundred talents to kill *Hercules* (a baſe ſonne of king *Alexander* by lady *Barſine*) he ſent and requeſted the ſaid *Hercules* to ſup with with him in his lodging, the yoong gentleman had no liking at all to ſuch a bidding, but miſtruſting and fearing his curteſie, alleaged for his excuſe that he was not well at eaſe: whereupon *Polyſperchon* came himſelfe in perſon unto him, and in this maner began to perſwade: Above all things my good childe (quoth he) ſtudie and endevour to imitate the humanitie and ſociable nature of your noble father, unleſſe haply you have me in jealouſie and ſuſpition as if I went about to compaſſe your death. The youth was abaſhed to heare him ſay ſo, and went with him; well, ſupper was no ſooner ended, but they made an end of the yoong gentleman alſo, and ſtrangled him outright: ſo that it is no ridiculous and fooliſh advertiſement (as ſome let not to ſay) but a wiſe and ſage adviſe of *Heſiodus* when he ſaith;

Thy friend and lover to ſupper do invite,
Thy foe leave out, for he will thee requite.

Be not in any wiſe baſhfull and aſhamed to refuſe his offer whom thou knoweſt to hate thee: but never leave out and reject him once who ſeemeth to put his truſt and confidence in thee:

for if thou do invite, thou ſhalt be invited againe; and if thou be bidden to a ſupper and go, thou canſt not chooſe but bid againe; if thou abandon once thy diſtruſt and diffidence, which is the guard of thy ſafty, and ſo marre that good tincture and temperature by a fooliſh ſhame that thou haſt, when thou dareſt not refuſe.

Seeing then that this infirmitie and maladie of the minde, is the cauſe of many inconveniences, aſſay we muſt to chaſe it away with all the might we have by exerciſe, beginning at the firſt like as men do in other exerciſes, with things that are not very difficult, nor ſuch as a man may boldly have the face to denie: as for example, if at a dinner one chance to drinke unto thee, when thou haſt drunke ſufficiently already; be not abaſhed to refuſe for to pledge him, neither force thy ſelfe, but take the cup at his hand and ſet it downe againe on the boord; againe, there is another perchance that amids his cups chalengeth thee to hazzard or to play at dice; be not aſhamed to ſay him nay, neither feare thou although thou receive a flout and ſcoffe at his hands for deniall: but rather do as *Xenophanes* did, when one *Laſus* the ſonne of *Hermiones* called him coward, becauſe he would not play at dice with him: I confeſſe (quoth he) I am a very daſtard in thoſe things that be lewd and naught, and I dare do nothing at all; moreover, ſay thou fall into the hands of a pratling & talkative buſie bodie, who catcheth hold on thee, hangeth upon thee and will not let thee go? be not ſheepiſh and baſhfull; but interrupt and cut his tale ſhort, ſhake him off I ſay, but go thou forward and make an end of thy buſineſſe whereabout thou wenteſt: for ſuch refuſals, ſuch repulſes, ſhifts and evaſions in ſmall matters, for which men cannot greatly complaine of us, exerciſing us not to bluſh and be aſhamed when there is no cauſe, do inure and frame us well before-hand unto other occaſions of greater importance. And heere in this place, it were not amiſſe to call unto remembrance a ſpeech of *Demoſthenes*: for when the Athenians being ſollicited and mooved to ſend aid unto *Harpalus*, were ſo forward in the action, that they had put themſelves in armes againſt king *Alexander*, all on a ſodaine they diſcovered upon their owne coaſts *Philoxenus*, the lieutenant generall of the kings forces, and chiefe admirall of his Armada at ſea: now when the people were ſo aſtonied upon this unexpected occurrent, that they had not a word to ſay for very feare: What wil theſe men do (quoth *Demoſthenes*) when they ſhall ſee the ſunne, who are ſo afraid that they dare not looke againſt a little lampe; even ſo I ſay to thee that art given much to bluſh and be abaſhed: What wilt thou be able to do in weightie affaires, namely, when thou ſhalt be encountred by a king; or if the bodie of ſome people or ſtate be earneſt with thee to obtaine ought at thy hand that is unreaſonable? when thou haſt not the heart to refuſe for to pledge a familiar friend if he chance to drinke unto thee & offer thee a cup of wine? or if thou canſt not find meanes to eſcape and wind thy ſelfe out of the company of a babling buſie bodie, that hath faſtened and taken hold of thee, but ſuffer ſuch a vaine prating fellow as this to walke and leade thee at his pleaſure up and downe, having not ſo much power as to ſay thus unto him: I will ſee you againe hereafter at ſome other time, now I have no leaſure to talke with you.

Over and beſides, the exerciſe and uſe of breaking your ſelves of this baſhfulneſſe in praiſing others for ſmall and light matters, will not be unprofitable unto you; as for example: Say, that when you are at a feaſt of your friends, the harper or minſtrell do either play or ſing out of tune; or haply an actour of a Comedie, dearely hired for a good piece of money, by his ill grace in acting, marre the play and diſgrace the authour himſelfe *Menander*, and yet neverthelesſe, the vulgar ſort doe applaud, clap their hands, and highly commend and admire him for his deed: in mine advice it would be no great paine or difficulty for thee to give him the hearing with patience and ſilence, without praiſing him after a ſervile and flattering maner, otherwiſe than you thinke it meet and reaſon: for if in ſuch things as theſe, you be not maſter of your ſelfe, how will you be able to hold, when ſome deare friend of yours ſhall reade unto you either ſome fooliſh rime or bad poëſie that himſelfe hath compoſed? if he ſhal ſhew unto you ſome oration of his owne fooliſh and ridiculous penning? you will fall a praiſing of him, will you? you will keepe a clapping of your hands with other flattering jacks? I would not els. And if you doe ſo, how can you reprove him when he ſhall commit ſome groſſe fault in greater matters? how ſhall you be able to admoniſh him, if he chance to forget himſelfe in the adminiſtration of ſome magiſtracie or in his carriage in wedlocke, or in politike government? And verily, for mine owne part, I do not greatly allow and like of that anſwere of *Pericles*, who being requeſted by a friend to beare falſe witneſſe in his behalfe, and to binde the ſame with an oath, whereby he ſhould be forſworne: I am your friend (quoth he) as far as the altar; as if he ſhould have ſaid: Saving my conſcience and duety to the gods: for ſurely he was come too neere already unto him. But he, who hath accuſtomed himſelfe long before, neither to praiſe againſt his owne minde, one who hath made an oration, nor to applaud unto him who hath ſung, nor to laugh heartily at him who came out with ſome ſtale or poore jeſt which had no grace; hee will (I trow) never ſuffer his friend and familiar to proceed ſo farre, as to demand ſuch a requeſt of him, or once be ſo bolde as to move him (who before had refuſed in ſmaller trifles to ſatisfie his deſire) in this maner: Be perjured for me; beare falſe witneſſe for my ſake; or pronounce an unjuſt ſentence for the love of me.

After the ſame maner we ought to be prepared and provided before-hand againſt thoſe that be inſtant to borrow mony of us, namely, if we have bene uſed to deny them in matters that neither be of great moment nor hard to be refuſed. There was one upon a time, who being of this mind, that there was nothing ſo honeſt as to crave and receive, begged of *Archelaus* the king of *Macedonie* (as he ſate at ſupper) the cup of golde whereout he drunke himſelfe; the king called unto his page that waited at his trencher, and commanded him to give the ſaid cup unto *Euripides*, who ſat at the boord; and withall, caſting his eie wiſtly upon the party who craved it: As for you ſir (quoth he) worthy you are for your asking to go without; but *Euripides* deſerveth to have, though he do not crave. A woorthy ſpeech, importing thus much, that the judgement of reaſon ought to be the beſt maſter and guide to direct us in our gifts and free liberalitie, and not baſhfulneſſe and ſhame to denie. But wee contrariwiſe, neglecting and deſpiſing many times thoſe that be honeſt and modeſt perſons, yea, our very familiar friends, who have need of our helpe, and ſeeme to requeſt the ſame, are ready to beſtow our bounty upon ſuch as inceſſantly importune us with their impudent craving, not for any affection that we have to pleaſure them, but becauſe we can not finde in our heart to ſay them nay. Thus did king *Antigonus* the elder to *Bias*, after he had beene a long time an importunate begger: Give this *Bias* (quoth he) a talent, for me thinks he will have it perforce: and yet this *Antigonus*, of all princes and kings that ever were, had the beſt grace and moſt dexterity to put by, and ſhift off ſuch unreaſonable beggers: for when a beggerly Cynicall Philoſopher craved once at his hands a drachme: It is not for a king (quoth he) to give a drachme: Why then (quoth the other againe) give me a talent: Neither is it meet (quoth the king) for a Cynick to receive a talent. *Diogenes* as he walked otherwiſe along the *Ceranicum* (that is, a ſtreet in *Athens*, where ſtood erected the ſtatues of worthy perſonages) would aske almes of thoſe images; and when ſome marvelled at him therefore: I do it (quoth he) to learne how to take a repulſe and deniall. Semblably, we ought firſt to be trained in ſmall matters, and to exerciſe our ſelves in denying ſlight requeſts unto ſuch as would ſeeme to demand and have at our hands that which is not fit and requiſite, to the end that we may not be to ſeeke for an anſwere when we would denie them in matters of greater importance: for as *Demoſthenes* was woont to ſay: He who hath ſpent and beſtowed that which he had otherwiſe than he ſhould, will never employ thoſe things which he hath, not as he ought, if peradventure he ſhould be furniſhed againe therewith. And looke how often we doe faile, and be wanting in honeſt things, and yet abound in ſuperfluities, it is a ſigne that we are in a great fault, and many waies ſhame groweth to us by that meanes.

Moreover, ſo it is, that this exceſſive baſhfulneſſe is not onely a bad and undiſcreet ſteward to lay out and diſperſe our money, but alſo to diſpoſe of our ſerious affaires and thoſe of great conſequence, wherein it will not admit the advice and counſell that reaſon giveth; for oftentimes it falleth out, that when we be ſicke, we ſend not for the beſt and moſt expert Phyſicians, in reſpect of ſome friend, whom we favour and reverence ſo, as we are loth to doe otherwiſe than he would adviſe us: likewiſe wee chuſe for maſters and teachers of our children, not thoſe alwaies who are beſt and meeteſt, but ſuch as make ſute and meanes unto us for to be enterteined; yea, and many times, when we have a cauſe to be tried in the law, we chooſe not alwaies the moſt ſufficient & expert Advocates or Barriſters for our counſel to plead for us; but for to gratifie a ſonne of ſome familiar friend or kinſman of our owne, we commit the cauſe to him for to practiſe and learne to plead in court to our great coſt and loſſe. To conclude we may ſee manie of thoſe that make profeſſion of Philoſophy, to wit, Epicureans, Stoicks, and others, how they follow this or that ſect, not upon their owne judgement and election; but for that they were importuned by ſome of their kinsfolke or friends thereto, whom they were loth to denie. Come on then, let us long before be exerciſed againſt ſuch groſſe faults in vulgar, ſmal & commoa occaſions of this life; as for example, let us breake our ſelves from uſing either a barber to trim us, or a * painter to draw our picture, for to ſatisfie the appetite of our fooliſh ſhamefacedneſſe; from lodging alſo in ſome bad Inne or Hoſtelrie where there is a better neere at

hand,

* γραφεῖ, *Eraſmus* ſeemeth to read γναφεῖ, i. a Fuller.

hand, becauſe haply our hoaſt the goodman of the houſe hath oftentimes ſaluted us kindely; but rather make we a cuſtome of it, (although there be but ſmall difference and ods betweene one and another) alwaies to chuſe the better: and like as the Pythagoreans obſerved evermore preciſely not to croſſe the right legge with the left, neither to take an odde number for an even, though otherwiſe all things elſe were equall and indifferent; even ſo are we to draw this into an ordinarie practiſe, that when we celebrate any ſolemne ſacrifice, or make a wedding dinner, or ſome great feaſt, we invite not him, who is woont with reverence to give us the gentle greeting and good morrow, or who ſeeing us a great way off uſeth to runne unto us, rather than him whom we know to be an honeſt man and a well-willer of ours; for whoſoever is thus inured and exerciſed long before, ſhall be hardly caught and ſurpriſed; nay rather he ſhall never be once aſſailed and ſet upon in weightie matters. And thus much may ſuffice as touching exerciſe and cuſtome.

Moreover to come unto other profitable inſtructions which we have gathered for this purpoſe, the principall in mine adviſe is this, which ſheweth & teacheth us, that all the paſſions and maladies of the minde be ordinarily accompanied with thoſe inconveniences which we would ſeeme to avoid by their meanes: as for example, ambition and deſire of honor hath commonly attending upon it diſhonor; paine uſually followeth the love of pleaſures; labour and travell enſueth upon eaſe and delicacie; repulſe, overthrowes, and condemnations are the ends that enſue daily upon thoſe that are given to be litigious, contentious, and deſirous to caſt, foile, and conquer others; ſemblably it hapneth unto exceſſive baſhfulneſſe, which ſeeming to flie and ſhun the ſmoke of blame, caſteth it ſelfe into the very fire and flame of infamie. For thoſe who be abaſhed to gaine-ſay and denie them, who importune them unreaſonably, and will take no nay in things unjuſt, are conſtreined afterwards to beare both ſhame and blame at their hands who juſtly call them to their anſwer and accuſe them woorthily; and whiles they feare ſome light checke or private rebuke, many times they are faine to incurre and ſuſteine open diſgrace and reproch: for being abaſhed to denie a friend who craveth to borrow money, as being loth to ſay they have none, within a while after (with ſhame enough) they bluſh, when they ſhal be convinced to have had none; and having promiſed to aſſiſt and ſtand to ſome who have ſuit in law, by that meanes are forced to contend with others, and afterwards being aſhamed thereof, are driven to hide their heads and flie out of the way. Alſo there be many whom this fooliſh modeſtie hath cauſed to enter into ſome diſadvantageous promiſe as touching the mariage either of daughter or ſiſter, and being entangled therewith have beene conſtreined afterwards upon change of minde to breake their word and faile in their promiſe; as for him who ſaid in old time, that all the inhabitants of *Aſia* ſerved as ſlaves unto one man; for that they knew not how to pronounce one onely negative ſyllable ȣ̃, that is, No; he ſpake not in earneſt but by way of bourd, and was diſpoſed to jeſt: but ſurely theſe baſhfull perſons may if they liſt without one word ſpoken, by knitting and bending their browes onely, or nodding downward to the ground, avoid and eſcape many offices and abſurd inconveniences, which often-times they do unwillingly and onely upon importunitie. For as *Euripides* ſaid very well,

Wiſe men do know how things to take:
And of ſilence an anſwere to make.

And haply we have more cauſe to take that courſe with ſuch as be ſenſeleſſe and unreaſonable: for to thoſe who be honeſt, ſenſible, and of more humanitie, we need not feare to make excuſe and ſatisfie them by word of mouth. And for this purpoſe it were not amiſſe to be furniſhed with many anſwers and notable apothegmes of great and famous perſons in times paſt; and to have them ready at hand to allege againſt ſuch importunate & impudent fellows. Such was that ſaying of *Phocion* to *Antipater*: You can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; likewiſe the anſwere which he made unto the Athenians, who were earneſt with him to contribute and give ſomewhat toward the charges of ſolemnizing a great feaſt, and withall applauded and clapped their hands: It were a ſhame (quoth he) that I ſhould give any thing over and above unto you, and not to pay that which I owe to him yonder, pointing therewith to *Callicles* the uſurer: for as *Thucydides* ſaid; It is no ſhame to confeſſe and acknowledge povertie; but more ſhamefull it is indeed not to avoid and eſchew it. But he who by reaſon of a faint, feeble, and delicate heart dare not for fooliſh ſhame anſwere thus unto one that demaundeth to borrow money,

My friend, I have in houſe or purſe
No ſilver white, for to disburſe.

and then ſuffreth to paſſe out of his mouth a promiſe (as it were) an earneſt pennie or pawne of aſſurance,

Is tied by foot with fetters not of braſſe
Nor yron wrought; but ſhame, and cannot paſſe.

But *Perſeus* when he lent foorth a ſumme of money to one of his familiar friends and acquaintance, went into the open market place to paſſe the contract at the very banke or table of exchangers and uſurers; being mindfull of that rule and precept of the Poet *Heſiodus*, which teacheth us in theſe words,

How ever thou laugh with brother more or leſſe,
With him make no contract without witneſſe.

now when his friend marveiled hereat and ſaid; How now *Perſeus*, ſo formally and according to law? Yea (quoth he) becauſe I would receive my money againe of you friendly, & not require it by courſe and ſuit of law. For many there be, who at the firſt upon a kinde of fooliſh modeſtie, are abaſhed to call for aſſurance & ſecuritie, but afterward be forced to proceed by order of law, & ſo make their friends their enemies. Againe, *Cato* ſending commendatory letters unto *Denis* the Tyrant, in the behalfe and favour of one *Helicona Cyzicena*, as of a kind, modeſt, and courteous perſon, ſubſcribed in maner of a poſt-date under his letter thus: That which you read above, take it as written in the commendation of a man, that is to ſay, of a living creature by nature mutable. Contrariwiſe *Xenocrates*, although he were otherwiſe in his behaviour auſtere, yet being overcome and yeelding to a kind of fooliſh modeſtie of his owne, recommended in his letters unto *Polyſperchon*, a man of no worth or qualitie, as it prooved afterwards by the ſequell: Now when as that Macedonian Lord bade the partie welcome, and friendly gave him his hand, and withall uſed ſome words of courſe and complement, demaunding whether he had neede of ought, and bidding him call for what he would; he made no more adoo but craved a whole talent of ſilver at his hands; which *Polyſperchon* cauſed preſently indeed to be weighed out unto him; but he diſpatched his letters withall unto *Xenocrates* to this effect: That from thenceforth he ſhould be more circumſpect, and conſider better whom he recommended unto him: and verily, herein onely was the error of *Xenocrates*, for that he knew not the man for whom he wrote: but we oftentimes knowing well enough that they be leawd and naughtie perſons, yet are verie forward with our commendatorie letters; yea and that which more is, our purſe is open unto them; we are ready to put money into their hands to our owne hinderance and damage; not with any pleaſure that we take, nor upon affection unto them, as they do, who beſtow their ſilver upon courteſanes, pleaſants, and flatterers to gratifie them; but as diſpleaſed and diſcontented with their impudencie, which overturneth our reaſon upſide downe, and forceth us to do againſt our owne judgement, in ſuch ſort, that if ever there were cauſe beſides, we may by good reaſon ſay unto theſe bold and ſhameleſſe beggers, that thus take vantage of our baſhfulneſſe:

I ſee that I muſt for your ſake,
Leawd courſes ever undertake.

namely, in bearing falſe witneſſe; in pronouncing wrong judgement; in giving my voice at any election for an unworthie and unmeet perſon; or in putting my money into his hands, whom I know unſufficient, and who will never repay it. And therefore of all paſſions, this leawd and exceſſive modeſtie is that, which is accompanied preſently with repentance, and hath it not following afterwards as the reſt: for at the verie inſtant when we give away our money, we grieve; when we beare ſuch witneſſe, we bluſh; when we aſſiſt them and ſet to our helping hand, we incurre infamie; and if wee furniſh them not with that which they require, wee are convinced as though we were not able. And foraſmuch as our weakneſſe is ſuch, that we cannot denie them ſimply that which they would have; we undertake and promiſe many times unto thoſe who do importune & ly upon us unceſſantly, even thoſe things that we are not able to cõpaſſe & make good; as namely, our commendatorie letters for to finde favour in princes courts; to be mediators for them unto great rulers and governors, and to talke with them about their cauſes; as being neither willing nor ſo hardie as thus to ſay; The king knoweth not us; hee regardeth others more, and you were better go to ſuch and ſuch. After this manner, when *Lyſander* had offended king *Ageſilaus* and incurred his heavy diſpleaſure, and yet was thought woorthie to be chiefe in credit above all thoſe that were about him, in regard of the great opinion and reputation that men had of him for his noble acts, he never baſhed to repell and put backe thoſe ſuters that came unto him, making excuſe and bidding them to go unto others, and aſſay them, who were in greater credit with the king than himſelfe. For it is no ſhame not to be able to effect all things, but for a man to be driven upon a fooliſh modeſtie to enterpriſe ſuch matters, as he is neither able to compaſſe nor meet to mannage; beſides that it is ſhamefull, I hold it alſo a right great corroſive to the heart.

But now to goe unto another principle, we ought willingly and with a ready heart to doe pleaſure unto thoſe that requeſt at our hands ſuch things as be meet and reaſonable; not as forced thereto by a ruſticall feare of ſhame, but as yeelding unto reaſon and equity. Contrariwiſe, if their demaunds be hurtfull, abſurd, and without all reaſon, we ought evermore to have the ſaying of *Zeno* in readineſſe, who meeting with a yoong man one of his acquaintance, walking cloſe under the towne wall ſecretly as if he would not be ſeene; asked of him the cauſe of his being there, and underſtanding by him that it was becauſe he would avoide one of his friends, who had beene earneſt with him to beare falſe witnes in his behalfe: What ſaiſt thou (quoth *Zeno*) ſot that thou art? Was thy friend ſo bold and ſhameleſſe to require that of thee which is unreaſonable, unjuſt and hurtfull unto thee? And dareſt thou not ſtand againſt him in that which is juſt and honeſt? For whoſoever he was that ſaid,

A crooked wedge is fit to cleave
a knotted knurry tree,
It well beſeemes againſt leawd folke
with lewdneſſe arm'd to be.

teacheth us an ill leſſon, to learne to be naught our ſelves, when we would be revenged of naughtineſſe. But ſuch as repulſe thoſe who impudently and with a ſhameleſſe face doe moleſt and trouble them, not ſuffering themſelves to be overcome with ſhamefacedneſſe, but rather ſhame to graunt unto ſhameleſſe beggers thoſe things that be ſhameful, are wiſe men and well adviſed, doing herein that which is right and juſt. Now as touching thoſe importunate and ſhameleſſe perſons, who otherwiſe are but obſcure, baſe and of no woorth, it is of no great matter to reſiſt them when they be troubleſome unto us. And ſome there be who make no more ado but ſhift them off with laughter or a ſkoffe: like as *Theocritus* ſerved twaine who would ſeeme to borrow of him his rubber or currying combe in the verie baine; of which two, the one was a meere ſtranger unto him, the other he knew well enough for a notorious theefe: I know not you (quoth he) to the one; and to the other, I know what you are well enough; and ſo he ſent them both away with a meere frumpe. *Lyſimache* the prieſtreſſe of *Minerva* in *Athens*, ſurnamed *Polias*, that is, the patroneſſe of the citie; when certaine Muletters who brought ſacrifices unto the temple, called unto her for to powre them out drinke freely: No (quoth ſhe) my good friends, I may not do ſo, for feare you will make a cuſtome of it.

Antigonus had under him in his retinue a yoong gentleman, whoſe father in times paſt had bene a good warriour, and lead a band or company of ſouldiours, but himſelfe was a very coward, and of no ſervice, and when he ſued unto him (in regard of his birth) to be advanced unto the place of his father, late deceaſed: Yoong man (quoth he) my maner is to recompenſe and honour the proweſſe and manhood of my ſouldiours, and not their good parentage. But if the party who aſſaileth our modeſty, be a noble man, of might and authority (and ſuch kinde of perſons of all other will moſt hardly endure a repulſe, and be put off with a deniall or excuſe, and namely, in the caſe of giving ſentence or award in a matter of judgement, or in a voice at the election of magiſtrates) peradventure it may be thought neither eaſie nor neceſſarie to doe that which *Cato* ſometimes did, being then but of yoong yeeres, unto *Catulus*; now this *Catulus* was a man of exceeding great authoritie among the Romans, and for that time bare the Cenſureſhip, who came unto *Cato*, (then Lord high treaſurer of *Rome* that yeere) as a mediatour and interceſſour for one, who had bene condemned before by *Cato* in a round fine, preſſing and importuning him ſo hard with earneſt praier and entreaty, that in the end *Cato* ſeeing how urgent and unreaſonable he was, and not able to endure him any longer, was forced to ſay thus unto him: You would thinke it a foule diſgrace and ſhame for you *Catulus*, Cenſour as you are, ſince you will not receive an anſwere and be gone, if my ſerjeants and officers here ſhould take you by the head and ſhoulders, and ſend you away: with that, *Catulus* being abaſhed and aſhamed, departed in great anger and diſcontentment. But conſider rather and ſee, whether the anſwere of *Ageſilaus* and that which *Themiſtocles* made, were not more modeſt, and ſavoured of greater humanity: for *Ageſilaus*, when his own father willed him to give ſentence in a certain cauſe that was brought before him, againſt all right, and directly contrary to the lawes: Father (quoth he) your ſelfe have taught me from my very child-hood to obey the lawes; I will be therfore obedient ſtill to your good precepts, and paſſe no judgement againſt law. As for *Themiſtocles*, when as *Simonides* ſeemed to requeſt of him ſomewhat which was unjuſt and unlawfull: Neither were you *Simonides* (quoth he) a good Poët, if you ſhould not keepe time and number in your ſong, nor I a good Magiſtrate, if I ſhould judge againſt the law. And yet (as *Plato* was woont to ſay) it is not for want of due proportion betweene the necke and body of the lute, that one citie is at variance with another citie, and friends fall out and be at difference, doing what miſchiefe they can one to another, and ſuffering the like againe; but for this rather, that they offend and faile in that which concerneth law and juſtice. Howbeit, you ſhall have ſome, who themſelves obſerving the preciſe rules moſt exactly according to art in Muſicke, in Grammaticall orthographie, and in the Poeticall quantitie of ſyllables and meaſures of feet, can be in hand with others, and requeſt them to neglect and forget that which they ought to do in the adminiſtration of government, in paſſing of judgements, and in their other actions. And therefore with ſuch as theſe be, I would have you take this courſe which I will now tell you: Is there an Advocate or Rhetorician that doth importune you ſitting as judge upon the bench? or is there an Oratour that troubleth you with an unreaſonable ſute as you ſit in counſell? grant them both, that which they requeſt, upon condition that the one in the entrie of his plea will commit a ſolœciſme or incongruity, and the other in the beginning of his narration come out with ſome barbariſme: but it is all to nothing, that they will never do ſo, it would be thought ſuch a ſhame; and in very trueth, we ſee that ſome of them are ſo fine eared, that they can not abide in a ſpeech or ſentence that two vowels ſhould come together: againe, Is he one of the nobilitie, or a man of honour and authoritie, that troubleth you with ſome unhoneſt ſute? will him likewiſe for your ſake to paſſe thorow the market place hopping and dancing, making mowes, and writhing his mouth; but if he denie ſo to doe, then have you good occaſion and fit opportunity to come upon him with this revie, and demand of him; whether of the twaine be more diſhoneſt? to make incongruity in ſpeech, and to make mowes, and ſet the mouth awry; or to breake the lawes, commit perjurie, and beſide all right, equitie and conſcience, to award and adjudge more unto the leawd and wicked, than to good and honeſt perſons. Moreover, like as *Nicoſtratus* the Argive anſwered unto *Archidamus*, who ſollicited him with a good ſumme of money (promiſing him beſides in marriage what Lady he would himſelfe chuſe in all *Lacedæmon*) to betray and render up by treaſon the towne *Cromnum*: I ſee well (quoth he) ô *Archidamus*, that you are not deſcended from the race of *Hercules*, for that he travelled thorow the world, killing wicked perſons whom he had vanquiſhed, but your ſtudy is to make them wicked who are good and honeſt; even ſo we ought to ſay unto him, who would bee thought a man of woorth and good marke, and yet commeth to preſſe and force us to commit thoſe deeds which are not befitting, that he doth that which beſeemeth not his nobility or opinion of vertue.

Now if they be meane and baſe perſons to account, who ſhall thus tempt you, go this way to worke with ſuch: If he be a covetous miſer, and one that loveth his money too well; ſee and trie whether you can induce and perſwade him by all importunity to credit you with a talent of ſilver upon your bare word, without ſchedule, obligation or ſpecialtie for his ſecurity; or if he be an ambitious and vaine-glorious perſon; trie if you can prevaile with him ſo much, as to give you the upper hand or higher ſeat in publike place; or if he be one that deſireth to beare rule and office; aſſay him, whether he will give over his poſſibilitie that he hath to ſuch a magiſtracie, eſpecially when he is in the ready way to obtaine it? Certes, we may well thinke it a very ſtrange and abſurd thing, that ſuch as they in their vices and paſſions ſhould ſtand and continue ſo ſtiffe, ſo reſolute and ſo hard to be removed; and we who profeſſe and would be reputed honeſt men, lovers of vertue, juſtice and equity, can not be maſters of our ſelves, but ſuffer vertue to be ſubverted, and caſt it at our heeles. For if they who by their importunity urge our modeſtie, doe it either for their owne reputation or their authoritie, it were abſurd and beſide the purpoſe, for us to augment the honour, credit and authority of another, and to diſhonour, diſcredit and diſgrace our ſelves; like unto thoſe, who be in an ill name, and incurre the obloquie of the world, who either in publike and ſolemne games defraude thoſe of the prizes and rewardes who have achieved victory, or who at the election of magiſtrates, deprive thoſe of their right of ſuffrages and voices to whom it doth belong, for to gratifie others that deſerve it not, thereby to procure to the one ſort, the honour of ſitting in high places, and to the other the glory of wearing coronets, and ſo by doing pleaſure unto others, falſifie their owne faith, defame themſelves, and loſe the opinion and reputation they had of honeſtie and good conſcience. Now if we ſee that it is for his owne lucre and gaine, that any one urge us beyond all reaſon to do a thing; how is it that we doe not preſently conſider, that it is abſurd and without all ſenſe to hazzard and put to comprimiſe (as it were) our owne reputation and vertue for another man, to the end that the purſe of ſome one (I know not who) ſhould thereby be more weightie and heavie?

But certeinly many there be unto whom ſuch conſiderations as theſe are preſented, and who are not ignorant that they tread aſide and do amiſſe; much like to them, who being chalenged to drinke off great bolles full of wine, take paines to pledg them with much ado, even ſo long till their eies be ready to ſtart out of their heads, changing their countenance, and panting for want of winde, and all to pleaſure thoſe that put them to it. But ſurely this feeblenes of minde and faint heart of theirs, reſembleth the weake conſtitution and temperature of the bodie, which cannot away either with ſcorching heat or chilling cold. For be they praiſed by thoſe who ſet upon them thus impudently, they are ready to leape out of their skins for joy; and ſay they doubt for to be accuſed, checked, rebuked or ſuſpected, if haply they deny, then they are ready to die for woe and feare. But we ought to be well defended & fortified againſt the one & the other, that we yeeld neither to them that terrifie us, nor to thoſe that flatter us. *Thucydides* verily ſuppoſing it impoſſible for one to be great or in high place & not envied, ſaith, That the mã is wel adviſed & led by good coũſel who ſhooteth at the greateſt & higheſt affaires, if he muſt be ſubject unto envie. For mine owne part, thinking as I do, that it is no hard matter to eſcape envie, but to avoid al complaints & to keepe our ſelves from being moleſted by ſome one or other that converſe with us & keepe our company, a thing impoſſible: I ſuppoſe it good counſel for us, & the beſt thing we can do for our owne ſafetie, to incurre rather the ill will and diſpleaſure of leaud, importunate, and unreaſonable people, than of thoſe who have juſt cauſe to blame and accuſe us, if againſt all right and juſtice we ſatisfie their minds and be ready to do them ſervice and pleaſure: as for the praiſes and commendations which proceed from ſuch leawd & ſhameleſſe perſons, being as they are in every reſpect counterfeit and ſophiſticall, we ought to beware and take heed of; neither muſt we ſuffer our ſelves as ſwine to be rubbed, ſcratched, or tickled, and all the whiles ſtand ſtill and gently, letting them do with us what they will, untill they may with eaſe lay us all along, when we have once yeelded to be ſo handled at their pleaſure: for ſurely they that give eare to flatterers, differ in no reſpect from thoſe who ſet out their legs of purpoſe to be ſupplanted and to have their heeles tripped up from under them; ſave onely in this, that thoſe are woorſe foiled and catch the more ſhamefull fall, I meane aſwell ſuch as remit puniſhment to naughtie perſons, becauſe forſooth they love to be called mercifull, milde and gentle; as thoſe on the contrary ſide, who being perſwaded by ſuch as praiſe them, do ſubmit thẽſelves to enmities and accuſations needleſſe, but yet perilous; as being borne in hand & made beleeve they were the onely men, & ſuch alone as ſtood invincible againſt all flatterie, yea and thoſe whom they ſticke not to tearme their very mouthes & voices; and therefore *Bion* likened them moſt aptly to veſſels that had two eares, for that they might be caried ſo eaſily by the eares which way a man would: like as it is reported of one *Alexinus* a Sophiſter, who upon a time as he walked with others in the gallerie *Peripatos,* ſpake all that naught was of *Stilpo* the *Megarean:* & when one of the company ſaid unto him, What meane you by this, conſidering that of late & no longer ſince than the other day, he gave out of you al the good that may be: I wot wel (quoth he) for hee is a right honeſt gentleman, and the moſt courteous perſon in the worlde. Contrariwiſe *Menedemus* when he heard that *Alexinus* had praiſed him many a time; But I (quoth he) do never ſpeake well of *Alexinus*; & therfore a bad man he muſt needs be, that either praiſeth a naughty perſon, or is diſpraiſed of an honeſt man: So hard it was to turn or catch him by any ſuch meanes, as making uſe, and practiſing that precept which *Hercules Atiſthenes* taught his children, when hee admoniſhed and warned them that they ſhould never con thoſe thanke who praiſed them: and this was nothing elſe, but not to ſuffer a mans ſelfe to be overcome by fooliſh modeſtie, nor to flatter them againe who praiſed him. For this may ſuffice in mine opinion which *Pindarus* anſwered upon a time to one who ſaid unto him: That in everie place and to all men he never ceaſed to commend him: Grand mercie (quoth he) and I will do this favor unto you againe that you may be a true man of your word, & be thought to have ſpoken nothing but the truth.

To conclude, that which is good and expedient againſt all other affections and paſſions, they ought ſurely to remember who are eaſily overcome by this hurtfull modeſtie, whenſoever they giving place ſoone to the violence of this paſſion, doe commit a fault and tread awry againſt their minde: namely to call to remembrance the markes and prints of remorſe and repentance ſticking faſt in their minde, and to repent eſtſoones and keepe the ſame a long time.

For like as waifaring men, after they have once ſtumbled upon a ſtone; or pilots at ſea when they have once ſplit their ſhip upon a rocke and ſuffred ſhipwracke, if they call thoſe accidents to remembrance, for ever after doe feare and take heed not onely of the ſame, but of ſuch like; even ſo they that ſet before their eies continually the diſhonours and damages which they have received by this hurtfull and exceſſive modeſtie, and repreſent the ſame to their minde once wounded and bitten with remorſe and repentance, will in the like afterwards reclaime themſelves, and not ſo eaſily another time be perverted and ſeduced out of the right way.

OF BROTHERLY LOVE OR AMITIE.

The Summarie.

A Man ſhould have profited but badly in the ſchoole of vertue, if endevouring to carry himſelfe honeſtly toward his friends and familiars, yea and his verie enemies, he continue ſtill in evill demeanor with his owne brethren, unto whom he is joined naturally, by the ſtreighteſt line and linke that can be deviſed. But for that ever ſince the beginning of the world, thus proverbiall ſentence from time to time hath beene currant and found true; that the Unitie *of Brethren is a rare thing:* Plutarch *after he had complained in the verie entrance of this little booke, that ſuch a maladie as this, raigned mightily in his time, goeth about afterwards to apply a remedie thereto. And to this effect he ſheweth, that ſince brotherly amitie is taught and preſcribed by nature, thoſe who love not their brethren, be blockiſh, unnaturall, enemies to their owne ſelves; yea, and the greateſt Atheiſts that may be found. And albeit the obligation wherein we are bound to our parents, amounteth to ſo high a ſumme as we are never able fully to diſcharge; he prooveth notwithſtanding, that brotherly love may ſtand for one verie good paiment toward that debt: whereupon he concludeth, that hatred betweene brethren ought to be baniſhed; for that if it once creepe in and get betweene, it will be a verie hard matter to rejoine and reconcile them againe. Afterwards he teacheth a readie and compendious way, how a man ought to manage and uſe a brother ill diſpoſed. In what manner brethren ſhould carrie themſelves one to another, both during the life of their father and alſo after his deceaſe; diſcourſing at large upon the dutie of thoſe who are the elder, or higher advanced in other reſpects; as alſo what they ſhould doe, who are the yoonger; namely, that as they are not equall to their other brethren in yeeres, ſo they be their inferiours in place of honor and in wealth; likewiſe what meanes as well the one as the other are to follow, for to avoid envie and jealouſie. Which done, he teacheth brethren who in age come verie neere, their naturall dutie and kindneſſe that they ought to ſhew one unto another; to which purpoſe he produceth proper examples of brotherly amitie among the Pagans: In the ende, ſince he can not poſſibly effect thus much, that brethren ſhould evermore accord well together, he ſetteth downe what courſe they are to take in their differences and diſagreements; and how their friends ought to be common betweene them; and for a final concluſion, he treateth of that honeſt care and reſpective regard one of another that they ought to have, and eſpecially of their kinſefolke, which he enricheth with two other notable examples.*

OF BROTHERLY LOVE or amitie.

THoſe ancient ſtatues repreſenting the two brethren *Caſtor* and *Pollux,* the inhabitants of the citie *Sparta,* were woont in their language to call Δόκανα. And two paralell pieces of timber they are of an equall diſtance aſunder,united and joined together by two other pieces overthwart : now it ſhould ſeeme, that this was a device fitting verie well and agreeable to the brotherly amitie of the ſaid two gods,for to ſhew that undiviſible union which was betweene them; and even ſo, I alſo do offer and dedicate unto you, ô *Nigrinus* and *Quintus,* this little treatiſe as touching the amitie of brethren, a gift common unto you both as thoſe who are woorthie of the ſame: for ſeeing, that of your owne accord you practiſe that alreadie, which it teacheth and exhorteth unto,you ſhall be thought not ſo much to be admoniſhed thereby, as by your example to confirme and teſtifie the ſame which therein is delivered; and the joy which you ſhall conceive to ſee that approoved and commended which your ſelves do, ſhall give unto your judgement a farther aſſurance to continue therein; as if your actions were allowed and praiſed by vertuous and honeſt beholders of the ſame.

Ariſtarchus verily, the father of *Theodectes,* ſcoffing at the great number of thoſe Sophiſters or counterfeit ſages in his daies, ſaid: That in old time hardly could be found ſeven wiſe men throughout the world; but in our daies (quoth he) much adoo there is to finde ſo many fooles or ignorant perſons. But I may verie well and truely ſaie: That I ſee in this age wherein we live, the amitie of brethren to be as rare, as their hatred was in times paſt. The examples whereof being ſo few as they were among our auncients, were thought by men in thoſe daies living,notable arguments to furniſh Tragedies and Theaters with, as matters verie ſtrange and in a manner fabulous. But contrariwiſe, all they that live in this age if haply they meete with two brethren, that be good and kind one to another, woonder and marvell thereat as much as if they ſaw thoſe *Molionides* (of whom *Homer* ſpeaketh) whoſe bodies ſeemed to grow together in one: and as incredible and miraculous doe they thinke it, that brethren ſhould uſe in common the patrimonie, goods, friends and ſlaves which their fathers left behind unto them, as if one and the ſame ſoule alone ruled the feet, hands and eies of two bodies. And yet nature her ſelfe hath ſet downe a lively example of that mutuall behaviour and carriage that ought to bee among brethren, and the ſame not farre off, but even within our owne bodies, wherein ſhe hath framed and deviſed for the moſt part thoſe members double, and as a man would ſay, brethrenlike and twinnes, which be neceſſarie, to wit, two hands, two feet, two eies, two eares, and two noſe thrils; ſhewing thereby, that ſhe hath thus diſtinguiſhed them all, not onely for their naturall health and ſafetie, but alſo for a mutuall and reciprocall helpe, and not for to quarrell and fight one with another. As for the hands when ſhe parted them into many fingers, and thoſe of unequal length and bigneſſe,ſhe hath made them of all other organicall parts,the moſt proper artificious and workemanlike inſtruments; inſomuch as that ancient Philoſopher *Anaxagoras* aſcribed the verie cauſe of mans wiſedome and underſtanding unto the hands. Howbeit, the contrarie unto this ſhould ſeeme rather to be true; for man was not the wiſeſt of all other living creatures in regard of his hands, but becauſe by nature being eudued with reaſon,given to be wittie and capable of arts and ſciences, he was likewiſe naturally furniſhed with ſuch inſtruments as theſe. Moreover, this is well knowen unto everie man,that nature hath formed of one and the ſame ſeed, as of one principle of life, two, three, and more brethren; not to the end that they ſhould be at debate and variance,but that being apart and aſunder,they might the better and more commodiouſly helpe one another. For thoſe men with three bodies and a hundred armes apiece, which the Poëts deſcribe unto us (if ever there were any ſuch) being joined and growen together in all their parts, were not able to doe any thing at all when they were parted aſunder,or as it were, without themſelves: which brethren can doe well enough,namely, dwell and keepe within houſe and go abroad together, meddle in affaires of State, exerciſe huſbandrie and tillage one with another,in caſe they preſerve and keepe well that principle of amity and benevolence which nature hath given them. For otherwiſe they ſhould (I ſuppoſe) nothing differ from thoſe feet which are readie to trip or ſupplant one another, and cauſe them to catch a fall: or they ſhould reſemble thoſe hands and fingers which enfolded and claſpe one another untowardly againſt the courſe of nature. But rather according as in one and the ſame bodie, the cold, the hot, the drie, and the moiſt, participating likewiſe in one and the ſame nature and nouriſhment, if they doe accord and agree well together, engender an excellent temperature and moſt pleaſant harmonie, to wit, the health of the bodie, without which, neither all the wealth of the world, as men ſay,

Nor power of roiall majeſtie,
Which equall is to deitie.

have any pleaſure, grace or profit: but in caſe theſe principall elements of our life, covet to have more than their juſt proportion, and thereupon breake out into a kind of civill ſedition, ſeeking one to ſurcreaſe and over-grow another, ſoone there enſueth a filthie corruption and confuſion which overthroweth the ſtate of the bodie and the creature it ſelfe; ſemblably, by the concord of brethren, the whole race and houſe is in good caſe and flouriſheth, the friends and familiars belonging to them (like a melodious quire of muſicians) make a ſweet conſent and harmonie: for neither they doe, nor ſay nor thinke any thing that jarreth or is contrarie one to the other,

Whereas in diſcord ſuch, and taking part,
The worſe eftſoones do ſpeed, whiles better ſmart.

to wit, ſome ill-tongued varlet and pickthanke carrie-tale within the houſe, or ſome flattering claw-backe comming betweene, and entring into the houſe, or elſe ſome envious and malicious neighbour in the citie. For like as diſeaſes do ingender in thoſe bodies which neither receive nor ſtand well affected to their proper & familiar nouriſhment, many appetites of ſtrange and hurtfull meates; even ſo, a ſlanderous calumniation of jealouſie being gotten once among thoſe of a blood & kindred, doth draw and bring withal evill words and naughtie ſpeechs, which from without are alwaies readie enough to runne thither where as a breach lieth open, and where there is ſome fault alreadie. That divine maſter and ſoothſaier of *Arcadie*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth, when he had loſt one of his owne naturall feet, was forced upon neceſſitie to make himſelfe another of wood: but a brother being fallen out and at warre with a brother, and conſtrained to get ſome ſtranger to be his companion, either out of the market place and common hall of the citie as he walketh there, or from the publike place of exerciſe, where he uſeth to behold the wreſtlers and others; in my conceit doth nothing elſe but willingly cut-off a part or limme of his owne bodie made of fleſh, and engraffed faſt unto him, for to ſet another in the place which is of another kinde and altogether a ſtranger. For even neceſſitie it ſelfe which doth entertaine, approove and ſeeke for friendſhip and mutuall acquaintance, teacheth us to honor, cheariſh and preſerve that which is of the ſame nature and kind; for that without friends ſocietie and fellowſhip we are not able to live ſolitarie and alone as moſt ſavage beaſts, neither will our nature endure it: and therefore in *Menander* he ſaith very well and wiſely:

By jolly cheere and bankets day by day,
Thinke we to finde (ô father) truſtie friends,
To whom our ſelves and life commit we may?
No ſpeciall thing for coſt to make amends;
I found he hath, who by that meanes hath met
With ſhade of friends; for ſuch I count no bet.

For to ſay a truth, moſt of our friendſhips be but ſhadowes, ſemblances and images of that firſt amitie, which nature hath imprinted and engraffed in children toward their parents, in brethren toward their brethren: and he who doth not reverence nor honor it, how can he perſwade and make ſtrangers beleeve that he beareth ſound and faithfull good will unto ſtrangers. Or what man is he who in his familiar greetings and ſalutations, or in his letters, will call his friend and companion Brother, and can not find in his heart ſo much as to go with his brother in the ſame way? For as it were a point of great folly and madneſſe, to adorne the ſtatue of a brother, and in the meane time to beat and maime his bodie; even ſo, to reverence and honor the name of a brother in others, and withall to ſhun, hate and diſdaine a brother indeed, were the caſe of one that were out of his wits, and who never conceived in his heart and minde, that Nature is the moſt ſacred and holy thing in the world. And heere in this place, I can not chooſe but call to minde, how at *Rome* upon a time I tooke upon me to bee umpier betweene two brethren, of whom the one ſeemed to make profeſſion of Philoſophie; but he was (as after it appeered) not onely untruely entituled by the name of a Brother; but alſo as falſely called a Philoſopher: for when I requeſted of him that he ſhould carrie himſelfe as a Philoſopher toward his brother, and ſuch a brother as altogether was unlettered and ignorant: In that you ſay (ignorant quoth he) I hold well with you, and I avow it a trueth; but as for Brother, I take it for no ſuch great and venerable matter, to have ſprung from the ſame loines, or to have come foorth of one wombe. Well (ſaid I againe) It appeeres that you make no great account to iſſue out of the ſame natural members; but all men elſe beſides you, if they doe not thinke and imagine ſo in their hearts; yet I am ſure they doe both ſing and ſay that Nature firſt, and then Law (which doth preſerve and maintaine Nature) have given the chiefe place of reverence and honor next after the gods, unto father and mother; neither can men performe any ſervice more acceptable unto the gods, than to pay willingly, readily and affectionately unto parents who begat and brought them foorth, unto nourſes and foſters that reared them up, the intereſt and uſurie for the old thankes, beſides the new which are due unto them. And on the other ſide again, there is not a more certaine ſigne & marke of a verie Atheiſt; than either to neglect parents, or to be any waies ungracious or defective in duty unto them: and therfore wheras we are forbidden in expreſſe termes by the law, to doe wrong or hurt unto other men: if one doe not behave himſelfe to father and mother both in word and deed, ſo as they may have (I do not ſay no diſcontentment and diſpleaſure but) joy and comfort thereby, men eſteeme him to be profane, godleſſe and irreligious. Tell me now, what action, what grace, what diſpoſition of children towards their parents, can be more agreeable and yeeld them greater contentment, than to ſee good will, kinde affection, faſt and aſſured love betweene brethren? the which a man may eaſily gather by the contrarie in other ſmaller matters. For ſeeing that fathers and mothers be diſpleaſed otherwhiles with their ſonnes, if they miſuſe or hardly intreat ſome home-borne ſlave whom they ſet much ſtore by: if I ſay, they be vexed and angrie, when they ſee them to make no reckoning & care of their woods and grounds wherein they tooke ſome joy and delight; conſidering alſo that the good kind-harted old folke of a gentle and loving affection that they have, be offended if ſome hound or dog bred up within houſe, or an horſe be not well tended and looked unto; laſt of all, if they grieve when they perceive their children to mocke, find fault with, or deſpiſe the lectures, narrations, ſports, ſights, wreſtlers, and others that exerciſe feats of activitie, which themſelves ſometime highly eſteemed: Is there any likelihood that they in any meaſure can indure to ſee their children hate one another? to entertaine braules and quarrels continually? to be ever ſnarling, railing and reviling one another? and in all enterpriſes and actions alwaies croſſing, thwarting and ſupplanting one another? I ſuppoſe there is no man will ſo ſay. Then on the contrarie ſide, if brethren love together and be ready one to do for another; if they draw in one line and carrie the like affection with them; follow the ſame ſtudies and take the ſame courſes; and how much nature hath divided and ſeparated them in bodie, ſo much to joine for it againe in minde; lending one another their helping hands in all their negotiations and affaires; following the ſame exerciſes; repairing to the ſame diſputations; and frequenting the ſame plaies, games and paſtimes, ſo as they agree and communicate in all things: certainely this great love and amitie among brethren, muſt needs yeeld ſweet joy and happie comfort to their father and mother in their old age: and therefore parents take nothing ſo much pleaſure, when their children proove eloquent orators, wealthy men, or advanced to promotions and high places of dignities; as loving and kind one to another; like as a man ſhall never ſee a father ſo deſirous of eloquence, of riches, or of honor, as he is loving to his owne children. It is reported of Queene *Apollonis* the Cyzicen, mother to King *Eumenes*, and to three other Princes, to wit, *Atalus*, *Philetærus* and *Athenæus*, that ſhee reputed and reported her ſelfe to bee right happy, and rendered thankes unto the immortall gods, not for her riches, nor roiall port and majeſtie; but that it was her good fortune to ſee thoſe three yoonger ſonnes of hers, ſerving as Penſioners and Eſquiers of the bodie to *Eumenes* their elder brother, and himſelfe living fearleſſe and in as ſecuritie in the mids of them, ſtanding about his perſon with their pollaxes, halbards, and partiſanes in their hands, and girded with ſwords by their ſides. On the other ſide, King *Xerxes* perceiving, that his ſonne *Ochus* ſet an ambuſh and laid traines to murder his brethren, died for verie ſorrow and anguiſh of heart. Terrible and grievous are the warres, ſaid *Euripides*, betweene brethren; but unto their parents above all others moſt grievous; for that whoſoever hateth his owne brother, and may not vouchſafe him a good eie and kinde looke, can not chooſe but in his heart blame the father that begat him, and the mother that bare him. We read that *Piſiſtratus* married his ſecond wife, when his ſonnes whom he had by the former were now men growen, ſaying: That ſince he ſaw them proove ſo good and towardly, he gladly would be the father of many more that might grow up like them; even ſo, good and loyall children will not onely affect and love one another for their parents ſakes, but alſo love their parents ſo much the more, in regard of their mutuall kindneſſe, as making this account, thinking alſo and ſaying thus to themſelves; That they are obliged and bounden unto them in many reſpects, but principally for their brethren, as being the moſt precious heritage, the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant poſſeſſion that they inherit by them. And therefore **Homer** did verie well, when he brought in **Telemachus** among other calamities of his, reckoning this for one, that he had no brother at all; and ſaying thus:

For Jupiter my fathers race in me alone,
Now ended hath, and given me brother none.

As for **Heſiodus** he did not well to wiſh & give advice to have an only begotten ſonne, to be the full heire and univerſall inheritour of a patrimonie; even that **Heſiodus** who was the diſciple of thoſe Muſes, whom men have named μοῦσας, as it were ὁμοῦ οὔσας, for that by reaſon of their mutual affection and ſiſter-like love they keepe alwaies together. Certes, the amitie of brethren is ſo reſpective to parents, that it is both a certaine demonſtration that they love father and mother, & alſo ſuch an example & leſſon unto their children to love together, as there is none other like unto it, but contrariwiſe, they take an ill preſident to hate their owne brethren from the firſt originall of their father: for he that liveth continually & waxeth old in ſuits of law, in quarrels and diſſenſions with his owne brethren, and afterward ſhall ſeeme to preach unto his children for to live friendly & lovingly together, doth as much as he, who according to the common proverbe:

The ſores of others will ſeeme to heale and cure
And is himſelfe of ulcers full impure.

and ſo by his owne deeds doth weaken the efficacie of his words. If then **Eteocles** the Thebane, when he had once ſaid unto his brother *Polynices*, in *Euripides*,

To ſtarres about ſunne-riſing would I mount,
And under earth deſcend as farre againe,
By theſe attempts, if I might make account
This ſovereigne roialtie of gods to gaine.

ſhould come afterwards againe unto his ſonnes, and admoniſh them

For to mainteine and honour equall ſtate,
Which knits friends ay in perfect unitie,
And keeps thoſe link't who are confederate,
Preſerving cities in league and amitie:
For nothing more procures ſecuritie,
In all the world, than doth equalitie.

who would not mocke him and deſpiſe his admonition? And what kinde of man would **Atreus** have bene reputed, if after he had ſet ſuch a ſupper as he did before his brother, he ſhould in this maner have ſpoken ſentences and given inſtruction to his owne children?

When great miſhap and croſſe calamitie
Upon a man is fallen ſuddenly,
The onely meed is found by amitie
Of thoſe whom blood hath joined perfectly.

Baniſh therefore we muſt, and rid away cleane, all hatred from among brethren, as a thing which is a bad nurce to parents in their olde age, and a woorſe foſtreſſe to children in their youth; beſides, it giveth occaſion of ſlander, calumniation and obloquie among their fellow-citizens and neighbours, for thus do men conceive and deeme of it: That brethren having bene nouriſhed and brought up together ſo familiarly from their very cradle, it can not be that they ſhould fall out and grow to ſuch termes of enmity and hoſtility, unleſſe they were privie one to another of ſome wicked plots and moſt miſchievous practiſes. For great cauſes they muſt bee, that are able to undoe great friendſhip and amitie, by meanes whereof hardly or unneth afterwards they can bee reconciled and ſurely knit againe. For like as ſundry pieces which have beene once artificially joined together by the meanes of glue or ſoder, if the joint bee looſe or open, may bee rejoined or ſodered againe; but if an entire body that naturally is united and growen in one, chaunce to bee broken or cut and ſlit aſunder, it will be an hard piece of worke to finde any glew or ſoder ſo ſtrong as to reunite the ſame and make it whole and ſound, even ſo thoſe mutuall amities which either for profit or upon ſome neede were firſt knit betweene men, happen to cleave and part in twaine, it is an eaſie matter to reduce them cloſe together; but brethren if they bee once alienated and eſtranged, ſo as that the naturall bond of love can not hold them together, hardly will they peece againe or agree ever after: and ſay they be made friends and brought to attonement, certeinly ſuch reconciliation maketh in the former rent or breach an ill-favoured and filthy skar, as being alwaies full of jealouſie, diſtruſt, and ſuſpicion. True it is that all jars and enmities betweene man and man, entring into the heart, together with thoſe paſſions which be moſt troubleſome and dangerous of all others, to wit, a peeviſh humor of contention, choler, envie, and remembrance of injuries done and paſt, do breed griefe, paine, and vexation; but ſurely that which is fallen betweene brother and brother, who of neceſſitie are to communicate together in all ſacrifices and religious ceremonies belonging to their fathers houſe, who are to be interred another day in one and the ſame ſepulchre, and live in the meane time otherwhiles under one roofe, and dwel in the ſame houſe, and enjoy poſſeſſions, lands, and tenements confining one upon another, doth continually preſent unto the eie that which tormenteth the heart, it putteth them in minde daily and howerly of their follie and madneſſe; for by meanes thereof that face and countenance which ſhoulde bee moſt ſweete, beſt knowne, and of all other likeſt, is become moſt ſtrange hideous, and unpleaſant to the eie; that voice which was woont to be even from the cradle friendly and familiar, is now become moſt fearefull & terrible to the eare; and whereas they ſee many other brethren cohabit together in one houſe, ſit at one table to take their repaſt, occupie the ſame lands, and uſe the ſame ſervants, without dividing them; what a griefe is it, that they thus fallen out, ſhould part their friends, their hoaſts and gueſts, and in one word, make all things that be common among other brethren, private, and whatſoever ſhould be familiar & acceptable, to become contrarie & odious? Over and beſides, here is another inconvenience and miſchiefe, which there is no man ſo ſimple, but he muſt needs conceive and underſtand: That ordinary friends and table companions may be gotten and ſtollen (as it were) from others; alliance and acquaintance there may be had new, if the former be loſt, even as armour, weapons and tooles may be repaired, if they be worne, or new made, if the firſt be gon; but to recover a brother that is loſt, it is not poſſible, no more than to make a new hand, if one be cut away, or to ſet in another eie in the place of that which is plucked out of the head: and therefore well ſaid that Perſian ladie, when ſhee choſe rather to ſave the life of her brethren than of her children: For children (quoth ſhee) I may have more, but ſince my father and mother be both dead, brother ſhall I never have.

But what is to be done, will ſome man ſay, in caſe one be matched with a bad brother? Firſt, this we ought evermore to remember, that in all ſorts of amities there is to be found ſome badneſſe; and moſt true is that ſaying of *Sophocles*;

Who liſt to ſearch throughout mankinde,
More bad than good is ſure to finde.

No kinred there is, no ſocietie, no fellowſhip, no amitie and love, that can be found ſincere, ſound, pure and cleare from all faults. The Lacedæmonian who had married a wife of little ſtature: We muſt (quoth he) of evils chuſe ever the leaſt; even ſo in mine advice, a man may very well and wiſely give counſell unto brethren, to beare rather with the moſt domeſticall imperfections and the infirmities of their owne blood, than to trie thoſe of ſtrangers; for as the one is blameleſſe, becauſe it is neceſſarie, ſo the other is blame-worthy, for that it is voluntarie: for neither table-friend and fellow-gameſter, nor play-fere of the ſame age, ne yet hoaſt or gueſt

Is bound with links (of braſſe by hand not wrought)
Which ſhame by kinde hath forg'd, and coſt us nought,

but rather that friend, who is of the ſame blood, who had his nouriſhment and bringing up with us, begotten of one father, and who lay in the ſame mothers wombe; unto whom it ſeemeth that * Vertue herſelfe doth allow connivencie and pardon of ſome faults, ſo as a man may ſay unto a brother when he doth a fault,

* *I. Minerva. Odyſſ. 331.*

Witleſſe, ſtarke naught, yea wretched though thou be,
Yet can I not forſake and caſt off thee.

leſt that (ere I be well aware) I might ſeeme in my hatred towards thee, for to puniſh ſharpely, cruelly, and unnaturally in thy perſon, ſome infirmitie or vice of mine owne father or mother inſtilled into thee by their ſeed. As for ſtrangers and ſuch as are not of our bloud, we ought not to love firſt, and afterwards make triall and judgement of them; but firſt we muſt trie and then truſt and love them afterwards; whereas contrariwiſe, nature hath not given unto proofe and experience the precedence and prerogative to go before love, neither doth ſhe expect according to that cōmon proverbe; That a man ſhould eate a * buſhell or two of ſalt with one whom he minded to love and make his friend; but even from our nativitie hath bred in us and with us the very principle and cauſe of amitie, in which regard we ought not to be bitter unto ſuch, nor to ſearch too neerely into their faults and infirmities.

* *Medinonus* is a meaſure conteining *6. modij*, which is about 6. pecks with us.

But what will you ſay now if contrariwiſe ſome there be, who if meere aliens and ſtrangers otherwiſe, yet if they take a fooliſh love and liking unto them, either at the taverne or at ſome game and paſtime, or fall acquainted with them at the wreſtling or fenſing ſchoole, can be content to winke at their faults, be ready to excuſe and juſtifie them, yea and take delight and pleaſure therein; but if their brethren do amiſſe, they be exceeding rigorous unto them and inexorable; nay, you ſhall have many ſuch, who can abide to love churliſh dogs, & skittiſh horſes, yea and finde in their hearts to feed and make much of fell ounces, ſhrewd cats, curſt unhappie apes, and terrible lions; but they cannot endure the haſtie and cholericke humor, the error and ignorance, or ſome little ambitious humor of a brother. Others againe there be, who unto their concubines and harlots will not ſticke to aſſigne over and paſſe away goodly houſes and faire lands lying thereto; but with their brethren they will wrangle and go to law, nay they will be ready to enter the liſts and combat for a plot of ground whereupon a houſe ſtandeth, about ſome corner of a meſſuage or end of a little tenement, and afterwards attributing unto this their hatred of brethren, the colourable name of hating ſinne and wickedneſſe, they go up & downe curſing, deteſting and reproching them for their vices, whiles in others they are never offended nor diſcontented therewith, but are willing enough daily to frequent and haunt their company. Thus much in generall tearmes by way of preamble or proæme of this whole treatiſe.

It remaineth now that I ſhould enter into the doctrine and inſtructions thereto belonging: wherein I will not begin as other have done at the partition of their heritage or patrimonie; but at the naughtie emulation, hart-burning and jealouſie which ariſeth betweene them during the life of their parents. *Ageſilaus* king of *Lacedæmon* was wont alwaies to ſend as a preſent unto each one of the auncients of the citie, ever as they were created Senatours, a good oxe, in teſtimony that he honored their vertue: at length the lords called *Ephori*, who were the cenſurers & overſeers of each mans behavior, cōdemned him for this in a fine to be paid unto the State, ſubſcribing and adding a reaſon withall; for that by theſe gifts and largeſſes he went about to ſteale away their hearts and favors to himſelfe alone, which ought indifferently to regard the whole body of the city; even ſo a man may do well to give this counſell unto a ſonne, in ſuch wiſe to reſpect & honour his father and mother, that hee ſeeke not thereby to gaine their whole love, nor ſeeme to turne away their favour and affection from other children wholy unto himſelfe; by which practiſe many doe prevent, undermine and ſupplant their brethren, and thus under a colourable and honeſt pretenſe in ſhew, but in deed unjuſt and unequall, cloke and cover their avarice and covetous deſire; for after a cautelous and ſubtill maner they inſinuate themſelves and get betweene them and home, and ſo defraud and couſen them ungentlemanly of their parents love, which is the greateſt and faireſt portion of their inheritance, who eſpying their time, and taking the opportunitie and vantage when their brethren be otherwiſe employed, and leaſt doubt of their practiſes, then they beſtir them moſt, and ſhew themſelves in beſt order, obſequious, double-diligent, ſober and modeſt, and namely in ſuch things as their other brethren do either faile or ſeeme to be ſlacke and forgetfull. But brethren ought to do cleane contrarie, for if they perceive their father to be angrie and diſpleaſed with one of them, they ſhould interpoſe themſelves and undergo ſome part of the heavie load, they ought to eaſe their brother, and by bearing a part, helpe to make the burden lighter: then (I ſay) muſt they by their ſervice and miniſterie gratifie their brother ſo much, as to bring him in ſome ſort in grace and favour againe with their father, and when he hath failed ſo far foorth in neglecting the opportunity of time, or omitting ſome other buſineſſe which hardly will afoord excuſe, they are to lay the fault and blame upon his very nature and diſpoſition, as being more meete and fitted for other matters. And heereto accordeth well that ſpeech of *Agamemnon* in *Homer*,

He faulted not through idleneſſe,
nor yet for want of wit,
But lookt on me, and did expect
my motive unto it.

even ſo one good brother may excuſe another and ſay; He thought I ſhould have done it, and left this duetie for me to doe: neither are fathers themſelves ſtrait laced, but willingly enough to admit ſuch tranſlations and gentle inverſions of names as theſe; they can be content to beleeve their children, when they terme the ſupine negligence of their brethren plaine ſimplicitie, their ſtupiditie and blockiſhneſſe, upright dealing and a good conſcience; their quarrellous and litigious nature, a minde loth to be troden under-foot and utterly deſpiſed. In this maner he that will proceed with an intent only to appeaſe his fathers wrath, ſhal gaine thus much moreover; That not only his fathers choler will therby be much diminiſhed toward his brother, but his love alſo much more encreaſed unto himſelfe: howbeit, afterwards when he hath thus made all well, and ſatisfied his father to his good contentment, then muſt he turne and addreſſe himſelfe to his brother apart, touch him to the quicke, ſpare him never a whit, but with all libertie of language tell him roundly of his fault, and rebuke him for his treſpaſſe; for ſurely it is not good to uſe indulgencie and connivencie to a brother, no more than to inſult over him too much, and tread him under foote if hee have done amiſſe, (for as this bewraieth a joy that one taketh at his fall; ſo that implieth a guiltineſſe with him in the ſame tranſgreſſion: but in this rebuke and reproofe, ſuch meaſure would be kept, that it may teſtifie a care to do him good, and yet a diſpleaſure for his fault; for commonly he that hath beene a moſt earneſt advocate and affectionate interceſſor for him to his father and mother, will be his ſharpeſt accuſer afterwards when he hath beene alone by himſelfe. But put the caſe, that a brother having not at all offended, be blamed notwithſtanding and accuſed to father and mother, howſoever in other things, it is the part of humanitie and dutifull kindneſſe to ſuſteine and beare all anger and froward diſpleaſure of parents; yet in this caſe, the allegations and defenſes of one brother in the juſtification of an other, when he is innocent, unjuſtly traduced, and hardly uſed or wronged by his parents, are not to be blamed, but allowable and grounded upon honeſtie: neither need a brother feare to heare that reproch in *Sophocles*:

Thou graceleſſe imp, ſo farre growen out of kinde,
As with thy Sire, a counter plea to finde.

when frankly & freely he ſpeaketh in the behalfe of his brother, ſeeming to be unjuſtly condemned and oppreſſed. For ſurely by this manner of proceſſe and pleading, they that are convicted take more joy in being overthrowen, than if they had gained the victorie and better hand.

Now after that a father is deceaſed, it is well beſeeming and fit, that brethren ſhould more affectionaly love than before, and ſticke more cloſe together: for then preſently their naturall love unto their father which is common to them all, ought to appeere indifferently in mourning together and lamenting for his death: then are they to reject and caſt behinde them all ſuſpicions ſurmized or buzzed into their heads by varlets & ſervants, all ſlanderous calumniations and falſe reports, brought unto them by pick-thankes and carrie-tales on both ſides, who would gladly ſow ſome diſſenſion betweene them: then are they to give eare unto that which fables doe report of the reciprocall love of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and namely, how it is ſaid, That *Pollux* killed one with his fiſt for rounding him in the eare, and whiſpering a tale againſt his brother *Caſtor*. Afterwards, when they ſhall come to the parting of their patrimonie and fathers goods among them, they ought not (as it were) to give defiance and denounce warre one againſt another, as many there be who come prepared for that purpoſe readie to encounter, ſinging this note,

O Alal' Alala, now hearken and come fight,
Who art of warre ſo fell the daughter right.

But that verie day of all others they ought to regard and obſerve moſt, as being the time which to them is the beginning either of mortall warre and enmitie irreconcileable, or elſe of perfect friendſhip and amitie perdurable: at which inſtant they ought among themſelves alone, to divide their portions if it be poſſible; if not, then to do it in the preſence of one indifferent and common friend betweene them, who may be a witnes to their whole order and proceeding; and ſo when after a loving and kinde maner, and as becommeth honeſt and well diſpoſed perſons, they have by caſting lots gotten ech one that which is his right: by which courſe (as *Plato* ſaid) they ought to thinke that there is given and received that which is meet and agreeable for every one, and ſo to hold themſelves therwith contented: this done, I ſay they are to make account that the ordering, mannaging, and adminiſtration onely of the goods and heritage is parted and divided; but the enjoying, uſe and poſſeſſion of all remaineth yet whole in common betweene them. But thoſe that in this partition and diſtribution of goods, plucke one from another the nourſes that gave them ſucke, or ſuch youths as were foſtered and brought up together with them of infants, and with whom alwaies they had lived and loved familiarly; well may they prevaile ſo farre forth with eager purſuing their wilfulneſſe, as to go away with the gaine of a ſlave, perhaps of greater price: but in ſtead thereof, they loſe the greateſt and moſt pretious things in all their patrimonie and inheritance, and utterly betray the love of a brother, and the confidence that otherwiſe they might have had in him. Some alſo we have knowen, who upon a peeviſh wilfulneſſe onely, and a quarrellous humour, and without any gaine at all, have in the partition of their fathers goods, carried themſelves no better nor with greater modeſtie and reſpect, than if it had bene ſome bootie or pillage gotten in war. Such were *Charicles* and *Antiochus*, of the citie *Opus*, two brethren, who ever as they met with a piece of ſilver plate, made no more ado but cut it quite thorough the mids, and if there came a garment into their hands, in two pieces it went, ſlit (as neere as they could aime) juſt in the middle, and ſo they went either of them away with his part, dividing (as it were) upon ſome tragicall curſe and execration.

Their houſe and all the goods therein
By edge of ſword ſo ſharpe and keen.

Others there be who make their boaſt and report with joy unto others, how in the partition of their patrimonie they have by cunning caſts, connie-catched their brethren, and over-wrought them ſo by their cautelous circumvention, fine wit and ſlie policies, as that they have gone away with the better part by ods; whereas indeed they ſhould rejoice rather and pleaſe themſelves, if in modeſtie, courteſie, kindneſſe, and yeelding of their owne right they had ſurpaſſed and gone beyond their brethren. In which regard *Athenodorus* deſerveth to be remembred in this place; and indeed there is not one here in theſe parts but remembreth him well enough. This *Athenodorus* had one brother elder than himſelfe, named *Zenon*, who having taken upon him the management of the patrimonie, left unto them both by their father, had imbezeld and made away a good part of it; and in the end, for that by force he had carried away a woman and married her, was condemned for a rape, and loſt all his owne and his brothers goods, which by order of law was forfait and confiſcate to the Exchequer of the Emperor: now was *Athenodorus* aboveſaid, a verie beardleſſe-boy ſtill, without any haire on his face; and when by equitie and the court of conſcience, his portion out of his fathers goods was awarded and reſtored unto him, he forſooke not his brother, but brought all abroad and parted the one halfe thereof with him againe; and notwithſtanding that he knew well enough that his brother had uſed no faire play, but cunningly defrauded him of much in the diviſion thereof, yet was he never angrie with him nor repented of his kindneſſe, but mildly, cheerefully, and patiently endured that unthankfulnes and folly of his brother, ſo much divulged and talked of throughout all *Greece*. As for *Solon* when he pronounced ſentence and determined in this manner as touching the government of the weale-publike; That equalitie never bred ſedition; ſeemed verie confuſedly to bring in the proportion Arithmeticall which is popular, in place of that other faire and good proportion called Geometricall. But he that in an houſe or familie would adviſe brethren (as *Plato* did the citizens of his Common-wealth) above all, if poſſible it were to take away theſe words, *Mine* and *Thine*; *Mine* and not *Mine*; or at leaſtwiſe (if that may not be) to ſtand contented with an egall portion, and to maintaine and preſerve equalitie; certes, he ſhould lay a notable and ſingular foundation of amitie, concord and peace, and alwaies build thereupon the famous examples of moſt noble and renowmed perſonages, ſuch as *Pittachus* was, who when the King of *Lydia* demaunded of him whether he had money and goods enough? I may have (quoth he) more by one halfe if I would, by occaſion of my brothers death whoſe heire I am.

But foraſmuch as not onely in the poſſeſſion, augmentation and diminiſhing of goods, the leſſe is evermore ſet as an adverſe and croſſe enemie to the more, but alſo (as *Plato* ſaid) ſimply and univerſally there is alwaies motion and ſtirring in unequalitie, but reſt and repoſe in equalitie; and ſo all uneven dealing and unequall partition is dangerous for breeding diſſenſion among brethren: and unpoſſible it is, that in all reſpects they ſhould be even and equall; for that either Nature at firſt from their very nativitie, or Fortune afterwards, hath not divided with even hand their ſeverall graces and favours among them, whereupon proceed envie and jealouſie, which are pernicious maladies and deadly plagues, aſwel to houſes and families as alſo to States and Cities: in theſe regards (I ſay) therefore, a great regard and heed would be taken, both to prevent and alſo to remedie ſuch miſchiefs with all ſpeed, when they begin firſt to ingender. As for him who is indued with better gifts, and hath the vantage over his other brethren, it were not amiſſe to give him counſell, firſt to communicate unto them thoſe gifts wherein he ſeemeth to excell and goe beyond them; namely, in gracing and honouring them aſwell as himſelfe by his credit and reputation, in advancing them by the meanes of his great friends, and drawing them unto their acquaintance; and in caſe he be more eloquent than they, to offer them the uſe thereof, which although it be emploied (as it were) in common, is yet nevertheleſſe his owne ſtill: then let him not ſhew any ſigne of pride and arrogancie, as though he diſdained them, but rather in ſome meaſure by abaſing, ſubmitting and yeelding a little to them in his behaviour, to preſerve himſelfe from envie, unto which his excellent parts do lie open; and in one word, to reduce that inequallitie which fortune hath made, unto ſome equallitie, as farre forth as poſſible it is to do, by the moderate carriage of his minde. *Lucullus* verily would never daine to accept of any dignitie or place of rule, before his brother, notwithſtanding he was his elder, but letting his owne time ſlip, expected the turne and courſe of his brother. Neither would *Pollux* take upon him to be a god alone by himſelfe, but choſe rather with his brother *Caſtor* to be a demie-god, and for to communicate unto him his owne immortalitie, thought it no diſgrace to participate with his mortall condition; and even ſo may a man ſay unto one whom hee would admoniſh: My good friend, it lies in you without diminiſhing one whit of thoſe good things which you have at this preſent, to make your brother equall unto your ſelfe, and to joine him in honour with you, giving him leave to enjoy (as it were) your greatneſſe, your glory, your vertue, and your fortune; like as *Plato* did in times paſt, who by putting downe in writing, the names of his brethren, and bringing them in as perſons ſpeaking in his moſt noble and excellent Treatiſes, cauſed them by that meanes to be famous and renowmed in the world. Thus he graced *Glaucus* and *Adamantus* in his books of Policie: thus he honoured *Antiphon* the yoongeſt of them all, in his Dialogue named *Parmenides*.

Moreover, as it is an ordinary thing to obſerve great difference and oddes in the natures and fortunes of brethren; ſo it is in maner impoſſible, that in all things and in every reſpect any one of them ſhould excell the reſt. For true it is, that the foure elements, which they ſay were created of one and the ſame matter, have powers and qualities altogether contrary; but ſurely it was never yet ſeene, that of two brethren by one father and mother, the one ſhould be like unto that wiſe man, whom the Stoicks do faine and imagine, to wit, faire, lovely, bountifull, honourable, rich, eloquent, ſtudious, civill and courteous; and the other, foule, ill-favoured, contemptible, illiberall, needie, not able to ſpeake and deliver his minde, untaught, ignorant, uncivill and unſociable. But even in thoſe that are more obſcure, baſe and abject than others, there is after a ſort ſome ſparke of grace, of valour, of aptneſſe and inclination to one good thing or other: for as the common proverbe goeth;

With Calthrap thiſtles rough and keene, with Prickyreſt-harow,
Cloſe Sions faire and ſoft, yea, White-walflowers are ſeene to grow.

Theſe good parts therefore, be they more or leſſe in others, if he that ſeemeth to have them in farre better and in greater meaſure, do not debaſe, ſmother, hide and hinder them, nor deject his brother (as in ſome ſolemnitie of games for the prize) from all the principall honours, but rather yeeld reciprocally unto him in ſome points, and acknowledge openly that in many things he is more excellent, and hath a greater dexteritie than himſelfe, withdrawing alwaies cloſely all occaſions and matter of envie, as it were fewell from the fire, ſhall either quench all debate, or rather not ſuffer it at all to breed or grow to any head and ſubſtance. Now he that alwaies taketh his brother as a colleague, counſeller and coadjutor with him, in thoſe cauſes wherin himſelfe is taken to be his ſuperiour: as for example; If he be a profeſſed Rhetorician and Oratour, uſing his brother to pleade cauſes; if he be a Politician, asking his advice in government; if a man greatly friended, imploying him in actions and affaires abroad; and in one word, in no matter of conſequence and which may win credit and reputation, leaving not his brother out, but making him his fellow and companion in all great and honourable occaſions, and ſo giving out of him, taking his counſell if he be preſent, and expecting his preſence if he be abſent; and generally, making it knowen that he is a man not of leſſe execution than himſelfe, but one rather that loveth not much to put himſelfe forth, nor ſtands ſo much upon winning reputation in the world, and ſeeking to be advanced in credit; by this meanes he ſhall loſe nothing of his owne, but gaine much unto his brother. Theſe be the precepts and advertiſements that a man may give unto him that is the better and ſuperiour.

To come now to him who is the inferiour, he ought thus to thinke in his minde: That his brother is not one alone that hath no fellow, nor the onely man in the world who is richer, better learned, or more renowmed and glorious than himſelfe, but that often-times he alſo is inferiour to a great number, yea, and to many millions of us men,

Who on the earth ſo large do breed,

Upon her fruits who live and feed.

but if he be ſuch an one as either goeth up and downe, bearing envie unto all the world; or if he bee of ſo ill a nature, as that among ſo many men that are fortunate, he alone and none but he troubleth him, who ought of all other to be deareſt, and is moſt neerely joined unto him by the obligation of blood, a man may well ſay of him; That he is unhappy in the higheſt degree, and hath not left unto another man living, any meanes to go beyond him in wretchedneſſe. As *Metellus* therefore thought that the Romans were bound to render thanks unto the gods in heaven, for that *Scipio* ſo noble and brave a man was borne in *Rome*, and not in any other citie; ſo everie man is to wiſh and pray unto the gods, that himſelfe may ſurmount all other men in proſperity, if not, yet that he might have a brother at leaſt-wiſe to attaine unto that power and authoritie ſo much deſired; but ſome there be ſo infortunate and unlucky by nature, in reſpect of any goodneſſe in them, that they can rejoice and take a great glorie in this, to have their friends advanced unto high places of honor, or to ſee their hoaſts and gueſts abroad, princes, rulers, rich and mightie men, but the reſplendent glorie of their brethren they thinke doth eclypſe and darken their owne renowme; they delight and joy to heare the fortunate exploits of their fathers recounted, or how their great grandſires long ago had the conduct of armies, and were lord prætours and generals in the field, wherein they themſelves had never any part, nor received thereby either honor or profit; but if there have fallen unto their brethren any great heritages or poſſeſſions, if they have riſen unto high eſtate and atchieved honorable dignities, if they are advanced by rich and noble mariages, then they are caſt downe and their hearts be done. And yet it had behooved and right meet it were in the firſt place, to bee envious to no man at all; but if that may not be, the next way were to turne their envie outward, and eie-bite ſtrangers, and to ſhew our ſpite unto aliens who are abroad, after the maner of thoſe who to rid themſelves from civill ſeditions at home, turne the ſame upon their enimes without, and ſet them together by the eares, and like as *Diomedes* in *Homer* ſaid unto *Glaucus*,

Of Trojanes and their allies both,
who aide them for good will
Right many are beſide your ſelfe
for me in fight to kill:
And you likewiſe have Greeks enough
with whom in bloodie field
You may your proweſſe try, and not
meete me with ſpeare and ſhield.

even ſo it may be ſaid unto them; There be a number beſides of concurrents upon whom they may exerciſe their envie and jealouſie, and not with their naturall brethren; for a brother ought not to be like unto one of the balance ſcales, which doth alwaies contrarie unto his fellow, for as one riſeth the other falleth; but as ſmall numbers do multiplie the greater, and ſerve to make both them bigger, and their ſelves too; even ſo an inferior brother by multiplying the ſtate of his brother who is his ſuperior, ſhall both augment him and alſo increaſe and grow himſelfe together with him in all good things: marke the fingers of your hand, that which holdeth not the pen in writing, or ſtriketh the ſtring of a lute in playing (for that it is not able ſo to do, nor diſpoſed and made naturally for thoſe uſes) is never a whit the worſe for all that, nor ſerveth leſſe otherwiſe, but they all ſtir and moove together, yea and in ſome ſort they helpe one another in their actions, as being framed for the nonce, unequal & one bigger & longer than other, that by their oppoſition and meeting as it were round together, they might comprehend, claſpe, and hold any thing moſt ſure, ſtrong, and faſt. Thus *Craterus* being the naturall brother of king *Antigonus* who reigned and ſwaid the ſcepter: Thus *Perilaus* alſo the brother of *Caſſander* who ware the crowne, gave their minds to be brave warriors and to lead armies under their brethren, or elſe applied themſelves to governe their houſes at home in their abſence; whereas on the contrary ſide, the *Antiochi* and *Seleuci*, as alſo certeine *Grypi* and *Cyziceni* and ſuch others, having not learned to beare a lower ſaile then their brethren, and who could not content themſelves to ſing a lower note, nor to reſt in a ſecond place, but aſpiring to the enſignes and ornaments of roiall dignitie, to wit, the purple mantle of eſtate with crowne, diademe and ſcepter, filled themſelves and one another with many calamities, yea and heaped as many troubles upon all *Aſia* throughout. Now foraſmuch as thoſe eſpecially who by nature are ambitious and diſpoſed to thirſt after glory, be for the moſt part envious & jealous toward thoſe who are more honored & renowmed than they; it were very expedient for brethren if they would avoid this inconvenience,

ence, not to ſeeke for to atteine either honour or authoritie and credit all by the ſame meanes, but ſome by one thing and ſome by another: for we ſee by daily experience, it is an ordinarie matter that wilde beaſts do fight and warre one with another, namely when they feede in one and the ſame paſture; and among champions and ſuch as ſtrive for the maſterie in feats of activitie, we count thoſe for their adverſaries and concurrents onely, who profeſſe and practiſe the ſame kinde of game or exerciſe; for thoſe that goe to it with fiſts and buffets, are commonly friends good enough to ſuch ſword-fencers as fight at ſharpe to the utterance, and well-willers to the champions called *Pancratiaſtæ*: likewiſe the runners in a race agree full-well with wreſtlers: theſe I ſay, are ready to aide, aſſiſt and favor one another, which is the reaſon, that of the two ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Pollux* wan the prize alwaies at buffets, but *Caſtor* his brother went away with the victorie in the race. And *Homer* very well in his Poeme feigned that *Teucer* was an excellent archer, and became famous thereby, but his brother *Ajax* was beſt at cloſe fight and hand-ſtrokes, ſtanding to it heavily armed at all peeces,

And with his ſhield ſo bright and wide
His brother Teucer *he did hide.*

And thus it is with them that governe a State and common weale; thoſe that be men of armes and manage martiall affaires, never lightly do envie them much who deale in civill cauſes and uſe to make ſpeeches unto the people; likewiſe among thoſe that profeſſe Rhetoricke and eloquence, advocates who plead at barre, never fall out with thoſe Sophiſters that read lectures of oratorie; among profeſſors of Phyſicke, they that cure by diet envie not the chirurgions who worke by hand; whereas they who endevour and ſeeke to win credite and eſtimation by the ſame art, or by their facultie and ſufficiencie in any one thing, do as much (eſpecially if they be badly minded withall) as thoſe rivals who loving one miſtreſſe, would be better welcome and finde more grace and favour at her hands one than another. True it is I muſt needes confeſſe; that they who go divers waies, doe no good one to another; but ſurely ſuch as chooſe ſundrie courſes of life doe not onely avoid the occaſions of envie, but alſo by that meanes the rather have mutuall helpe one by the other: thus *Demoſthenes* and *Chares* ſorted well together; *Aeſchines* likewiſe and *Eubulus* accorded; *Hyperides* alſo and *Leoſthenes* were lovers and friends; in every which couple, the former imploied themſelves in pleading and ſpeaking before the people, & were writers and pen-men, whereas the other conducted armies, were warriors and men of action. Brethren therefore who cannot communicate in glorie and credit together without envie, ought to ſet their deſires and ambitious mindes as farre remote one from another, and turne them full as contrarie as they can, if they would finde comfort, and not receive diſpleaſure by the proſperitie and happy ſucceſſe one of another: but above all, a principall care and regard they muſt have of their kindred and alliance, yea and otherwhiles of their verie wives and namely, when they be readie with their perillous ſpeeches many times to blow more coales, and thereby enkindle their ambitious humour. Your brother (quoth one) doth woonders; he carrieth all before him; he beareth the ſway; no talke there is but of him; he is admired, and every man maketh court to him: whereas, there is no reſort to you; no man commeth toward you; nothing is there in you that men regard or ſet by. When theſe ſuggeſtions ſhall be thus whiſpered, a brother that is wiſe and well minded, may well ſay thus againe: I have a brother in deed whoſe name is up and carrieth a great ſide; and verily the greater part of his credit and authoritie is mine and at my commaundement. For *Socrates* was woont to ſay, that hee would chooſe rather to have *Darius* his friend, than his *Daricks. And a brother who is of ſound and good judgement, will thinke that he hath no leſſe benefit, when his brother is placed in great eſtate of government, bleſſed with riches, or advanced to credit and reputation by his gift of eloquence, than if himſelfe were a ruler, wealthie, learned and eloquent. Thus you may ſee the beſt and readieſt meanes that are to qualifie and mitigate this unequalitie betweene brethren. Now there be other diſagreements beſides, that grow quickly betweene, eſpecially if they want good bringing up and are not well taught, and namely, in regard of their age. For commonly the elder, who thinke that by good right they ought to have the command, rule and government of their yoonger brethren in everie thing, and who held it great reaſon that they ſhould be honored, and have power and authoritie alwaies above them, commonly do uſe them hardly and are nothing kinde and lightſome unto them: the yoonger againe being ſtubborne, wilfull and unruly, ready alſo to ſhake off the bridle, are woont to make no reckoning of their elder brethrens prerogative, but ſet them at naught and deſpiſe them; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as the yoonger of one ſide envied, are held downe with envie, and kept under alwaies by their

elder

* An ancient peece of coine with his image, worth 2. ſhillings 4. pence, or a *Tetradrachm Attick.*

elder brethren, and ſo ſhunne their rebukes and ſkorne their admonitions; ſo theſe on the other ſide deſirous to hold their owne and maintaine their preeminence and ſoveraigntie over them, ſtand alwaies in dread leſt their yoonger brethren ſhould grow too much, as if the riſing of them were their fall. But like as the caſe ſtandeth in a benefit or good turne that is done, men ſay it is meet that the receiver ſhould eſteeme the thing greater than it is, and the giver make the leaſt of it; even ſo, he that can perſwade the elder, that the time whereby he hath the vantage of his other brethren is no great thing; and likewiſe the yoonger, that he ſhould reckon the ſame birth-right for no ſmall matter, he ſhall do a good deed betweene them, in delivering the one from diſdaine, contempt and ſuſpicion, and the other from irreverence and negligence. Now foraſmuch as it is meet, that the elder ſhould take care and charge, teach and inſtruct, admoniſh and reproove the yoonger; and as fit likewiſe the yoonger ſhould honor, imitate and follow the elder: I could wiſh that the ſollicitude and care of the elder, ſavoured rather of a companion and fellow, than of a father; that himſelfe alſo would ſeeme not ſo much to command as to perſwade, and to be more prompt and ready to joy for his yoonger brothers wel-doing, and to praiſe him for it, than in any wiſe take pleaſure in reprehending and blaming him if haply he have forgotten his duetie; and in one word, to do the one not onely more willingly, but alſo with greater humanitie than the other. Moreover, the zeale and emulation in the yoonger ought rather to be of the nature of an imitation, than either of jealouſie or contention; for that imitation preſuppoſeth an opinion of admiration, whereas jealouſie and contention implieth envie, which is the reaſon that they affect and love thoſe who endevour to reſemble, and be like unto them; but contrariwiſe, they are offended at thoſe and keepe them downe, who ſtrive to be their equals. Now among many honors, which it beſeemeth the yoonger to render unto his elder, obedience is that which deſerveth moſt commendation, and worketh a more aſſured and heartie affection accompanied with a certaine reverence, which cauſeth the elder reciprocally and by way of requitall to yeeld the like and to give place unto him. Thus *Cato* having from his infancie honored and reverenced his elder brother *Cæpion*, by all maner of obeiſance and ſilence before him; in the end gained thus much by it, that when they were both men growen, he had ſo woon him and filled him (as it were) with ſo great a reſpect and reverence of him, that hee would neither ſay nor doe ought without his privitie and knowledge. For it is reported, that when *Cæpion* had one day ſigned and ſealed with his owne ſignet a certaine letter teſtimoniall; *Cato* his brother comming afterwards would not ſet to his ſeale; which when *Cæpio* underſtood, he called for the foreſaid teſtimoniall and pluckt away his owne ſeale, before he had once demaunded for what occaſion his brother would not beleeve the deed, but ſuſpected his teſtimonie? It ſeemeth likewiſe, that the brethren of *Epicurus* ſhewed great reſpect and reverence unto him, in regard of the love and carefull good will that he bare unto them; which appeered in this, that as to all other things elſe of his; ſo to his Philoſophie eſpecially, they were ſo wedded, as if they had beene inſpired therewith. For albeit they were ſeduced and deceived in their opinion, giving out and holding alwaies (as they did) from their infancie, that never was any man ſo deepe a clearke, nor ſo great a Philoſopher as their brother *Epicurus*: yet it is wonderfull to conſider as well him that could ſo frame and diſpoſe them, as themſelves alſo for being ſo diſpoſed and affectionate unto him. And verily even among the more moderne Philoſophers of later time, *Apollonius* the Peripateticke, had convinced him of untrueth (whoſoever hee was) that ſaid Lordſhip and glorie could like no fellowſhip, for he made his brother *Sotion* more famous and renowmed than himſelfe. For mine owne part, to ſay ſomewhat of my ſelfe; albeit that fortune hath done me many favours, in regard whereof I am bound to render unto her much thankes; there is not any one for which I take my ſelfe ſo much obliged and beholden unto her, as for the love that my brother *Timon* hath alwaies ſhewed and doth yet ſhew unto me; a thing that no man is able to denie, who hath never ſo little beene in our companie, and you leaſt of all others may doubt who have converſed ſo familiarly with us.

Now there be other occaſions of trouble which ought to be taken heed of, among thoſe brethren which are of like age or ſomewhat neere in yeeres; ſmall paſſions (I wote well) they be, but many they are, and thoſe ordinary and continuall; by meanes whereof they bring with them an evill cuſtome of vexing, fretting and angering one another ever and anon for ſmall things, which in the end turne into hatred and enmity irreconcileable: for when they have begun to quarrell one with another at their games and paſtimes, about the feeding and fighting of ſome little creatures that they keepe, to wit, quailes or cocks, and afterwards about the wreſtling of their boies and pages at the ſchoole, or the hunting of their hounds in the chaſe, or the capariſon of their horſes; they can no more holde and refraine (when as they be men) their contentious veine and ambition in matters of more importance: thus the greateſt and mightieſt men amōg the Greeks in our time, banding at the firſt one againſt another in taking parts with their dancers, and then in ſliding with their minſtrels, afterwards by comparing one with another who had the better ponds or bathing pooles in the territorie of *Edepſus*, who had the fairer galleries and walking places, the ſtatelier halles and places of pleaſure, evermore changing and exchanging, and fighting (as it were) for the vantage of a place, ſtriving ſtill by way of odious compariſon, cutting and diverting another way the conduct pipes of fountaines, are become ſo much exaſperate one againſt another, that in the meane time they are utterly undone; for the tyrant is come, and hath taken all from them; baniſhed they are out of their owne native countrey; they wander as poore vagabonds thorow the world, and I may be bolde (well neere) to ſay, they are ſo farre changed from that they were afore, that they be others quite, this onely excepted, that they be the ſame ſtill in hatred one to another. Thus it appeareth evidently, that brethren ought not a little to reſiſt the jealouſie and contentions which breed among them upon ſmal trifles, even in the very beginning, & that by accuſtoming themſelves to yeeld & give place reciprocally one to another, ſuffering themſelves to be overcome & take the foile, and joying rather to pleaſure and content one another, than to win the better hand one of another: for the victorie which in olde time they called the Cadmian victorie, was nothing els but that victorie betweene brethren about the citie of *Thebes*, which is of all other the moſt wicked and miſchievous.

What ſhall we ſay moreover? do not the affaires of this life miniſter many occaſions of diſagreement and debate even among thoſe brethren which are moſt kind and loving of all other? yes verily. But even therein alſo, we muſt be carefull to let the ſaid affaires to combat alone by themſelves, and not to put thereto any paſſion of contention or anger, as an anker or hooke to catch holde of the parties, and pull them together for to quarrell, and enter into debate; but as it were in a ballance, to looke jointly together, on whether ſide right and equitie doth encline and bend, and ſo ſoone as ever we can, to put matters in queſtion to the arbitrement and judgement of ſome good and indifferent perſons, to purge and make cleere all, before they are growen ſo farre, as that they have gotten a ſtaine or tincture of cankred malice, which afterwards will never be waſhed or ſcoured out: which done, we are to imitate the Pythagoreans, who being neither joined in kinred or conſanguinitie, nor yet allied by affinitie, but the ſcholars in one ſchoole, and the fellowes of one and the ſame diſcipline, if peradventure at any time they were ſo farre caried away with choler, that they fell to enterchange reprochfull & reviling taunts, yet before the ſunne was gone downe they would ſhake hands, kiſſe and embrace one another, be reconciled, and become good friends againe. For like as if there be a feaver, occaſioned by a botch or riſing in the ſhare, there is no danger thereof, but if when the ſaid botch is gone, the feaver ſtill continue, then it ſeemeth to be a maladie proceeding from ſome more inward, ſecret and deeper cauſe; even ſo the variance betweene two brethren, when it ceaſeth together with the deciding of a buſineſſe, we muſt thinke dependeth upon the ſame buſineſſe & upon nothing els, but if the difference remaine ſtill when the controverſie is ended, ſurely then it was but a colourable pretence thereof, and there was within ſome root of ſecret malice which cauſed it. And here in this place it would ſerve our purpoſe very well, to heare the maner of proceeding in the deciſion of a controverſie betweene two brethren of a barbarous nation, and the ſame not for ſome little parcell of land, nor about poore ſlaves or ſilly ſheepe, but for no leſſe than the kingdome of *Perſia*: for after the death of *Darius* ſome of the Perſians would have had *Ariamenes* to ſucceed and weare the crowne, as being the eldeſt ſonne of the King late deceaſed; others againe ſtood earneſtly for *Xerxes*, aſwell for that he had to his mother *Atoſſa* the daughter of that great *Cyrus*, as becauſe hee was begotten by *Darius* when hee was a crowned king. *Ariamenes* then came downe out of *Media*, to claime his right; not in armes, as one that minded to make warre, but ſimply and peaceably, attended onely with his ordinary traine & retinue, minding to enter upon the kingdome by juſtice & order of law. *Xerxes* in the meane while, & before his brother came, being preſent in place, ruled as king, & exerciſed all thoſe functiōs that apperteined therto: his brother was no ſooner arrived, but he tooke willingly the diademe or roiall frontlet from his head, & the princely chaplet or coronet which the Perſian kings are wont to weare upright, he laid downe, & went toward his brother to meet him upon the way, & with kind greeting embraced him: he ſent alſo certeine preſents unto him, with commandement unto thoſe that caried them, to ſay thus: *Xerxes* thy brother honoreth thee now with theſe preſents here, but if by the ſentence and judgement of the peeres and lords of *Perſia* he ſhall be declared king, his will and pleaſure is, that thou ſhalt be the ſecond perſon in the realme, and next unto him. *Ariamenes* anſwered the meſſage in this wiſe: Theſe preſents I receive kindly from my brother, but I am perſwaded that the kingdome of *Perſia* by right belongeth unto me; as for my brethren, I will reſerve that honour which is meet and due unto them next after my ſelfe, and *Xerxes* ſhalbe the firſt and chiefe of them all. Now when the great day of judgement was at hand, when this weightie matter ſhould be determined; the Perſians by one generall and common conſent declared *Artabanus* the brother of *Darius* late departed, to be the umpire and competent judge for to decide and end this cauſe. *Xerxes* was unwilling to ſtand unto his award, being but one man, as who repoſed more truſt and confidence in the number of the princes and nobles of the realme; but his mother *Atoſſa* reproving him for it: Tell me (quoth ſhe) my ſonne, wherefore refuſeſt thou *Artabanus* to be thy judge, who is your uncle, and beſides, the beſt man of all the Perſians? and why doeſt thou feare ſo much the iſſue of his judgement, conſidering that if thou miſſe, yet the ſecond place is moſt honourable, namely, to be called the kings brother of *Perſia*? Then *Xerxes* perſwaded by his mother, yeelded; and after many allegations brought and pleaded on both ſides judicially, *Artabanus* at length prononnced definitively, that the kingdome of *Perſia* apperteined unto *Xerxes*: with that *Ariamenes* incontinently leapt from his ſeat, went and did homage unto his brother, and taking him by the right hand, enthroniſed and enſtalled him king: from which time forward he was alwaies the greateſt perſon next unto his brother; and ſhewed himſelfe ſo loving and affectionate unto him, that in his quarrell he fought moſt valiantly in the navall battel before *Salaminas*, where in his ſervice and for his honour he loſt his life. This example may ſerve for an original patterne of true benevolence and magnanimitie, ſo pure and uncorrupt, as it cannot in any one point be blamed or ſteined. As for *Antiochus*, as a man may reprehend in him his ambitious minde, and exceſſive deſire of rule; ſo he may aſwell woonder that conſidering his vaine-glorious ſpirit, all brotherly love was not in him utterly extinct; for being himſelfe the yoonger, he waged war with *Seleucus* for the crowne, and kept his mother ſure enough for to ſide with him and take his part: now it hapned that during this warre and when it was at the hoteſt, *Seleucus* ſtrucke a battell with the *Galatians*, loſt the field, and was himſelfe not to be found, but ſuppoſed certeinly to have beene ſlaine and cut in peeces, together with his whole armie, which by the Barbarians were put to the ſword and maſſacred; when newes came unto *Antiochus* of this defeature, hee laide away his purple robes, put on blacke, cauſed the court gates to be ſhut, and mourned heavily for his brother, as if he had beene dead: but being afterwards advertiſed that he was alive ſafe & ſound, and that he went about to gather new forces and make head againe; hee came abroad, ſacrificed with thankeſgiving unto the gods, & commaunded al thoſe cities & ſtates which were under his dominion to keepe holiday, to ſacrifice & weare chapplets of flowers upon their heads in token of publike joy. The Athenians when they had deviſed an abſurd and ridiculous fable as touching the quarrell betweene *Neptune* and *Minerva*, intermedled withall another invention, which ſoundeth to ſome reaſon, tending to the correction of the ſame, and as it were to make amends for that abſurditie, for they ſuppreſſe alwaies the ſecond of Auguſt, upon which day hapned (by their ſaying) that debate aforeſaid betweene *Neptune* and *Minerva*. What ſhould let and hinder us likewiſe, if it chance that we enter into any quarrell or debate with our allies and kinſfolke in blood, to condemne that day to perpetuall oblivion, and to repute and reckon it among the curſed and diſmal daies: but in no wiſe by occaſion of one ſuch unhappie day to forget ſo many other good and joyfull daies wherein we have lived and beene brought up together; for either it is for nothing and in vaine that nature hath endued us with meekeneſſe, and harmeleſſe long ſufferance, or patience the daughter of modeſtie and mediocritie, or elſe ſurely wee ought to uſe theſe vertues and good gifts of her principally to our allies and kinſfolke; and verily to crave and receive pardon of them when we our ſelves have offended and done amiſſe, declareth no leſſe love and naturall affection than to forgive them if they have treſpaſſed againſt us. And therefore wee ought not to neglect them if they be angrie and diſpleaſed; nor to be ſtraight laced and ſtiffely ſtand againſt them when they come to juſtifie or excuſe themſelves; but rather both when our ſelves have faulted, oftentimes to prevent their anger by excuſe, making or aſking forgiveneſſe, and alſo by pardoning them before they come to excuſe if we have beene wronged by them. And therefore *Euclides* that great ſcholer of *Socrates* is much renowmed and famous in all ſchooles of Philoſophie, for that when he heard his brother breake out into theſe beaſtly and wicked words againſt him, The foule ill take me if I be not revenged and meet with thee; and a miſchiefe come to me alſo (quoth he againe) if I appeaſe not thine anger, & perſwade thee to love me as well as ever thou didſt. But king *Eumenes* not in word but in deed & effect ſurpaſſed all others in meekeneſſe and patience: for *Perſeus* king of the Macedonians being his mortall enimie, had ſecretly addreſſed an ambuſh, and ſet certeine men of purpoſe to murder him about *Delphos*, eſpying their time when they ſawe him going from the ſea ſide to the ſaid towne for to conſult with the oracle of *Apollo*: now when he was gone a little paſt the ambuſh, they began to aſſaile him from behinde, tumbling downe and throwing mightie ſtones upon his head and necke, wherewith he was ſo aſtoniſhed that his ſight failed, and he fell withall, in that manner as he was taken for dead: now the rumour heereof ran into all parts, inſomuch as certeine of his ſervitors and friends made ſpeed to the citie *Pergamus*, reporting the tidings of this occurrent, as if they had beene preſent and ſeene all done; whereupon *Attalus* the eldeſt brother next unto himſelfe, an honeſt and kinde hearted man, one alſo who alwaies had caried himſelfe moſt faithfully and loyally unto *Eumenes*, was not onely declared king, and crowned with the royall diademe; but that which more is, eſpouſed and maried Queene *Stratonice* his ſaid brothers wife, and lay with her. But afterwards, when counter-newes came that *Eumenes* was alive and comming homeward againe, *Attalus* laid aſide his diademe, and taking a partiſan or javelin in his hand (as his maner before time was) with other pentioners and ſquires of the bodie, he went to meet his brother: king *Eumenes* received him right graciouſly, tooke him lovingly by the hand, embraced the Queene with all honour, and of a princely and magnanimous ſpirit put up all; yea and when he had lived a long time after without any complaint, ſuſpition, and jealouſie at all, in the end at his death made over and aſſigned both the crowne and the Queene his wife unto his brother the aforeſaid *Attalus*: and what did *Attalus* now after his brothers deceaſe? he would not foſter and bring up (as heire apparant) ſo much as one childe that he had by *Stratonice* his wife, although ſhe bare unto him many; but he nouriſhed and carefully cheriſhed the ſonne of his brother departed, untill he was come to full age, and then himſelfe in his life time with his owne hands ſet the imperiall diademe and royall crowne upon his head, and proclaimed him king. But *Cambyſes* contrariwiſe frighted upon a vaine dreame which he had; That his brother was come to uſurpe the kingdome of *Aſia*, without expecting any proofe or preſumption thereof, put him to death for it; by occaſion whereof, the ſucceſſion in the empire went out of the race of *Cyrus* upon his deceaſe, and was devolved upon the line of *Darius* who raigned after him; a Prince who knew how to communicate the government of his affaires, and his regall authoritie, not onely with his brethren, but alſo with his friends.

Moreover, this one point more is to be remembred & obſerved diligently in all variances and debates that are riſen betweene brethren: namely, then eſpecially, and more than at any time elſe, to converſe and keepe companie with their friends; and on the other ſide to avoide their enemies and evill-willers, and not to be willing ſo much as to vouchſafe them any ſpeech or entertainment. Following herein the faſhion of the Candiots, who being oftentimes fallen out and in civill diſſenſion among themſelves, yea and warring hot one with another, no ſooner heare newes of forrein enemies comming againſt them, but they rancke themſelves, banding jointly together againſt them; and this combination is that, which thereupon is called *Syncreteſmos*. For ſome there be, that (like as water runneth alwaies to the lower ground, and to places that chinke or cleave aſunder) are readie to ſide with thoſe brethren or friends that be fallen out, and by their ſuggeſtions buzzed into their eares, ruinate and overthrow all acquaintance, kinred and amitie, hating indeed both parties, but ſeeming to beare rather upon the weaker ſide, and to ſettle upon him, who of imbecillitie ſoone yeeldeth and giveth place. And verily thoſe that be ſimple and harmleſſe friends, ſuch as commonly yong folke are, apply themſelves commonly to him that affecteth a brother, helping & increaſing that love what he may; but the moſt malicious enemies are they, who eſpying when one brother is angrie or fallen out with another, ſeeme to be angrie and offended together with him for companie; and theſe do moſt hurt of all others. Like as the hen therefore in *Aeſope* anſwered unto the cat, making ſemblance as though he heard her ſay ſhe was ſicke, and therefore in kindneſſe and love asking how ſhe did? I am well enough (quoth ſhe) I thanke you, ſo that you were farther off; even ſo, unto ſuch a man as is inquiſitive and entreth into talke as touching the debate of brethren to ſound and ſearch into ſome ſecrets betweene them, one ought to anſwere thus: Surely there would be no quarrell betweene my brother and me, if neither I nor he would give eare to carrie-tales and pick-thankes betweene us. But now it commeth to paſſe (I wot not how) that when our eies be ſore and in paine, we turne away our ſight from thoſe bodies and colours which make no reverberation or repercuſſion backe againe upon it; but when we have ſome complaint and quarrell, or conceive anger or ſuſpicion againſt our brethren, we take pleaſure to heare thoſe that make all woorſe, and are apt enough to take any colour and infection, preſented to us by them, where it were more needfull and expedient at ſuch a time to avoid their enimies and evill willers, and to keepe our ſelves out of the way from them; and contrariwiſe to converſe with their allies, familiars and friends; and with them to beare company eſpecally, yea and to enter into their owne houſes for to complaine and blame them before their very wives frankly and with libertie of ſpeech. And yet it is a common ſaying, That brethren when they walke together, ſhould not ſo much as let a ſtone to be betwixt them; nay they are diſcontented and diſpleaſed in minde, in caſe a dog chance to runne overthwart them; and a number of ſuch other things they feare, whereof there is not one able to make any breach or diviſion betweene brethren; but in the meane while, they perceive not how they receive into the mids of them, and ſuffer to traverſe and croſſe them, men of a curriſh and dogged nature, who can do nothing els but barke betweene, and ſowe falſe rumours and calumniations betweene one and another, for to provoke them to jarre and fall together by the eares: and therefore to great reaſon and very well to this purpoſe ſaid *Theophraſtus*; That if al things (according to the old proverbe) ſhould be common among friends, then moſt of all they ought to enterteine friends in common; for private familiarities and acquaintances apart one from another, are great meanes to disjoine and turne away their hearts; for if they fall to love others, and make choiſe of other familiar friends, it muſt needs follow by conſequence to take pleaſure and delight in other companies, to eſteeme and affect others, yea and to ſuffer themſelves to be ruled and led by others. For friendſhips and amities frame the natures and diſpoſitions of men; neither is there a more certeine and aſſured ſigne of different humors and divers natures, than the choiſe & election of different friends, in ſuch ſort as neither to eate and drinke, nor to play, nor to paſſe and ſpend whole daies together in good fellowſhip and companie, is ſo effectuall to hold and maintaine the concord and good will of brethren, as to hate and love the ſame perſons; to joy in the ſame acquaintance; and contrariwiſe to abhor and ſhun the ſame companie; for when brethren have friends common betweene them, the ſaid friends will never ſuffer any ſurmiſes, calumniations & quarrels to grow betweene; and ſay that peradventure there do ariſe ſome ſudden heat of choler or grudging fit of complaint, preſently it is cooled, quenched, and ſuppreſſed by the mediation of common friends; for readie they will be to take up the quarrell and ſcatter it ſo as it ſhall vaniſh away to nothing if they be indifferently affectionate to them both, and that their love incline no more to the one ſide than to the other: for like as tin-ſoder doth knit and rejoyne a crackt peece of braſſe, in touching and taking hold of both ſides and edges of the broken peeces, for that it agreeth and ſorteth as well to the one as to the other, and ſuffreth from them both alike; even ſo ought a friend to be fitted and ſutable indifferently unto both brethren, if he would knit ſurely, and confirme ſtrongly their mutuall benevolence and good will. But ſuch as are unequall, and cannot intermeddle and go betweene the one as well as the other, make a ſeparation and disjunction, and not a ſound joint, like as certeine notes or diſcords in muſicke. And therefore it may well bee doubted and queſtion made whether *Heſiodus* did well or no when he ſaid,

Make not a feere I thee adviſe
Thy brothers peere in any wiſe.

For a diſcreet and ſober companion common to both (as I ſaid) before, or rather incorporat (as it were) into them, ſhall ever be a ſure knot to faſten brotherly love. But *Heſiodus* (as it ſhould ſeeme) meant and feared this in the ordinary and vulgar ſort of men, who are many of them naught, by reaſon that ſo cuſtomably they be given to jealouſie and ſuſpition, yea and to ſelfe-love which if we conſider and obſerve, it is well; but with this regard alwaies, that although a man yeeld equall good will unto a friend as unto a brother; yet neverthleſſe in caſe of concurrence, he ought to reſerve ever the preeminence and firſt place for his brother, whether it be in preferring him in any election of Magiſtrates, or to the mannaging of State affaires; or in bidding and inviting him to a ſolemne feaſt, or publike aſſembly to conſult and debate of weightie cauſes; or in recommending him to princes & great lords. For in ſuch caſes which in the common opinion of the world are reputed matters of honor and credit, a man ought to render the dignitie, honor, and reward, which is beſeeming and due to blood by the courſe of nature. For in theſe things the advantage and prerogative will not purchaſe ſo much glorie and reputation to a friend, as the repulſe and putting-by, bring diſgrace, diſcredit and diſhonor unto a brother.

Well, as touching this old ſaid ſaw and ſentence of *Heſiodus*, I have treated more at large elſewhere; but the ſententious ſaying of *Menander* full wiſely ſet downe in theſe words:

No man who lov's another, ſhall you ſee
Well pleas'd, himſelfe neglected for to bee.

putteth us in minde and teacheth us to have good regard and care of our brethren, and not to preſume ſo much upon the obligation of nature, as to deſpiſe them. For the horſe is a beaſt by nature loving to a man, and the dog loves his maſter; but in caſe you never thinke upon them, nor ſee unto them (as you ought) they wil forgoe that kind affectiō, eſtrange themſelves & take no knowledge of you. The bodie alſo is moſt neerely knit and united to the ſoule by the greateſt bond of nature that can be; but in caſe it be neglected and contemned by her, or not cherriſhed ſo tenderly as it looketh to be, unwilling ſhall you ſee it to helpe and aſſiſt her, nay full untowardly will it execute, or rather give over it will altogether everie action. Now to come more neere and to particulariſe upon this point, honeſt and good is that care and diligence which is emploied and ſhewed to thy brethren themſelves alone; but better it would be farre, if thy love and kind affections be extended as far as to their wives fathers and daughters husbands, by carrying a friendly minde and readie will to pleaſure them likewiſe, and to do for them in all their occaſions; if they be courteous and affable in ſaluting their ſervants, ſuch eſpecially as they love and favour; thankfull and beholding to their Phyſicians who had them in cure during ſickneſſe and were diligent about them; acknowledging themſelves bound unto their faithfull and truſtie friends, or to ſuch as were willing and forward to take ſuch part as they did in any long voyage and expedition, or to beare them company in warfare. And as for the wedded wife of a brother whom he is to reverence, repute and honor no leſſe than a moſt ſacred and holy relique or monument, if at any time he happen to ſee her, it will be come him to ſpeake all honour and good of her husband before her; or to be offended and complaine (as well as ſhe) of her husband, if he ſet not that ſtore by her as he ought, and when ſhe is angred to appeaſe and ſtill her. Say alſo that ſhe have done ſome light fault, and offended her husband, to reconcile him againe unto her and entreat him to be content and to pardon her; and likewiſe if there be ſome particular and private cauſe of difference betweene him and his brother, to acquaint the wife therewith, and by her meanes to complaine thereof, that ſhe may take up the matter by compoſition and end the quarrell.

Lives thy brother a batcheler and hath no children? thou oughteſt in good earneſt to be angrie with him for it, to ſollicite him to marriage, yea with chiding, rating, and by all meanes urge him to leave this ſingle life, and by entring into wedlocke to be linked in lawfull alliance and affinitie: hath he children? then you are to ſhew your good will and affection more manifeſtly, as well toward him as his wife, in honouring him more than ever before, in loving his children as if they were your owne, yea and ſhewing your ſelfe more indulgent, kinde and affable unto them; that if it chaunce they do faults and ſhrewd turnes (as little ones are woont) they runne not away, nor retire into ſome blind and ſolitarie corner for feare of father and mother, or by that meanes light into ſome light, unhappie and ungracious companie, but may have recourſe & refuge unto their unkle, where they may be admoniſhed lovingly, and find an interceſſor to make their excuſe & get their pardon. Thus *Plato* reclaimed his brothers ſon or nephew *Speuſippus*, from his looſe life and diſſolute riot, without doing any harme or giving him foule words, but by winning him with faire and gentle language (whereas his father and mother did nothing but rate and crie upon him continually, which cauſed him to runne away and keepe out of their ſight) he imprinted in his heart a great reverence of him, and a fervent zeale to imitate him, and to ſet his mind to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, notwithſtanding many of his friends thought hardly of him and blamed him not a litle, for that he tooke not another courſe with the untoward youth, namely, to rebuke, checke, and chaſtice him ſharply: but this was evermore his anſwere unto them: That he reprooved and tooke him downe ſufficiently, by ſhewing unto him by his owne life and carriage, what difference there was betweene vice and vertue, betweene things honeſt and diſhoneſt. *Alenas* ſometime King of *Theſſalie*, was hardly uſed and overawed by his father, for that he was inſolent, proude, and violent withall; but contrariwiſe, his uncle by the fathers ſide, would give him entertainment, beare him out and make much of him: Now when upon a time the Theſſalians ſent unto *Delphos* certaine lots, to know by the oracle of god *Apollo* who ſhould be their king? The foreſaid uncle of *Alenas* unwitting to his brother, put in one for him: Then *Pythia* the Propheteſſe gave anſwere from *Apollo* and pronounced,

ced, That *Alenas* ſhould be king: The father of *Alenas* denied, and ſaid that he had caſt in no lot for him; and it ſeemed unto every man that there was ſome errour in writing of thoſe billes or names for the lotterie; whereupon new meſſengers were diſpatched to the Oracle for to cleere this doubt; and then *Pythia* in confirmation of the former choiſe, anſwered:

I meane that youth with reddiſh heare,
Whom dame Archedice *in wombe did beare.*

Thus *Alenas* declared and elected king of *Theſſalie,* by the oracle of *Apollo,* and by the meanes withall of his fathers brother, both proved himſelfe afterward a moſt noble prince, excelling all his progenitours and predeceſſours, and alſo raiſed the whole nation and his countrey a great name and mighty puiſſance.

Furthermore, it is ſeemely and convenient by joying and taking a glory in the advancement, proſperity, honours and dignities of brothers children, to augment the ſame, and to encourage and animate them to vertue, and when they do well, to praiſe them to the full. Haply it might be thought an odious and unſeemely thing for a man to commend much his owne ſonne, but ſurely to praiſe a brothers ſonne is an honourable thing, and ſince it proceedeth not from the love of a mans ſelfe, it can not be thought but right, honeſt, and (in truth)*divine: for ſurely me thinks the very name it ſelfe (of Uncle) is ſufficient to draw brethren to affect & love deerly one another, and ſo conſequently their nephewes: and thus we ought to propoſe unto our ſelves, for to imitate the better ſort, & ſuch as haue bene immortaliſed & deified in times paſt: for ſo *Hercules* notwithſtanding he had 70 ſonnes within twaine of his owne, yet he loved *Iolaus* his brothers ſonne no leſſe than any of them; inſomuch as even at this day in moſt places there is but one altar erected for him and his ſaid nephew together, and men pray jointly unto *Hercules* and *Iolaus.* Alſo when his brother *Iphiclus* was ſlain in that famous battell which was fought nere *Lacedæmon,* he was ſo exceedingly diſpleaſed, and tooke ſuch indignation thereat, that he departed out of *Peloponneſus,* and left the whole countrey. As for *Leucothea,* when her ſiſter was dead, ſhe nouriſhed and brought up her childe, and together with her, ranged it among the heavenly ſaints: whereupon the Romane dames even at this day, when they celebrate the feaſt of *Leucothea* (whom they name *Matuta*) carrie in their armes and cheariſh tenderly their ſiſters children, and not their owne.

* θεῖος ſignifieth divine & an uncle.

OF INTEMPERATE SPEECH OR GARRULITIE.

The Summarie.

That which is commonly ſaid, All extremities be naught, *requireth otherwhiles an expoſition, and namely, in that vertue which we call Temperance, one of the kinds or branches whereof, conſiſteth in the right uſe of the tongue, which is as much to ſay, as the skill and knowledge how to ſpeake as it becommeth: now the moderation of ſpeech hath for the two extreames, Silence (a thing more often praiſe-worthy than reprochable)* and Babble; *againſt which, this Diſcourſe is addreſſed. Conſidering then, that ſilence is an aſſured reward unto wiſe men, and oppoſite directly unto much pratling, and comely and ſeemely ſpeech is in the mids, we call not ſilence a vice, but ſay, That a man never findeth harme by holding his peace. But as touching Garrulitie or Intemperate ſpeech, the authour ſheweth in the very beginning of his Treatiſe, that it is a maladie incurable and againſt nature; for it doth fruſtrate the talkative perſon of his greateſt deſire, to wit, for to have audience and credit given him; alſo that it maketh a man inconſiderate, importune and malapert, ridiculous, mocked and hated, plunging him ordinarily into danger, as many events have prooved by experience. For to diſcover this matter the better, he ſaith conſequently:*

ſequently: That the nature of vertuous men and thoſe who have noble bringing up, is directly oppoſite unto that of long-tongued perſons; and joining the reaſons by which a man ought not to bewray his ſecret, together with thoſe evils and inconveniences which curioſity & much babble do bring, and confirming all by fine ſimilitudes and notable examples: afterwards, taking in hand againe his former ſpeech and argument, he compareth a traitor and buſie talker together, to the end that all men ſhould ſo much the rather deteſt the vice of garrulitie: then he proceedeth immediatly to diſcover and apply the remedies of this miſchiefe, willing us, in the firſt place and generally to conſider the calamities and miſeries that much babbling cauſeth; as alſo the good & commodity which proceedeth of ſilence: which done, he diſcourſeth of thoſe particular remedies, which import thus much in effect: That a man ought to frame and accuſtome himſelfe, either to be ſilent, or els to ſpeake laſt; to avoid all haſtineſſe in making his anſwere; to ſay nothing, but that which is either needfull or civill; to ſhun and forbeare thoſe diſcourſes which pleaſe us moſt, and wherein we may be ſoone overſeene and proceed too farre; to finde buſie praters occupied apart from them; to provide them the companie of men who are of authoritie and aged; In ſumme, to conſider whether that which a man hath ſaid, be convenient, meet and profitable, and nevertheleſſe, to thinke alwaies of this: That other-whiles a man may repent of ſome words ſpoken, but never of keeping ſilence.

OF INTEMPERATE ſpeech or Garrulitie.

A Very hard and troubleſome cure it is that Philoſophie hath undertaken, namely, To heale the diſeaſe of much prating; for that the medicine and remedie which ſhe uſeth, be words that muſt be received by hearing; and theſe great talkers will abide to heare no man, for that they have all the words themſelves, and talke continually; ſo that the firſt miſchiefe of thoſe who can not hold their tongue and keepe ſilence, is this; That they neither can nor will give eare to another; inſomuch as it is a wilfull kinde of deafeneſſe in men, who ſeeme thereby to controll nature, and complaine of her, in that where ſhe hath allowed them two eares, ſhe hath given them but one tongue. If then *Euripides* ſaid very well unto a fooliſh auditour of his,

Powre I wiſe words, and counſell what I can
With all my skill, into a ſottiſh man,
Unneth ſhall I be able him to fill,
If holde and keepe the ſame he never will.

a man may more truely and juſtly ſay unto (or rather of) a prating fellow,

Powre I wiſe words, and counſell what I can
With all my skill unto a ſottiſh man,
Unneth I ſhall be able him to fill,
In caſe receive the ſame he never will.

and in trueth, more properly it may be ſaid: That one powreth good advertiſements about ſuch an one and beſide him rather, than into him, ſo long as he either ſpeaketh unto him that liſtneth not, or giveth no eare unto them that ſpeake: for if a pratling fellow chance to heare ſome ſhort and little tale, ſuch is the nature of this diſeaſe called Garrulitie, that his hearing is but a kinde of taking his winde new, to babble it foorth againe immediatly, much more than it was, or like a whirle-poole which whatſoever it taketh once, the ſame it ſendeth up againe very often with the vantage. Within the city *Olympia* there was a porch or gallery called *Heptaphonos*, for that from one voice by ſundry reflections and reverberations it rendred ſeven ecchoes: but if ſome ſpeech come to the eares of a babbler, and enter never ſo little in, by and by it reſoundeth againe on every ſide,

And ſtirres the ſtrings of ſecret heart within,
Which ſhould lie ſtill, and not be moov'd therein.

inſomuch, as a man may well ſay: That the conducts and paſſages of their hearing reach not to the braine where their ſoule and minde is ſeated, but onely to their tongue: by reaſon whereof, whereas in others, the words that be heard doe reſt in their underſtanding, in pratlers they void away and runne out preſently, and afterwards they goe up and downe like emptie veſſels, void of ſenſe and full of ſound. Well, as incurable as ſuch ſeeme to be, yet if it may be thought available to leave no experiment untried for to doe ſuch good, we may begin our cure, and ſay thus unto a buſie pratler:

Peace my good ſonne, for Taciturnitie
Brings ay with it much good commodity.

But among the reſt, theſe be the two chiefe and principall, namely: To heare and to be heard; of which twaine, our importunate talkers can attaine neither the one nor the other, ſo unhappie they are as to be fruſtrate of that which they ſo much deſire. As for other paſſions and maladies of the ſoule, namely, Avarice, Ambition, Love and Voluptuouſneſſe, they doe all of them in ſome ſort enjoy their deſire; but the thing that troubleth and tormenteth theſe babbling fellowes moſt, is this: That ſeeking for audience ſo much as they do, and nothing more, they can never meet with it, but every man ſhunneth their company, and flieth away as faſt as his legges will carrie him; for whether men be ſet together in a knot, ſadly talking in their round chaires, or walking in companie, let them eſpie one of theſe pratlers comming toward them, away they go every one, that a man would ſay the retreat were ſounded, ſo quickly they retire. And like as when in ſome aſſembly if all be huſht on a ſudden ſo as there is not a word, wee uſe to ſay that *Mercurie* is come among them; even ſo when a prating foole entreth into a place where friends are either ſet at the boord to make merry, or otherwiſe met together in counſell, everie man ſtreightwaies is ſilent and holdeth his peace, as being unwilling to miniſter occaſion unto him of talke; but if himſelfe begin firſt to open his lips, up they riſe all and are ſoone gone, as mariners ſuſpecting, & doubting by the whiſtling northern wind from the top of craggie rocks, and promontories, ſome rough ſea, and fearing to be ſtomacke-ſicke, retire betimes into a bay for harbor: whereby it commeth to paſſe alſo, that neither at a ſupper can he meet with gueſts willing to eate and drinke with him, nor yet companions to lodge with him, either in journey by land, or voiage by ſea, unleſſe it be by conſtreint. For ſo importunate he is alwaies, that onewhile he is ready to hang upon a mans cloake whereſoever he goes, another while he takes hold on the ſide of his beard, as if he knocked at the doore with his hand to force him to ſpeake; in which caſe well fare a good paire of legs, for they are woorth much monie at ſuch a time; as *Archilochus* was wont to ſay, yea and *Ariſtotle* alſo that wiſe Philoſopher: for when upon a time he was much troubled with one of theſe buſie praters, who haunted and wearied him out of meaſure with cavilling tales and many fooliſh and abſurd diſcourſes, iterating eftſoones theſe words; And is not this a woonderful thing *Ariſtotle?* No iwis (quoth he againe) but this were a wonder rather, if a man that hath feet of his owne ſhould ſtand ſtill and abide to heare you thus prate. unto another alſo of the ſame ſtamp, who after much pritle prattle and a long diſcourſe, ſaid thus unto him: I doubt I have bin tedious unto you Philoſopher with my many words; No in good ſooth (quoth *Ariſtotle* unto him:) for I gave no eare at all unto you. For if otherwhiles men cannot ſhake ſuch praters off, but muſt of neceſſitie let their tongues walke, this benefit he hath by the ſoule, that ſhe retireth inwardly all the while lending the outward eares onely for them to beat upon, and daſh as it were all about with their jangling bibble babble; for ſhe in the meane time is otherwiſe occupied, and diſcourſeth to herſelfe of divers matters within; by which meanes ſuch fellowes can meet with no hearers that take heed what they ſay, or beleeve their words. For as it is generally held, that the naturall ſeed of ſuch as are lecherous and much given to the companie of women is unfruitfull and of no force to engender; even ſo the talke of theſe great praters is vaine, barren, and altogether fruitleſſe. And yet there is no part or member of our body that nature hath ſo ſurely defended (as it were) with a ſtrong rampar, as the tongue: for before it ſhe hath ſet a pallaiſado of ſharpe teeth, to the end that if peradventure it will not obey reaſon, which within holdeth it hard as with a ſtraite bridle, but it will blatter out and not tarrie within, we might bite it until it bleed againe, and ſo reſtraine the intemperance thereof. For *Euripides* ſaid not, that houſes unbolted;

But tongues and mouth's unbrid'led if they bee
Shall find in th'end miſhap and miſerie.

And thoſe in my conceit who ſay that houſen without dores, and purſes without ſtrings, ſerve their maſters in no ſteed; and yet in the meane time, neither ſet hatch nor locke unto their mouthes, but ſuffer them run out and overflow continually, like unto the mouth of the ſea *Pontus*, theſe I ſay in mine opinion ſeeme to make no other account of words than of the baſeſt thing in the world; whereby they are never beleeved (ſay what they will) and yet this is the proper end and ſcope that all ſpeech tendeth to, namely to winne credit with the hearers; and no man will ever beleeve theſe great talkers, no not when they ſpeake the truth. For like as wheat if be it encloſed within ſome danke or moiſt veſſell, doth ſwell and yeeld more in meaſure, but for uſe is found to be worſe; even ſo it is with the talke of a pratling perſon; well may he multiply and augment it with lying, but by that meanes it leeſeth all the force of perſwaſion. Moreover what modeſt, civil, and honeſt man is there, who would not verie carefully take heed of drunkennes? for anger (as ſome ſay) may well be ranged with rage & madneſſe; and drunkenneſſe doth lodge and dwell with her, or rather is * madnes it ſelfe, onely in circumſtance of time it may be counted leſſe, for that it continueth leſſe while, but ſurely in regard of the cauſe it is greater, for that it is voluntarie, and we runne wilfully into it, and without any conſtraint. Now there is no one thing for which drunkenneſſe is ſo much blamed and accuſed as for intemperate ſpeech and talke without end: for as the Poët ſaith,

* *Ira furor brevis eſt.*

Wine makes a man who is both wiſe and grave
To ſing and chant, to laugh full wantonly,
It cauſeth him to dance, and eke to rave,
And many things to do undecently.

for the greateſt and woorſt matter that enſueth thereupon is not ſinging, laughing and dauncing; there is another inconvenience in compariſon whereof all theſe are nothing, and that is,

To blurt abroad, and thoſe words to reveale,
Which better were within for to conceale.

This is (I ſay) the miſchiefe moſt dangerous of all the reſt: and it may be that the Poët covertly would aſſoile that queſtion which the Philoſophers have propounded and diſputed upon; namely, what difference there might be, betweene liberall drinking of wine, and ſtarke drunkenneſſe? in attributing unto the former mirth and jocundneſſe extraordinarie, and to the latter much babling and fooliſh prattle: for according to the common proverbe, that which is ſeated in the heart and thought of a ſober perſon, lieth aloft in the mouth and tongue of a drunkard. And therefore wiſely anſwered the Philoſopher *Bias* unto one of theſe jangling and prating companions: for when he ſeemed to marke him for ſitting ſtill, and ſaying nothing at a feaſt, inſomuch as he gave him the lob and foole for it: And how is it poſſible (quoth he) that a foole ſhould hold his peace at the table? There was upon a time a citizen of *Athens* who feaſted the embaſſadors of the king of *Perſia*, and for that he perceived that theſe great Lords would take delight in the companie of learned men and Philoſophers, upon a brave minde that he carried, invited they were all & met there together: now when all the reſt began to diſcourſe in generall, and everie man ſeemed to put in ſome vie for himſelfe, and to hold and maintaine one theame or other, *Zeno* who ſate among them was onely ſilent and ſpake not a word; whereupon the ſaid Embaſſadors and ſtrangers of *Perſia* began to bee merrie with him and to drinke unto him round, ſaying in the end: And what ſhall we report of you Sir *Zeno* unto the King our maſter? Marie (quoth he) no more but this, that there is an ancient man at *Athens* who can ſit at the boord and ſay nothing. Thus you ſee that ſilence argueth deepe and profound wiſedome; it implieth ſobrietie, and is a myſticall ſecret and divine vertue; whereas drunkenneſſe is talkative, full of words, void of ſenſe and reaſon; and indeed thereupon multiplieth ſo many words, and is ever jangling. And in truth the Philoſophers themſelves when they define drunkenneſſe ſay: That it is a kinde of raving and ſpeaking idlely at the table upon drinking too much wine; whereby it is evident, that they doe not ſimply condemne drinking, ſo that a man keepe himſelfe within the bounds of modeſtie and ſilence; but it is exceſſive and fooliſh talke, that of drinking wine maketh drunkenneſſe. Thus the drunkard raveth and talketh idlely when he is cup-ſhotten at the boord; but the pratler and man of many words doth it alwaies and in every place, in the market and common hal, at the theatre, in the publike galleries and walking places, by day and by night. If he be a phyſician and viſit his patient, certes he is more grievous, and doth more hurt in his cure than the maladie it ſelfe; if he be a paſſenger with others in a ſhip, all the companie had rather be ſea-ſicke than heare him prate; if he ſet to praiſe thee, thou wert better to be diſpraiſed by another; and in a word, a man ſhall have more pleaſure and delight to converſe and commune with lewd perſons ſo they be diſcreet in their ſpeech, than with others that be buſie talkers, though otherwiſe they be good honeſt men. True it is indeed that old *Neſtor* in a tragedie of *Sophocles* ſpeaking unto *Ajax* (who overſhot himſelfe in ſome hot and haſty words) for to appeaſe and pacifie him, ſaith thus after a milde and gracious maner,

I blame not you ſir Ajax *for your ſpeech*
Naught though it be,your deeds are nothing leech.

But ſurely we are not ſo well affected unto a vaine-prating fellow; for his importunate and unſeaſonable words, marre all his good works, and make them to loſe their grace. *Lyſias* upon a time,at the requeſt of one who had a cauſe to plead unto at the barre, penned an oration for his purpoſe and gave it him. The partie after he had read and read it over againe,came unto *Lyſias* heavie and ill-appaied ſaying; The firſt time that I peruſed your oration, me thought it was excellently well written,and I wondred at it; but when I tooke it a ſecond and third time in hand,it ſeemed very ſimply endited & caried no forcible and effectuall ſtile with it: Why (quoth *Lyſias*, and ſmiled withall) know you not that you are to pronounce it but once before the judges? and yet ſee & marke withall the perſwaſive eloquence and ſweet grace that is in the writing of *Lyſias*, for I may be bold to ſay and affirme of him, that

The Muſes with their broided violet haire,
Grac'd him with favour much and beauty faire.

And among thoſe ſingular commendations that are given out of any Poët; moſt true it is that *Homer* is he alone of all that ever were, who overcame all ſatietie of the reader; ſeeming evermore new and freſh,flouriſhing alwaies in the prime of lovely grace, and appeering yoong ſtill and amiable to win favour; howbeit in ſpeaking and profeſſing thus much of himſelfe,

It greeves me much for to rehearſe againe
A tale that once delivered hath beene plaine.

He ſheweth ſufficiently that he avoideth what he can,and feareth that tedious ſatietie which followeth hard at heeles,& laieth wait (as it were) unto all long traines of ſpeech; in which regard he leadeth the reader & hearer of his Poemes from one diſcourſe & narration to another,and evermore with novelties doth ſo refreſh and recreate him, that he thinketh he hath never enough; whereas our long-tongued chatterers do after a ſort wound and weary the eares of their hearers by their tautologies and vaine repetitions of the ſame thing as they that ſoile and ſlourry writing tables when they be faire ſcoured and clenſed: and therefore let us ſet this firſt and formoſt before their eies, that like as they who force men to drinke wine out of meaſure and undelaied with water, are the cauſe that the good bleſſing which was given us to rejoice our hearts and make us pleaſant and merry, driveth ſome into ſadneſſe, and others into drunkenneſſe and violence; even ſo they that beyond all reaſon and to no purpoſe uſe their ſpeech (which is a thing otherwiſe counted the moſt delightſome and amiable meanes of conference and ſocietie that men have together) cauſe it to bee inhumane and unſociable, diſpleaſing thoſe whom they thought to pleaſe, making them to be mocked at their hands, of whom they looked to be well eſteemed,and to have their evill will and diſpleaſure, whoſe love and amitie they made reckoning of. And even as hee by good right may be eſteemed uncourteous and altogether uncivill, who with the girdle and tiſſue of *Venus*, wherein are all ſorts of kind and amiable allurements, ſhould repell and drive from him as many as deſire his companie; ſo hee that with his ſpeech maketh others heavie and himſelfe hatefull, may well be held and reputed for a graceleſſe man and of no bringing up in the world. As for other paſſions and maladies of the minde, ſome are dangerous,others odious, and ſome againe ridiculous and expoſed to mockerie; but garrulity is ſubject unto all theſe inconveniences at once. For ſuch folke as are noted for their laviſh tongue,are a meere laughing ſtocke, and in every common and ordinary report of theirs, they miniſter occaſion of laughter; hated they be for their relation of ill newes, and in danger they are becauſe they cannot conceale and keepe cloſe their owne ſecrets: heereupon *Anacharſis* being invited one day & feaſted by *Solon*, was reputed wiſe, for that being aſleepe he was found and ſeene holding his right hand to his mouth, and his left upon his privities and natural parts: for good reaſon he had to thinke, that the tongue required and needed the ſtronger bridle and bit to reſtreine it: and in very truth it were a hard matter to reckon ſo many perſons undone and overthrowne by their intemperate and looſe life, as there have beene cities and mightie States ruinated and ſubverted utterly,by the revealing and opening of ſome ſecrets. It fortuned that whiles *Sylla* did inleaguer before the citie of *Athens*,and had not leaſure to ſtay there long and continue the ſiege,by reaſon of other affaires and troubles preſſed him ſore,for of one ſide king *Mithridates* invaded and harmed *Aſia*,and on the other ſide the faction of *Marius* gathered ſtrength; and having gotten head,prevailed much within *Rome*: certeine old fellowes being met in a barbars ſhop within the city of *Athens*,who were blabs of their tongues,clattered it out in their talk together,that a certeine quarter of the citie named *Heptacalchon* was not ſufficiently guarded, and therefore the towne in danger to be ſurpriſed by that part; which talke of theirs was over-heard by certeine eſpies, who advertiſed *Sylla* ſo much; whereupon immediately hee brought all his forces to that ſide, and about midnight gave an hot aſſault, made entrie and went within a very little of forcing the citie, and being maſter of it all, for he filled the whole ſtreete called *Ceramicum* with ſlaughter and dead carcaſſes, inſomuch as the chanels ran downe with bloud. Now was hee cruelly bent againſt the Athenians more for their hard language which they gave him than for any offence or injurie otherwiſe that they did unto him, for they had flouted and mocked *Sylla*, together with his wife *Metella*; and for that purpoſe they would get upon the walles and ſay; *Sylla* is a Sycamoore or Mulberie, beſtrewed all over with duſty-meale; beſides many other ſuch fooliſh jibes and taunts; and ſo for the lighteſt thing in the world (as *Plato* ſaith) to wit, words which are but winde, they brought upon their heads a moſt heavie and grievous penaltie. The garrulitie and over-much talke of one man, was the only hinderance that the citie of *Rome* was not ſet free and delivered from the tyrannie of *Nero*. For there was but one night betweene the time that *Nero* ſhould have beene murthered on the morrow, and all things were readie and prepared for the purpoſe: but he who had undertaken the execution of that feat, as he went toward the Theatre, eſpied one of thoſe perſons who were condemned to die, bound and pinnioned at the priſon doore, and readie to be led and brought before *Nero*; who hearing him to make piteous moane and lamenting his miſerable fortune, ſteps to him and rounding him ſoftly in the eare: Pray to God poore man (quoth he) that this one day may paſſe over thy head, and that thou die not to day, for to morrow thou ſhalt con me thankes. The poore priſoner taking hold preſently of this ænigmaticall and darke ſpeech, and thinking (as I ſuppoſe) that one bird in hand is better than two in buſh, and according to the common ſaying, that

A foole is he who leaving that
which readie is and ſure,
Doth follow after things that be
unreadie and unſure.

made choiſe of ſaving his life by the ſurer way, rather than by the juſter meanes; for he diſcovered unto *Nero* that which the man had whiſpered ſecretly unto him: whereupon preſently the partie was apprehended and carried away to the place of torture, where by racking, ſcortching and ſcourging; he was urged miſerable wretch, to confeſſe and ſpeake out that perforce, which of himſelfe he had revealed without any conſtraint at all. *Zeno* the Philoſopher fearing that whē his body was put to dolorous and horrible torments, he ſhould be forced even againſt his will to bewray and diſcloſe ſome ſecret plot; bit-off his tongue with his owne teeth and ſpit it in the Tyrants face. Notable is the example of *Leæna*, and the reward which ſhe had for conteining and ruling her tongue is ſingular. An harlot ſhe was and verie familiar with *Harmodiu* and *Ariſtogiton*; by meanes of which inward acquaintance, privie ſhe was and partie as farre foorth as a woman might be to that conſpiracie which they had complotted againſt the uſurping tyrants of *Athens*, and the hopes that they builded upon (Drunke ſhe had out of that faire cup of Love, and thereby vowed never to reveale the ſecrets of god *Cupid.*) Now after that theſe two paramours and lovers of hers had failed of their enterpriſe and were put to death; ſhe was called into queſtion and put to torture, and therewith commaunded to declare the reſt of the complices in that conſpiracie, who as yet were unknowen and not brought to light: but ſo conſtant and reſolute ſhe was, that ſhe would not detect ſo much as one, but endured all paines and extremities whatſoever; whereby ſhe ſhewed that thoſe two yoong gentlemen had done nothing unfitting their perſons and nobilitie, in making choiſe to be enamoured of her. In regard of which rare ſecrecie of hers, the Athenians cauſed a Lioneſſe to be made of braſſe without a tongue, and the ſame in memoriall of her to be erected and ſet up at the verie gate and entrie of their Citadell; giving poſteritie to underſtand by the generoſity of that beaſt, what an undaunted and invincible heart ſhe had; and likewiſe of what taciturnitie and truſt in keeping ſecrets, by making it tongueleſſe: and to ſay a trueth, never any word ſpoken ſerved to ſo good ſtead as many concealed and held in, have profited. For why? A man may one time or other utter that which he once kept in; but being ſpoken, it cannot poſſibly be recalled and unſaid, for out it is gone alreadie and ſpread abroad ſundrie waies. And hereupon it is (I ſuppoſe) that we have men to teach us for to ſpeake, but we learne of the gods to hold our peace. For in ſacrifices, religious myſteries, and ceremonies of divine ſervice we receive by tradition, a cuſtome to keepe ſilence. And even ſo, the Poët *Homer* feigned *Ulyſſes* (whoſe eloquence otherwiſe was ſo ſweet) to be of all men moſt ſilent and of feweſt words; his ſonne likewiſe, his wife and nourſe, whom you may heare thus ſpeaking:

As ſoone ſhall ſtocke of ſturdy oake it tell,
Or iron ſo ſtrong, as I will it reveale.

And *Ulyſſes* himſelfe ſitting by *Penelope*, before he would be knowen unto her who he was,

Griev'd in his mind, and pitted to behold
His wife by teares to ſhew what heart did feele,
But all the while his eies he ſtiffe did hold,
Which ſtird no more than horne or ſturdie ſteele.

ſo full was his tongue of patience, and his lips of continence. For why? reaſon had all the parts of his bodie ſo obeiſant and readie at command, that it gave order to the eies not to ſhed teares; to the tongue not to utter a word; to the heart not to pant or tremble, nor ſo much as to ſob or ſigh:

Thus unto reaſon obeiſant was his heart,
Perſwaded all to take in better part.

yea his reaſon had gotten the maſtrie of thoſe inward and ſecret motions which are voide and incapable of reaſon, as having under her hand the verie blood and vitall ſpirits in all obeyſance: his people alſo and traine about him were for the moſt part of that diſpoſition; for what wanted this of conſtancy & loyalty to their lord in the higheſt degree, to ſuffer themſelves to be pulled & haled, to be tugged & toſſed, yea & daſhed againſt the hard ground under foote by the giant *Cyclops*, rather than to utter one word againſt *Ulyſſes*, or to bewray that logge of wood which was burnt at the one end, & an inſtrument made readie for to put out his onely eie that he had? nay they endured rather to be eaten & devoured raw by him, thã to diſcloſe any of *Ulyſſes* his ſecrets. *Pittacus* therefore did not amiſſe, who when the King of *Egypt* had ſent unto him a beaſt for ſacrifice, and willed him withall to take out and lay apart the beſt and woorſt piece thereof, plucked out the tongue and ſent it unto him, as being the organ of many good things, and no leſſe inſtrument of the woorſt that be in the world. And Ladie *Ino* in *Euripides* ſpeaking freely of herſelfe, ſaith that ſhe knew the time,

When that ſhe ought her tongue to hold,
And when to ſpeake, ſhe might be bold.

For certeinly thoſe who have had noble and princely bringing up in deed, learne firſt to keepe ſilence, and afterwards how to ſpeake. And therefore king *Antigonus* the great, when his ſonne upon a time asked him, When they ſhould diſlodge and breake up the campe: What ſonne (quoth hee) art thou alone afraid, that when the time comes thou ſhalt not heare the trumpet ſound the remove? Loe, how he would not truſt him with a word of ſecrecie, unto whom he was to leave his kingdome in ſucceſſion! teaching him thereby, that he alſo another day ſhould in ſuch caſes be wary and ſpare his ſpeech. Olde *Metellus* likewiſe, being asked ſuch another ſecret as touching the armie and ſetting forward of ſome expedition: If I wiſt (quoth he) that my ſhirt which is next my ſkinne, knew this my inward intent and ſecret purpoſe, I would put it off and fling it into the fire. King *Eumenes*, being advertiſed that *Craterus* was comming againſt him with his forces, kept it to himſelfe, and would not acquaint any of his neereſt friends therewith, but made ſemblance and gave it out (though untruly) that it was *Neoptolemus* who had the leading of that power; for him did his ſouldiours contemne and make no reckoning of, whereas the glory and renowme of *Craterus* they had in admiration, and loved his vertue and valour: now when no man els but himſelfe knew of *Craterus* his being in the field, they gave him battell, vanquiſhed him, ſlew him before they were aware, neither tooke they knowledge of him before they found him dead on the ground. See how by a ſtratageme of ſecrecie and ſilence the victorie was atchieved, onely by concealing ſo hardie and terrible an enemie; inſomuch, as his very friends about him admired more his wiſedome in keeping this ſecret from them, than complained of his diffidence and diſtruſt of them. And ſay that a man ſhould complaine of thee in ſuch a caſe, better it were yet to be challenged and blamed for diſtruſting, all the while thou remaineſt ſafe and obtaine a victorie by that meanes, than to be juſtly accuſed after an overthrow, for being ſo open and truſting ſo eaſily. Moreover, how dareſt thou confidently and boldly blame and reproove another for not keeping that ſecret, which thou thy ſelfe haſt revealed? for if it was behoovefull and expedient that it ſhould not be knowen, why haſt thou tolde it to another? but in caſe when thou haſt let flie a ſecret from thy ſelfe unto a man, thou wouldeſt have him to holde it in, and not blurt it out, ſurely it can not be but thou haſt better confidence in another than thy ſelfe: now if he be like thy ſelfe, who will pity thee if thou come by a miſchiefe? is he better, and ſo by that meanes ſaveth thee harmeleſſe beyond all reaſon and ordinary courſe? then haſt thou met with one more faithfull to thee than thou art thy ſelfe: but haply thou wilt ſay: He is my very friend; ſo hath he another friend (be ſure) whom he will do as much for, and diſcloſe the ſame ſecret unto, and that friend (no doubt) hath another. Thus one word will get more ſtill, it will grow and multiplie by a ſute and ſequence linked & hanging to an intemperate tongue: for like as Unitie, ſo long as ſhe paſſeth not her bounds, but continueth and remaineth ſtill in herſelfe, is one and no more, in which reſpect ſhe is called in Greeke, *Monas,* that is to ſay, Alone; whereas the number of twaine is the beginning of a diverſitie (as it were) and difference, and therefore indefinite; for ſtraight-waies is Unitie paſſed forth of it ſelfe by doubling, and ſo turneth to a plurality; even ſo a word or ſpeech all the while it abideth encloſed in him who firſt knew it, is truely and properly called a Secret, but after it is once gotten forth and ſet a going, ſo that it is come unto another, it beginneth to take the name of a common brute and rumour: for as the Poet very well ſaith; *Words have wings.* A bird, if ſhe be let flie once out of our hands, it is much adoe to catch againe; and even ſo, when a word hath paſſed out of a mans mouth, hardly or unneth may we withholde or recover; for it flieth amaine, it flappeth her light wings, fetching many a round compaſſe, and ſpreadeth every way from one quarter to another: well may mariners ſtay a ſhip with cables and ankers, when the violence of the winde is ready to drive and carrie her an end, or at leaſt-wiſe they may moderate her ſwift & flight courſe; but if a word be iſſued out of the mouth, as out of her haven, and have gotten ſea-roome, there is no bay nor harborough to ride in, there is no caſting of anker will ſerve the turne, away ſhe goes with a mighty noiſe and hurry, untill in the end ſhe runnes upon ſome rocke and is ſplit, or els into a great and deepe gulfe, to the preſent danger of him who ſet her foorth;

For in ſmall time, and with a little ſparke
Of fire, a man may burne the forreſt tall
Of Ida *mount; ev'n ſo (who liſt to marke)*
All towne will heare, a word to one let fall.

The Senate of *Rome* upon a time ſat in ſadde and ſerious counſell many daies together, about a matter of great ſecrecie: now the thing being ſo much the more ſuſpected and hearkened after, as it was leſſe apparent and knowen abroad; a certaine Romane dame, otherwiſe a good ſober and wiſe matron (howbeit a woman) importuned her husband and inſtantly beſought him, of all loves to tell her what this ſecret matter might be upon which they did ſit ſo cloſe in conſultation? proteſting with many an oath and execrable curſe to keepe ſilence and not to utter it to any creature in the world; you muſt thinke alſo, that ſhe had teares at command, lamenting and complaining withall, what an unhappie woman ſhe was, in caſe her husband would not truſt her ſo much as with a word: the Romane Senatour her husband minding to trie and reproove her folly: Thou haſt overcome me (ſweet heart, quoth hee) and through thine importunitie, thou ſhalt heare of a ſtrange and terrible occurrent that troubleth us all. So it is, that we are advertiſed by our Prieſts, that there hath bene a larke of late ſeene flying in the aire, with a golden cop or creſt on her head in maner of an helmet, and withall, bearing a javelin: hereupon we do conferre and conſult with our Soothſaiers and Diviners, deſirous to be certified out of their learning, whether this prodigious token portend good or hurt to the Common-weale? but keepe it to thy ſelfe (as thou loveſt me) and tell it no bodie. When he had thus ſaid, he went forth toward the Common hall and Market place: his wife incontinently had no ſooner ſpied one of her waiting-maidens comming into the roome, but ſhe drew her apart, begunne to beat and knocke her owne breſt, to rent and teare the haire off her head, and therewith: Ah, woe's me (quoth ſhe) for my poore husband, my ſweet native countrey; alas and weladay, what ſhall we doe, and what will become of us all; as if ſhee taught her maide and were deſirous that ſhee ſhould ſay thus unto her againe: Why, what is the matter miſtreſſe? Now when the maiden thereupon asked her, What newes? ſhee ſet tale an end and told all, marie ſhee forgat not the common and ordinarie burden or clauſe, that all blabs of their tongue uſe to come in with: But in any caſe (quoth ſhe) ſay nothing, but keepe it to thy ſelfe. Scarſe was ſhee gone out of her miſtreſſe ſight, but ſeeing one of her fellowes whom ſhe found moſt at leaſure and doing little or nothing, to her ſhe imparted all. That wench againe made no more adoo, but to her lover ſhe goes, who haply then was come to viſite her, and telleth him as much. By this meanes the tale was bruted abroad, and paſſed roundly from one to another; inſomuch as the rumour thereof was runne into the market place,and there went currant before the firſt author,and deviſer therof himſelfe was gotten thither. For there meetes with him one of his familiars and friends: How now (quoth he) are you come but now directly from your houſe to the market place: No (quoth he againe) I am but newly come: Why then belike (ſaith the other) you have heard no newes? Newes (quoth he) what newes ſhould I heare? and what tidings can you tell me off? Why man (anſwered he againe)there hath beene of late a Larke ſeene flying with a golden cop or creſt on her head,and carrying beſide a javelin; and the Conſuls with other Magiſtrates are readie to call a Senate houſe for to ſit upon this ſtrange occurrent. With that the Senatour beforeſaid,turning aſide & ſmiling,thus ſaid to himſelfe: Wel done wife,I con thee thank for thy quicknes & celeritie,thou haſt quit thy ſelfe well indeed,that the word which erewhile I uttered unto thee,is gotten before me into the market place. Well,the firſt thing that he did was this, To the Magiſtrates he went ſtraightwaies, ſignified unto them the occaſion of this ſpeech, and freed them from all feare and trouble: but when he was come home to his owne houſe he fell in hand to chaſtice his wife: How now Dame (quoth he) how is this come to paſſe; you have undone me for ever; for it is found and knowen for a trueth,that this ſecret and matter of counſell which I imparted to you, is divulged and publiſhed abroad, and that out of my houſe: and thus your unbridled tongue is the cauſe that I muſt abandon and fly my countrey, and foorthwith depart into exile. Now when at the firſt ſhe would have denied the thing ſtoutly, and alledged for her excuſe and defence, ſaying: Are not there three hundred Senatours beſides your ſelfe,who heard it as well as you? No marvell then if it be knowen abroad. What tell you me of three hundred (quoth he?) upon your importunate inſtance, I deviſed it of mine owne head,in mirth to trie your ſilence, and whether you could keepe counſell. Certes, this Senator was a wiſe man and went ſafely and warily to worke, who to make proofe of his wife, whom hee tooke to be no ſounder nor ſurer than a crackt and rotten veſſell, would not poure into it either wine or oile,but water only,to ſee if it would leake & run out. But *Fulvius* one of the favorits & minnions of *Auguſtus* the Emperor,when he was now well ſtepped in yeeres, having heard him toward his latter daies,lamenting and bewailing the deſſolate eſtate of his houſe, in that he had no children of his owne bodie begotten, and that of his three nephewes or ſiſters children two were dead, and *Poſthumius* (who onely remained alive) upon an imputation there upon him confined, and living in baniſhment, whereupon he was enforced to bring in his wives ſonne, and declare him heire apparant to ſucceed him in the Empire: notwithſtanding upon a tender compaſſion,he was otherwhiles in deliberation with himſelfe, and minded to recall his foreſaid ſiſters ſonne from exile,and the place whereunto he was confined. *Fulvius* (I ſay) being privy to theſe moanes and deſſeignes of his, went home and told his wife all that he had heard. Shee could not hold but goes to the Empreſſe *Livia,* wife of *Auguſtus*, and reported what her huſband *Fulvius* had told her. Whereupon *Livia* taking great indignation, ſharply did conteſt and expoſtulate with *Cæſar* in theſe termes: That ſeeing it is ſo(quoth ſhe)that you had ſo long before projected & determined ſuch a thing,as to cal home againe your nephew aforeſaid; why ſent you not for him at the firſt,but expoſed me to hatred,enmity & war with him,who another day ſhould weare the Diademe and be Emperor after your deceaſe? Well the next morning betimes,when *Fulvius* came, as his maner was,to ſalute *Cæſar* and give him good morrow,after he had ſaid unto him χαῖρε Καῖσαρ; that is, God ſave you *Cæſar*. He reſaluted him no otherwiſe but this, ὑγίαινε φούλβιε; that is, God make you wiſe *Fulvius*. *Fulvius* ſoone found him and conceived preſently what hee meant thereby; whereupon hee retired home to his houſe withall ſpeede, and called for his wife; unto whom: *Cæſar* (quoth hee) is come to the knowledge that I have not kept his counſell nor concealed his ſecrets; and therefore I am reſolved to make my ſelfe away with mine owne handes. And well woorthie (quoth ſhee) for juſtly you have deſerved death, who having lived ſo long with me, knew not the incontinence of my tongue all this while, nor would take heed and beware of it; but yet ſuffer me firſt to die upon your ſword; and with that catching hold therof, killed herſelfe before her huſband. And therefore *Philippides* the Comædian, did verie wiſely in his anſwere to King *Lyſimachus*, who by way of all courteſie making much of him, and minding to do him honour, demaunded of him thus: What wouldeſt thou have me to impart unto thee of all other treaſure and riches that I have? What it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſtie (quoth he) my gracious Lord, ſo it be none of your ſecrets.

Moreover,there is adjoined ordinarily unto Garrulitie,another vice no leſſe than it; namely, Buſie intermedling and Curioſitie, for men deſire to heare and know much newes, becauſe they may report and blaſe the ſame abroad, and eſpecially if they be ſecrets. Thus goe they up and downe liſtening, enquiring and ſearching if they can find and diſcover ſome cloſe and hidden ſpeeches, adding as it were ſome olde ſurcharge of odious matters to their toies and fooleries; which maketh them afterwards to be like unto little boies, who neither can hold yce in their hands, nor yet will let it goe; or to ſay more truely, they claſpe and conteine in their boſoms ſecret ſpeeches, reſembling ſerpents, which they are not able to hold and keepe long, but are eaten and gnawen by them. It is ſaid that certaine fiſhes called the Sea-needles, yea and the vipers doe cleave and burſt when they bring foorth their yoong; and even ſo, ſecrets when they be let fall out of their mouthes who can not containe them, undo and overthrow thoſe that reveale them. King *Seleucus* (him I meane who was ſurnamed *Callinicus*, that is, the victorious Conquerour) in one battell againſt the Galatians, was defaited hee and his whole power; whereupon he tooke from his head the Diademe or Royall band that he ware, and rode away on the ſpurre on horſebacke with three or foure in his companie, wandring through deſarts and by-waies unknowen ſo long, untill both horſe and man were done, and readie to faint for wearineſſe: at length he came unto a countrey kearnes or peaſants cottage; and finding (by good fortune) the good man of the houſe within, asked for bread and water; which the ſaid peaſant or cottier gave unto him; and not that onely, but looke what the field would afoord els beſides, he imparted unto him and his company with a willing heart and in great plentie, making them the beſt cheere that hee could deviſe: in the end he knew the kings face, whereupon he tooke ſuch joy, in that his hap was to entertaine the king in his neceſſitie, that he could not conteine himſelfe, nor ſecond the king in diſſembling his knowledge, who deſired nothing more, than to be unknowen: when hee had therefore brought the king onward on his way, and was to take his leave of him: Adieu (quoth he) king *Seleucus*: with that the king reached foorth his hand, and drew him toward him, as if he would have kiſſed him, & withall, beckned to one of his followers, and gave him a ſecret token to take his ſword and make the man ſhorter by the head.

Thus whiles he ſpake (I wot not what) his head
Off goes, and lies in duſt when he was dead.

whereas, if he could have held his tongue a little while longer, and maſtered himſelfe, when the king afterwards had better fortune and recovered his greatneſſe and puiſſance, he ſhould in my conceit have gotten more thanks at his hands, and beene better rewarded for keeping ſilence, than for all the courteſie and hoſpitalitie that he ſhewed. And yet this fellow had in ſome ſort a colourable excuſe for this intemperate tongue of his, to wit, his owne hopes and the good will that he bare unto the king: but the moſt part of theſe pratlers vndo themſelves without any cauſe or pretenſe at all of reaſon: like as it befell unto *Denys* the tyrants barbar: for when (upon a time) there were ſome talking in his ſhop as touching his tyrannicall government and eſtate, how aſſured it was, and as hard to be ruined or overthrowen, as it is to breake the Diamond: the ſaid barbar laughing thereat: I marvell (quoth he) that you ſhould ſay ſo of *Denys*, who is ſo often under my hands, and at whoſe throat in a maner every day I holde my raſor: theſe words were ſoone carried to the tyrant *Denys*, who faire crucified this barbar and hanged him for his fooliſh words. And to ſay a trueth, all the ſort of theſe barbars be commonly buſie fellowes with their tongue; and no marvell, for lightly the greateſt praters and idleſt perſons in a countrey, frequent the barbars ſhop, and ſit in his chaire, where they keepe ſuch chat, that it can not be, but by hearing them prate ſo cuſtomably, his tongue alſo muſt walke with them. And therefore king *Archelaus* anſwered very pleaſantly unto a barbar of his, that was a man of no few words, who when he had caſt his linnen cloth about his ſhoulders, ſaid unto him: Sir, may it pleaſe your Highneſſe to tell me how I ſhall cut or ſhave you: Mary (quoth he) holding thy tongue, and ſaying not a word. A barbar it was, who firſt reported in the city of *Athens*, the newes of that great diſcomfiture and overthrow which the Athenians received in *Sicily*; for keeping his ſhop (as he did) in that end of the ſuburbs called *Pyræum*, he had no ſooner heard the ſaid unlucky newes of a certaine ſlave who fled from thence out of the field, when it was loſt, but leaving ſhop and all at ſixe and ſeven, ran directly into the city, and never reſted to bring the ſaid tidings, and whiles they were freſh and fire-new,

For feare ſome els might all the honour win,
And he too late, or ſecond, ſhould come in.

Now upon the broching of theſe unwelcome tidings, a man may well thinke (and not without good cauſe) that there was a great ſtirre within the city; inſomuch, as the people aſſembled together into the Market place or Common hall, and ſearch was made for the authour of this rumour:

mour: hereupon the ſaid barbar was haled and brought before the bodie of the people, and examined; who knew not ſo much as the name of the partie of whom hee heard this newes; But well aſſured I am (quoth he) that one ſaid ſo, mary who it was or what his name might be, I can not tell. Thus it was taken for an headleſſe tale, and the whole Theatre or Aſſembly was ſo moved to anger, that they cried out with one voice; Away with the villaine, have the varlet to the racke, ſet the knave upon the wheele, he it is onely that hath made all on his owne fingers ends, this hath he and none but he deviſed; for who els hath heard it, or who beſides him hath beleeved it? Well, the wheele was brought, and upon it was the barbar ſtretched: meane while, and even as the poore wretch was hoiſed thereupon, beholde there arrived and came to the citie, thoſe who brought certaine newes in deed of the ſaid defeature, even they who made a ſhift to eſcape out of that infortunate field: then brake up the aſſembly, and every man departed and retired home to his owne houſe, for to bewaile his owne private loſſe and calamity, leaving the ſilly barbar lying along bound to the wheele, and racked out to the length, and there remained he untill it was very late in the evening, at what time he was let looſe; and no ſooner was he at liberty, but he muſt needs enquire newes of the executioner, & namely; what they heard abroad of the Generall himſelfe *Nicias*, and in what ſort he was ſlaine? So inexpugnable and incorrigible a vice is this, gotten by cuſtome of much talke, that a man can not leave it, though he were going to the gallowes, nor keepe in thoſe tidings which no man is willing to heare: for certes, like as they who have drunke bitter potions or unſavory medicines, can not away with the very cups wherein they were; even ſo, they that bring evill and heavie tidings, are ordinarily hated and deteſted of thoſe unto whom they report the ſame. And therefore *Sophocles* the Poet hath verie finely diſtinguiſhed upon this point in theſe verſes:

MESSENGER.
Is it your heart, or els your eare,
That this offends, which you do heare?
CREON.
And why do'ſt thou ſearch my diſeaſe
To know what griefe doth me diſpleaſe?
MESSENGER.
His deeds (I ſee) offend your heart,
But my words cauſe your eares to ſmart.

Well then, thoſe who tell us any wofull newes be as odious as they who worke our wo; and yet for all that, there is no reſtreint and brideling of an untemperate tongue that is given to walke and overreach. It fortuned one day at *Lacedæmon*, that the temple of *Iuno* called there *Chalciæcos* was robbed, and within it was found a certeine emptie flagon or ſtone bottle for wine: great running there was and concourſe of the people thither, and men could not tell what to make of that flagon: at laſt one of them that ſtood by; My maſters (quoth he) if you will give me leave, I ſhall tell you what my conceit is of that flagon, for my minde gives me (ſaith he) that theſe church-robbers who projected to execute ſo perilous an enterpriſe, had firſt drunke the juice of hemlocke before they entred into the action, and afterwards brought wine with them in this bottle, to the end that if they were not ſurpriſed nor taken in the maner, they might ſave their lives by drinking each of them a good draught of meere wine; the nature and vertue whereof (as you know well enough) is to quench as it were and diſſolve the vigour and ſtrength of that poiſon, and ſo goe their waies ſafe enough, but if it chance that they were taken in the deed doing, then they might by meanes of that hemlocke which they had drunke die an eaſie death, and without any great paine and torment, before that they were put to torture by the magiſtrate. He had no ſooner delivered this ſpeech, but the whole companie who heard his words, thought verily that ſuch a contrived deviſe, and ſo deepe a reach as this never came from one that ſuſpected ſuch a matter, but rather knew that it was ſo indeed; whereupon they flocked round about, and hemmed him in, and on everie ſide each one had a ſaying unto him: And what art thou (quoth one?) From whence art thou ſaith another? Here comes one and asketh, who knew him? there ſets upon him another, ſaying: And how commeſt thou by the light of all this that thou haſt delivered? to be ſhort, they handeled the matter ſo well, that they forced him to bewray himſelfe in the end, and to confeſſe that he was one of them that committed the ſacriledge. Were not they alſo who murdered the Poët *Ibycus*, diſcovered and taken after the ſame manner? It hapned that the ſaid murderers were ſet at a Theatre to behold the plaies and paſtimes which were exhibited; and ſeeing a flight of Cranes over their heads, they whiſpered one to another: Loe theſe be they that will revenge the death of *Ibycus*. Now had not *Ibycus* beene a long time before ſeene, and much ſearch was made after him, becauſe he was out of the way and miſſed; whereupon they that ſate next unto theſe men over-hearing thoſe words of theirs, and well noting the ſpeech, went directly to the Magiſtrates and Iuſtices to give intelligence and information of their words. Then were they attached and examined; and thus being convicted, ſuffered puniſhment in the end, not by the meanes of thoſe Cranes that they talked of, but ſurely by their owne blab-tongues; as if ſome helliſh furie had forced them to diſcloſe that murder which they had committed. For like as in our bodies the members diſeaſed and in paine, draw humours continually unto them, and all the corruption of the parts neere unto them flow thither; even ſo, the tongue of a babling fellow, being never without an inflammation and a feaverous pulſe, draweth alwaies and gathereth to it one ſecret and hidden thing or other. In which regard it ought to be well fenſed with a rampar, and the bulwarke of reaſon ſhould evermore be ſet againſt it, which like unto a barre may ſtay and ſtop that overflowing and inconſtant lubricitie which it hath; that we be not more undiſcreet and fooliſh beaſts than geeſe are, who when they be to take a flight into *Cilicia* over the mountaine *Taurus*, which is full of eagels, take up everie one in their bill a good big ſtone, which ſerveth them in ſtead of a locke or bridle to reſtraine their gagling; by which deviſe they may paſſe all night long without any noiſe, and not be heard at all or deſcried by the ſaid eagles.

Now if one ſhould demaund and aske of me, what perſon of all others is moſt miſchievous and dangerous? I beleeve very well there is no man would name any other but a traitour. And yet *Euthycrates* (as ſaith *Demoſthenes*) for his treaſon covered his owne houſe with a rouſe made of timber that he had out of *Macedonie*. *Philocrates* alſo lived richly and gallant of that great maſſe of gold and ſilver, which he had of King *Philip* for betraying his countrey, and therewith furniſhed himſelfe with brave harlots, gallant concubines, and daintie fiſhes. *Euphorbius* alſo and *Philagrus* who betraied *Eretria*, were endowed by the King, with faire lands and poſſeſſions: but a pratler is a traitor voluntarie and for nothing, he demaundeth no hire at all, neither looketh he to be ſolicited, but offereth himſelfe and his ſervice; nor betraieth unto the enemies either horſes or walles, but revealeth hidden ſecrets, and diſcloſeth ſpeeches which are to bee concealed, whether it be in judiciall matters of law or in ſeditious diſcords, or in managing of State affaires, it makes no matter, and no man conneth him thankes; nay he will thinke himſelfe beholden to others, if they will vouchſafe to give him audience. And therefore, that which is commonly ſaid to a prodigal perſon, who fooliſhly miſ-ſpendeth and vainely waſteth his ſubſtance he cares not how, to gratifie every man: Thou art not liberal; this is no courteſie; a vice it is rather that thou art diſpoſed unto, thus to take pleaſure in nothing, but giving and giving ſtill. The ſame rebuke and reprehenſion ſerveth verie fitly for a babler: Thou art no friend nor well-willer of mine, thus to come and diſcover theſe things unto me; this is thy fault, and a diſeaſe which thou art ſicke of, that loveſt to be clattering and haſt no mind but of chatting.

Now would I have the Reader to thinke that I write not all this, ſo much to accuſe and blame the vice and maladie of garrulitie, as to cure and heale the ſame. For by judgement and exerciſe we ſurmount and overcome the vices and paſſions of the minde; but judgement, that is to ſay, knowledge, muſt go before: for no man accuſtometh himſelfe to void, and (as it were) to weed them out of the ſoule, unleſſe he hate and deteſt them firſt. Now then, and never before, begin we to take an hatred to vices, when by the light of reaſon we conſider and weigh the ſhame and loſſe that commeth unto us by them: as for example, we know and ſee that theſe great praters, whiles they deſire to win love, gaine hatred; thinking to do a pleaſure, they diſpleaſe; looking to be well eſteemed, are mocked and derided; they lay for lucre, and get nothing; they hurt their friends, aide their enemies, and undoe themſelves.

So then, let this be the firſt receit and medicine for to cure this maladie; even the conſideration and reckoning up of the ſhamefull infamies and painfull inconveniences that proceed and enſue thereof. The ſecond remedy is, to take a ſurvey of the contrary; that is to ſay, to heare alwaies, to remember and have ready at hand the praiſes and commendations of ſilence, the majeſtie (I ſay) the myſticall gravitie and holineſſe of taciturnitie, to repreſent alwaies unto our minde and underſtanding, how much more admired, how much more loved, and how farre wiſer they are reputed, who ſpeake roundly at once, and in few words, their minde pithily; who in a ſhort and compendious ſpeech comprehend more good matter and ſubſtance a great deale, than theſe great talkers, whoſe tongues are unbrideled and run at randon. Thoſe (I ſay) be they whom *Plato* ſo highly eſteemeth, comparing them to ſkilfull and well practiſed Archers and

Darters, who have the feat of ſhooting arrowes and launcing darts; for they know how and when to ſpeake graciouſly and bitterly, ſoundly, pithily and compactly. And verily, wiſe *Lycurgus* framed and exerciſed his citizens immedialy from their child-hood by keeping them downe at the firſt with ſilence to this ſhort and ſententious kinde of ſpeech, whereby they ſpake alwaies compendiouſly, and knit up much in a little. For like as they of *Biskay* or *Celtiberia* do make their ſteele of yron, by enterring it and letting it lie firſt within the ground, and then by purging and refining it from the groſſe, terrene and earthly ſubſtance that it hath; even ſo the Laconians ſpeech hath no outward barke (as a man would ſay) or cruſt upon it, but when all the ſuperfluitie thereof is taken away, it is ſteeled (as it were) and tempered, yea, and hath an edge upon it, fit for to worke withall and to pierce: and verily that apophthegmaticall and powerfull ſpeech of theirs, that grace which they had to anſwere ſententiouſly and with ſuch gravity, together with a quicke and ready gift to meet at every turne with all objections, they attained unto by nothing els but by their much ſilence. Wherefore, it were very expedient to ſet ever before the eies of theſe great praters, thoſe ſhort and witty ſpeeches, that they may ſee what grace and gravity both, they have: as for example; The Lacedæmonians unto *Philip*, greeting: *Dionyſius* in *Corinth*. Alſo another time, when *Philip* had written unto them to this effect: If I enter once into the confines of *Laconia*, I wil deſtroy you utterly that you ſhal never riſe againe. They returned this anſwere againe in writing: Αἴκα; that is, If. Likewiſe when King *Demetrius* in great diſpleaſure and indignation, cried out aloud in theſe words: *The Lacedæmonians have ſent unto me an embaſſador alone, and who hath no fellow*; meaning that there came but one: the ſaid embaſſador nothing danted at his words, anſwered readily: *One for one*. Certes, they that uſed to ſpeake ſhort and ſententiouſly, were highly eſteemed long ago with our ancients & forefathers. And hereupon it was that the *Amphyctiones*, that is to ſay, the Deputies or States for the generall counſell of all *Greece*, gave order, that there ſhould be written over the doore of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, not the Odyſee or Ilias of *Homer*; ne yet the Canticles or Pæans of *Pindarus*; but theſe briefe ſentences: Γνῶθι σαυτόν; that is, Know thy ſelfe. Μηδὲν ἄγαν; that is, Too much of nothing. alſo Εγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτη; that is, Be ſuretie and make account to pay: ſo highly eſteemed they a plaine, ſimple and round manner of ſpeaking, which compriſed in few words much matter, and a ſentence maſſie and ſound: and no marvell, for *Apollo* himſelfe loveth brevitie, and is in his oracles verie ſuccinct and pithy; wherefore els is he ſurnamed *Loxias*? but becauſe he chooſeth rather to avoide pluralitie than obſcuritie of words. They alſo who without word uttered at all, ſignifie the conceptions of their minde by certaine ſymbolicall deviſes, and after that maner deliver good leſſons unto us; are they not ſundrie waies commended and admired exceedingly? Thus *Heraclitus* in times paſt, being requeſted by his neighbours and fellow-citizens, to make a ſententious ſpeech unto them, and deliver his opinion as touching civil unitie and concord, mounted up into the pulpit, and taking a cup of cold water in his hand, beſpiced it (as it were) with ſome meale, and with a ſprig or two of the herbe Penniroyall, ſhooke all together: which done, he dranke it off, and ſo came downe and went his way: giving them by this demonſtration, thus much to underſtand; that if men would take up with a little and be content with things at hand, without deſiring coſtly ſuperfluities, it were the next way to keepe and preſerve cities in peace and concord.

Scylurus a King of the Scythians left behind him fourſcore ſonnes; and when the houre of his death drew neere, he called for a bundle of darts or a ſheafe of arrowes to be brought unto him, which he put into his childrens hands one after another, and willed each one to breake and burſt the ſame in pieces, bound as it was entire and whole together: which when they had aſſaied to do, and putting all their ſtrength unto it, could not, but gave over: himſelfe tooke out of the ſheafe or knitch the darts aforeſaid one by one, and knapt them in twaine ſingle as they were with facilitie: declaring by this deviſe, that ſo long as they held together, their union and agreement would be ſtrong and invincible; but their diſcord and diſunion would make them feeble, and be an occaſion that they ſhould not long continue. He then, that continually ſhall have theſe & ſuch like precedents in his mouth, and ordinarily repeat and remember the ſame, will peradventure take no great pleaſure and delight in idle and ſuperfluous words. For mine owne part, ſurely I am abaſhed mightily at the example of that domeſticall ſervant at *Rome*, when I conſider with my ſelfe what a great matter it is to be well adviſed before a man ſpeaketh, and conſtantly to hold and maintaine the reſolution of any purpoſe. *Publius Piſo* the great Orator and Rhetorician, becauſe he would provide that his people and ſervitours about him ſhould not trouble his head with much prattle, gave order and commaundement unto them, that they ſhould make anſwere unto his demaunds onely, and no more: now being minded one day to entertaine *Clodius* the chiefe ruler of the city at his houſe, he bad him to ſupper, and cauſed him to be ſent for and called at the time accordingly; for a ſtately and royall feaſt he had provided, by all likelihood, and as any man would thinke no leſſe: now when ſupper time was come, the reſt of the invited gueſts now preſent, *Clodius* onely they ſtaied and looked for; meane while, *Piſo* had ſent out oftentimes unto him one of his ſervitours who was woont ordinarily to bid his gueſts for to ſee whether he were cōming, or would come to ſupper or no? but when it grew late in the evening, ſo that there was no hope now that hee would be there: Now ſirrha (quoth *Piſo* to his man aforeſaid) didſt thou not invite and bid him? Yes iwis Sir: Why then comes he not: ſaid the maſter againe? Forſooth (quoth he) becauſe he denied to come: And why toldeſt thou not me this immediately? Becauſe ſir, you never asked me the queſtion. Well this was a Romane ſeruitor; but an Athenian ſervant I trow whiles he is digging and delving, will tell his maſter newes, and namely, what be the articles and capitulations, in the treaty and compoſition of peace. So powerfull and forcible is uſe and cuſtome in all things, whereof I purpoſe now to treat; for that there is no bit nor bridle that is able to repreſſe, tame, and keepe in a talkative tongue, but it is cuſtome that muſt do the deed and conquer this maladie.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, when in companie there ſhall be any queſtion propounded by them that are about thee, frame and uſe thy ſelfe to hold thy tongue and be ſilent, untill thou ſee that everie man elſe refuſeth to ſpeake and make anſwere: for according to *Sophocles*.

To counſell and to runne a courſe in race
Have not both twaine one end, to haſte apace.

No more verily doeth a voice and an anſwere ſhoot at the ſame marke that running aimeth at: for there, to wit, in a race, he winneth the prize that getteth to be formoſt; but heere, if another man have delivered a ſufficient anſwere, it will be well enough, by praiſing and approoving his ſpeech, to gaine the opinion and reputation of a courteous perſon; if not, then will it not be thought impertinent, neither can envie or hatred come of it, in caſe a man do gently ſhew and open that wherein the other was ignorant, and ſo after a milde and civill maner ſupply the defect of the former anſwer: but above all, this regard would be had: That when a queſtion or demand is addreſſed and directed unto another, we take it not upon our ſelves; and ſo anticipate and prevent his anſwer; and peradventure, neither in this nor in any thing els, is it decent and commendable to offer and put forth our ſelves too forward before we be required; and in this caſe, when another man is asked a queſtion, our owne intruſion, with the putting by of him is not ſeemely; for we may be thought (in ſo doing) both to injurie and diſcredit the party demanded, as if hee were not able to performe that which was put upon him, and alſo to reproch the demandant, as though hee had little skill and diſcretion, to aske a thing of him who could not give the ſame: and that which more is, ſuch malapert boldneſſe and heady haſtineſſe in raſh anſwering, importeth (moſt of all) exceeding arrogancie and preſumption; for it ſeemeth, that hee who taketh the anſwere out of his mouth of whom the queſtion is demanded, would ſay thus much in effect: What need have wee of him? what can he ſay unto it? what skill or knowledge hath hee? when I am in place, no man ought to aske any other of theſe matters, but my ſelfe only. And yet many times we propoſe queſtions unto ſome, not of any great deſire that we have to heare their anſweres, but onely becauſe we would finde talke, and miniſter occaſion of diſcourſe, ſeeking thereby to draw from them ſome words that may yeeld matter of mirth and pleaſant conference: after which ſort, *Socrates* uſed to provoke *Theætetus* and *Charmides*. To prevent therefore the anſwere of another, to turne away mens eares, to divert their eies, and draw their cogitations from him to our ſelves, is as much as if we ſhould run before and make haſte to kiſſe one firſt, who was minded to be kiſſed of another, or to enforce him to looke upon us, whoſe eies were ſet and fixed upon another; conſidering, that although the partie unto whom the demand was made, be either not able nor willing to make anſwer, it were befitting for a man, after ſome little pauſe made, to preſent himſelf in all modeſty and reverence, & then to frame & accommodate his ſpeech as nere unto that as may be, which he thinketh will content the minde of him that made the demand, and ſo anſwere (as it were) in the name of the other: for if they who are demanded a queſtion, make no good & ſufficient anſwer, great reaſon they have to be pardoned and held excuſed; but he who intrudeth himſelfe, & taking the words out of anothers mouth, is ready to ſpeak before he be ſpoken unto, by good right is odious, although he anſwer otherwiſe ſufficiently; but if he faile, and make no good anſwere, certes he maketh himſelfe, ridiculous, and a very laughing ſtocke to the whole company.

The ſecond point of exerciſe and meditation, is in a mans owne particular anſweres, wherein he ought eſpecially to be carefull and take heed who is given to over-much talke, to the end that they who would provoke him to ſpeake, and all to make themſelves merry and to laugh at him, may well know that he anſwereth not he knowes not what inconſiderately, but with good advice and ſeriouſly to the point: for ſuch there be in the world, who for no need at all, but only for to paſſe time in mirth, deviſe certeine queſtions for the nonce, and in that maner propound them to ſuch perſons for no other end, but to provoke them to prattle; and therefore they ought to have a good eie and regard before them, not to leape out and runne all on a ſudden haſtily to their anſwere, as if they were well pleaſed and beholden unto them for to have ſuch an occaſion of ſpeech; but with mature deliberation to conſider the nature and behaviour of him that putteth out the queſtion, together with the neceſſitie thereof, and the profit that may enſue thereby; and if it appeare indeed, that the partie be in good earneſt, and deſirous to learne and be inſtructed, then he muſt accuſtome himſelfe to repreſſe his tongue and take ſome pauſe, allowing a competent ſpace of time betweene the demand and the anſwere; during which ſilence, both the demander may have while to bethinke himſelfe and adde ſomewhat thereto, if he liſt, and alſo the demandé time to thinke of an anſwere, and not let his tongue runne before his wit, and ſo huddle up a confuſed anſwere before the queſtion be fully propounded: for often-times it falleth out, that for very haſte they take no heed of thoſe things which were demanded, but anſwere kim kam, and one thing for another. True it is (I muſt needs ſay) that *Pythia* the prieſtreſſe of *Apolloes* temple, is woont to give anſwere by oracle at the ſame inſtant that the queſtion is demanded, yea, and often-times before it be asked; for why? the god whom ſhe ſerveth

Doth underſtand the dumbe, who can not ſpeake,
And knowes ones minde, before the tongue it breake.

but among men, he that would wiſely and to the purpoſe anſwere, ought to ſtay untill he conceive the thought, and fully underſtand the intent of him that propoſeth a queſtion, leſt that befall unto him which is ſaid in the common proverbe:

About an hooke I queſtion made,
And they gave anſwere of a ſpade.

and otherwiſe alſo, if that incōvenience were not, yet are we to bridle this laviſh & haſtie tongue of ours, and reſtraine the inordinate and hungry appetite which we have to be talking; leſt it be thought that we had a fluxe (as it were) of humours gathered a long time about the tongue, and growen into an impoſtume, which wee are very well content ſhould be let out, and have iſſue made by a queſtion tendered unto us, and ſo by that meanes be diſcharged thereof. *Socrates* was woont in this maner to reſtraine and repreſſe his thirſt, after that he had enchafed his body and ſet himſelfe into an heat, either by wreſtling, or running, or ſuch like exerciſes; he would not permit himſelfe to drinke before he had powred out the firſt bucket of water that he had drawen out of the pit or well, acquainting this his ſenſuall appetite to attend the fit and convenient time that reaſon appointed.

Moreover, this would be noted, that there be three kinds of anſweres unto interrogations; the firſt neceſſarie, the ſecond civill, and the third needleſſe and ſuperfluous: as for example: If one ſhould aske whether *Socrates* be within or no; he that is unwilling or not ready and forward with his tongue, would make anſwere and ſay: He is not within; but if he be diſpoſed to laconize a little, and ſpeake more briefe, he would leave out the word (within) and ſay: He is not; or yet more ſhort than ſo, pronouncing onely the negative Adverbe, and ſaying no more but No. Thus the Lacedæmonians dealt once by *Philip*; for when he had diſpatched his letters unto thē to this effect; To know whether they would receive him into their city or no: they wrote backe againe, in faire great capitall letters, within a ſheet of paper, no more but O Y, that is to ſay, No: & ſo ſent it unto him: but he that would make anſwer to the former queſtion of *Socrates* a little more civilly and courteouſly, would ſay thus: He is not within ſir, for he is gone to the banke or exchange; & to give yet a ſomwhat better meaſure, he might perhaps adde moreover & ſay; He looketh there for certeine ſtrangers and friends of his. But a vaine prating fellow, and one that loves many words, eſpecially if his hap hath beene to read the booke of *Antimachus* the Colophonian, wil make anſwer to the demand aforeſaid in this wiſe: He is not within ſir, gone he is to the Burſe or Exchange, for there he expecteth certeine ſtrangers out of *Ionia*, of whom and in whoſe behalfe *Alcibiades* wrote unto him, who now maketh his abode within the citie of *Miletus*, ſojourneth with *Tiſſaphernes*, one of the lieutenants generall of the great King of *Perſia*; who before time was in league with the Lacedæmonians, ſtood their friend, and ſent them aid;

but not for the love of *Alcibiades*, he is turned from them and is ſided with the Athenians: for *Alcibiades* being deſirous to returne into his owne country, hath prevailed ſo much that hee hath altered *Tiſſaphernes* his minde, and drawen him away from our part: and thus ſhall you have him rehearſe in good earneſt the whole eight booke (in maner) of *Thucydides* his ſtory, untill he have overwhelmed a man with a multitude of narrations, and made him beleeve that in *Miletus* there is ſome great ſedition; that it is ready to be loſt, and *Alcibiades* to be baniſhed a ſecond time. Herein then ought a man principally to ſet his foote and ſtay his overmuch language, ſo as the center and circumference of the anſwer be that, which he who maketh the demaund deſireth and hath need to know. *Carneades* before he had any great name, diſputed one day in the publike ſchooles and place appointed for exerciſe: unto whom the maſter or preſident of the place ſent before hand, and gave him warning to moderate his voice (for hee ſpake naturally exceeding big and loud, ſo as the ſchooles rung againe therewith:) Give men then (quoth he) a gage and meaſure for my voice; upon whom the ſaid maſter replied thus not unproperly: Let him that diſputeth with thee be the meaſure and rule to moderate thy voice by; even ſo a man may in this caſe ſay: The meaſure that hee ought to keepe who anſwereth, is the very will and minde of him that propoſeth the queſtion. Moreover, like as *Socrates* forbad thoſe meats which drew men on to eate when they are not hungry; and likewiſe thoſe drinkes which cauſed them to drinke who are not a thirſt, even ſo ſhould a man who is given to much prattle, be afraid of thoſe diſcourſes wherein he delighteth moſt, and which he is woont to uſe and take greateſt pleaſure in; and in caſe hee perceive them to run willingly upon him for to withſtand the ſame, and not give them interteinment. As for example, martiall men and warriours love to diſcourſe and tell of battels; which is the reaſon that the Poët *Homer* bringeth in * *Neſtor* eſtſoones recounting his owne proweſſe and feats of armes: and ordinarie it is with thē who in iudiciall trials have had the upper hand of their adverſaries, or who beyond the hope and opinion of everie man have obteined grace and favour with kings and princes, to be ſubject unto this maladie that evermore followeth them, namely to report and recount eſtſoones the maner how they came in place; after what ſort they were brought in; the order of their pleading; how they argued the caſe; how they convinced their accuſers, & overthrew their adverſaries; laſt of all, how they were praiſed and commended: for to ſay a truth, joy and mirth is much more talkative than that olde *Agryppina* which the Poets doe feigne and deviſe in their comœdies: for it rouſeth and ſtirreth up, it reneweth and refreſheth it ſelfe ever & anon, with many diſcourſes and narrations; whereupon ready they are to fall into ſuch ſpeeches upon every light and colourable occaſion: for not onely is it true which the common proverbe ſaith:

* *Hector*, rather as ſome reade.

Looke where a man doth feele his paine and griefe,
His hand will ſoone be there to yeeld reliefe.

but alſo joy and contentment draweth unto it the voice, it leadeth the tongue alwaies about with it, and is evermore willing to be remembred and related. Thus we ſee that amorous lovers paſſe the greater part of their time in rehearſing certeine words which may renew the remembrance of their loves, inſomuch that if they cannot meet with one perſon or other to relate the ſame unto, they will deviſe and talke of them with ſuch things as have neither ſenſe nor life: like as we read of one who brake foorth into theſe words:

O dainty bed, moſt ſweet and pleaſant couch,
ô bleſſed lamp, ô happie candle light,
No leſſe than God doth Bacchus *you avouch*
nay, God you are the mightieſt in her ſight.

And verily a buſie prater is altogether (as one would ſay) a white line or ſtrake in regard of all words, to wit, without diſcretion he ſpeaketh indifferently of all matters; howbeit if he be affected more to ſome than to others, he ought to take heed thereof, and abſteine from them; he is (I ſay) to withdraw and writhe him els from thence; for that by reaſon of the contentment which he may therein take, and the pleaſure that he receiveth thereby, they may lead him wide & carie him every while very farre out of the way: the ſame inclination to overſhoot themſelves in prating, they finde alſo when they diſcourſe of thoſe matters wherein they ſuppoſe themſelves to have better experience, and a more excellent habit than others: ſuch an one I ſay being a ſelfe-lover and ambitious withall,

Moſt part of all the day in this doth ſpend,
Himſelfe to paſſe, and others to tranſcend.

As for example in hiſtories if he hath read much, in artificiall ſtile and couching of his words, he that is a Grammarian; in relation of ſtrange reports and newes, who hath bene a great traveller and wandred through many forren countries: hereof therefore great heed would bee taken; for garrulitie being therein fleſhed and baited, willingly runneth to the old and uſuall haunt, like as every beaſt ſeeketh out the ordinary and accuſtomed paſture. And in this point was the young prince *Cyrus* of a woonderfull and excellent nature, who would never chalenge his playfellowes and conſorts in age unto any exerciſe wherein he knew himſelfe to be ſuperior, and to ſurpaſſe, but alwaies to ſuch feats wherein he was leſſe practiſed than they; which he did aſwell becauſe he would not grieve their hearts in winning the prize from them, as alſo for that he would profit thereby, and learne to doe that wherein hee was more raw and unready than they. But a talkative fellow contrariwiſe, if there be a matter propoſed whereby he may heare and learne ſomewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuſeth it; he cannot for his life hold his tongue and keepe ſilence a little while, to gaine thereby ſome hire and reward, but caſting and rolling his thought round about, he never reſts untill he light upon ſome old ragged rapſodies and overworne diſcourſes, which hee hath patched and tacked together a thouſand times. Such a one there was among us, who hapned by chance to have peruſed two or three bookes of *Ephorus*; whereby he tooke himſelfe to be ſo great a clearke and ſo well read, that he wearied everie mans eares who heard him talke; there was no aſſembly nor feaſt unto which he came, but he would force the companie to ariſe and depart with his unmeaſurable prating of the battel of *Leuctres*, and the occurrents that enſued therupon, inſomuch as he got himſelf a by-name, and everie man called him *Epaminondas*. But this is the leaſt inconvenience of all others that followeth this infirmitie of much babling: and ſurely one good meanes it is to the cure thereof; To turne the ſame from other matters to ſuch as theſe: for thereby ſhall their tongue be leſſe troubleſome and offenſive, when it paſſeth the bonds in the tearmes onely of litterature.

Over and beſides, for the remedie of this their diſeaſe, they ſhall do well to inure and accuſtome themſelves to write ſomewhat, and to diſpute of queſtions apart. Thus did *Antipater* the Stoick, who as it may be thought, being not able nor willing to hold out in diſputation hand to hand with *Carneades*, who with a violent ſtreame (as it were) of his forcible wit and eloquence refuſed the ſect of the Stoicks, anſwered the ſaid *Carneades* by writing, and filled whole bookes with contradictorie aſſertions and arguments againſt him; inſomuch as thereupon he was ſurnamed *Calamoboas*, which is as much to ſay, as the luſtie Crier with his pen: and ſo by all likelihood this manner of fighting with a ſhadow and lowd exclaiming in ſecret, and apart by themſelves, training theſe ſtout praters everie day by little and little from the frequencie and multitude of people, may make them in the end more ſociable and fitter for companie. Thus curſt curres after they have ſpent and diſcharged their choler and anger upon the cudgels or ſtones which have beene throwen at them, become thereby more gentle and tractable to men. But above all, it were verie expedient and profitable for them to be alwaies neere unto perſonages for yeeres elder, and in authoritie greater than themſelves, and with thoſe to converſe; for the reverent regard and feare that they have in reſpect of their dignitie and gravitie, may induce and direct them in time and by cuſtome to keepe ſilence; and evermore among thoſe exerciſes heretofore by us ſpecified, this adviſement would be mingled and interlaced; That when we are about to ſpeake, and that words be readie to runne out of our mouth, we ſay thus unto our ſelves by way of reaſoning: What manner of ſpeech is this that is ſo urgent and preſſeth ſo hard to be gone? What ailes my tongue, that it is ſo willing to be walking? What good may come by the utterance thereof? What harme may enſue by concealing it in and holding my peace? For we muſt not thinke that our words be like an heavy burden over-loading us, and whereof we ſhould thinke our ſelves well eaſed when we are diſcharged of them: for ſpeech remaineth ſtill as well when it is uttered as before: but men ought to ſpeake, either in the behalfe of themſelves when they ſtand in need of ſome thing, or to benefit others, or elſe to pleaſure and recreat one another by pleaſant deviſes and diſcourſes, (as it were) with ſalt to mittigate the painefull travels in actions and worldly affaires, or rather to make the ſame more ſavorie whiles we are employed therein. Now if a ſpeech be neither profitable to him that delivereth it, nor neceſſarie for him that heareth it, ne yet carrie therewith any grace or pleaſure; what need is there that it ſhould be uttered? For ſurely, a man may as ſoone ſpeake a word in vaine, as do a thing to no purpoſe. But above and after all other good advertiſements in this caſe, we ought alwaies to have in readineſſe and remembrance this wiſe ſaying of *Simonides*: A man (quoth he) may repent many a time for words ſpoken, but never for a word kept in: this alſo we muſt thinke: That exerciſe is all in all, and a matter of that moment and efficacie, that it is able to maſter and conquer everie thing: conſidering that men will take great paines and be carefull; yea they will endure much ſorrow for to be rid of an old cough; to chaſe away the troubleſome yex or hicket. Beſides, Taciturnitie hath not onely this one faire propertie and good vertue, that (as *Hippocrates* ſaith) It never breedeth thirſt; but alſo that it engendreth no paine, no griefe nor diſpleaſure, neither is any man bound to render an account thereof.

OF AVARICE OR COVETOUSNES.

The Summarie.

IF there be any exceſſe in the world that troubleth the repoſe and tranquillitie of the ſpirit, cauſing our life to be wretched & miſerable, it is Avarice; againſt which the Sages and wiſe men of all ages from time to time have framed ſharpe and terrible invectives, which in ſum and effect doe ſhew thus much; That this covetouſnes and greedie deſire of gathering goods is (as it were) the capitall citie and ſeat-towne of all wickednes; the verie ſinke of ſinne and receptacle of all vices. Now albeit all men with one voice, yea and the moſt covetous perſons of all others do confeſſe as much; yet the heart of man is ſo affectionate a friend to the earth, that needfull it is to propoſe and ſet downe divers inſtructions for to avert the ſame from thence, and to cauſe it to range & ſort with other occupations and affaires, more beſeeming it ſelfe than is the over curious ſearching after tranſitorie & corruptible things. This is the reaſon, that thoſe Philoſophers who have handled the doctrine as touching manners are emploied herein: and Plutarch *among the reſt, who teacheth us here in few words, with what conſiderations we ought to be furniſhed & fortified, that we do not permit ſuch a peſtilent plague as this to ſeaze upon our ſouls: and therewith he ſheweth the miſeries that befall unto avarice; whereof this is the firſt & principal; That in ſtead of giving contentment, it maketh her ſlave moſt wretched, and putteth him to the greateſt paine and torture in the world. And hereupon he interlaceth and inſerteth a diſcription of three ſorts of covetous perſons. Firſt, of thoſe who covet things rare and dangerous, whereas they ſhould ſeeke after neceſſaries. Secondly, of ſuch as ſpend nothing, have much, and yet deſire more and more; and theſe he depainteth in all their colours. Thirdly, of them that be niggards and baſe minded pinch-pennies. Which done, he diſcovereth the ſecond miſerie of covetous wretches, to wit; That avarice doth tyrannize over her caitife and ſlave, not ſuffring him to uſe that which ſhe commaunded him to winne and get. The third is this; That it cauſeth him to gather and heape up riches, for ſome promoter or catch-poll, or elſe for a Tyrant, or elſe for ſome wicked and graceleſſe heire, whoſe nature and properties hee doeth repreſent and deſcribe verie lively. Afterwards having concluded that covetous perſons are herein eſpecially miſerable; for that the one ſort of them uſe not their goods at all, and other abuſe the ſame: he preſcribeth three remedies againſt this miſchievous maladie. The firſt; That thoſe who greedily gape after riches, have no more in effect than they who ſtand contented with that which is neceſſarie for nature. The ſecond; That we are not to count them happy, who be richly furniſhed with things unprofitable. And the laſt; That it is vertue, wherein we ought to ground and ſeeke for contentment; for there it is to be found and not in riches.*

OF AVARICE OR Covetouſneſſe.

H*ippomachus*, a great maſter of wreſtling & ſuch exerciſes of the bodie, hearing ſome to praiſe a certeine tall man, high of ſtature, and having long armes and handes, commending him for a ſingular champion, and fit to fight at buffets: A proper fellow hee were (quoth he) if the garland or prize of the victory were hung on high, for to be reached with the hand; ſemblably it may be ſaid unto them who eſteeme ſo highly and repute it a great felicitie to be poſſeſſed of much faire lands, to have many great and ſtately houſes, to be furniſhed with mighty maſſes and ſummes of money, in caſe felicity were to be bought and ſolde for coine. And yet a man ſhall ſee many in the world, chuſe rather to be rich and wretched withall, than to give their ſilver for to be happy and bleſſed: but ſurely it is not ſilver nor golde that can purchaſe either repoſe of ſpirit void of griefe and anguiſh, or magnanimity, ne yet ſetled conſtancie and reſolution, confidence and ſuffiſance, or contentment with our owne eſtate. Be a man never ſo rich, he can not ſkill thereby to contemne riches, no more than the poſſeſſion of more than enough worketh this in us; That we want not ſtill, and deſire even things that be ſuperfluous. What other evill and maladie then doeth our wealth and riches rid us from, if it delivereth us not from avarice? By drinke men quench their thirſt, by meat they ſlake their hunger. And he that ſaid:

Give Hipponax *a cloake to keepe him warme,*
For colde extreame I ſhake, and may take harme.

if there were many clothes hung or caſt upon him, would be offended therewith and fling them from him; but this their ſtrong deſire and love of money, it is neither ſilver nor gold that is able to quench: and let a man have never ſo much, yet he coveteth nevertheleſſe to have more ſtill. And well it may be verified of riches which one ſaid ſometime to an ignorant and deceitfull Phyſician:

Your drugs and ſalves augment my ſore,
They make me ſicker than before.

For riches verily, after that men have once met therewith, (wheras before they ſtood in need of bread, of a competent houſe to put in their heads, of meane comment and any viands that come next hand) fill them now with an impatient deſire of golde, ſilver, ivory, emerauds, horſes and hounds, changing and tranſporting their naturall appetite of things needfull and neceſſarie, into a diſordinate luſt to things dangerous, rare, hard to be gotten, and unprofitable when they be had. For never is any man poore in regard of ſuch things as ſuffice nature; never doeth he take up money upon uſurie, for to buy himſelfe meat, cheeſe, bread or olives; but one indebteth himſelfe for to build a ſumptuous and ſtately houſe; another runnes in debt, becauſe he would purchaſe a grove of olive trees that joineth to his owne land; one is engaged deeply in the uſurers books, by laying corne-grounds and wheat-fields to his owne demaines, another, becauſe he would be poſſeſſed of fruitfull vineyards; ſome are endebted with buying mules of *Galatia*, and others, becauſe they would be maſters

Of luſtie ſteeds, to win the prize
by running in a race,
With ratling noiſe of emptie coatch,
when it is drawen apace,

have caſt themſelves into the bottomleſſe gulfe of obligations, conditions, covenants, intereſts, ſtatutes, reall gages & pawnes: and afterwards it commeth to paſſe, that like as they who drinke when they be not drie, & eat without a ſtomacke, many times caſt up by vomit, even that which they did eat & drinke when they were hungry & thirſty; even ſo, when they will needs have ſuch things as be ſuperfluous and to no uſe, doe not enjoy the benefit of thoſe things that are needfull and neceſſarie indeed. Lo what kinde of people theſe be!

As for thoſe who are at no coſt, nor will lay out any thing, and notwithſtanding they have much, yet ever covet more; a man may rather marvell and woonder at them, if he would but remember that which *Ariſtippus* was woont to ſay: He that eateth much (quoth he) and drinketh likewiſe much, and is never ſatisfied nor full, goeth to the Phyſicians, asketh their opinion what his diſeaſe and ſtrange indiſpoſition of the body might be, and withall craveth their counſell for the cure and remedie thereof: but if one who hath five faire bedſteds already with the furniture thereto belonging, and ſeeketh to make them ten; and having ten tables with their cupboords of plate, will needs buy ten more; and for all that he is poſſeſſed of faire manours and goodly lands, have his bags and coffers full of money, is never the better ſatisfied, but ſtill gapeth after more, breaketh his ſleeps, deviſing and caſting as he lieth awake, how to compaſſe the ſame, and when he hath all, yet is he not full; ſuch an one (I ſay) never thinks that he hath need of a Phyſician to cure his maladie or to diſcourſe unto him, from what cauſe all this doth proceed. And verily a man may looke, that of thoſe who are thirſty ordinarily, and he that hath not drunke, will be delivered of his thirſt ſo ſoone as he meeteth with drinke; but in caſe ſuch an one as evermore drinketh and powreth in ſtill, never giving over, yet nevertheleſſe continueth drie and thirſtie, we judge him to have no need of repletion, but rather of purging and evacuation; him (I ſay) we appoint for to vomit, as being not troubled and diſtempered upon any want, but with ſome extraordinary heat or unkinde acrimonies of humours that be within him; even ſo it is with thoſe that ſeeke to get and gather goods: he that is bare and poore in deed, will haply give over ſeeking ſo ſoone as he hath got him an houſe to dwell in, or found ſome treaſure, or met with a good friend to helpe him to a ſumme of money to make cleere with the uſurer, and to be croſſed out of his booke: but he that hath already more than enough and ſufficient, and yet craveth more, ſurely it is neither golde nor ſilver that will cure him, neither horſes, nor ſheepe, nor yet beeves will ſerve his turne; need had he of purgation and evacuation, for povertie is not his diſeaſe, but covetouſneſſe and an unſatiable deſire of riches, proceeding from falſe judgement and a corrupt opinion that he hath, which if a man do not rid away out of his mind, as a winding gulfe or whirle-poole that is croſſe and overthwart in their way, they will never ceaſe to hunt after ſuperfluities, and ſeeme to ſtand in need thereof (that is to ſay) to covet thoſe things which they know not what to doe with. When a Phyſitian commeth into the chamber of a patient, whom he findeth lying along in his bed groaning, and refuſing all foode, he taketh him by the hand, feeleth his pulſe, asketh him certaine queſtions, and finding that he hath no ague; This is a diſeaſe (quoth he) of the minde, and ſo goeth his way; even ſo, when we ſee a worldly minded man altogether ſet upon his gets and gaines, pining away, and even conſumed with the greedie worme of gathering good, weeping, whining and ſighing at expenſes, and when any money is to goe out of his purſe, ſticking at no paine and trouble, ſparing for no indignitie, no unhoneſt and indirect meanes whatſoever, nor caring which way he goes to worke, whether it bee by hooke or crooke, ſo that hee may gaine and profit thereby; having choiſe of houſes and tenements, lands lying in everie countrey, droves, heards and flockes of cattell, a number of ſlaves, wardrobes of apparell and clothes of all ſorts: what ſhall we ſay that this man is ſicke of, unleſſe it be the poverty of the ſoule? As for want of money and goods, one friend (as *Menander* ſaith) may cure and helpe with his bountifull hand; but that penurie and needineſſe of the ſoule all the men in the world, that either live at this day, or ever were before time, are not able to ſatisfie and ſuffice: and therefore of ſuch *Solon* ſaid verie well,

No limit ſet, nor certaine bound, men have
Of their deſire to goods, but ſtill they crave.

For, thoſe who are wiſe and of ſound judgement are content with that meaſure and portion which nature hath ſet downe and aſſigned for them; ſuch men know an ende, and keepe themſelves within the center and circumference of their need and neceſſitie onely. But this is a peculiar propertie that avarice hath by it ſelfe. For a covetous deſire it is, even repugnant to ſatietie, and hindereth it ſelfe that it never can have ſufficient, whereas all other deſires and luſts are aiding and helpfull thereto. For no man (I trow) that is a glutton, forbeareth to eate a good morcel of meat for gourmandiſe, nor drunkard abſtaineth from drinking wine upon an appetite and love that he hath to wine, as theſe covetous wretches do, who ſpare their money and wil not touch it, through a deſire onely that they have of money. And how can we otherwiſe thinke, but it were a piteous and lamentable caſe, yea and a diſeaſe next couſin to meere madneſſe, if a man ſhould therefore ſpare the wearing of a garment, becauſe he is readie to chill and quake for cold, or forbeare to touch bread, for that he is almoſt hunger-ſtarved; and even ſo not to handle his goods becauſe he loveth them: certes, ſuch a one is in the ſame plight and piteous perplexitie that *Thraſonides* was, who in a certaine comedie deſcribeth his owne miſeries:

At home it is within my power,

I may enjoy it everie hower:
I wiſh a thing as if I were
In raging love, yet I forbere:
When I have lockt and ſeald up all,
Or elſe put foorth by count and tale
My coine to brokers for the uſe,
Or other factours whom I chuſe,
I plod and plonder ſtill for more,
I hunt, I ſeeke to fetch in ſtore,
I chide and braule with ſervants mine,
The husbandman and eke the hine
I bring to count; and then anon
My debters all I call upon:
By Dan Apollo *now I ſweare,*
Was any man that earth did beare,
Whom thou haſt ever knowen or ſeene,
In love more wretched to have beene?

Sophocles being on a time demaunded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yet keepe companie with a woman if need were: God bleſſe me (quoth he) my good friend, talke no more of that I pray you, I am free from thoſe matters long ſince, and by the benefit of mine olde age, I have eſcaped the ſervitude of ſuch violent and furious miſtreſſes. And verily it is a good and gracious gift, that our luſts and appetites ſhould end together with our ſtrength and abilitie, eſpecially in thoſe delights and pleaſures, which as *Alcæus* ſaith neither man nor woman can well avoide. But this is not to be found in avarice and deſire of riches; for ſhee like a curſt, ſharpe and ſhrewd queane, forceth indeed a man to get and gather, but ſhe forbiddeth him withall to uſe and enjoy the ſame; ſhee ſtirreth up and provoketh his luſt, but ſhee denieth him all pleaſure. I remember that in old time *Stratonicus* taxed and mocked the Rhodians for their waſtfull and ſuperfluous expences in this manner: They build ſumptuouſly (quoth he) as if they were immortall and ſhould never die; but they fare at their boords as though they had but a ſmall while to liue. But theſe covetous miſers gather wealth together like mightie magnificoes, but they ſpend like beggerly mechanicals; they endure the paine and travell of getting, and taſte no pleaſure of the enjoying.

Demades the Orator came one day to viſite *Phocion*, and found him at dinner; but ſeeing but a little meat before him upon the table, and the ſame nothing fine and daintie, but courſe and ſimple: I marvell (quoth he) ô *Phocion* how you can take up with ſo ſhort a dinner and ſo ſmall a pittance, conſidering the paines you doe endure in mannaging the affaires of State and common-wealth. As for *Demades* he dealt indeed with government, and was a great man in the city with the people, but it was all for his bellie, and to furniſh a plentifull boord, inſomuch as, ſuppoſing that the citie of *Athens* could not yeeld him revenew and proviſion ſufficient for to maintaine his exceſſive gourmandiſe, he laid for cates and victuals out of *Macedon*, whereupon *Antipater* when he ſaw him an old man with a wrinkled and withered face, ſaid pleaſantly: That he had nothing left now but his paunch and his tongue, much like unto a ſheepe, or ſome other beaſt killed for ſacrifice when all is eaten beſides. But thou moſt unhappie and wretched miſer, who would not make a woonder at thee, condering that thou canſt lead ſo baſe and beggerly a life, without ſocietie of men or courteſie to thy neighbors, not giving ought to any perſon, ſhewing no kindneſſe to thy friends, no bountie nor magnificence to the common-wealth, yet ſtill doſt afflict thy poore ſelfe, lie awake all the night long, toile and moile like a drudge and hireling thy ſelfe, hire other labourers for day-wages, lie in the winde for inheritances, ſpeake men faire in hope to be their heire, and debaſe thy ſelfe to all the world, and care not to whom thou cap and knee for gaine, having I ſay ſo ſufficient meanes otherwiſe to live at eaſe (to wit, thy niggardiſe and pinching parſimonie) whereby thou maiſt be diſpenſed for doing juſt nothing. It is reported of a certaine Bizantine, who finding an adulterer in bed with his wife, who though ſhe were but foule, yet was ilfavoured enough, ſaid unto him: O miſerable caitife what neceſſitie hath driven thee thus to doe? what needes *Sapragoras* dowrie? well, goe to: thou takeſt great paines poore wretch, thou filleſt and ſtirreſt the lead, thou kindleſt the fire alſo underneath it. Neceſſarie it is in ſome ſort, that Kings and Princes ſhould ſeeke for wealth and riches, that theſe Governours alſo and Deputies nuder them ſhould bee great gatheres, yea and thoſe alſo who reach at the higheſt places and aſpire to rule and ſoveraigne dignities in great States and cities; all theſe (I ſay) have need perforce to heape up groſſe ſummes of money, to the end that for their ambition, their proud port, pompe, and vaine-glorious humour, they might make ſumptuous feaſts, give largeſſes, reteine a guard about their perſons, ſend preſents abroad to other States, mainteine and wage whole armies, buie ſlaves to combat and fight at ſharpe to the outtrance: but thou makeſt thy ſelfe ſo much adoo, thou troubleſt and tormenteſt both body and minde, living like an oiſter or a ſhell-ſnaile, and for to pinch and ſpare, art content to undergo and indure all paine and travell, taking no pleaſure nor delight in the world afterwards, no more than the Baine-keepers poore aſſe which carying billots and fagots of drie bruſh and ſticks to kindle fire and to heat the ſtouphes, is evermore full of ſmoake, ſoot, aſhes, and ſinders; but hath no benefit at all of the bane, and is never bathed, waſhed, warmed, rubbed, ſcoured, and made cleane. Thus much I ſpeake in reproch and diſdaine of this miſerable aſſe-like avarice, this baſe raping and ſcraping together in maner of ants or piſmires.

Now there is another kind of covetouſneſſe more ſavage and beaſt-like, which they profeſſe who backbite and ſlander, raiſe malicious imputations, forge falſe wils and teſtaments, lie in wait for heritages, cogge and couſen, and intermeddle in all matters, will bee ſeene in everie thing, know all mens ſtates, buſie themſelves with many cares and troubles, count upon their fingers how many friends they have yet living, and when they have all done, receive no fruition or benefit by all the goods which they have gotten together from all parts, with their cunning caſts & ſubtil ſhifts. And therefore like as we have in greater hatred and deteſtation, vipers, the venemous flies Cantharides, and the ſtinging ſpiders called Philangia & Tarantale, than either beares or lions, for that they kill folke and ſtinge them to death; but receive no good or benefit at all by them when they are dead; even ſo be theſe wretches more odious and woorthy to be hated of us, who by their miſerable parſimonie and pinching doe miſchiefe, than thoſe who by their riot and waſtfulneſſe be hurtfull to a common-weale, becauſe they take and catch from others that which they themſelves neither will nor know how to uſe. Whereupon it is that ſuch as theſe when they have gotten abundance, and are in maner full, reſt them for a while, and doe no more violence as it were in time of truce and ſurceaſe of hoſtilitie; much after the maner as *Demoſthenes* ſaid unto them who thought that *Demades* had given over all his lewdneſſe and knavery: O (quoth he) you ſee him now full as lions are, who when they have filled their bellies, prey no more for the lice, untill they be hungrie againe: but ſuch covetous wretches as be imploied in government of civill affaires, and that for no profit nor pleaſure at all which they intend, thoſe I ſay never reſt nor make holiday, they allow themſelves no truce nor ceſſation from gathering & heaping more together ſtill, as being evermore emptie, & have alwaies need of al things though they have all. But ſome man perhaps will ſay: Theſe men (I aſſure you) do ſave & lay up goods in ſtore for their children and heires after their death, unto whom whiles they live they will part with nothing: If that be ſo, I can compare them very well to thoſe mice and cats in gold mines, which feed upon the gold-ore, and licke up all the golden ſand that the mines yeeld, ſo that men can not come by the golde there, before they be dead and cut up in maner of anatomies. But tell me (I pray you) wherefore are theſe ſo willing to treaſure up ſo much money, and ſo great ſubſtance, and leave the ſame to their children, inheritours, and ſucceſſors after them? I verily beleeve to this end, that thoſe children and heires alſo of theirs ſhould keepe the ſame ſtill for others likewiſe, and ſo to paſſe from hand to hand by deſcent of many degrees; like as earthen conduct-pipes by which water is conveied into ſome ceſterne, withhold and reteine none of all the water that paſſeth through them, but doe tranſmit and ſend all away from them, ech one to that which is next, and reſerve none to themſelves; thus doe they untill ſome ariſe from without, a meere ſtranger to the houſe, one that is a ſycophant or very tyrant, who ſhall cut off this keeper of that great ſtocke and treaſure, and when he hath diſpatched and made a hand of him, drive and turne the courſe of all this wealth and riches out of the uſuall chanell another way; or at leaſtwiſe untill it fall into the hands (as commonly men ſay it doth) of the moſt wicked and ungracious imp of that race, who wil diſperſe and ſcatter that which others have gathered, who will conſume and devour all unthriftily, which his predeceſſors have gotten and ſpared wickedly: for not onely as *Euripides* ſaith,

Thoſe children waſtfull prove and bad,
Who ſervile ſlaves for parents had.

but alſo covetous carles & pinching peni-fathers, leave children behind thē that be looſe & riotous & ſpend-thrifts; like as *Diogenes* by way of mockery ſaid upon a time: That it were better to be a Megarians ram than his ſonne: for wherein they would ſeeme to inſtruct and informe their children, they ſpoile and mar them cleane, ingrafting into their hearts a deſire and love of money, teaching them to be covetous and baſe minded pinch-penies, laying the foundation (as it were) in their heires of ſome ſtrong place or fort, wherein they may ſurely guard and keepe their inheritance. And what good leſſons and precepts be theſe which they teach them: Gaine and ſpare, my ſonne, get and ſave; thinke with thy ſelfe and make thine account that thou ſhalt be eſteemed in the world according to thy wealth and not otherwiſe. But ſurely this not to inſtruct a childe, but rather to knit up faſt or ſow up the mouth of a purſe that it may hold and keepe the better whatſoever is put into it. This onely is the difference that a purſe or money-bag becommeth foule, ſullied and ill-ſavoring after that ſilver is put into it; but the children of covetous perſons before they receive their patrimonies or atteine to any riches, are filled alreadie even by their fathers with avarice, and a hungrie deſire after their ſubſtance: and verily ſuch children thus nourtred, reward their parents againe for their ſchooling with a condigne ſalarie and recompenſe, in that they love them not becauſe they ſhall receive much one day by them, but hate them rather for that they have nothing from them in preſent poſſeſſion alreadie, for having learned this leſſon of them; To eſteeme nothing in the world in compariſon of wealth and riches, and to aime at nought els in the whole courſe of their life, but to gather a deale of goods together, they repute the lives of their parents to be a blocke in their way, they wiſh in heart that their heads were well laid, they do what they can to ſhorten their lives, making this reckoning; That how much time is added to their olde age, ſo much they loſe of their youthfull yeeres. And this is the reaſon, why during the life of their fathers, ſecretly and under-hand they ſteale (after a ſort, by ſnatches) their pleaſure, and enjoy the ſame; They wil make ſemblance as if it came from other, when they give away money and diſtribute it among their friends, or otherwiſe ſpend it in their delights; whiles they catch it privily from under the very wing of their parents, and when they goe to heare and take out their leſſons, they will be ſure to picke their purſes if they can, before they goe away; but after their parents be dead and gone, when they have gotten into their hands the keies of their coffers and ſignets of their bags, then the caſe is altered, and they enter into another courſe and faſhion of life: you ſhall have my yoong maſters then, put on a grave and auſtere countenance, they will not ſeeme to laugh, nor be ſpoken to, or acquainted with any body; there is no talke now of anointing the body for any exerciſe, the racket is caſt aſide, the tennis court no more haunted, no wreſtling practiſed, no going to the ſchooles either of the Academie or *Lycene*, to heare the lectures and diſputations of Profeſſors and Philoſophers. But now the officers and ſervants be called to an audit and account; now they are examined what they have under their hands; now the writings, billes, obligations and deeds are ſought up and peruſed; now they fall to argue and reaſon with their receivers, ſtewards, factours and debters; ſo ſharpe-ſet they are to their negotiations and affaires; ſo full of cares and buſineſſe, that they have no leaſure to take their dinners or noone-meales; and if they ſup, they can not intend to go into the baine or hot-houſe before it be late in the night; the bodily exerciſes wherein they were brought up and trained in, be laid downe; no ſwimming nor bathing any more in the river *Dirce*; all ſuch matters be caſt behinde and cleane forgotten. Now if a man ſay to one of theſe: Will you go and heare ſuch a Philoſopher reade a lecture, or make a ſermon: How can I go? (will he ſay againe) I have no while ſince my fathers death. O miſerable and wretched man, what hath hee left unto thee of all his goods, comparable to that which he hath bereaved thee of, to wit; Repoſe and Libertie: but it is not thy father ſo much, as his riches flowing round about thee, that environeth and compaſſeth thee ſo, as it hath gotten the maſterie over thee; this hath ſet foot upon thy throat, this hath conquered thee; like unto that ſhrewd wife in *Heſiodus*,

Who burnes a man without a match
or brand of ſcorching fire,
And driveth him to gray-old age
before that time require.

cauſing thy ſoule (as it were) to be full of rivels and hoarie haires before time, bringing with it carking cares and tedious travels proceeding from the love of money, and a world of affaires without any repoſe, whereby that alacrity, cheerefulneſſe, worſhip and ſociable courteſie which ought to be in a man, are decayed and faded cleane to nothing.

But what meane you ſir by all this? (will ſome one haply ſay unto me) See you not how there be ſome that beſtow their wealth liberally with credit and reputation? unto whom I anſwere thus: Have you never heard what *Ariſtotle* ſaid: That as ſome there are who have no uſe at all of their goods, ſo there be others who abuſe the ſame; as if he ſhould ſay: Neither the one nor other was ſeemely and as it ought to be: for as thoſe get neither profit nor honour by their riches, ſo theſe ſuſteine loſſe and ſhame thereby. But let us conſider a little what is the uſe of theſe riches which are thus much eſteemed: Is it not (I pray you) to have thoſe things which are neceſſary for nature? but theſe who are ſo rich and wealthy above the reſt, what have they more to content nature, than thoſe who live in a meane and competent eſtate? Certes, riches (as *Theophraſtus* ſaith) is not ſo great a matter that wee ſhould love and admire it ſo much, if it be true that *Callias* the wealthieſt perſon in all *Athens*, and *Iſmenias* the richeſt citizen of *Thebes*, uſe the ſame things that *Socrates* and *Epaminondas* did. For like as *Agathon* baniſhed the flute, cornet, and ſuch other pipes from the ſolemne feaſts of men, and ſent them to women in their ſolemnities, ſuppoſing that the diſcourſes of men who are preſent at the table are ſufficient to enterteine mirth; even ſo may he aſwell rid away out of houſes, hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, coſtly and ſumptuous tables, and all ſuch ſuperfluities, who ſeeth that the great rich worldlings uſe the very ſame that poorer men do. I would not as *Heſiodus* ſaith;

That plough or helme ſhould hang in ſmoake to drie,
Or painfull tillage now be laid aſide,
Nor works of oxe and mule for ever die,
Who ſerve our turnes to draw, to till, to ride;

but rather that theſe goldſmiths, turners, gravers, perfumers and cooks would be chaſed and ſent away, foraſmuch as this were indeed, an honeſt and civill baniſhment of unprofitable artificers as forreiners, that may be ſpared out of a citty. Now if it be ſo, that things requiſite for the neceſſitie of nature, be common aſwell to the poore as the rich, and that riches doe vaunt and ſtand ſo much upon nothing els but ſuperfluities, and that *Scopas* the Theſſalian is worthily cōmended in this; That being requeſted to give away and part with ſomwhat of his houſhold ſtuffe which he might ſpare and had no need of: Why (quoth he) in what things els conſiſteth the felicitie of thoſe who are reputed happie and fortunate in this world above other men, but in theſe ſuperfluities that you ſeeme to aske at my hands, and not in ſuch as be neceſſarie and requiſite? If it be ſo I ſay, ſee that you be not like unto him that praiſeth a pompe and ſolemne ſhew of plaies and games more than life indeed, which ſtandeth upon things neceſſary. The proceſſion and ſolemnitie of the Bacchanales which was exhibited in our countrey, was woont in old time to be performed after a plaine and homely manner, merily and with great joy: You ſhould have ſeene there one carying a little barrell of wine, another a branch of a vine tree; after him comes one drawing and plucking after him a goate; then followeth another with a basket of dried figs; and laſt of all one that bare in ſhew *Phallus*, that is to ſay, the reſemblance of the genitall member of a man: but now adaies all theſe ceremonies are deſpiſed, neglected, and in maner not at all to be ſeene, ſuch a traine there is of thoſe that carie veſſels of gold and ſilver, ſo many ſumptuous and coſtly robes, ſuch ſtately chariots richly ſet out are driven & drawen with brave ſteeds moſt gallantly dight, beſides the pageants, dumbe-ſhewes and maskes, that they hide and obſcure the auncient and true pompe according to the firſt inſtitution; and even ſo it is in riches; the things that be neceſſarie and ſerve for uſe and profit, are overwhelmed and covered with needleſſe toies and ſuperfluous vanities, & I aſſure you the moſt part of us be like unto young *Telemachus*, who for want of knowledge and experience, or rather indeed for default of judgement and diſcretion when hee beheld *Neſtors* houſe furniſhed with beds, tables, hangings, tapiſtrie, apparell, and well provided alſo of ſweete and pleaſant wines, never reckoned the maſter of the houſe happie for having ſo good proviſion of ſuch neceſſarie and profitable things: but being in *Menelaus* his houſe, and ſeeing there ſtore of Ivorie, gold, and ſilver, and the mettall *Electrum*, he was raviſhed and in an ecſtaſie with admiration thereof, and brake out in theſe words:

Like unto this, the pallace all
within I judge to be,
Of Jupiter *that mightie god*
who dwels in azure skie:
How rich, how faire, how infinite
are all things which I ſee!
My heart, as I do them behold,
is raviſh't woonderouſlie.

But *Socrates* or *Diogenes* would have ſaid thus rather:

How many wretched things are here?
how needleſſe all and vaine?
When I them view, I laugh thereat,
of them I am not faine.

And what ſaieſt thou fooliſh and vaine ſot as thou art? Where as thou ſhouldeſt have taken from thy verie wife her purple, her jewels and gaudie ornaments, to the end that ſhee might no more long for ſuch ſuperfluitie, nor runne a nodding after forrein vanities, farre fetcht and deere bought; doeſt thou contrariwiſe embelliſh and adorne thy houſe, like a theatre, ſcaffold and ſtage to make a goodly ſight for thoſe that come into the Shew-place? Loe wherein lieth the felicitie and happines that riches bringeth, making a trim ſhew before thoſe, who gaze upon them, and to teſtifie and report to others what they have ſeene: ſet this aſide (that they be not ſhewed to all the world) there is nothing at all therein to reckon. But it is not ſo with temperance, with philoſophie, with the true knowledge of the gods, ſo farre foorth as is meete and behoovefull to be knowen, for theſe are the ſame ſtill and all one, although everie man attaine not thereto but all others be ignorant thereof. This pietie (I ſay) and religion hath alwaies a great light of her owne and reſplendant beames proper to it ſelfe, wherewith it doth ſhine in the ſoule, evermore accompanied with a certaine joy that never ceaſeth to take contentment in her owne good within, whether any one ſee it or no, whether it bee unknowen to gods and men or no, it ſkilleth not. Of this kinde and nature is vertue indeed, and trueth, the beautie alſo of the Mathematicall ſciences, to wit, Geometrie and Aſtrologie; unto which who will thinke that the gorgeous trappings and cappariſons, the brooches, collars and carkans of riches are any waies comparable, which (to ſay a truth) are no better than jewels and ornaments good to trim yoong brides and ſet out maidens for to be ſeene and looked at? For riches, if no man doe regard, behold, and ſet their eies on them (to ſay a trueth) is a blinde thing of it ſelfe, and ſendeth no light at all nor raies from it; for certainely ſay: That a rich man dine and ſup privately alone, or with his wife and ſome inward and familiar friends, he troubleth not himſelfe about furniſhing of his table with many ſervices, daintie diſhes, and feſtivall fare; he ſtands not ſo much upon his golden cups and goblets, but uſeth thoſe things that be ordinarie, which goe about everie daie and come next hand, as well veſſell as viands; his wife ſits by his ſide and beares him companie, not decked and hung with jewels and ſpangles of gold, not arraied in purple, but in plaine attire and ſimply clad; but when he makes a feaſt (that is to ſay) ſets out a theater, wherein the pompes and ſhewes are to meet and make a jangling noiſe together, when the plaies are to be repreſented of his riches, and the ſolemne traine therof to be brought in place; then comes abroad his brave furniture indeed; then he fetcheth out of the ſhip his faire chaufers and goodly pots; then bringeth hee foorth his rich three-footed tables; then come abroad the lampes, candleſticks, and branches of ſilver; the lights are diſpoſed in order about the cups; the cupbearers, ſkinkers and taſters are changed; all places are newly dight and covered; all things are then ſtirred and remooved that ſaw no ſunne long before; the ſilver plate, the golden veſſels, and thoſe that be ſet and enriched with pretious ſtones; to conclude, now there is no ſhew els but of riches; at ſuch a time they confeſſe themſelves and will be knowen wealthy. But all this while whether a rich man ſuppe alone, or make a feaſt, temperance is away and true contentment.

* * *

OF THE NATVRALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

Wiſely ſaid one, (whoſoever it was) That to baniſh amitie and friendſhip from among men, were as great hurt to the ſocietie of mankinde, as to deprive them of the light and heat of the Sunne: which being verified and found true in the whole courſe of this life, and in the maintenance of all eſtates; not without great cauſe Nature hath caſt and ſprinkled the ſeed thereof in the generation and nouriſhment of a race and linage, whereof ſhe giveth evident teſtimonies in brute beaſts, the better to moove and incite us to our duety. That we may ſee therefore this pretious ſeed and graine of amitie, how it doth flower and fructifie in the world, we muſt begin at the love and naturall kindneſſe of fathers and mothers to their children: for if this be well kept and mainteined, there proceed from it an infinite number of contentments which do much aſſwage and eaſe the inconveniences and diſcommodities of our life. And Plutarch *entring into this matter, ſheweth firſt in generallity: That men learne (as it were) in the ſchoole of brute beaſts, with what affection they ſhould beget, nouriſh and bring up their children: afterward he doth particulariſe thereof, and enrich the ſame argument by divers examples. But for that he would not have us thinke that he extolled dumbe beaſts above man and woman, he obſerveth and ſetteth downe verie well the difference that is of amities, diſcourſing in good and modeſt tearmes as touching the generation and nouriture of children, and briefly by the way repreſenteth unto us the miſerable entrance of man into this race upon earth, where he is to runne his courſe. Which done, he proveth that the nouriſhing of infants hath no other cauſe and reaſon, but the love of fathers and mothers; he diſcovereth the ſource of this affection; and for a concluſion, ſheweth that what defect and fault ſoever may come betweene and be medled among, yet it can not altogether aboliſh the ſame.*

OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS to their children.

THat which mooved the Greeks at firſt, to put over the deciſion of their controverſies to forraine judges, and to bring into their countrey, ſtrangers to be their umpires, was the diſtruſt and diffidence that they had one in another, as if they confeſſed thereby that juſtice was indeed a thing neceſſarie for mans life, but it grew not among them: And is not the caſe even ſo as touching certaine queſtions diſputable in Philoſophie? for the determining whereof, Philoſophers (by reaſon of the ſundry and divers opinions which are among them) have appealed to the nature of brute beaſts, as it were into a ſtrange city, and remitted the deciding thereof to their properties and affections, according to kinde, as being neither ſubject to partiall favour, nor yet corrupt, depraved and polluted. Now ſurely, a common reproch this muſt needs be to mans naughtie nature and leawd behaviour; That when we are in doubtfull queſtion concerning the greateſt and moſt neceſſary points perteining to this preſent life of ours, we ſhould goe and ſearch into the nature of horſes, dogs and birds for reſolution; namely, how we ought to make our marriages,how to get children, and how to reare and nouriſh them after they be borne, and as if there were no ſigne (in maner) or token of nature imprinted in our ſelves, we muſt be faine to alledge the paſſions, properties and affections of brute beaſts, and to produce them for witneſſes, to argue and prove how much in our life we tranſgreſſe and go aſide from the rule of nature, when at our firſt beginning and entrance into this world, we finde ſuch trouble, diſorder and confuſion; for in thoſe dumbe beaſts beforeſaid, nature doth retaine and keepe that which is her owne and proper,ſimple,entire,without corruption or alteration by any ſtrange mixture; wheras contrariwiſe,it ſeemeth that the nature of man, by diſcourſe of their reaſon and cuſtome together, is mingled and confuſed with ſo many extravagant opinions and judgements, fet from all parts abroad (much like unto oile that commeth into perfumers hands) that thereby it is become manifolde variable, and in every one ſeverall and particular, and doeth not retaine that which the owne indeed, proper and peculiar to it ſelfe; neither ought we to thinke it a ſtrange matter and a woonderfull, that brute beaſts void of reaſon, ſhould come neerer unto nature, and follow her ſteps better, than men endued with the gift of reaſon: for ſurely, the verie ſenſeleſſe plants heerein ſurpaſſe thoſe beaſts beforeſaid, and obſerve better the inſtinct of nature; for conſidering that they neither conceive any thing by imagination, nor have any motion, affection or inclination at all; ſo verily their appetite (ſuch as it is) varieth not nor ſtirreth to and fro out of the compaſſe of nature, by meanes whereof,they continue and abide as if they were kept in and bound within cloſe-priſon,holding on ſtill in one and the ſame courſe,and not ſtepping once out of that way wherein nature doth leade and conduct them: as for beaſts, they have not any ſuch great portion of reaſon to temper and mollifie their naturall properties, neither any great ſubtiltie of ſenſe and conceit, nor much deſire of libertie; but having many inſtincts, inclinations and appetites, not ruled by reaſon, they breake out by the meanes thereof other-whiles, wandering aſtray, and running up and downe to and fro, howbeit, for the moſt part, not very farre out of order, but they take ſure holde of nature; much like a ſhip which lieth in the rode at anchor, well may ſhe daunce and be rocked up and downe, but ſhe is not caried away into the deepe at the pleaſure of windes and waves; or much after the maner of an aſſe or hackney,travelling with bit and bridle,which go not out of the right & ſtreight way,wherein the maſter or rider guideth them; whereas in man, even reaſon herſelfe, the miſtreſſe that ruleth and commandeth all,findeth out new cuts (as it were) and by-waies,making many ſtarts and excurſions at her pleaſure to and fro, now heere, now there; whereupon it is that ſhe leaveth no plaine and apparant print of natures tracts and footing.

Conſider I pray you in the firſt place the mariages (if I may ſo terme them) of dumbe beaſts and reaſonleſſe creatures; and namely how therein they folow preciſely the rule and direction of nature. To begin withall; they ſtand not upon thoſe lawes that provide againſt ſuch as marrie not, but lead a ſingle life; neither make they reckoning of the acts which lay a penaltie upon thoſe that be late ere they enter into wedlocke, like as the citizens under *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, who ſtood in awe of the ſaid ſtatutes; they feare not to incurre the infamie which followed thoſe perſons that were barren and never had children; neither doe they regard and ſeeke after the honours and prerogatives which they atteined, who were fathers of three children, like as many of the Romains do at this day, who enter into the ſtate of matrimonie, wedde wives and beget children, not to the end that they might have heires to inherit their lands and goods, but that they might themſelves be inheritors & capable of dignities & immunities. But to proceed unto more particulars, the male afterwards doth deale with the female in the act of generation not at all times; for that the end of their conjunction and going together is not groſſe pleaſure ſo much,as the engendring of young and the propagation of their kinde: and therefore at a certeine ſeaſon of the yeare, to wit, the very prime of the ſpring, when as the pleaſant winds ſo apt for generation do gently blow,and the temperature of the aire is friendly unto breeders, commeth the female full lovingly and kindly toward her fellow the male, even of her owne accord and motion(as it were) trained by the hand of that ſecret inſtinct and deſire in nature; and for her owne part, ſhe doth what ſhe can to woo and ſollicite him to regard her, as well by the ſweet ſent of her fleſh,as alſo by a ſpeciall and peculiar ornament and beautie of her body,ſhewing herſelfe freſh and cheerefull, full of dew and verdure of greene herbes, pure and neat I warrant you; in this manner doth ſhe preſent her-ſelfe unto the male and courteth him: now when ſhe perceives once that ſhe is ſped and hath conceived by him, ſhe leaveth him and retireth apart in good ſort full decently; and then her whole care is to prouide for that which ſhe goeth withall,fore-caſting how to be delivered of it in due time, and bethinking how to ſave, preſerve, and reare it when it is fallen and brought foorth. And certes it is not poſſible to expreſſe ſufficiently and woorthily the particulars that are done by theſe dumbe creatures (but onely this, that every thing proceedeth from the tender love and affection which they have to their young ones) in providence, in patience, in abſtinence.

We all acknowledge the Bee to be wiſe, we call her ſo, we celebrate her name for producing and working ſo diligently that yellow honie, yea and we flatter in praiſing her, feeling as we do the ſweetneſſe of the ſaid honie, how it tickleth and contenteth our tongue & taſte; and all this while what one is there of us that maketh any account of the wiſedome, wit, and artificiall ſubtiltie that other creatures ſhew, as well in the bringing forth their young, as the foſtring and nouriture of them? for firſt and formoſt doe but conſider the ſea bird called Alcyon, no ſooner doth ſhe perceive herſelfe to bee knit with egge, but ſhe falleth preſently to build her neſt, ſhe gathereth together the chine-bones of a certeine ſea fiſh which the Greekes call Βελόνη, that is to ſay, the ſea-needle, theſe ſhe coucheth, plaiteth, windeth and interlaceth one within another, ſo artificially working the ſame and weaving them cloſe together in a round and large forme, after the maner of a fiſhers leape or weele net; and when ſhe hath knit and fortified the ſame exactly with many courſes of the ſaide bones driven and united jointly together in good order, ſhe expoſeth it full againſt inundation and daſhing of the ſea waves, to the end that the ſuperficiall outſide of the worke beaten upon gently and by little & little with the water, being thickned and felted thereby might be more ſolide and firme, and ſo it prooveth indeed; for ſo hard it groweth by this meanes, that ſcarcely any ſtone can cruſh it, or edged inſtrument of iron cleave it; but that which is yet more woonderfull, the mouth and entrie of the ſaid neſt is compoſed and wrought proportionably juſt to the meaſure and bigneſſe of the bird Alcyon aforeſaid, ſo as no creature bigger or leſſe than her ſelfe, no nor the very ſea (as men ſay) nor the leaſt thing in the world can get into it. And will you ſee moreover what kindneſſe and naturall affection the ſea weeſils or ſea dogs doe ſhew unto their little ones? They breed their young whelpes or kitlings alive within their bellies, and when they liſt, let them foorth and ſuffer them to run abroad for reliefe and to get their foode, and afterwards receive them into their bodies againe, encloſing them whiles they be aſleepe themſelves, cheriſhing them cowched in their bowels and wombe. The ſhe beare a moſt fell, ſavage and cruell beaſt, bringeth foorth her young whelpes, without forme or faſhion, unknit and unjointed, having no diſtinct limmes or members to be ſeene; howbeit with her tongue as it were with a toole and inſtrument for the purpoſe, ſhe keepeth ſuch a licking of them, ſhe formeth and faſhioneth thoſe membranes where in they were lapped in her wombe in ſuch ſort, that ſhe ſeemeth not onely to have brought foorth her young, but alſo to have wrought them afterwards workeman-like to their ſhape and proportion. As for that lion which *Homer* deſcribeth in this wiſe,

Who leading foorth his tender whelps
to ſeeke abroad for praie
In foreſt wilde; no ſooner meets
with hunters in the waie,
But looking ſterne with bended browes
which cover both his eies,
He makes a ſtand, and them affronts
in fierce and threatning wiſe.

Thinke you not by this deſcription that he reſembleth one who is bent to capitulate and ſtande upon termes of compoſition with the hunters for to ſave the life of his little ones? To ſpeake in a word, this tender love and affection of beaſts toward their young, maketh them that otherwiſe be timorous, hardie and bold; thoſe that be ſlow and idle by nature, laborious and painfull; and ſuch as of themſelves are greedy and ravenous, to be ſpare and temperate in their feeding, like as the bird whereof the ſame *Homer* ſpeaketh,

Which brings in mouth unto her neſt,
ſuch food as ſhe abroad
Could get to feed her naked young,
and doth her-ſelfe defraud.

For content ſhe is even with her owne hunger to nouriſh her little ones, and the ſame food or bait that ſhe hath for them, being ſo neere as it is unto her owne craw and geſtier, ſhe holdeth cloſe and faſt in her bill, for feare leſt ſhee might ſwallow it downe the throat ere ſhee were aware;

Or like the bitch running about
her young whelps, at the ſight
Of ſtrangers, baies and barkes apace,
and ready is to fight.

No doubt the feare which ſhe hath leſt her little one ſhould take harme redoubleth her courage, and maketh her more hardie and angrie than before: as for the partridges when they be laid-for by the fowler, together with their covin of young birds, they ſuffer them to flie away as well as they can, and make ſhift to ſave themſelves, but the old rowens full ſubtilly ſeeme to wait the comming of the ſaid hunters, abiding untill they approch neere unto them, and by keeping about their feet, traine them ſtill away after them, ready ever as it were to be caught; now when the fowler ſhall ſeeme to reach unto them with his hand, they will runne a little or take a ſhort flight from him, and then they ſtaie againe, putting him in new hope of his pray and bootie, which every-foot he thinketh to take with his hand: thus they play mock-holiday with the fowlers, and yet with ſome danger to themſelves for the ſafetie of their young, untill they have trained them a great way off, who ſought for their lives. Our hens which we keepe about our houſes ſo ordinarily, and have daily in our eies, how carefully doe they looke unto their young chickens whiles they receive ſome under their wings, which they ſpred and hold open for the nonce that they may creepe in, others they ſuffer to mount upon their backs, gently giving them leave to climbe and get up on every ſide, and this they doe not without great joy and contentment, which they teſtifie by a kind of clocking and ſpeciall noiſe that they make at ſuch a time; if when they bee alone without their chickens, and have no feare but of themſelves a dogge or a ſerpent come in their way, they flie from them; let their brood be about them when ſuch a danger is preſented, it is woonderfull how ready they will be to defend the ſame, yea and to fight for, even above their power. Do we thinke now that nature hath imprinted ſuch affections and paſſions in theſe living creatures, for the great care that ſhe hath to mainteine the race and poſteritie (as it were) of hens, dogs, or beares; or doe we not rather make this conſtruction of it, that ſhe ſhameth, pricketh, and woundeth men thereby when we reaſon and diſcourſe thus within our ſelves, that theſe things bee good examples for as many as follow them, and the reproches of thoſe that have no ſenſe or feeling of naturall affection; by which no doubt they do blame and accuſe the nature of man onely, as if ſhe alone were not affectionate without ſome hire and reward, nor could skill of love but for gaine and profit? for admired he was in the theaters that thus ſpake firſt:

For hope of gaine one man will love another,
Take it away, what one will love his brother?

This is the reaſon (according to the opinion and doctrine of *Epicurus*) that the father affecteth his ſonne, the mother is tender over her childe, and children likewiſe are kind unto their parents: but ſet-caſe that brute beaſts could both ſpeake and underſtand language, in ſome open theater, and that one called to meet together a ſufficient aſſembly of beefs, horſes, dogs, and fowles, certes if their voices were demanded upon this point now in queſtion, hee would ſet downe in writing, and openly pronounce, that neither bitches loved their whelpes, nor mares their foles, hens their chickens, and other fowles their little birds in reſpect of any reward, but freely and by the inſtinct of nature: and this would be found a true verdict of his, iuſtified and verified by all thoſe paſſions and affections which are obſerved in them: and what a ſhame and infamie unto mankind is this to grant and avouch, that the act of generation in brute beaſts, their conception, their breeding, their painfull deliverie of their young, and the carefull feeding and cheriſhing of them be natures works meerely, and duties of gratuitie; and contrariwiſe that in men they be pawnes given them for ſecuritie of intereſt, hires, gages, and earneſt pennies reſpective to ſome profit and gaine which they draw after them? But ſurely as this project is not true, ſo it is not woorth the hearing, for nature verily as in ſavage plants and trees, to wit, wilde vines, wilde figge trees, and wilde olives ſhe doth ingenerate certeine raw and unperfect rudiments, (ſuch as they be) of good and kinde fruits; ſo ſhe hath created in brute beaſts a naturall love and affection to their young, though the ſame be not abſolute nor fully anſwerable to the rule of juſtice, ne yet able to paſſe farther than the bonds and limits of neceſſitie. As for man, a living creature, endued and adorned with reaſon, created and made for a civill ſocietie, whom ſhe hath brought into the world for to obſerve lawes and juſtice, to ſerve honour and worſhip the gods, to found cities and governe common-wealths, and therein to exerciſe and performe al offices of bountie: him ſhe hath beſtowed upon noble, generous, faire and fruitfull ſeeds of all theſe things, to wit, a kinde love and tender affection toward his children; and theſe ſhe followeth ſtill, and perſiſteth therein, which ſhe infuſed together with the firſt principles and elements that went to the frame of his body and ſoule: for nature being every way perfect and exquiſite, and namely in this inbred love toward infants, wherein there wanteth nothing that is neceſſarie, neither from it is ought to be taken away as ſuperfluous; It hath nothing (as *Eraſiſtratus* was woont to ſay) vaine, frivolous and unprofitable, nothing inconſtant, and ſhaking too and fro, inclining now one way, and then another. For in the firſt place, as touching the generation of man, who is able to expreſſe her prudence ſufficiently? neither haply may it ſtand with the rule of decent modeſtie to be over-curious and exquiſite in delivering the proper names and tearmes thereto belonging: for thoſe naturall parts ſerving in that act of generation and conception ſecret as they be and hidden, ſo they neither can well, nor would willingly be named, but the compoſition and framing thereof, ſo aptly made for the purpoſe, the diſpoſition and ſituation likewiſe ſo convenient, we ought rather to conceive in our minde than utter in ſpeech.

Leaving therefore thoſe privie members to our private thoughts, paſſe we to the confection, diſpoſition and diſtribution of the milke, which is ſufficient to ſhew moſt evidently her providence, in deſire and diligence; for the ſuperfluous portion of blood which remaineth in a womans bodie, over and above that which ſerveth for the uſe whereunto it is ordeined, floting up and downe within her afterwards, for defect or feebleneſſe of ſpirits wandereth (as it were) to and fro, and is a burden to her bodie; but at certaine ſet-times & daies, to wit, in every monthly revolution, nature is carefull and diligent to open certeine ſcluces and conducts, by which the ſaid ſuperfluous blood doth void and paſſe away, whereupon ſhee doth not onely purge and lighten all the bodie beſides, but alſo cleanſeth the matrice, and maketh it like a piece of ground brought in order and temper, apt to receive the plough, and deſirous of the ſeed after it in due ſeaſon: now when it hath once conceived and reteined the ſaid ſeed, ſo as the ſame take root and be knit, preſently it draweth it ſelfe ſtrait and cloſe together round, and holdeth the conception within it; for the navill (as *Democritus* ſaith) being the firſt thing framed within the matrice, and ſerving in ſtead of an anchor againſt the waving and wandering of it to and fro, holdeth ſure the fruit conceived, which both now groweth and heereafter is to be delivered (as it were) by a ſure cable and ſtrong bough, then alſo it ſtoppeth and ſhutteth up the ſaid riverets and paſſages of thoſe monethly purgations; and taking the foreſaid blood, which otherwiſe would run an void by thoſe pipes and conducts, it maketh uſe thereof for to nouriſh, and (as it were) to water the infant, which beginneth by this time to take ſome conſiſtence and receive ſhape and forme, ſo long, untill a certaine number of daies which are neceſſarie for the full growth thereof within be expired; at which time it had need to remove from thence for a kinde of nutriment elſe-where in another place; and then diverting the ſaid courſe of blood with all dexterity & a skilfull hand (no gardener nor fountainer in drawing of his trenches and chanels with all his cunning ſo artificiall) and employing it from one uſe to another, ſhe hath certeine ceſternes (as it were) or fountaine-heads, prepared of purpoſe from a running ſource moſt readie to receive that liquor of blood quickly, and not without ſome ſenſe of pleaſure and contentment; but withall, when it is received, they have a power and facultie, by a milde heat of the naturall ſpirits within them, and with a delicate and fœminine tenderneſſe, to concoct, digeſt, change and convert it into another nature and qualitie, for that the paps have within them naturally, the like temperature and diſpoſition anſwerable unto it: now theſe teats which ſpout out milke from the cocks of a conduct, are ſo framed and diſpoſed, that it floweth not foorth all at once, neither do they ſend it away ſuddenly: but nature hath ſo placed the dug, that as it endeth one way in a ſpongeous kinde of fleſh full of ſmall pipes, and made of purpoſe to tranſmit the milke, and let it diſtill gently by many little pores and ſecret paſſages, ſo it yeeldeth a nipple in maner of a faucet, very fit and ready for the little babes mouth, about which to nuzzle and nudgell with it prety lips it taketh pleaſure, and loveth to be tugging and lugging of it; but to no purpoſe and without any fruit or profit at all, had nature provided ſuch tooles and inſtruments for to engender and bring foorth a childe; to no end (I ſay) had ſhe taken ſo good order, uſed ſo great induſtry, diligence and forecaſt, if withall ſhe had not imprinted in the heart of mothers a woonderfull love and affection, yea, and an extraordinarie care over the fruit of their wombe, when it is borne into the world: for

Of creatures all which breath and walke
upon the earth in ſight,

None is there wretched more than man
new borne into this light.

And whoſoever ſaith thus of a yoong infant newly comming forth of the mothers wombe, maketh no lie at all, but ſpeaketh trueth; for nothing is there ſo imperfect, ſo indigent and poore, ſo naked, ſo deformed, ſo foule and impure, than is man to ſee to preſently upon his birth, conſidering that to him (in maner alone) nature hath not given ſo much as a cleane paſſage and way into this light; ſo furred he is all over & polluted with blood, ſo ful of filth and ordure, when he entreth into the world, reſembling rather a creature freſh killed & ſlaine, than newly borne; that no bodie is willing to touch, to take up, to handle, dandle, kiſſe and clip it, but ſuch as by nature are lead to love it: and therefore, whereas in all other living creatures, nature hath provided that their udders and paps ſhould be ſet beneath under their bellies, in a woman onely, ſhe hath ſeated them aloft in her breaſts, as a very proper and convenient place, where ſhee may more readily kiſſe, embrace, coll and huggle her babe while it ſucketh; willing thereby to let us underſtand, that the end of breeding, bearing and rearing children, is not gaine and profit, but pure love and meere affection. Now, if you would ſee this more plainly proved unto you, propoſe (if you pleaſe) and call to remembrance the women and men both in the olde world, whoſe hap was either firſt to beare children, or to ſee an infant newly borne; there was no law then to command and compell them to nouriſh and bring up their yoong babes; no hope at all of reciprocall pleaſure or thanks at their hands that indured them; no expectance of reward and recompenſe another day to be paied from them, as due debt for their care, paines and coſt about them: nay, if you goe to that, I might ſay rather: That mothers had ſome reaſon to deale hardly with their yoong infants, and to beare in minde the injuries that they have done them, in that they endured ſuch dangers and ſo great paines for them:

As namely, when the painfull throwes
as ſharpe as any dart,
In travell pinch a woman neere,
and pierce her to the hart:
Which midwives, Iunoes *daughters then,*
do put her to, poore wretch,
With many a pang, when with their hand
they make her body ſtretch.

But our women ſay; It was never *Homerus* (ſurely) who wrote this; but *Homeris* rather: that is to ſay, ſome Poetreſſe or woman of his poeticall veine, who had bene herſelfe at ſuch a buſines, and felt the dolourous pangs of child-birth, or els was even then in labour, and upon the point to be delivered, feeling a mixture of bitter and ſharpe throwes in her backe, belly and flanks, when ſhee powred out theſe verſes: but yet, for all the ſorow and deare bargaine that a mother hath of it, this kinde and naturall love doth ſtill ſo bend, incline and leade her, that notwithſtanding ſhe be in a heat ſtill upon her travell, full of paines and after-throwes, panting, trembling and ſhaking for very anguiſh, yet ſhe neglecteth not her ſweet babe, nor windeth or ſhrinketh away from it; but ſhe turneth toward it, ſhe maketh to it, ſhe ſmileth and laugheth upon it, ſhe taketh it into her armes, ſhe hugleth it in her boſome, and kiſſeth it full kindly: neither all this whiles gathereth ſhe any fruits of pleaſure or profit, but painfully (God wot) and carefully

She laps it then in raggs full ſoft,
With ſwadling bands ſhe wraps it oft,
By turnes ſhe cooles and keeps it warme,
Loth is ſhe that it ſhould take harme:
And thus aſwell by night as day,
Paines after paines ſhe taketh ay.

Now tell me (I pray you) what reward, recompenſe and profit do women reape for all this trouble and painfull hand about their little ones? None at all (ſurely) for the preſent, and as little in future expectance another day, conſidering their hopes are ſo farre off, and the ſame ſo uncertaine. The husbandman that diggeth and laboureth about his vine at the Aequinox in the Spring, preſſeth grapes out of it and maketh his vintage at the Aequinox of the Autumne. He that ſoweth his corne when the ſtarres called *Pleiades*, doe couch and goe downe, reapeth and hath his harveſt afterwards when they riſe and appeare againe; kine calve, mares foale, hennes hatch, and ſoone after there commeth profit of their calves, their colts and their chickens: but the rearing and education of a man is laborious, his growth is very ſlow and late; and whereas long it is ere he commeth to proofe and make any ſhew of vertue, commonly moſt fathers die before that day. *Neocles* lived not to ſee the noble victorie before *Salanus* that *Themiſtocles* his ſonne atchived: neither ſaw *Miltiades* the happie day wherein *Cimon* his ſonne won the fielde at the famous battell neere the river *Eurynidon*: *Xantippus*, was not ſo happy as to heare *Pericles* his ſonne, out of the pulpit preaching and making orations to the people; neither was it the good fortune of *Ariſton* to be at any of his ſonne *Platoes* lectures and diſputations in Philoſophie: the fathers of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, two renowmed Poets, never knew of the victories which they obteined, for pronouncing and rehearſing their tragedies in open theater, they might heare them peradventure when they were little ones to ſtammer, to liſpe, to ſpel and put ſyllables together, or to ſpeake broken Greeke, and that was all. But ordinary it is that men live to ſee, heare, and know when their children fall to gaming, revelling, maſking, and banquetting, to drunkenneſſe, wanton whooring, love and ſuch like miſdemeanors. So as in theſe regards this one Mot of *Euenus* in an Epigram of his, deſerveth to be praiſed and remembred.

See how great paines all fathers undergo,
What daily griefes their children put them to.

And yet for all this, fathers ceaſe not ſtill to nouriſh and bring up children, and ſuch moſt of al who ſtand leaſt in need of their children another day; for a meere mockery it were, and a ridiculous thing if a man ſhould ſuppoſe; that rich & wealthy men do ſacrifice unto the gods, and make great joy at the nativitie and birth of their children, becauſe that one day they ſhall feede and ſuſteine them in their old age, and interre them after they be dead; unleſſe perhaps it may be ſaid, they rejoice thus and be ſo glad to have and bring up children, for that otherwiſe they ſhould leave none heires behind them; as who would ſay, it were ſo hard a matter to finde out and meet with thoſe that would be willing to inherite the lands and goods of ſtrangers. Certes the ſands of the ſea, the little motes in the ſunne raiſed of duſt, the feathers of birds together with their variable notes, be not ſo many in number, as there be men that gape after heritages, and be ready to ſucceed others in their livings. *Danaus* (who as they ſay was the father of 50. daughters) if his fortune had beene to be childleſſe, I doubt not but he ſhould have had more heires than ſo to have parted his goods and ſtate among them, and thoſe verily after another ſort than the heires of his owne body. For children yeeld their parents no thanks at all for being their inheritours, neither in regard thereof do they any ſervice, dutie, or honour unto them; for why? they expect and looke for the inheritance as a thing due and of right belonging unto them: but contrariwiſe you heare how thoſe ſtrangers that hang and hunt about a man who hath no children, much like to thoſe in the comædies, ſinging this ſong,

O ſir, no wight ſhall do you any harme,
I will revenge your wrongs and quarrels ay:
Hold heare, three-halfe-pence good to keepe you warme
Purſe it, drinke it, ſing wo and care away.

As for that which *Euripides* ſaith,

Theſe worldly goods procure men friends to chuſe,
And credit moſt, who then will them refuſe.

It is not ſimply and generally true, unleſſe it be to thoſe as have no children; for ſuch indeed are ſure to be invited and feaſted by the rich; lords and rulers will make court and be ſerviceable to ſuch; for them great oratours and advocates will plead at the bar without fee, and give their counſell gratis,

How mightie is a rich man with each one,
So long as his next heire is knowne to none?

whereas you ſhall ſee many in the world, who before time having a number of friends and honour enough and no ſooner had a little childe borne unto them, but they loſt all their friends, credit, and reputation at once, ſo that by this reckoning the having of children maketh nothing at all to the authoritie of their parents, ſo that in regard thereof, it is not that they doe ſo love their children; but ſurely the cauſe of this their kindneſſe and affection proceedeth altogether from nature, and appeereth no leſſe in mankind than in wilde beaſts: Howbeit otherwhiles this naturall love aſwell as many other good qualities in men, are blemiſhed and obſcured by occaſion of vice that buddeth up afterwards; like as we ſee wilde briers, buſhes and brambles to ſpring up and grow among good and kind ſeeds, for otherwiſe we might as well collect and ſay that men love not themſelves becauſe many cut their owne throates, or wilfully fall down headlong from ſteepe rocks and high places. For *Oedipus*

With bloudy hand his owne eie-lids did force,
And plucked out his eies upon remorce.

Hegeſias diſputing and diſcourſing upon a time of abſtinence, cauſed many of his auditours and ſcholars to pine themſelves to death.

Such accidents of many ſorts there be,
Permitted by the gods we daily ſee.

But al of them like as thoſe other paſſions and maladies of the mind before named, tranſport a man out of his owne nature, and put him beſide himſelfe, ſo as they teſtifie againſt themſelves that this is true, and that they do amiſſe heerein; for if a ſow having farrowed a little pigge, devoure it when ſhe hath done, or a bitch chance to teare in peeces a puppie or whelpe of her own litter, preſently men are amazed at the ſight thereof, and woonderfully affrighted, whereupon they ſacrifice unto the gods certaine expiatorie ſacrifices, for to divert the ſiniſter præſages thereof, as taking it to a prodigious woonder, as confeſſing thereby, that it is a propertie given to all living creatures, even by the inſtinct and inſtitution of nature; To love, foſter and cherriſh the fruit of their owne bodies: ſo farre is it from them to deſtroy the ſame. And yet, notwithſtanding her corruption and depravation in this behalfe: Like as in mines, the gold (although it be mixed with much clay, and furred all over with earth) ſhineth & glittereth thorow the ſame, and is to be ſeene afarre off; even ſo nature amid the moſt depravate maners and corrupt paſſions that we have, ſheweth a certeine love and tender affection to little ones. To conclude, wheras the poore many times make no care at all to nouriſh and reare up their children, it is for nothing els but becauſe they feare leſt having not ſo good bringing up nor ſo civill education as they ought, they ſhould proove ſervile in behavior, untaught, unmanerly, rude, and void of all good parts; and judging (as they do) povertie to be the extremity of all miſeries that can befall to man, their heart will not ſerve them to leave unto their children this hereditarie calamity, as a moſt grievous and dangerous diſeaſe.

OF THE PLVRALITY OF FRIENDS.

The Summarie.

IN certeine diſcourſes going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friendſhip is. And now Plutarch *addeth thereto a certaine correction very neceſſary, in regard of our nature which is given alwaies to bend unto extremities, and not able long to holde the golden-meane. Like as therefore, it bewraieth a miſerable, wretched and curſed mind to be deſirous for to leade a life without acquaintance and familiarity with any perſon; even ſo to make friends (as they ſay) hand over head and upon every occaſion, is peradventure unpoſſible, but ſurely not expedient. Our authour therefore, willing to reforme this diſordinate affection that is in many, who becauſe they would have a number of friends, often-times have not one aſſured, ſheweth that it is farre better for a man to get one faſt and faithfull friend, than a great multitude of whom he can not make any certaine account; propounding as a remedie for this covetous minde of entertaining ſuch a plurality of friends, the examples of thoſe who are contented with few, and by that meanes thinke their eſtate more ſure and ſtedfaſt. After this, he treateth of the choiſe of friends, but eſpecially of one. Then diſcourſeth he of that which is requiſite in true friendſhip, annexing thereto many proper and apt ſimilitudes, which repreſent aſwell the benefit that ſincere affection bringeth, as the hurt which commeth of fained and counterfeit amitie. This done, he proveth, that to enterteine a number of friends, is a very hard matter, yea, and unpoſſible; for that a man is not able to converſe with them, nor to frame and ſort with them all, but that he ſhall procure himſelfe enemies on all ſides: and when he hath enriched and adorned the ſame with notable examples, he proceedeth to deſcribe,*

deſcribe, what uſe a man is to make of friendſhip, and with what ſort and condition of men he ought to joine in amity: but this is the concluſion; That an honeſt and vertuous man can not quit himſelfe well, and performe his devoire unto many friends at once.

OF THE PLURALITIE of friends.

Socrates upon a time demanded of *Menon* the Theſſalian, who was eſteemed very ſufficient in all litterature, and a great ſchoole-man, exerciſed in long practiſe of diſputations, and named to be one (as *Empedocles* ſaith) who had attained to the very height and perfection of wiſedome and learning, what vertue was; and when he had anſwered readily and boldly enough, in this wiſe: There is a vertue (quoth he) of a yoong childe, and of an olde gray beard; of a man, and of a woman; of a magiſtrate, and of a private perſon; of a maſter, and of a ſervant: I con you thanke (quoth *Socrates* againe, replying unto him) you have done it very well: I asked you but of one vertue, and you have raiſed and let flie a whole ſwarme (as it were) of vertues, gueſſing and collecting not amiſſe by ſuch an anſwere, that this deepe clearke, who had named thus many vertues, knew not ſo much as one. And might not a man ſeeme to ſcorne and mocke us well enough, who having not yet gotten one friendſhip and amity certaine, are afraid (forſooth) leſt ere we be aware, we fall into a multitude and pluralitie of friends: for this were even as much as if one that is maimed and ſtarke blinde, ſhould feare to become either *Briareus* the giant, with an hundred armes and hands, or *Argus*, who had eies all over his bodie. And yet we praiſe and commend exceſſively and beyond all meaſure the yoong man in *Menander*, when he ſaith:

Of all the goods which I do holde,
To thinke ech one (I would be bolde)
Right woonderfull, if I might finde
The ſhadow onely of a friend.

But certeinly this is one cauſe among many others, & the ſame not the leaſt, that we cannot be poſſeſſed of any one aſſured amity, becauſe we covet to have ſo many much like vnto theſe common ſtrumpets and harlots, who for that they proſtitute their bodies ſo often and to ſo manie men, cannot make any reckoning to hold & reteine any one paramor or lover faſt and ſure unto them; for that the firſt commers ſeeing themſelves neglected and caſt off by the enterteinment of new, retire and fall away from them, and ſeeke elſewhere; or rather much after the maner of that * foſter-childe of lady *Hypſipyle*,

* *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*.

Who being ſet in meddow greene
With pleaſant flowers all faire beſeene,
One after other cropt them ſtill,
Hunting this game with right good will:
For why, his heart tooke great content
In their gay hew and ſweety ſent:
*So little wit and ſmall * diſcretion*
*The infant had, and no * repletion.*

* νηπιον ἀφρηστον ἐχων: or νηπιον ἀπληστον ἐχων: as it is read elſewhere.

even ſo every one of us for the deſire of noveltie, and upon a ſatietie and fulneſſe of that which is preſent and in hand, ſuffreth himſelfe ever to be caried away with a new-come friend that is freſh and flowring; which fickle and inconſtant affection cauſeth us to change often and to begin many friendſhips and finiſh none; to enter ſtill into new amities and bring none to perfection; and for the love of the new which we purſue and ſeeke after, wee paſſe by that which we held already and let it go. To begin then firſt and formoſt at antiquity (as it were) from the goddeſſe *Veſta* (according to the old proverbe) let us examine and conſider the common fame of mans life which hath beene delivered unto us from hand to hand time out of minde, by the ſucceſſion and progreſſe of ſo many ages from the old world unto this day, and take the ſame for a witneſſe and counſeller both in this matter, wee ſhall finde in all the yeeres paſt, theſe onely couples and paires of renowmed friends, to wit, **Theſeus** and **Pirithous**; **Achilles** and **Patroclus**;

Oreſtes and *Pylades*; *Pythias* and *Damon*; *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. For friendſhip is indeed (as I may ſo ſay) one of theſe cattell that love company and deſire to feed and paſture with fellowes; but it can not abide heards and droves, it may not away with theſe great flocks, as jayes, dawes and chougbes do. And whereas it is commonly ſaid and thought, that a friend is another owne ſelfe, and men give unto him the name of ἑταῖρος or ἕτερος in Greeke, as if a man would ſay, ἕτερος, that is, ſuch another: what implieth all this, but that friendſhip ſhould be reduced within the meaſure and compaſſe of the duall number, that is, of twaine. Well, this is certaine, we can buy neither many ſlaves nor purchaſe many friends with a ſmall piece of coine: but what may be this piece of money that will fetch friends? Surely, kinde affection or good will, and a lovely grace joined with vertue, things I may tell you ſo rare, as looke thorowout the world and the whole courſe of nature, you ſhall find nothing more geaſon. No marvell then, if it be unpoſſible either to love many or to be loved of many, perfectly and in the heigth of affection. But like as great rivers, if they be divided into many chanels, and cut into ſundry riverets, cary but an ebbe water, and run with no ſtrong ſtreame; even ſo a vehement and affectionate love planted in the minde, if it be parted many and divers waies becommeth enervate and feeble, and commeth in maner to nothing. This is the reaſon in nature, that thoſe creatures which bring forth but one and no more, love their yoong more tenderly and entirely, than others do theirs. *Homer* alſo when he would ſignifie a childe moſt dearely beloved, calleth it μοῦνον τηλυγετόν, that is to ſay, only begotten and toward old age, to wit, when the parents have no more betweene them, nor ever are like or doe looke to have another: for mine owne part, I would not deſire to have that μοῦνον, that is to ſay, one friend, and no more; but ſurely, I could wiſh that with other he were τηλυγετός, yea, and ὀψίγονος, that is to ſay, long and late firſt ere he be gotten, like as a ſonne which is borne toward the latter daies of his parents, yea, and ſuch a one, as (who according to that proverbe ſo common in every mans mouth) hath eaten with me a meaſure of ſalt. And are not many now adaies called friends? what els? if they have but drunke once together at the taverne, or met in the tennis court, or els turned into a tabling houſe, and plaied at dice and hazzard one with the other, or haply light in company at one hoſtelrie and lodged together, and in one word, they do contract and gather friends in this maner out of common innes, wreſtling places, and ordinary walkes in the markets or publike galleries. And verily, the common ſort, when they ſee every morning in the houſes of rich men and mightie rulers, a great multitude and concourſe of people, with much ado and hurry, giving attendance there to ſalute them and bid them good morrow, kiſſing their right hands, & glad if they may touch them, accōpanying them in maner of a guard when they go out of their lodging; ôh, they imagine & repute ſuch potentates wondrous happie, as being furniſhed with ſuch numbers of friends; and yet ſurely, as many as they be, they ſhal ſee more flies ordinarily in their kitchins: and to ſay a troth, like as theſe flies will be gone if no cates and viands be ſtirring; ſo theſe friends will tary no longer than gaine and profit is to be gotten.

Certes, true and perect friendſhip requireth theſe three things eſpecially; Vertue, as being honeſt and commendable; Societie, which is pleaſant and delectable; and Profit, which is needfull and neceſſarie: for a man muſt admit and receive a friend upon judgement and after triall made, he ought to delight and joy in his company, and he is to make uſe of him as occaſion ſerveth: all which three are contrarie unto pluralitie of friends, but eſpecially that which is principall, to wit, judgement upon a triall: and to proove this to be true; ſee firſt and formoſt whether it bee poſſible in a ſmall time to make proofe and triall of ſinging men or quireſters, that they may keepe a good concent and harmonie together in their ſong; or to make choiſe of oare-men, who ſhall agree in their rowing, to riſe and fall with their oares juſt together; or of houſholde ſervants ſuch as wee purpoſe to make the bailifs and ſtewards of our goods, or the governors and bringers up of our children? much more unlikely then is it, that we ſhould have proofe of many friends in a little ſpace, who will be ready to enter the triall with us of all maner of fortune, and of whom every one will be preſt and willing

Of his welfare to yeeld even part to thee,
And beare like part of thy calamitie.

For neither is a ſhip ſhot or haled into the ſea againſt ſo many ſtormes & tempeſts; nor mē do ſet & pitch ſo many ſtakes in a palliſado for the defence of any place; or in havens raiſe banks, and oppoſe dams, againſt the like dangers, or in feare of ſo many perils, as friendſhip promiſeth ſuccour and refuge for, if it be founded ſurely and aright upon good proofe and ſufficient experience. As for ſuch as before triall and experiment made do intrude themſelves, comming and going for friends,ſuch when they be put to the trial & touch indeed, & then found like evil money, counterfeit or light, they that go without them, be glad in their minde,and as many as have them,wiſh with all their hart & pray to God for to be rid of them.But ſurely this is a troubleſome & comberous thing, neither is it an eaſie matter to void and caſt off ſuch a friendſhip as this, ſo diſpleaſant & offenſive:for like as if ſome kind of bad meat do trouble and offend the ſtomacke, a man can neither reteine and hold it ſtill,but it will put him to paine and breed hurt & corruption, nor yet put it off and ſend it out in ſuch ſort as it went in,but all filthy and loathſome,as being furred over with ſlime,and mixed confuſedly with other humours, and whollie altered from the former ſtate; even ſo an ill friend either tarieth with us ſtill to his owne griefe and ours both, or elſe away he goeth perforce with euill wil, malice and enmitie like bitter choler that is vomited out of the ſtomacke. It is not good therefore to receive and admit of friends over-lightly and over-ſoone, nor to ſet our mindes and knit our affections to thoſe that come next hand,and preſent themſelves firſt, ne yet love thoſe incontinently that ſeeke to us and follow us; but rather to ſeeke after them and follow them our ſelves that are worthy of friendſhip: for we muſt not alwaies chooſe that which is eaſie to be had & willing to be gotten; for we put by gorſe and furzen buſhes; we tread under foot briers and brambles though they catch hold of us, and hang unto us as we walke whether we will or no; whereas wee go forward to the olive tree and the vine; and even ſo it is not alwaies decent & good to entertaine into our familiaritie one that is readie to embrace and hang about us; but rather ſuch ought we our ſelves affectionately to embrace whom we have tried to be profitable unto us, and who deſerve that we ſhould love and make account of them. And like as *Xeuxis* the painter anſwered ſometime to thoſe who found fault with him for his ſlow hand in painting: I confeſſe indeed (quoth he) that I am long in drawing a picture, for I purpoſe that my worke ſhould continue long; and even ſo that friendſhip and familiaritie is like to laſt and be preſerved long which was a good while in proofe and triall. Is it then no eaſie matter to make triall and choiſe of many friends together? and is it no hard thing to conuerſe & keepe companie with many at once, or rather is this alſo impoſſible? for ſurely it is converſation and fellowſhip, whereby we enjoy the benefit of friendſhip, and the moſt ſweet and pleaſant fruit of amitie conſiſteth in keeping continuall ſocietie, and daily frequenting one anothers companie, like unto thoſe who uttered theſe words,

For during life we will not ſit
in counſell from our friends,
Nor yet reſolve of doubtfull points
before we know their minds.

As *Homer* reporteth in one place: and in another *Menelaus* ſpeaking of *Ulyſſes*, ſaith thus,

Nought elſe us twaine our mutuall love,
and pleaſures ſhall depart
Untill death cloſe up both our eies
and ſtrike us to the hart.

But this pluralitie of friends whereof we now ſpeake, ſeemeth to do cleane contrarie; for whereas the ſimple amitie of twaine draweth us together,holdeth & uniteth us by frequent and continuall converſation,fellowſhip,and duties of kindeneſſe,

Much like as when the figtree juice,
you put white milke among,
It crudles, knits, and bindes the ſame,
no leſſe then rennet ſtrong.

according to the words of *Empedocles*; and ſurely deſirous it is to make the ſemblable union and concorporation: this friendſhip of many ſeparateth, diſtracteth and diverteth us, calling and tranſporting us ſundry waies, not permitting the commixture and ſodering (as it were) of good will and kinde affection to grow into one, and make a perfect joint by familiar converſation,encloſing & faſtning every part together. But the ſame anon bringeth withall a great inequalitie in offices and reciprocall ſervices meet for friends, and breedeth a certeine fooliſh baſhfulneſſe and ſtreining of courteſie in the performance thereof, for by occaſion of many friends thoſe parts in amitie, which otherwiſe are eaſie and commodious, become difficult and incommodious: And why?

All men do not agree in humor one,
Their thoughts their cares bend diverſly echone.

and no marvell, for our verie natures do not all incline in affection the ſame way; neither are we at all times converſant and acquainted with the like fortunes and adventures. To ſay nothing of their ſundrie occaſions and occurrences which ſerve not indifferently for all our actions; but like as the windes unto ſailers, they are with ſome and againſt others; ſometimes on our backes and other whiles full in our face. And ſay that it may fall out ſo, that all our friends at once do ſtand in need, and be deſirous of one and the ſame helpe and miniſterie at our hands, it were verie hard to fit all their turnes and ſatisfie them to their content; whether it be in taking our advice and counſell in any negotiations, or in treating about State matters, or in ſuite after dignities, places of government, or in feaſting and entertaining ſtrangers in their houſes: But ſuppoſe that at one & the ſame inſtant, our friends being diverſly affected & troubled with ſundrie affaires, requeſt all of them together our helping hand; as for example, one that is going to ſea for to have our companie in that voiage; another who being defendant & to anſwere for himſelfe in the law, to aſſiſt him in the court; and a third that is a plaintife, to ſecond him in his plea; a fourth who either is to buy or ſell, for to helpe him to make his markets; a fift who is to marrie for to ſacrifice with him, and be at his wedding dinner; and a ſixt, who is to inter a dead corps for to mourne & ſolemnize the funerals with him: in ſuch a medley and confuſion as this, as if according to *Sophocles:*

A citie ſmoakt with inſence ſweet,
And ring with ſongs for mirth ſo meet,
With plaints alſo and groanes reſound,
And all in one and ſelfe ſame ſtound.

Certes having ſo many friends, to aſſiſt and gratifie them all were impoſſible, to pleaſure more were abſurd, and in ſerving ones turne to reject many others, were offenſive and hurtful: for this is a rule:

Who to his friend is well affected,
Loves not himſelfe to be neglected.

and yet commonly ſuch negligences and forgetfull defaults of friends, we take with more patience, and put up with leſſe anger and diſpleaſure, when they ſhall come to excuſe themſelves by oblivion making theſe and ſuch like anſweres. Surely, you were but forgotten; it was out of my head, and I never thought of it: but he that ſhall alledge thus and ſay: I was not your aſſiſtant in the court, nor ſtood to you in your cauſe, by reaſon that I attended another friend of mine in a triall of his; or I came not to viſite you whiles you had an ague, for that I was buſilie employed at a feaſt, that ſuch a one made to one of his friends; excuſing his negligence to one friend, by his diligence to others; ſurely he maketh no ſatisfaction for the offence already taken, but increaſeth the ſame and maketh it woorſe than before, by reaſon of jealouſie added thereto; howbeit moſt men as it ſhould ſeeme aime at nothing elſe but at the profit and commoditie which friendſhip bringeth and yeeldeth from without, & never regard what care it doth imprint and worke within; neither remember they that he whoſe turne hath beene ſerved by many friends, muſt likewiſe reciprocally be ready to helpe them as their need requireth. Like as therefore the giant *Briareus* with his 100 hands feeding 50 bellies, had no more ſuſtenance for his whole bodie than we, who with two hands furniſh and fill one belly; even ſo the commoditie that wee have by many friends bringeth this diſcommoditie withall, that we are to be emploied alſo to many, in taking part with them of their griefs and paſſions, in travailing and in being troubled together with them in all their negotiations and affaires: for we are not to give eare unto *Euripides* the poet when he ſaith thus,

In mutuall love men ought a meane to keepe,
That it touch not heart roote nor marrow deepe,
Affections for to change it well befits,
To riſe and fall, now hot now coole by fits.

giving us to underſtand that friendſhip is to be uſed according as need requireth more or leſſe, like to the helme of a ſhip, which both holdeth it hard, and alſo giveth head, or the tackling which ſpread and draw, hoiſe and ſtrike ſaile, as occaſion ſerveth. But contrariwiſe, rather (good *Euripides*) we may turne this ſpeech of yours to enmitie, & admoniſh men that their quarrels & contentions be moderate and enter not to the heart and inward marrow (as it were) of the ſoule, that hatred (I ſay) and malice, that anger, offences, defiances, and ſuſpitions, be ſo intertained as that they may be ſoone appeaſed, laid downe & forgotten. A better precept is that yet of *Pythagoras*, when he teacheth us not to give our right hand to many; that is to ſay, not to make many men our friends, nor to affect that popular amitie common to all, and expoſed or offred to every one that commeth, which no doubt cannot chuſe but bring many paſſions with it into the heart, among which, to be diſquieted for a friend, to condole or grieve with him, to enter into troubles, and to plunge ones ſelfe into perils for his ſake, are not very eaſie matters to be borne by thoſe that carie an ingenuous minde with them, and be kind-hearted: but the ſaying of wiſe *Chilon* a profeſſour of philoſophie is moſt true, who anſwering unto a man that vaunted how he had not an enimie; It ſhould ſeeme then (quoth he) that thou haſt never a friend; for certeinly enmities enſue preſently upon amities, nay they are both interlaced together; neither is it the part of a friend not to feele the injuries done unto a friend, nor to participate with him in all ignomines, hatred, and quarrels that he incurreth; and one enimie evermore will be ſure to ſuſpect the friend of another, yea and be ready to malice him; as for friends oftentimes they envie their owne friends, they have them in jealouſie, and traduce them every way. The oracle anſwered unto *Timeſias* when he conſulted about the planting and peopling of a new colonie in this wiſe:

Thou think'ſt to lead a ſwarme of bees full kind,
But angrie waſpes, thou ſhalt them ſhortly find.

Semblablie they that ſeeke after a bee-hive (as it were) of friends, light ere they be aware upon a waſpes neſt of enimies: where there is a great ods and difference even in this, that the revenging remembrance of an enimie for wrong done, over-weigheth much the thankfull memorie of a friend for a benefit received: and whether this be true or no, conſider in what maner *Alexander* the great entreated the friends of *Philotas* and *Parmenio*; how *Dionyſius* the tyrant uſed the familiars of *Dion*; after what ſort *Nero* the emperor dealt by the acquaintance of *Plautus*; or *Tiberius Cæſar* by the wel-willers of *Sejanus*, whom they cauſed all to be racked, tortured and put to death in the end. And like as the coſtly jewels of golde, and the rich apparell of king *Creons* daughter, ſerved him in no ſtead at all, but the fire that tooke holde thereof, flaming light out ſuddenly, burned him when he ran unto her to take her in his armes, and ſo conſumed father and daughter together; even ſo you ſhall have ſome, who having never received any benefit at all by the proſperitie of their friends, are entangled notwithſtanding in their calamities, and periſh together with them for companie; a thing that ordinarily and moſt of all they are ſubject unto, who be men of profeſſion, great clearks, and honourable perſonages. Thus *Theſeus*, when *Perithous* his friend was puniſhed and lay bound in priſon

With fetters ſure to him tied was,
Farre ſtronger than of yron or braſſe.

Thucydides alſo writeth; That in the great peſtilence at *Athens*, the beſt men and ſuch as made greateſt profeſſion of vertue, were they who did moſt with their friends that lay ſicke of the plague: for that they never ſpared themſelves, but went to viſit and looke to all thoſe whom they loved and were familiarly acquainted with. And therfore it is not meet to make ſo little regard and reckoning of vertue, as to hang and faſten it upon others, without reſpect, and (as they ſay) hand over head, but to reſerve the cōmunication thereof to thoſe who be worthy; that is to ſay, unto ſuch who are able to love reciprocally, and know how to impart the like againe. And verily, this is the greateſt contrariety and oppoſition which croſſeth pluralitie of friends, in that amitie in deed is bred by ſimilitude and conformitie: for conſidering that the very brute beaſts not endued with reaſon, if a man would have to ingender with thoſe that are of divers kinds, are brought to it by force, and thereto compelled, inſomuch, as they ſhrinke, they couch downe upon their knees, and be ready to flee one from another; whereas contrariwiſe, they take pleaſure and delight to be coupled with their like and of the ſame kinde, receiving willingly and enterteining their companie in the act of generation, with gentleneſſe and good contentment: how is it poſſible that any ſound and perfect friendſhip ſhould grow betweene thoſe who are in behaviour quite different, in affections divers, in conditions oppoſite, and whoſe courſe of life tendeth to contrary or ſundry ends? True it is, that the harmonie of muſicke, whether it be in ſong or inſtrument, hath ſymphony by antiphony (that is to ſay) the accord ariſeth from diſcord and of contrarie notes is compoſed a ſweet tune, ſo as the treble and the baſe concurre, after a ſort, (I wot not how) & meet together, bringing forth by their agreement that ſound which pleaſeth the eare: but in this conſonance and harmonie of friendſhip, there ought to be no part unlike or unequall, nothing obſcure and doubtfull, but the ſame ſhould be compoſed of all things agreeable, to wit, the ſame will, the ſame opinion, the ſame counſell, the ſame affection, as if one ſoule were parted into many bodies. And what man is he, ſo laborious, ſo mutable, ſo variable, and apt to take every faſhion & form? who is able to frame unto all patterns, and accommodate himſelfe to ſo many natures, and will not rather be ready to laugh at the Poet *Theognis,* who giveth this leſſon:

> *Put on a minde (I thee do wiſh)*
> *As variable as Polype fiſh,*
> *Who ay reſemble will the roch,*
> *To which he neerely doth approch.*

and yet this change and tranſmutation of the ſaid polype or pourcuttle fiſh, entreth not deeply in, but appeareth ſuperficially in the skin, which by the cloſeneſſe or laxitie thereof, as he drawes it in or lets it out, receiveth the defluctions of the colours from thoſe bodies that are neere unto it; whereas amities do require that the maners, natures, paſſions, ſpeeches, ſtudies, deſires and inclinations may be conformable; for otherwiſe to doe, were the propertie of a *Proteus,* who was neither fortunate nor yet verie good and honeſt, but who by enchantment and ſorcerie could eftſoones tranſforme himſelfe from one ſhape to another in one and the ſame inſtant; and even ſo he that enterteineth many friends, muſt of neceſſitie be conformable to them all; namely, with the learned and ſtudious, to be ever reading; with profeſſours of wreſtling, to beſtrew his bodie with duſt (as they doe) for to wreſtle; with hunters, to hunt; with drunkards, to quaffe and carouſe; with ambitious citizens, to ſue and manage for offices, without any ſetled manſion (as it were) of his owne nature for his conditions to make abode in. And like as naturall Philoſophers do holde: That the ſubſtance or matter that hath neither forme nor any colour, which they call *Materia prima,* is a ſubject capable of all formes, and of the owne nature ſo apt to alter and change, that ſometimes it is ardent and burning, otherwhiles it is liquid and moiſt; now rare and of an airie ſubſtance, and afterwards againe groſſe and thicke, reſembling the nature of earth; even ſo muſt the minde applied to this multiplicitie of friends, bee ſubject to many paſſions, ſundry conditions, divers affections pliable, variable and apt to change from one faſhion to another. Contrariwiſe, ſimple friendſhip and amitie betweene twaine, requireth a ſtaied minde, a firme and conſtant nature, permanent and abiding alwaies in one place, and reteining ſtil the ſame faſhions; which is the reaſon that a faſt and aſſured friend is very geaſon and hard to be found.

OF FORTVNE.

The Summarie.

Long time hath this Proverbe beene currant, That there is nothing in this world but good fortune and misfortune. Some have expounded and taken it thus; as if all things were carried by meere chance and aventure, or mooved and driven by inconſtant fortune, an idole forged in their braine, for that they were ignorant in the providence of the True God who conducteth ordinarily all things in this world by ſecond cauſes and ſubalterne meanes, yea the verie motion, will and workes of men, for the execution of his ordinance and purpoſe. Now Plutarch *not able to ariſe and reach up to this divine and heavenly wiſedome hidden from his knowledge, ſtaieth below; and yet poore Pagan and Ethnike though he were, he confuteth that dangerous opinion of Fortune; ſhewing that it taketh away all diſtinction of good and evill, quencheth and putteth out the light of mans life, blending and confounding vice and vertue together.*

Afterwards he prooveth that prudence and wiſedome, over-ruleth this blind fortune, by conſidering the maiſtrie and dominion that man hath above beaſts: the arts alſo and ſciences whereof he maketh profeſsion, together with his judgement and will directly oppoſite and contrarie to all caſualties and changes.

OF FORTVNE.

Blind fortune rul's mans life alway,
Sage counſell therein beares no ſway,

ſaid one (who ever it was) that thought all humane actions depended upon meer caſualtie, and were not guided by wiſedome. What? and hath juſtice and equitie no place at all in this world? can temperance and modeſtie do nothing in the direction and managing of our affaires? Came it from fortune; and was it indeed by meere chance that *Ariſtides* made choiſe to continue in povertie, when it was in his power to make himſelfe a Lord of much wealth and many goods? or that *Scipio* when he had forced *Carthage*, tooke not to himſelfe, nor ſo much as ſaw any part of all that pillage? And was it long of fortune, or by caſualty that *Philocrates* having received of King *Philip* a great ſumme of gold, bought therewith harlots and daintie fiſhes? or that *Laſthenes* and *Euthycrates* betraied the citie *Olynthus*, meaſuring ſoveraigne good and felicity of man by belly-cheere, and thoſe pleaſures which of all other be moſt diſhoneſt and infamous? And ſhall we ſay, it was a worke of fortune that *Alexander*, ſonne of *Philip*, not onely himſelfe forbare to touch the bodies of the captive women taken in war, but alſo puniſhed all ſuch as offred them violence and injurie: and contrariwiſe, came it by ill lucke and unhappie fortune, that another *Alexander* the ſonne of King *Priamus* ſlept and lay with his friends wife, when he lodged and entertained him in his houſe, and not onely ſo, but carried her away with him, and by that occaſion brought all manner of calamitie upon two maine parts of the continent, to wit, *Europe* and *Aſia*, and filled them both with thoſe miſeries that follow warres?

If we graunt that all theſe occurrents came by fortune, what ſhould let us, but we might as well ſay that cats, goats and apes be likewiſe by fortune given to be alwaies lickorous, lecherous, ſhrewd and ſawcy. But in caſe it be true (as true it is) that the world hath in it temperance, juſtice and fortitude; what reaſon is there to ſay, that there is no prudence and wiſdome therein? now if it be yeelded that the world is not void of prudence: how can it be maintained that there ſhould not be in it ſage counſell? For temperance (as ſome ſay) is a kinde of prudence; and moſt certeine it is, that juſtice ſhould be aſſiſted by prudence; or to ſay more truely, ought to have it preſent with her continually. Certes, ſage counſell & wiſdome in the good uſe of pleaſures and delights, whereby we continue honeſt, we ordinarily do call continence and temperance; the ſame in dangers and travels, we tearme tolerance, patience and fortitude; in contracts and management of State affaires we give the name of loialtie, equitie and juſtice; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that if we will attribute the effects of counſell and wiſedome unto fortune, we muſt likewiſe aſcribe unto her the works of juſtice and temperance. And ſo (beleeve me) to rob and ſteale, to cut purſes, and to keepe whores, muſt proceed from fortune; which if it be ſo, let us abandon all diſcourſe of our reaſon, and betake our ſelves wholly to fortune to be driven and caried to and fro at her pleaſure like to the duſt, chaffe, or ſweepings of the floore, by the puffes of ſome great wind. Take away ſage & diſcreet counſell; farewel then all conſultation as touching affaires, away with deliberation, conſideration and inquiſition into that which is behovefull and expedient: for ſurely then, *Sophocles* talked idlely, and knew not what he ſpake in ſaying thus:

Seeke, and be ſure to finde with diligence,
But looſe, what you for-let by negligence.

And in another place where dividing the affaires of man he ſaith in this wiſe:

What may be taught, I ſtrive to learne;
what may likewiſe be found
I ſeeke, for wiſhes all I pray,
and would to God be bound.

Now would I gladly know, what is it that men may finde and what can they learne, in caſe all things in the world be directed by fortune? What Senate houſe of citie would not be diſſolved and aboliſhed? what counſell chamber of Prince ſhould not be overthrowen and put downe, if all were at the diſpoſition of fortune? we doe her wrong in reproching her for blindeſſe, when we runne upon her as we doe, blinde, and debaſing our ſelves unto her; for how can wee chuſe but ſtumble upon her indeed, if we plucke out our owne eies, to wit, our wiſdome & dexteritie of counſell, and take a blinde guide to lead us by the hand in the courſe of this our life? Certes, this were even as much, as it ſome one of us ſhould ſay, the action of thoſe that ſee, is fortune, and not ſight or eies, which *Plato* calleth φωσφόρα, that is, Light-bearers: the action likewiſe of them that heare, is nothing elſe but fortune, and not a naturall power and facultie to receive the ſtroke or repercuſſion of the aire, carried by the eare and the braine. But better it were (I trow) and ſo will everie wiſe bodie thinke to take heed how to diſcredit our ſenſes ſo, as to ſubmit them to fortune: For why? Nature hath beſtowed upon us ſight, hearing, taſte and ſmelling, with all the parts of the body indued with the reſt of their powers and faculties, as miniſters of counſell and wiſedome. For it is the ſoule that ſeeth, it is the ſoule & underſtanding that heareth, all the reſt are deafe and blinde: and like as if there were no ſunne at all we ſhould (for all the ſtarres beſides) live in perpetuall night as *Heraclitus* ſaith; even ſo if man had not reaſon and intelligence, notwithſtanding all his other ſenſes, he ſhould not differ in the whole race of his life from brute and wilde beaſts; but now in that we excell and rule them all, it is not by chance and fortune: but *Prometheus* (that is to ſay) the uſe and diſcourſe of reaſon is the very cauſe that hath given us in recompence

Both horſe and aſſe, with breed of beefs ſo ſtrong
To cary us, and eaſe our labour long.

according as we read in *Aeſchylus* the poet. Foraſmuch as otherwiſe fortune and nature both have beene more favourable, and beneficiall to moſt of the brute beaſts in their entrance into this life, than unto man; for armed they be with hornes, tusks, ſpurs, and ſtings; moreover as *Empedocles* ſaith,

The Urchin ſtrikes with many a pricke,
Which grow on backe both ſharpe and thicke.

Againe there be many beaſts clad and covered with ſcales and ſhag haire; ſhod alſo with claws and hard hooſes: onely man as *Plato* ſaith is abandoned and forſaken by nature, all naked, unarmed, unſhod, and without any veſture whatſoever,

But by one gift which ſhe hath given,
Amends ſhe makes, and all is even.

and that is, the uſe of reaſon, induſtrie, and providence.

For ſtrength of mortall man is ſmall,
His lims but weake and ſinewes all:
Yet by his wit and quick conceit,
By cunning caſts and ſubtill ſleight,
No beaſt in ſea, or mount, ſo fell,
So wilde, or ſlie, but he doth quell.

What beaſt more nimble, more light and ſwift than is the horſe; but for man it is that he runneth in the race: the dogge is couragious and eager in fight, but it is in the defence of man: fiſhes yeeld a moſt delicate and ſweet meat; and ſwine be full of good fleſh, but both of them ſerve as viands for the food and nouriſhment of man: what creature is bigger or more terrible to ſee to than is the elephant? howbeit he maketh man ſport and paſtime, he is ſhewed as a goodly ſight in feſtivall ſolemnities where people bee aſſembled, he is taught to friske and daunce his meaſures, to fall upon his knees likewiſe and do reverence: and verily theſe and ſuch like ſleights and examples are exhibited not in vaine nor without good profit, but to this end, that thereby we may know how farfoorth reaſon & wiſedome doth advance and lift up a man, above what things it maketh him ſurmount, and how by meanes thereof he ruleth all, and ſurpaſſeth all:

At fight with fiſts we are not good,
nor yet in tripping feet,
In wreſtling we may well be blam'd,
our running is not fleet.

But in all theſe feats we are inferiour to brute beaſts, howbeit for experience, memorie, wiſedome and artificiall ſleights (as *Anaxagoras* ſaid) wee go beyond them all, and thereby wee have the maſtrie and uſe of them, making them to ſerve our turnes: we ſtreine honie out of the combes of bees; we preſſe milke out of beaſts udders; we rob and ſpoile them; we drive and carie them away and whatſoever they have, inſomuch as in all this there is nothing that can be juſtly attributed to forme, but all proceeds from counſell and fore-caſt.

Furthermore, the works of carpenters are done by hand of man, ſo are they alſo of ſmithes and braſiers, of maſons, builders, gravers and imagers: in all which there is nothing to bee ſeene, that a man can ſay is done by chaunce or fortune, at leaſtwiſe when it is wrought abſolutely and as it ſhould be. And ſay that it may fall out otherwhiles that a good artiſan, whether he be a cutter in braſſe or a maſon, a ſmith or a carpenter, may meet with fortune and doe ſome little thing by chance; yet the greateſt peeces of worke, and the moſt number are wrought and finiſhed reſpectively by their arts, which a certeine poet hath given us ſecretly to underſtand by theſe verſes,

March on your way ech artiſane
Who live upon your handy-craft,
On foorth I ſay in comely traine,
Your ſacred panniers beare aloft;
You that Ergane *dread and feare*
The daughter grim of Iupiter.

For this *Ergane* (that is to ſay *Minerva*) all artiſanes and artificers acknowledge and honor for their patroneſſe, and not fortune. True it is that the report goes of a certeine painter, who drawing the picture of an horſe, had done verie well in all reſpects, both in portraiture and alſo colours, ſave onely that he pleaſed not himſelfe in painting the fome and ſwelling froth which uſeth to gather about the bit as hee champeth upon the ſame, and ſo falleth from his mouth when he ſnuffeth and bloweth; this I ſay he liked not, neither thought he it workmanly done, inſomuch as hee wiped it out many times and began it a new; but never was it to his mind; at laſt in a pelting chafe becauſe it would frame no better, he takes me his ſpung full as it was of colours, and flang it againſt the table wherein hee wrought; but ſee the woonderfull chance; this ſpunge lighting as it did upon the right place, gave ſuch a print, and daſhed ſo, as that it repreſented the froth that he ſo much deſired moſt lively; and to my remembrance there is not in anie hiſtorie ſet downe an artificiall thing but this that fortune ever did.

Artificers uſe altogether in everie piece of worke, their ſquires, their rules, their lines and leavels; they goe by meaſures and numbers, to the end that in all their workes there ſhould not be any thing found done either raſhly or at aventure. And verily theſe arts are petie kindes of Prudence and ſo called; or rils and riverets flowing from Prudence, or certaine parcels rather of it, ſprinkled and diſperſed among the neceſſities of this life: and thus much is covertly ſignified by the fable of the fire that *Prometheus* divided by ſparkles, which flew ſome heere ſome there; for ſemblahy, the ſmall parcels and fragments of wiſedome, being cut into ſundrie portions, are ranged into their ſeverall ranks and become arts. A woonderfull thing how theſe arts and ſciences ſhould have no dealing with Fortune nor need her helpe, for to attaine unto their proper ends; and yet Prudence which is the greateſt ſoveraigne and moſt perfect of them all, yea and the verie height of all the glorie, reputation, and goodneſſe of man, ſhould be juſt nothing. In the winding up and letting downe of the ſtrings of an inſtrument, there is one kind of wiſdome, and that is called Muſicke; in the dreſſing and ordering of meates and viands there is another, which they name Cookerie; in waſhing and ſcouring of clothes and garments there is a third, to wit, the fullers craft. As for our little children, we teach them to draw on their ſhooes, to make them readie and dreſſe themſelves in their clothes decently, to take meat in their right hand, and to hold bread in the left; an evident argument and proofe, that even ſuch ſmall matters as theſe, depend not of chance and fortune, but require skill and heed taking. Shall we ſay then that the greateſt and moſt principall things that are, even thoſe that be moſt materiall and neceſſarie for mans felicitie, uſe not wiſedome, nor participate one whit with providence and the judgement of reaſon? There is no man ſo blockiſh and voide of underſtanding, that after he hath tempered clay and water together, lets it alone and goeth his way when he hath ſo done, looking that of the owne accord, or by fortune there will be bricks or tiles made thereof: neither is any one ſuch a ſot, as when he hath bought wool & leather, ſits him downe & praies unto fortune, that thereof he may have garments or ſhooes: and is there any man ſo fooliſh thinke you? who having gathered together a great maſſe of gold and ſilver, gotten about him a mightie retinue of ſlaves and ſervants, and being poſſeſſed of divers faire and ſtately houſes with many a doore within and without, and thoſe ſurely locked on everie ſide, having before him in his eieſight a ſort of ſumptuous beds with their rich and coſtly furniture, and of tables moſt precious, will repoſe ſoveraigne felicitie therein, or thinke that all this can make him to live happily, without paine, without grieſe, ſecure of chaunge and alteration, if he have not wiſedome withall?

There was one that cavilled upon a time with Captaine *Iphicrates*, and by way of reproch & minding to proove that he was of no reckoning, demaunded what he was? For (quoth he) you are not a man at armes, nor archer, nor yet targuetier: I am not indeed I confeſſe (quoth *Iphicrates*, but I am he who commaund all theſe, and employ them as occaſion ſerveth; even ſo wiſedome, is neither gold nor ſilver, it is not glorie or riches, it is not health, it is not ſtrength, it is not beautie: what is it then? Surely even that which can skill how to uſe all theſe, and by means whereof each of theſe things is pleaſant, honorable and profitable; and contrariwiſe, without which, they are diſpleaſant, hurtfull and dangerous, working his deſtruction and diſhonor who poſſeſſeth them. And therefore right good counſell gave *Prometheus* in *Heſiodus* to his brother *Epimetheus* in this one point:

Receive no gifts at any time,
which heavenly Iove *ſhall ſend:*
But ſee thou do refuſe them all,
and backe againe them ſend.

Meaning thereby theſe outward goods of fortunes gift, as if he would have ſaid: Goe not about to play upon a Flute, if thou have no knowledge in Muſicke; nor to reade if thou know never a letter in the booke; mount not on horſebacke, unleſſe thou canſt tell how to ſit him and ride; and even ſo he adviſed him thereby, not to ſeeke for office and place of government in common-weale, wanting wit as he did; nor to lay for riches, ſo long as he bare a covetous minde and wiſt not how to be liberall; nor to marrie a wife, for to bee his maiſter and to lead him by the noſe: for not onely wealth and proſperitie hapning above deſert unto unadviſed folke, giveth occaſion (as *Demoſthenes* ſaid) unto them for to commit many follies; but alſo wordly happines beyond all reaſon and demerit, cauſeth ſuch as are not wiſe, to become unhappie and miſerable in the end.

OF ENVIE AND HATRED.

The Summarie.

IN this briefe Treatiſe concerning Envie and Hatred, Plutarch *after he hath ſhewed in generall tearmes, that they be two different vices, and declared withal the properties of the one and the other, prooveth this difference by divers reaſons and arguments ranged in their order: he diſcovereth the nature of envious perſons and malicious; and ſheweth by a proper ſimilitude that the greateſt perſonages in the world, be ſecured from the clawes and pawes of envious perſons, and yet for al that, ceaſe not to have many enemies. And verily it ſeemeth that the Author began this little worke, eſpecially for to beat downe envie, and that the infamie thereof might ſo much more appeere, in comparing and matching it with another deteſtable vice, the which notwithſtanding he ſaith is leſſe enormious than it.*

OF ENVIE AND HATRED.

IT ſeemeth at the firſt ſight, that there is no difference betweene envie and hatred, but that they be both one. For vice (to ſpeake in generall) having (as it were) many hookes or crotchets, by meanes thereof as it ſtirreth to and fro, it yeeldeth unto thoſe paſſions which hang thereto many occaſions and opportunities to catch holde one of another, and ſo to be knit and enterlaced one within the other; and the ſame verily (like unto diſeaſes of the body) have a ſympathie and fellow-feeling one of anothers diſtemperature and inflammation: for thus it commeth to paſſe, that a malicious and ſpightfull man is as much grieved and offended at the proſperitie of another, as the envious perſon: and ſo we holde, that benevolence and good-will is oppoſite unto them both, for that it is an affection of a man, wiſhing good unto his neighbour: and envie in this reſpect reſembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but foraſmuch as no things like to the ſame, and the reſemblances betweene them be not ſo effectuall to make them all one, as the differences to diſtinguiſh them aſunder; let us ſearch and examine the ſaid differences, beginning at the very ſource and originall of theſe paſſions.

Hatred then, is ingendred and ariſeth in our heart upon an imagination and deepe apprehenſion that we conceive of him whom we hate, that either he is naught & wicked in general to every man, or els intending miſchiefe particularly unto our ſelves: for commonly it falleth out, that thoſe who thinke they have received ſome injurie at ſuch an ones hand, are diſpoſed to hate him, yea, and thoſe whom otherwiſe they know to be maliciouſly bent and wont to hurt others, although they have not wronged them, yet they hate and can not abide to looke upon them with patience; whereas ordinarily they beare envie unto ſuch onely as ſeeme to proſper and to live in better ſtate than their neighbours: by which reckoning it ſhould ſeeme that envie is a thing indefinite, much like unto the diſeaſe of the eies *Ophthalmia*, which is offended with the brightneſſe of any light whatſoever; whereas hatred is determinate, being alwaies grounded upon ſome certeine ſubject matters reſpective to it ſelfe, and on them it worketh. Secondly, our hatred doeth extend even to brute beaſts; for ſome you ſhall have, who naturally abhorre and can not abide to ſee cats nor the flies cantharides, nor todes, nor yet ſnakes and any ſuch ſerpents. As for *Germanicus Cæſar*, he could not of all things abide either to ſee a cocke or to heare him crow. The Sages of *Perſia* called their *Magi*, killed all their mice and rats, aſwell for that themſelves could not away with them but deteſted them, as alſo because the god (forſooth) whom they worſhipped, had them in horror. And in trueth, all the Arabians and Aethiopians generally, holde them abominable. But envie properly is betweene man and man; neither is there any likelihood at all, that there ſhould be imprinted envie in ſavage creatures one againſt another; becauſe they have not this imagination and apprehenſion, that another is either fortunate or unfortunate, neither be they touched with any ſenſe of honour or diſhonour; which is the thing that principally and moſt of all other giveth an edge, and whetteth on envie; whereas it is evident that they hate one another, they beare malice and mainteine enmitie, nay, they go to warre as againſt thoſe that be diſloiall, treacherous, and ſuch as are not to be truſted: for in this wiſe doe eagles warre with dragons, crowes with owles, and the little nonnet or tit-mouſe fighteth with the linnet, inſomuch, as by report, the very bloud of them after they be killed, will not mingle together; and that which is more, if you ſeeme to mixe them, they will ſeparate and run apart againe one from the other: and by all likelihood, the hatred that the lion hath to the cocke, and the elephant alſo unto an hogge, proceedeth from feare: for lightly that which creatures naturally feare, the ſame they alſo hate; ſo that herein alſo a man may aſſigne and note the difference betweene envie and hatred, for that the nature of beaſts is capable of the one but not of the other.

Over and beſides, no man deſerveth juſtly to be envied: for to be in proſperitie and in better ſtate than another, is no wrong or injurie offered to any perſon; and yet this is it for which men be envied; whereas contrariwiſe, many are hated worthily, ſuch as thoſe whom in Greeke we call ἀξιομισήτους, that is to ſay, worthy of publike hatred, as alſo as many as do not flie from ſuch, deteſt them not nor abhorre their companie. And a great argument to verifie this point, may be gathered from hence, namely, in that ſome there be who confeſſe and take it upon them, that they hate many; but no man will be knowen that he envieth any: for in trueth, the hatred of wicked perſons and of wickedneſſe, is commended as a quallitie in men praiſe-woorthy. And to this purpoſe ſerveth well that which was ſaid of *Charillus*, who reigned in *Sparta*, and was *Lycurgus* his brothers ſonne, whom when there were certeine that commended for a man of milde behaviour and of a relenting and gentle nature: And how can it be (quoth he who was joined with him in the roiall government) that *Charillus* ſhould be good, ſeeing he is not ſharpe and rigorous to the wicked. And the Poet *Homer* deſcribing the deformitie of *Therſytes* his bodie, depainted his defects and imperfections in ſundrie parts of his perſon, and by many circumlocutions; but his perverſe nature and crooked conditions he ſet downe briefly and in one word in this wiſe:

> *Worthy* Achilles *of all the hoſt*
> *And ſage* Ulyſſes, *he hated moſt.*

for he could not chuſe but be ſtarke naught and wicked in the higheſt degree, who was ſo full of hatred unto the beſt men. As for thoſe who denie that they are envious, in caſe they be convinced manifeſtly therein, they have a thouſand pretenſes and excuſes therefore, alledging that they are angry with the man, or ſtand in feare of him whom indeed they beare envie unto, or that they hate him, colouring and cloaking this paſſion of envie with the vaile of any other whatſoever for to hide and cover it, as if it were the only malady of the ſoule, that would be concealed and diſſembled. It cannot chuſe therefore, but that theſe two paſſions be nouriſhed and grow as plants of one kinde, by the ſame meanes, conſidering that naturally they ſucceed one the other: howbeit, wee rather hate thoſe that be given more to leawdneſſe and wickedneſſe, and we envy ſuch rather who ſeeme to excel others in vertue. And therfore *Themiſtocles* (being but a youth) gave out and ſaid, that he had done nothing notable, becauſe as yet he was not envied: for like as the flies cantharides ſettle principally upon that wheat which is the faireſt and come to full perfection; and likewiſe ſticke unto the roſes that are moſt out, and in the verie pride of their flowring; even ſo envie taketh commonly unto the beſt conditioned perſons, and to ſuch as are growing to the height of vertue and honour: whereas contrariwiſe the leawdeſt qualities that be, and wicked in the higheſt degree doe mightily moove and augment hatred: and heereupon it was that the Athenians had them in ſuch deteſtable hatred, and abhorred them ſo deadly, who by their ſlanderous imputations brought good *Socrates* their fellow-citizen to his death, inſomuch as they would not vouchſafe either to give them a coale or two of fire, or light their candles, or deine them an anſwer when they asked a queſtion; nay they would not waſh or bathe together with them in the ſame water, but commanded thoſe ſervitours in the baines which were called *Parachytæ*, that is to ſay, drawers and laders of water into the bathing veſſels, to let foorth that as polluted and defiled, wherein they had waſhed; whereupon they ſeeing themſelves thus excommunicate and not able to endure this publike hatred which they had incurred, being wearie of their lives, hung and ſtrangled themſelves. On the contrary ſide it is often ſeene, that the excellency of vertue, honor and glory, and the extraordinarie ſucceſſe of men is ſo much, that it doth extinguiſh and quench all envie. For it is not a likely or credible matter that any man bare envie unto *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, after they were become the onely lords and monarches of the whole world: but like as the ſunne when he is directly and plumb over the head or top of any thing, cauſeth either no ſhadow at all, or the ſame very ſmall and ſhort by the reaſon that his light overſpreadeth round about; even ſo when the proſperitie of a man is come to the higheſt point and have gotten over the head of envie, then the ſaid envie retireth and is either gone altogether, or elſe drawen within a little roome by reaſon of that brightneſſe over-ſpreading it: but contrariwiſe the grandence of fortune and puiſſance in the enimies, doth not one jot abreviate or allay the hatred of their evill willers; and that this is true, may appeere by the example of *Alexander* aboue named, who had not one that envied him, but many enimies he found and thoſe malicious, and by them in the end he was traiterouſly for-laied and murdered.

Semblably, adverſities may well ſtaie envie and cauſe it ceaſe, but enmitie and hatred they do not aboliſh; for men never give over to deſpite their enimies, no not when they are brought lowe and oppreſſed with calamities; whereas you ſhall not ſee one in miſerie envied. But moſt true is that ſaying found of a certeine ſophiſter or great profeſſour in our daies: That envious perſons of all other be ever pittifull and delight moſt in commiſeration: ſo that heerein lieth one of the greateſt differences betweene theſe two paſſions; that hatred departeth not from thoſe perſons of whom it hath once taken hold, neither in the proſperitie nor adverſitie of thoſe whom they hate; whereas envie doth avoid and vaniſh away to nothing upon extremitie aſwell of the one as the other.

Over and beſides we may the better diſcover the difference alſo of them by the contraries: for hatred, enmitie, and malice ceaſe preſently ſo ſoone as a man is perſwaded that he hath caught no harme nor ſuſteined injurie by the party; or when he hath conceived an opinion that ſuch as he hated for their leawdneſſe are reformed and become honeſt men; or thirdly if he have received ſome pleaſure or good turne at their hand: for evermore the laſt favor that is ſhewed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) though it be leſſe than many others, yet if it come in ſeaſon and a good time, is able to do out a greater offence taken before. Now of theſe three cauſes before ſpecified, the firſt doth not waſh away envie; for ſay that men were perſwaded at the firſt that they received no wrong at all, yet they give not over for all that to beare envie ſtill: and as for the two later they do irritate and provoke it the rather: for ſuch as they eſteeme men of qualitie and good woorth, thoſe they doe eie-bite more than before, as having vertue the greateſt good that is; and notwithſtanding that they do reape commoditie & find favour at their hands, who proſper more than they; yet they grieve and vexe thereat, envying them ſtill both for their good mind to benefit them, and for their might and abilitie to performe the ſame; for that the one proceedeth from vertue, and the other from an happie eſtate, both which are good things.

We may therefore conclude, that envie is a paſſion farre different from hatred, ſince it is ſo that wherewith the one is appeaſed and mollified, the other is made more exaſperate and greevous. But let us conſider a little in the end the ſcope and intention aſwel of the one as the other: Certes the man that is malicious, purpoſeth fully to do him a miſchieſe whom he hateth; ſo that this paſſion is defined to be a diſpoſition and forward will to ſpie out an occaſion & opportunitie to wait another a ſhrewd turne; but ſurely this is not in envie: for many there be who have an envious eie to their kinsfolke and companions, whom they would not for all the good in the world ſee either to periſh or to fall into any greevous calamitie; onely they are greeved to ſee them in ſuch proſperitie, and would impeach what they can their power, and ecclypſe the brightneſſe of their glorie; mary they would not procure nor deſire their utter overthrow, nor any diſtreſſes remedileſſe or extreame miſeries; but it would content and ſuffice them to take downe their height, and as it were the upmoſt garret or turret of an high houſe which overlooketh them.

HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE PROFIT BY HIS ENEMIES.

The Summarie.

Among the dangerous effects of envie and hatred, this is not the leaſt nor one of the laſt, that they ſhoot (as it were) from within our adverſaries, for to ſlide and enter into us and take poſſeſſion in our hearts, making us beleeve that we ſhall impeach one evill by another; which is as much as to deſire to cleanſe one ordure by a new, and to quench a great fire by putting into it plentie of oile. As for hatred it hath another effect nothing leſſe pernicious, in that it maketh us blinde, and cauſeth us that we can not tell at which end or turning to take our enemies, nor know our ſelves how to reenter into the way of vertue. Plutarch *willing to cut off ſuch effects by the helpe of morall Philoſophie, taketh occaſion to begin this diſcourſe with a ſentence of* Xenophon; *and prooveth in the firſt place by divers ſimilitudes: That a man may take profit by his enemies: and this he laieth abroad in particulars, ſhewing that their ambuſhes and inquiſitions*

inquiſitions ſerve us in very great ſtead. After this, he teacheth us the true way how to be revenged of thoſe that hate us, and what we ought to conſider in blaming another. Now foraſmuch as our life is ſubject to many injuries and calumniations, he inſtructeth us how a man may turne all to his owne commoditie: which done, he preſenteth foure remedies and expedient meanes againſt their ſlanderous language, and how we ſhould confound our enemies: The firſt is, To conteine our owne tongues, without rendring evill for evill: the ſecond is, To doe them good, to love and praiſe their vertues: the third, To out-goe them in well doing: and the laſt, To provide that vertue remaine alwaies on our ſide, in ſuch ſort, that if our enemies be vicious, yet we perſiſt in doing good; and if they cary ſome ſhew and apparence of goodneſſe, we endevour to be indeed and without all compariſon better than they.

HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE profit by his enemies.

I See that you have choſen by your ſelfe (ô *Cornelius Pulcher*) the meeteſt courſe that may be in the government of common-wealth; wherein having a principall regard unto the weale-publike, you ſhew your ſelfe moſt gracious and courteous in private to all thoſe that have acceſſe and repaire unto you. Now foraſmuch as a man may well finde ſome countrey in the world, wherein there is no venimous beaſt, as it is written of *Candie*, but the management and adminiſtration of State affaires was never knowen yet to this day cleere from envie, jealouſie, emulation and contention, paſſions of all other moſt apt to engender and breed enmities, unto which it is ſubject; for that if there were nothing els, even amity & friendſhip it ſelfe is enough to entangle and encomber us with enmities; which wiſe *Chilon* the Sage knowing well enough, demanded upon a time of one (who vaunted that he had no enemies) whether he had not a friend. In regard hereof a man of State and policie, in mine opinon (among many other things wherein he ought to be well ſtudied) ſhould alſo thorowly know what belongeth to the having of enemies, and give good eare unto the ſaying of *Xenophon*, namely: That a man of wit and underſtanding is to make his profit and benefit by his enemies. And therefore having gathered into a pretie Treatiſe, that which came into my minde of late to diſcourſe and diſpute upon this matter, I have ſent unto you written and penned in the very ſame tearmes as they were delivered, having this eie and regard as much as poſſible I could, not to repeat any thing of that which heretofore I had written touching the politike precepts of governing the weale publike, for that I ſee that you have that booke often in your hand.

Our fore-fathers in the olde world contented themſelves in this: That they might not be wounded or hurt by ſtrange and ſavage beaſts brought from forren countreys, and this was the end of all thoſe combats that they had againſt ſuch wilde beaſts; but thoſe who came after, have learned moreover, how to make uſe of them; not onely take order to keepe themſelves from receiving any harme or dammage by them; but (that which more is) have the skill to draw ſome commoditie from them, feeding of their fleſh, clothing their bodies with their wooll and haire, curing and healing their maladies with their gall & rennet, arming themſelves with their hides and skinnes; inſomuch as now from henceforth, it is to be feared (and not without good cauſe) leſt if beaſts ſhould faile, and that there were none to be found of men, their life ſhould become brutiſh, poore, needie and ſavage. And ſince it is ſo, that whereas other men thinke it ſufficient not to be offended or wronged by their enemies, *Xenophon* writeth: That the wiſe reape commodity by their adverſaries; we have no reaſon to derogate any thing from his credit, but to beleeve him in ſo ſaying, yea, and we ought to ſearch for the method & art to attaine and reach unto that benefit, as many of us (at leaſt-wiſe) as can not poſſibly live in this world without enemies. The husbandman is not able with all his skill to make all ſort of trees to caſt off their wilde nature, and become gentle and domeſticall. The hunter can not with all his cunning, make tame and tractable all the ſavage beaſts of the forreſt; and therefore they have ſought and deviſed other meanes and uſes to make the beſt of them; the one finding good in barren and fruitleſſe plants, the other in wilde and ſavage beaſts. The water of the ſea is not potable, but brackiſh and hurtful unto us, howbeit, fiſhes are nouriſhed therewith, and it ſerveth mans turne alſo to tranſport paſſengers (as in a waggon) into all parts, and to carrie whatſoever a man will. When the Satyre would have kiſſed and embraced fire the firſt time that ever he ſaw it, *Prometheus* admoniſhed him and ſaid:

Thou wilt bewaile thy goats-beard ſoone,
If thou it touch, t'will burne anon.

but it yeeldeth light and heat, and is an inſtrument ſerving all arts, to as many as know how to uſe it well; ſemblably, let us conſider and ſee whether an enemy being otherwiſe harmefull and intractable, or at leaſt-wiſe hard to be handled, may not in ſome ſort yeeld as it were a handle to take hold by, for to touch & uſe him ſo as he may ſerve our turne and miniſter unto us ſome cõmodity. For many things there are beſides, which be odious, troubleſome, comberous, hurtfull and contrarie unto thoſe that have them or come neere unto them; and yet you ſee that the verie maladies of the bodie give good occaſion unto ſome for to live at reſt and repoſe; I meane ſequeſtred from affairs abroad, & the travailes preſented unto others by fortune, have ſo exerciſed them that they are become thereby ſtrong and hardy: and to ſay more yet, baniſhment and loſſe of goods, hath beene the occaſion unto divers, yea and a ſingular means to give themſelves to their quiet ſtudie & to philoſophie; like as *Diogenes* and *Crates* did in times paſt. *Zeno* himſelfe when newes came unto him that his ſhip wherein he did venture and trafficke was ſplit and caſt away: Thou haſt done well by me fortune (quoth he) to drive me againe to my ſcholars weed. For like as thoſe living creatures which are of a moſt ſound and healthfull conſtitution, & have beſides ſtrong ſtomacks, are able to concoct & digeſt the ſerpents & ſcorpions which they devoure; nay ſome of them there be which are nouriſhed of ſtones, ſcales, and ſhels, converting the ſame into their nutriment by the ſtrength and vehement heat of their ſpirits; whereas ſuch as be delicate, tender, ſoft, and craſie, are ready to caſt and vomit if they taſte a little bread onely, or doe but ſip of wine; even ſo fooliſh folke doe marre and corrupt even friendſhip and amitie; but thoſe that are wiſe can skill how to uſe enmities to their commoditie, and make them ſerve their turnes. Firſt and formoſt therefore in my conceit, that which in enmitie is moſt hurtfull, may turne to be moſt profitable unto ſuch as be warie and can take good heed: and what is that you will ſay? Thine enimie as thou knoweſt well enough watcheth continually, ſpying and prying into all thine actions, he goeth about viewing thy whole life, to ſee where he may finde any vantage to take hold of thee, and where thou lieſt open that he may aſſaile and ſurpriſe thee; his ſight is ſo quicke that it pierceth not onely through an oke, as *Lynceus* did, or ſtones and ſhels; but alſo it goeth quite through thy friend, thy domeſticall ſervants, yea and every familiar of thine with whom thou daily doeſt converſe, for to diſcover as much as poſſibly he can what thou doeſt or goeſt about; he ſoundeth and ſearcheth by undermining and ſecret waies what thy deſſeignes & purpoſes be. As for our friends, it chaunceth many times that they fall extreme ſicke, yea and die thereupon before we know of it, whiles we defer and put off from day to day to go and viſit them, or make ſmall reckoning of them; but as touching our enimies we are ſo obſervant, that we curiouſly enquire & hearken even after their very dreames; the diſeaſes, the debts, the hard uſage of men to their owne wives, and the untoward life betweene them, are many times more unknowen unto thoſe whom they touch and concerne, than unto their enimie: but above all, he ſticketh cloſe unto thy faults, inquiſitive he is after them and thoſe he traceth eſpecially: and like as the gaies or vultures flie unto the ſtinking ſent of dead carions and putrified carcaſes, but they have no ſmell or ſent at all of bodies ſound and whole; even ſo thoſe parts of our life which are diſeaſed, naught and ill affected, be they that move an enemie; to theſe leape they in great haſte who are our ill willers, theſe they ſeize upon, and are ready to worry and plucke in peeces; and this it is that profiteth us moſt, in that it compelleth us to live orderly, to looke unto our ſteps that we tread not awry, that we neither do or ſay ought inconſiderately or raſhly; but alwaies keepe our life unblameable, as if we obſerved a moſt ſtrict and exquiſite diet; and verily this heedfull caution repreſſing the violent paſſions of our minde in this ſort, and keeping reaſon at home within dores, engendreth a certeine ſtudious deſire, an intention and will to live uprightly and without touch: for like as thoſe cities by ordinary warres with their neighbour cities, and by continuall expeditions and voiages, learning to be wiſe, take a love at length unto good lawes and ſound government of ſtate; even ſo they that by occaſion of enmity be forced to live ſoberly, to ſave themſelves from the imputation of idleneſſe and negligence, yea, and to do everie thing with diſcretion and to a good and profitable end, through uſe and cuſtome ſhall be brought by little and little (ere they be aware) unto a certeine ſetled habit that they cannot lightly trip and do amiſſe, having their manners framed in paſſing good order, with tho leaſt helping hand of reaſon and knowledge beſide; for they who have evermore readily before their eies this ſentence:

This were alone for Priamus,
and his ſonnes likewiſe all,
Oh how would they rejoice at heart,
in caſe this ſhould befall.

certes would quickly be diverted, turned and withdrawne from ſuch things, whereat their enimies are wont to joy and laugh a good: ſee we not many times ſtage plaiers, chanters, muſicians and ſuch artificers in open threaters, who ſerve for the celebration of any ſolemnitie unto *Bacchus* or other gods, to play their parts careleſſely, to come unprovided, and to carie themſelves I know not how negligently, nothing forward to ſhew their cunning and doe their beſt, when they are by themſelves alone and no other of their owne profeſſion in place? but if it chance that there be emulation and contention betweene them and other concurrents who ſhall do beſt; then you ſhall ſee them not onely to come better prepared themſelves, but alſo with their inſtruments in very good order; then ſhall you perceive how they will beſtir themſelves in trying their ſtrings, in tuning their inſtruments more exactly, & in fitting every thing about their flutes and pipes, and aſſaying them. Hee then who knoweth that he hath an enimie ready and provided to be the concurrent in his life, and the rivall of his honour and reputation, will looke better to his waies and ſtand upon his owne guard; he will (I ſay) ſit faſt and looke circumſpectly about him to all matters, ordering his life and behaviour in better ſort: for this is one of the properties of vice, that when we have offended and treſpaſſed, we have more reverence and ſtand rather in awe of our enemies leſt we be ſhamed by them than of our friends. And therefore *Scipio Naſica* when ſome there were that both thought and gave out that the Romane eſtate was not ſetled and in ſafetie, conſidering that the Carthaginians who were wont to make head againſt them and keepe them occupied, were now vanquiſhed and defeated, the Athenians likewiſe ſubdued and brought under ſubjection: Nay mary (quoth he) for it is cleane contrarie, and even now are we in greateſt danger, being at this paſſe that we have left our ſelves none to feare, none to reverence.

And hereto moreover, accordeth well the anſwere that *Diogenes* made, like a Philoſopher and a man of State indeed: One asked him how he ſhould be revenged of his enemie: Marie (quoth he) by being a vertuous and honeſt man thy ſelfe. Men ſeeing the horſes of their enemies highly accounted of, or their hounds praiſed and commended, do grieve thereat, if they perceive alſo their land well tilled and husbanded, or their gardens in good order, freſh and flowring, they fetch a ſigh and ſorrow for the matter. What (thinke you then) will your enemie do? how will he fare, when you ſhall be ſeene a juſt man, wiſe and prudent, honeſt and ſober, in words well adviſed and commendable, in deeds pure and cleane, in diet neat and decent?

Reaping the fruit of wiſdome and prudence,
Sowen in deepe furrow of heart and conſcience,
From whence there ſpring and bud continually
Counſels full ſage, with fruits abundantly.

Pindarus the Poet ſaid: That thoſe who are vanquiſhed and put to foile, are ſo tongue-tied, that they can not ſay a word; howbeit, this is not ſimply true, nor holdeth in all, but in ſuch as perceive themſelves overcome by their enemies, in dilligence, goodneſſe, magnanimity, humanity, bounty and beneficence: for theſe be the things (as *Demoſthenes* ſaith) which ſtent the tongue, cloſe up the mouth, ſtop the wind-pipes and the breath, and in one word, cauſe men to be ſilent and dumbe.

Reſemble not leawd folke, but them out-goe
In vertuous deeds, for this thou maiſt well doe.

Wouldeſt thou doe thine enemie who hateth thee a great diſpleaſure in deed? Never call him by way of reproch, buggerer, wanton, laſcivious, ruffian, ſcurrile ſcoffer, or covetous micher; but take order with thy ſelfe to be an honeſt man every way, chaſte, continent, true in deed and word, courteous and juſt to all thoſe that deale with thee: but if thou be driven to let fall an opprobrious ſpeech, and to revile thine enemy, then take thou great heed afterwards that thou come not neere in any wiſe to thoſe vices which thou reprocheſt him with, enter into thy ſelfe, and examine thine owne conſcience, ſearch all the corners thereof, looke that there be not in thy ſoule ſome putrified matter and rotten corruption, for feare leſt thine owne vice within may hit thee home, and requite thee againe with this verſe out of the tragicall Poet:

A leech he is, others to cure,
Peſtred himſelfe with ſores impure.

If thou chance to upbraid thine enemie with ignorance, and call him unlearned, take thou greater paines at thy booke, love thou thy ſtudie better, and get more learning: if thou twit him with cowardiſe, and name him daſtard, ſtirre up the vigour of thine owne courage the rather, and ſhew thy ſelfe a man ſo much the more: haſt thou given him the tearmes of beaſtly whoremaſter or laſcivious lecher, wipe out of thy heart the leaſt taint and ſpot that remaineth hidden therein of concupiſcence and ſenſuallitie; for nothing is there more ſhamefull or cauſeth greater griefe of heart, than an opprobrious and reprochfull ſpeech returned juſtly upon the author thereof. And as it ſeemeth that the reverberation of a light doth more offence unto the feeble eies; even ſo thoſe reproches which are retorted and ſent backe againe by the trueth, upon a man that blaſed them before, are more offenſive: for no leſſe than the North-eaſt winde *Cæcias* doth gather unto it clouds; ſo doth a bad life draw unto it opprobrious ſpeeches; which *Plato* knowing well enough, whenſoever he was preſent in place, and ſaw other men do any unſeemly or diſhoneſt thing, was woont to retire apart, and ſay thus ſecretly unto himſelfe: *Doe not I alſo labour other-while of this diſeaſe?* Moreover, he that hath blamed and reproched the life of another, if preſently withall he would goe and examine his owne, reforming the ſame accordingly, redreſſing and amending all that he findes amiſſe, untill he have brought it to a better ſtate, ſhall receive ſome profit by that reproving and reviling of his; otherwiſe it may both ſeeme (as it is no leſſe indeed) a vaine and unprofitable thing. Commonly men cannot chooſe but laugh when they ſee either a bald-pate or a bunch-backe to taunt and ſcoffe at others for the ſame defects or deformities; and ſo in trueth, it were a ridiculous thing and a meere mockerie, to blame or reproch another in that, for which he may be mocked and reproched himſelfe. Thus *Leo* the Byzantine cut one home that was crumpt-ſhoulderd and buncht-backt, when he ſeemed to hit him in the teeth with his dimme and feeble eie-ſight: Doeſt thou twit me (quoth he) by any imperfection of nature incident unto a man, when as thy ſelfe art marked from heaven, and carieſt the divine vengeance upon thy backe? Never then reproove thou an adulterer, if thy ſelfe be an uncleane wanton with boies; nor ſeeme thou to upbraid one with prodigalitie, if thou be a covetous miſer thy ſelfe. *Alcmæon* reviled *Adraſtus* (upon a time) in this wiſe: Thou

A ſiſter haſt by parents twaine,
Whoſe hands her husband deare have ſlaine.

But what anſwered *Adraſtus*? He objected not unto him the crime of another, but paieth him home with his owne, after this maner:

But thou thy ſelfe haſt murdered
Thine owne kinde mother, who thee bred.

In like ſort, when *Domitius* (upon a time) ſeemed to reproch *Craſſus*, ſaying: Is it not true, that when your lamprey was dead which was kept full deintily for you in a ſtew, you wept therefore? *Craſſus* preſently came upon him againe with this bitter reply: And is it not true, that you when you followed three wives of yours one after another to their funerall fire, never ſhed teare for the matter? It is not ſo requiſit or neceſſarie iwis (as the vulgar ſort doe thinke) that hee who checketh and rebuketh another, ſhould have a ready wit of his owne, and a naturall gift in doing it, or a loud and big voice, or an audacious and bold face; no, but ſuch an one he ought to be, that cannot be noted and taxed with any vice: for it ſhould ſeeme that *Apollo* addreſſed this precept of his [*Know thy ſelfe*] to no perſon ſo much as to him who would blame and finde fault with another; for feare leſt ſuch men, in ſpeaking to others what they would, heare that againe which they would not. For it happeneth ordinarily as *Sophocles* ſaith: That ſuch an one

Who lets his tongue runne fooliſhly,
In noting others bitterly,
Shall heare himſelfe (unwillingly)
The words he gave ſo wilfully.

Lo what commoditie and profit enſueth upon reproching an enemie.

Neither commeth there leſſe good and aduantage unto a man by being reproched by another, and hearing himſelfe reviled by his enemies: and therefore it was well and truely ſaide of *Antiſthenes*, that ſuch men as would be ſaved and become honeſt, another day ought of neceſſitie to have either good friends, or moſt ſpitefull and bitter enemies: for as they with their kind remonſtrances and admonitions; ſo theſe with their reprochfull tearmes were like to reforme their ſinfull life. But foraſmuch as amity and friendſhip now adaies ſpeaketh with a ſmall and low voice when faults ſhould freely be reprooved, and is very audible and full of words in flattering, altogether mute and dumbe in rebukes and chaſtiſements; but what remaineth now but that we ſhould heare the truth from the mouth of our enemies? much like unto *Telephus*, who for default of a phyſician that was a friend to cure him, was forced to commit his wound or ulcer to the iron head of his enemies ſpeare for to be healed; and even ſo thoſe that have no well willers that dare freely reprove their faults, muſt perforce endure with patience the ſtinging tongue of their enemie and evill willer in chaſtiſing and rebuking their vices, not regarding ſo much the intent and meaning of the ill ſpeaker, as the thing it ſelfe, and the matter that he ſpeaketh; and looke how he who enterpriſed the killing of *Prometheus* the Theſſalian, ran him ſo deepe with his ſword into the impoſtume or ſwelling botch which he had about him, that he let foorth the corruption, and ſaved his life by the breaking and iſſue thereof; even ſo for all the world it falleth out many times, that a reprochfull ſpeech delivered in anger or upon evill will is the cauſe of healing ſome maladie of the ſoule, either hidden or unknowne altogether, or elſe neglected: but the moſt part of thoſe who are in this maner reproched, never conſider whether the vice wherewith they are touched be in them or no, but they looke rather if they can finde ſome other vice to object unto him, who hath thus chalenged them; and much like unto wreſtlers, they never wipe away their owne duſt, that is to ſay, the reproches that be faſtned upon themſelves, and wherewith they be defamed, but they beſtrew one another with duſt, and afterwards trip up one anothers heeles, and tumble downe one upon another, weltering in the ſame, and ſoiling one another therewith: whereas indeed it behooved rather that a man when he findeth himſelfe tainted by his enemie, to endevour for to do away that vice wherewith he is noted and defamed, much rather than to fetch out any ſpot or ſteine out of his garment, which hath beene ſhewed him: and although there be charged upon us ſome ſlanderous imputation that is not true; yet nevertheleſſe we are to ſearch into the occaſion whereupon ſuch an opprobrious ſpeech might ariſe and proceed, yea and take heed we muſt and feare, leſt ere we be aware we commit the like or come neere unto that which hath beene objected unto us. Thus for example ſake *Lacydes* king of the Argives, for that hee did weare his haire curiouſly ſet, in maner of a perruke, and becauſe his gate or maner of going, ſeemed more delicate and nice than ordinary, grew into an ill name and obloquy of effeminate wantonneſſe. And *Pompeius* the great could not avoid the like ſuſpicion, becauſe he uſed otherwhiles to ſcratch his head with one finger onely, and yet otherwiſe he was ſo farre from feminine wantonneſſe and incontinence as any man in the world. *Craſſus* was accuſed for to have had carnall companie with one of the religious nuns or votaries of *Veſta*, for that being deſirous to purchaſe of her a faire peece of land and houſe of pleaſure which ſhe had, he reſorted oftentimes privately unto her, ſpake with her apart, and perhaps made court unto her for to have her good wil in that reſpect onely. *Poſthumia* likewiſe another veſtall virgin, for that ſhe was given much to laugh upon a ſmall occaſion, and withall would not ſticke to enterteine talke with men, more boldly peradventure than became a maiden of her profeſſion, was ſo deepely ſuſpected of incontinence, that ſhe was brought judicially into queſtion about it, howbeit found unguilty, and acquit ſhe was; but when *Spurius Minutius* the high-prieſt for the time being, aſſoiled her and pronounced the ſentence of her abſolution, minding to diſmiſſe her of the court, he gave her a gentle admonition by the way, that from thence forward ſhe ſhould forbeare to uſe any words leſſe modeſt & chaſte then the cariage of her life was. *Themiſtocles* likewiſe notwithſtanding he was moſt innocent indeed, was called into queſtion for treaſon, becauſe he interteined amitie with *Pauſanias*, ſent and wrote oftentimes unto him, and ſo by that meanes gave ſuſpicion that he minded to betray all *Greece*. When as therefore thou art charged with a falſe crimination by thine enemie, thou muſt not neglect it and make ſmal account thereof becauſe it is not true, but rather looke about thee and examine what hath beene done or ſaid, either by thee or anie one of thoſe who affect and love thee, or converſe with thee, ſounding and tending any way to that imputation which might give occaſion or likelihood thereof, and carefully to beware and avoid the ſame: for if by adverſe and heavy fortune whereunto others have inconſiderately fallen, they are deerely taught what is good for them, as *Merope* ſaith in one tragedie:

Fortune hath taken for her ſalarie,
My deereſt goods of which I am bereft,
But me ſhe taught by that great miſerie
For to be wiſe, and ſo ſhe hath me left.

What ſhould let or hinder us, but that we may learne by a maſter that coſteth us nought, nor taketh nothing for his teaching (even our enemie) to profit and learne ſomewhat that we knew not before? for an enemie perceiveth and findeth in us many things more than a friend, by reaſon that (as *Plato* ſaith) That which loveth is alwaies blinde in the thing that is loved; whereas he who hateth us, beſides that he is very curious and inquiſitive into our imperfections, he is not meale mouthed (as they ſay) nor will ſpare to ſpeake, but is ready enough to divulge and blaſe all abroad. King *Hiero* chanced upon a time being at words with one of his enemies to be tolde in reprochfull maner by him of his ſtinking breath; whereupon being ſomewhat diſmaied in himſelfe, he was no ſooner returned home to his owne houſe, but he chid his wife: How comes this to paſſe (quoth he?) what ſay you to it? how hapneth it that you never told me of it? the woman being a ſimple, chaſte, & harmleſſe dame: Sir (ſaith ſhe) I had thought all mens breath had ſmelled ſo. Thus it is plaine, that ſuch faults as be object and evident to the ſenſes, groſſe and corporall, or otherwiſe notorious to the world, we know by our enemies ſooner than by our friends and familiars.

Over and beſides, as touching the continence and holding of the tongue, which is not the leaſt point of vertue, it is not poſſible for a man to rule it alwaies, and bring it within the compaſſe and obedience of reaſon, unleſſe by uſe and exerciſe, by long cuſtome and painfull labour he have tamed and maſtered the woorſt paſſions of the ſoule, ſuch as anger is: for a word that hath eſcaped us againſt our willes, which we would gladly have kept in; of which, *Homer* ſaith thus:

Out of the mouth a word did fly
For all the range of teeth faſt-by.

And a ſpeech that we let fall at aventure (a thing hapning often-times, and eſpecially unto thoſe whoſe ſpirits are not well exerciſed, and who want experience, who runne out, as it were, and breake forth into paſſions) this (I ſay) is ordinary with ſuch as be haſtie and cholerike, whoſe judgement is not ſetled and ſtaied, or who are given to a licentious courſe of life: for ſuch a word, being (as divine *Plato* ſaith) the lighteſt thing in the world, both gods and men have many a time paied a moſt grievous and heavie penalty; whereas Silence is not only (as *Hippocrates* ſaith) good againſt thirſt, but alſo is never called to account, nor amerced to pay any fine; and that which more is, in the bearing and putting up of taunts and reproches, there is obſerved in it a kinde of gravitie beſeeming the perſon of *Socrates*, or rather the magnanimity of *Hercules*, if it be true that the Poet ſaid of him:

Of bitter words he leſſe account did make
Than doth the flie, which no regard doth take.

Neither verily is there a thing of greater gravitie, or ſimply better, than to heare a malicious enemie to revile, and yet not to be moved nor grow into paſſions therewith,

But to paſſe-by a man that loves to raile,
As rocke in ſea, by which we ſwimme or ſaile.

Moreover, a greater effect will enſue upon this exerciſe of patience, if thou canſt accuſtome thy ſelfe to heare with ſilence thine enemie whiles he doth revile; for being acquainted therewith, thou ſhalt the better endure the violent fits of a curſt and ſhrewd wife chiding at home; to heare alſo without trouble the ſharpe words of friend or brother; and if it chance that father or mother let flie bitter rebukes at thee or beat thee, thou wilt ſuffer all, and never ſhew thy ſelfe diſpleaſed and angrie with them. For *Socrates* was woont to abide at home *Xanthippe* his wife, a perillous ſhrewd woman and hard to be pleaſed, to the end that he might with more eaſe converſe with others, being uſed to endure her curſtneſſe. But much better it were for a man to come with a minde prepared and exerciſed before-hand with hearing the ſcoffes, railing language, angrie taunts, outragious and foule words of enemies and ſtrangers, and that without anger and ſhew of diſquietneſſe, than of his domeſticall people within his owne houſe. Thus you ſee how a man may ſhew his meekneſſe and patience in enmities; and as for ſimplicity, magnanimitie and a good nature in deed, it is more ſeene here than in friendſhip: for it is not ſo honeſt and commendable to do good unto a friend, as diſhoneſt, not to ſuccour him when he ſtandeth in need and requeſteth it.

Moreover, to forbeare to be revenged of an enemie if opportunitie and occaſion is offered, and to let him goe when he is in thy hands, is a point of great humanitie and courteſie; but him that hath compaſſion of him whē he is fallen into adverſity, ſuccoreth him in diſtreſſe, at his requeſt

queſt is ready for to ſhew good will to his children, and an affection to ſuſteine the ſtate of his houſe and familie being in affliction; whoſoever doth not love for this kindneſſe, nor praiſe the goodneſſe of his nature.

Of colour blacke (no doubt) and tincture ſweart,
Wrought of ſtiffe ſteele or yron he hath an heart,
Or rather forg'd out of the Diament,
Which will not ſtirre hereat, nor once relent.

Cæſar commanded that the ſtatues erected in the honour of *Pompeius*, which had bene beaten downe and overthrowen, ſhould be ſet up againe; for which act *Cicero* ſaid thus unto him: In rearing the images of *Pompeius*, ô *Cæſar*, thou haſt pitched and erected thine owne. And therefore we ought not to be ſparie of praiſe and honour in the behalfe of an enemie eſpecially when he deſerveth the ſame; for by this meanes the partie that praiſeth ſhall winne the greater praiſe himſelfe; and beſides, if it happen againe that he blame the ſaid enemie, his accuſation ſhall be the better taken, and carie the more credit, for that he ſhall be thought not ſo much to hate the perſon as diſallow and miſlike his action.

But the moſt profitable and goodlieſt matter of all, is this: That he who is accuſtomed to praiſe his enemies, and neither to grieve or envie at their well-fare, ſhall the better abide the proſperitie of his friend, and be furtheſt off from envying his familiars in any good ſucceſſe or honour that by well-doing they have atchieved. And is there any other exerciſe in the world, that can bring greater profit unto our ſoules, or worke a better diſpoſition and habit in them, than that which riddeth us of emulation and the humour of envie? For like as in a city, wherein there be many things neceſſarie, though otherwiſe ſimply evill, after they have once taken ſure footing, and are by cuſtome eſtabliſhed in maner of a law, men ſhall hardly remove and aboliſh, although they have bene hurt and endammaged thereby; even ſo enmity, together with hatred and malice, bringeth in envie, jealouſie, contentment and pleaſure in the harme of an enemie, remembrance of wrongs received, and offences paſſed, which it leaveth behinde in the ſoule, when it ſelfe is gone; over and beſides, cunning practiſes, fraud, guile, deceit, and ſecret forlayings or ambuſhes, which ſeeme againſt our enemies nothing ill at all, nor unjuſtly uſed, after they be once ſetled and have taken root in our hearts, remaine there faſt, and hardly or uneth are removed; inſomuch as if men take not heed how they uſe them againſt enemies, they ſhall be ſo inured to them that they will be ready afterwards to practiſe the ſame with their verie friends. If therfore *Pythagoras* did well & wiſely in acquainting his ſcholars to forbeare cruelty and injuſtice, even as farre as to dumb and brute beaſts; whereupon he miſliked fowlers, and would requeſt them to let thoſe birdes flie againe which they had caught; yea and buy of fiſhers whole draughts of fiſhes, and give order unto his diſciples to put them alive into the water againe, inſomuch as hee expreſſely forbad the killing of any tame beaſt whatſoever; certes it is much more grave and decent, that in quarrels, debates, and contentions among men; an enemie that is of a generous minde, juſt, true, and nothing treacherous, ſhould repreſſe, keepe downe, and hold underfoot the wicked, malicious, cautelous, baſe, and ungentleman-like paſſions; to the end that afterwards in all contracts and dealings with his friend they breake not out, but that his heart being cleere of them, he may abſteine from all miſchievous practiſes. *Scaurus* was a profeſſed enemie and an accuſer of *Domitius* judicially; now there was a domeſticall ſervant belonging to the ſaid *Domitius*, who before the day of triall and judgement, came unto *Scaurus* ſaying, That he would diſcover unto him a thing that he knew not of, the which might ſerve him in good ſteed when he ſhould plead againſt his maſter; but *Scaurus* would not ſo much as give him the hearing; nay he laid hold on the party, and ſent him away bound unto his lord and maſter. *Cato* (the younger) charged *Muræna*, and indited him in open court for popularitie and ambition, and declaring againſt him that he ſought indirectly to gaine the peoples favour and their voices to be choſen Conſull; now as he went up and downe to collect arguments and proofes thereof, and according to the maner and cuſtome of the Romanes, was attended upon by certeine perſons who followed him in the behalfe of the defendant, to obſerve what was done for his better inſtruction in the proceſſe & ſuit commenced; theſe fellowes would oftentimes be in hand with him and aske whether he would to day ſearch for ought, or negotiate any thing in the matter and cauſe concerning *Muræna*? If he ſaid, No; ſuch credite and truſt they repoſed in the man that they would reſt in that anſwere, and go their waies; a ſingular argument this was of all other to proove his reputation, and what opinion men conceived of him for his juſtice; but ſure a farre greater teſtimonie is this, and that paſſeth al the reſt, to proove that if we be accuſtomed to deale juſtly by our very enemies, we ſhal never ſhew our ſelves unjuſt, cautelous, and deceitfull with our friends. But foraſmuch as every larke (as *Simonides* was wont to ſay) muſt needs have a cop or creſt growing upon her head; and ſo likewiſe all men by nature do carie in their head I wot not what jealouſie, emulation, and envie, which is if I may uſe the words of *Pindarus*,

A mate and fellow (to be plaine)
Of brain-ſicke fooles and perſons vaine.

A man ſhould not reape a ſmall benefit & commoditie by diſcharging theſe paſſions upon his enemies, to purge & clenſe himſelfe quite thereof, & as it were by certeine gutters or chanels, to derive and drein them as farre as poſſibly he can from his friends and familiar acquaintance; whereof I ſuppoſe *Onomademus* a great politician, & wiſe States-man in the Iſle *Chios* was well adviſed, who in a civile diſſention being ſided to that faction which was ſuperior, & had gotten the head of the other; coũſelled the reſt of his part not to chaſe & baniſh out of the city al their adverſaries, but to leave ſome of them ſtill behind: For feare (quoth he) leaſt having no enemies to quarrel withall, we our ſelves begin to fall out and go together by the eares; ſemblably if we ſpend theſe vitious paſſiõs of ours upon our enemies, the leſſe are they like to trouble & moleſt our friends: for it ought not thus to be as *Heſiodus* ſaith: That the potter ſhould envy the potter; or one minſtrell or muſician ſpite another; neither is it neceſſarie that one neighbor ſhould be in jealouſie of another; or couſens and brethren be concurrents & have emulation one at another; either ſtriving to be rich or ſpeeding better in their affaires: for if there be no other way or meanes to be delivered wholy from contentions, envies, jealouſies, & emulations, acquaint thy ſelfe at leaſtwiſe to be ſtung and bitten at the good ſucceſſe of thine enemies; whet the edge & ſharpen the point (as it were) of thy quarrellous & contentious humour, & turne it upon them and ſpare not: for like as the moſt skilfull and beſt gardiners are of this opinion, that they ſhall have the ſweeter roſes and more pleaſant violets, if they ſet garlicke or ſow onions neere unto them, for that all the ſtrong and ſtinking ſavour in the juice that feedeth and nouriſh the ſaide flowers, is purged away and goeth to the ſaid garlick and onions; even ſo an enimie drawing unto himſelfe and receiving all our envie and malice, will cauſe us to be better affected to our friends in their proſperitie, and leſſe offended if they out-go us in their eſtate; and therefore in this regard we muſt contend and ſtrive with our enimies about honour, dignities, government, and lawfull meanes of advancing our owne eſtates, and not onely to be greeved and vexed to ſee them have the better and the vantage of us, but alſo to marke and obſerve everie thing whereby they become our ſuperiors, and ſo to ſtraine and endevour by carefull diligence, by labour and travell, by parſimonie, temperance, and looking neerely to our ſelves, to ſurpaſſe and go beyond them; like as *Themiſtocles* was wont to ſay: That the victorie which *Miltiades* atchieved in the plaine of *Marathon* brake his ſleepes, and would not let him take his nights reſt: for he who thinketh that his enemie ſurmounteth him in dignities, in patronage of high matters and pleading of great cauſes, in management of ſtate affaires, or in credit and authoritie with mightie men and grand Segniors, and in ſtead of ſtriving to enterpriſe and do ſome great matter by way of emulation, betaketh himſelfe to envie onely, and ſo ſits ſtill doing nothing, and looſeth all his courage, ſurely he bewraieth that he is poſſeſſed with naught elſe but an idle, vaine, & enervat kind of envy. But he that is not blinded with the regard & ſight of him whom he hateth, but with a right & juſt eie, doth behold & conſider al his life, his maners, deſeigns, words and deeds, ſhall ſoone perceive & find that the moſt part of thoſe things which he envieth were atchieved and gotten by ſuch as have them, which their diligence, wiſedom, forecaſt & vertuous deeds: he thereupon bending all his ſpirits & whole mind therto, wil exerciſe (I trow) & ſharpen his own deſire of honor, glory & honeſty, yea & cut off contrariwiſe, that yawning drowſines & idle ſloth that is in his hart. Set caſe moreover, that our enemies by flattery, by cautelous ſhifts & cunning practiſes, by pleading of caſes at the bar, or by their mercenarie and illiberall ſervice in unhoneſt & foule matters, ſeem to have gotten ſome power, ether with princes in courts, or with the people in States & cities; let the ſame never trouble us, but contrariwiſe cheere up our harts and make us glad in regard of our owne libertie, the pureneſſe of our life and innocencie unreprochable, which we may oppoſe againſt thoſe indirect courſes and unlawfull meanes. For all the gold that is either above ground or underneath (according as *Plato* ſaith) is not able to weigh againſt vertue. And evermore this ſentence of *Solon* we ought to have in readines:

Many a wicked man is rich,
And vertuous men are many poore:

But change we never will with ſich
Nor give our goodneſſe for their ſtore,
And why? vertue is durable,
Whereas their wealth is mutable.

much leſſe then, will we exchange the acclamations and ſhouts of a popular multitude in theaters, which are woon with a feaſt; nor the honors and prerogatives to ſit uppermoſt at a table neere unto the chamberlaines, minions, favorites, concubines, or lieutenants generall of Kings and Princes. For nothing is deſireable, nothing to be affected, nothing indeed honeſt that proceedeth from an unhoneſt cauſe: But he that loveth (according as *Plato* ſaith) is alwaies blinded by the thing which is loved, and ſooner do we perceive and marke any unſeemely thing that our enemies doe. Howbeit, to conclude, neither our joy and contentment conceived by obſerving them to do amiſſe, nor our griefe and diſpleaſure in ſeeing them do well, ought to be idle & unprofitable unto us; but this reckoning and account we are to make of both; that in taking heed how we fall into their faults we may become better, and in imitating their good parts not worſe than they.

HOW A MAN MAY PERCEIVE HIS OWNE PROCEEDING AND GOING FORWARD IN VERTUE.

The Summarie.

HArdly can it be defined, whether of theſe two extremities is more to be feared, to wit, blockiſh ſtupiditie or vaine preſumption, conſidering the dangerous effects proceeding as well from the one as the other. And contrariwiſe, an excellent matter it is to be able for to teach men the meanes to avoid both extreames, and to hold the meane betweene. And this is the verie thing that our Author doth in this preſent treatiſe: for as he laboureth to diſrobe as it were the lovers of vertue and turne them out of their habit of perverſe ignorance, wherwith moſt part of the world is alwaies clad; ſo he is deſirous to keepe them from putting on the habiliment and garments of pride and vaine oſtentation, that they might be arraied with the apparell of vertue, in ſuch ſort that in taking knowledge of that good whereof they have alreadie ſome part, they might endevour and do what they can to get a greater portion from day to day, untill they come unto an aſſured contentment wherein they may reſt. Then teacheth he how to know what a man hath profited in the ſchoole and exerciſe of vertue, ſhewing that he ought to conſider firſt, whether he recule from vice by little and little; wherein he confuteth the opinion of the Stoicks, who imagined that no man was good, unleſſe he became vertuous all at once. This done, he adjoineth foure rules to know the ſaid profit and progreſſe in vertue, to wit, When we perceive our heart to tend unto good without any intermiſſion: When our affection redeemeth and regaineth the time that is loſt, growing ſo much the more, as it was before ſtaied and hindred: When we begin to take our whole pleaſure and delight therein: laſtly, When we ſurmount and overcome all impeachments that might turne us aſide out of the way of vertue. After all this, he entreth into the matter more ſpecially, and ſheweth how a man is to employ himſelfe in the ſtudie of wiſedome; what vices he ought to flie; wherein his mind and ſpirits ſhould be occupied; and the profit that he is to reape and gather from Philoſophers, Poets and Hiſtorians. Item, with what affection we ought to ſpeake in the preſence of our neighbours, whether it be publikely or in private; of what ſort our actions ſhould be; and to what end and ſcope we are to addreſſe and direct them, giving a luſtre unto all theſe diſcourſes by excellent ſimilitudes; taxing and reprooving the faults committed ordinarily by them who make a certaine ſemblance and outward *ſhew of aſpiring unto vertue. Having thus diſcourſed of theſe points aforeſaid, he propoſeth and ſetteth downe againe divers rules which may reſolve us in this advancement and proceeding forward of ours in goodneſſe, namely: That we ought to love reprehenſions; to take heed even unto our dreames; to examine our paſſions, and ſo to hope well, if we perceive that they waxe milde and gentle to imitate good things; in no wiſe to heare any ſpeech of evill; to take example by the beſt perſons, to rejoice and be glad, to have witneſſes and beholders of our good will and intention; and not to eſteeme any ſinnes or treſpaſſes ſmall, but to avoide and ſhun them all: laſt of all, he cloſeth up his treatiſe with an elegant ſimilitude, wherein he diſcovereth and laieth open the nature as well of the vicious as the vertuous, thereby to make the meanes of aſpiring and attaining unto vertue, ſo much the more amiable to each perſon.*

HOW A MAN MAY PERceive his owne proceeding and going forward in Vertue.

IT is not poſſible (my good friend *Soſſius Senecio*) that a man by any meanes ſhould have a feeling in himſelfe, and a conſcience of his owne amendement and progreſſe in vertue, if thoſe good proceedings do not daily make ſome diminution of his follie, but that the vice in him weighing in equall ballance againſt them all, doe holde him downe

Like as the lead plucks downe the net,
Which for to catch the fiſh was ſet.

For ſo verily in the art of Muſicke or Grammar, a man ſhall never know how farre he is proceeded, ſo long as in the ſtudying and learning thereof, he diminiſh no part of his ignorance in thoſe arts, but ſtill findeth himſelfe as unmuſicall and unlettered as he was before; neither the cure which the Phyſician emploieth about his patient, if it worke no amendment at all, nor alleviation of the diſeaſe ſeeming in ſome ſort to yeeld unto medicines and to ſlake, can procure any ſenſible difference and change unto a better ſtate, before that the contrary diſpoſition and habit be reſtored perfectly to the former health, and the body made ſound and ſtrong againe. But certeinly, as in theſe caſes there is no amendment to be accounted of, if thoſe that ſeeme to amend do not perceive the change by the diminution and remiſſion of that which weighed them downe, and finde themſelves to encline and bend (as it were) in a ballance to the contrary; even ſo it fareth with thoſe that make profeſſion of philoſophie; it can not be granted that there is any progreſſe or ſenſe at all of profiting, ſo long as the ſoule caſt not off by little and little, and purge away her folly, but until ſuch time as ſhee can atteine (forſooth) unto the ſovereigne and perfect good, continueth in the meane-while fully poſſeſſed of vice and ſinne in the higheſt degree; for by this meanes it would follow, if at one inſtant and moment of time a wiſe man ſhould paſſe from extreame wickednes unto the ſupreame and higheſt diſpoſition of vertue: That he had all at once and in the minute of an houre fled vice and caſt it from him fully, whereof in a long time before he was not able to be rid of one little portion. But you know full well already that thoſe who holde ſuch extravagant opinions as theſe, make themſelves worke enough, and raiſe great doubts and queſtions about this point, namely, How a man ſhould not perceive and feele himſelfe when he is become wiſe, and be either ignorant or doubtfull that this growth and increaſe commeth in long proceſſe of time by little and a little, partly by addition of ſome thing, and partly by ſubtraction of other, untill one arrive gently unto vertue, before he can perceive that he is going toward it. Now if there were ſo quicke and ſudden a mutation, as that he who was to day morning moſt vicious, ſhould become in the evening as vertuous; and if there ever were knowen to happen unto any man ſuch a change, that going to bed a very foole and ſo ſleeping, ſhould awake and riſe a wiſe man, and taking his leave of yeſterdaies follies, errours and deceits, ſay unto them:

My vaine lying dreames ſo vaine, a-day, aday,
Nought worth you were, I now both ſee and ſay.

Is it poſſible that ſuch a one (I ſay) ſhould be ignorant of this ſudden change, and not perceive ſo great a difference in himſelfe, nor feele how wiſedome all at once hath thus lightened and illuminated his ſoule ? for mine owne part, I would rather thinke that one upon earneſt prayer transformed by the power of the gods from a woman to a man (as the tale goes of *Cæneus*) ſhould be ignorant of this Metamorphoſis, than he who of a coward, a foole and a diſſolute or looſe perſon become hardie, wiſe, ſober and temperate; or being tranſported from a ſenſuall and beaſtly life unto a divine and heavenly life, ſhould not marke the very inſtant wherin ſuch a change did befall. But well it was ſaid in olde time: That the ſtone is to be applied and framed unto the rule, and not the rule or ſquire unto the ſtone. And they (the Stoiks I meane) who are not willing to accommodat their opinions unto the things indeed, but wreſt and force againſt the courſe of nature, things unto their owne conceits and ſuppoſitions, have filled all philoſophie with great difficulties and doubtfull ambiguities; of which this is the greateſt: In that they will ſeeme to compriſe all men, excepting him onely whom they imagine perfect, under one and the ſame vice in general: which ſtrange ſuppoſition of theirs hath cauſed that this progreſſe and proceeding to vertue, called Προκοπὴ, ſeemeth to be a darke and obſcure riddle unto them, or a meere fiction little wanting of extreame follie; and thoſe who by the meanes of this amendment be delivered from all paſſions and vices that be, are held thereby to be in no better ſtate, nor leſſe wretched and miſerable, than thoſe who are not free from any one of the moſt enormious vices in the world; and yet they refute and condemne their owne ſelves; for in the diſputations which they holde in their ſchooles, they ſet the injuſtice of *Ariſtides* in equall ballance to that of *Phalaris*; they make the cowardiſe and feare of *Braſides*, all one with that of *Dolon*; yea, and compare the follie or errour of *Melitus* and *Plato* together, as in no reſpect different; howbeit, in the whole courſe of their life, and management of their affaires, they decline and avoid thoſe as implacable and intractable; but theſe they uſe and truſt in their moſt important buſineſſe, as perſons of great worth and regard: but we who know and ſee that in every kinde of ſinne or vice, but principally in the inordinate and confuſed ſtate of the ſoule there be degrees according to more or leſſe; and that heerein differ our proceedings and amendments, according as reaſon by little and little doth illuminate, purge and cleanſe the ſoule in abating and diminiſhing evermore the viſioſitie thereof, which is the ſhadow that darkneth it, are likewiſe fully perſwaded that it is not without reaſon to be aſſured, that men may have an evident ſenſe and perceivance of this mutation, but as if they were raiſed out of ſome deepe and darke pit, that the ſame amendment may be reckoned by degrees in what order it goeth forward. In which computation we may goe firſt and formoſt directly after this maner, and conſider, whether like as they who under ſaile ſet their courſe in the maine and vaſt ocean, by obſerving together with the length and ſpace of time, the force of the winde that driveth them, doe caſt and meaſure how farre they have gone forward in their voiage, namely, by a probable conjecture how much in ſuch a time and with ſuch a gale of winde it is like that they may paſſe; ſo alſo in philoſophie a man may give a geſſe and conjecture of his proceeding and going forward, namely, what he may gaine by continuall marching on ſtill, without ſtay or intermiſſion otherwhiles in the mids of the way, and then beginning a freſh againe to leape forward, but alwaies keeping one pace, gaining and getting ground ſtill by the guidance of reaſon. For this rule

If little ſtill to little thou do ad,
A heape at length, and mickle will be had.

was not given reſpectively to the encreaſe of ſummes of money alone, and in that point truely ſpoken, but it may likewiſe extend and reach to other things, and namely to the augmentation of vertue, to wit, when with reaſon and doctrine continuall uſe and cuſtome is joyned, which maketh maſtrie and is effectuall to bring any worke to end and perfection; whereas theſe intermiſſions at times without order and equalitie, and theſe coole affections of thoſe that ſtudie philoſophie, make not onely many ſtaies and lets in proceeding forward as it were in a journey, but that which is worſe, cauſe going backward, by reaſon that vice which evermore lies in wait to ſet upon a man that idlely ſtandeth ſtill never ſo little haleth him a contrary way. True it is that the Mathematicians do call the planets Stationarie, and ſay they ſtand ſtill, while they ceaſe to moove forward; but in our progreſſe and proceeding in philoſophie, that is to ſay, in the correction of our life and maners, there can be admitted no intervall, no pauſe or ceſſation, for that our wit naturally being in perpetuall motion in maner of a ballance, alwaies caſteth with the leaſt thing that is, one way or other, willing of it ſelfe either to encline with the better or elſe is forcibly caried by the contrary to the worſe. If then according to the oracle delivered unto the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, which willed them if they minded afterwards to live in peace, they ſhould make war both night and day without intermiſſion; thou finde in thy ſelfe and thine owne conſcience, that thou haſt fought continually with vice as well by night as by day, or at leaſtwiſe that thou haſt not often left thy ward, and abandoned thy ſtation in the garriſon, nor continually admitted the heralds or meſſengers betweene comming from far as it were to parlie and compound, to wit, pleaſures, delights, negligences, and amuſements upon other matters, by all likelihood thou maiſt with confidence and alacritie be aſſured to go forward and make an end of thy courſe behind.

Moreover, ſay that there fall out ſome interruptions and ſtaies betweene, that thou live not altogether canonically and like a philoſopher; yet if thy latter proceedings be more conſtant than the former, and the freſh courſes that thou takeſt longer than the other, it is no bad ſigne, but it teſtifieth, that by labour and exerciſe idleneſſe is conquered, and ſloth utterly chaſed away; whereas the contrary is a very ill ſigne, to wit, if by reaſon of many ceſſations and thoſe comming thicke one after another, the heat of the former affection be cooled, languiſh and weareth to nothing: for like as the ſhoote of a cane or reed whiles it hath the full ſtrength and greateſt force, putteth forth the firſt ſtem reaching out in length, ſtreight, even, ſmooth, & united in the beginning, admitting few knots in great diſtances between, to ſtay and put backe the growth and riſing thereof in height; but afterwards as if it were checked to mount up aloft by reaſon of ſhort winde and failing of the breath, it is held downe by many knots, and thoſe neere one to another, as if the ſpirit therein which coveteth upward found ſome impeachment by the way, ſmiting it backe, and cauſing it as it were to pant and tremble; even ſo as many as at firſt tooke long courſes and made haſte unto philoſophie or amendment of life, and then afterwards meet eftſoones with ſtumbling blocks, continually turning them out of the direct way, or other meanes to diſtract and plucke them aſide, finding no proceeding at al to better them, in the end are wearie, give over, & come ſhort of their journeis end; whereas the other above-ſaid hath his wings growing ſtill to helpe his flight, and by reaſon of the fruit which he findeth in his courſe goeth on apace, cutteth off all pretenſes of excuſe, breaketh through all lets, (which ſtand as a multitude in the way to hinder his paſſage) which he doth by fine force and with an induſtrious affection to atteine unto the end of his enterpriſe. And like as to joy and delight in beholding of beautie preſent is not a ſigne of love beginning, for a vulgar and common thing this is, but rather to be greeved & vexed when the ſame is gone or taken away; even ſo many there be who conceive pleaſure in philoſophie, and make ſemblance as if they had a fervent deſire to the ſtudie thereof; but if it chance that they be a little retired from it by occaſion of other buſineſſe and affaires, that firſt affection which they tooke unto it vaniſheth away, and they can well abide to be without Philoſophie;

But he who feeles indeed the pricke
Of love that pierceth neere the quicke.

as one poet ſaith; will ſeeme unto thee moderate and nothing hot in frequenting the philoſophicall ſchoole and conferring together with thee about philoſophie; but let him be plucked from it, and drawen apart from thee, thou ſhalt ſee him enflamed in the love thereof, impatient, and weary of all other affaires and occupations; thou ſhalt perceive him even to forget his own friends, ſuch a paſſionate deſire he will have to philoſophie. For we ought not ſo much to delight in learning and philoſophie whiles we are in place, as we do in ſweet odors, perfumes, and ointments, and when we are away and ſeparated therefro, never grieve thereat, nor ſeeke after it any more; but it muſt imprint in our hearts a certeine paſſion like to hunger and thirſt when it is taken from us, if we wil profit in good earneſt & perceive our owne progreſſe and amendement; whether it be, that marriage, riches, ſome friendſhip, expedition or warfare come between, that may drave him away and make ſeparation, for the greater that the fruit is which he gathered by Philoſophie, ſo much the more will the griefe be to leave and forgoe it. To this firſt ſigne of progreſſe in Philoſophie may be added another of great antiquitie out of *Heſiodus*; which if it be not the verie ſame, certes it commeth neere unto it, and this he deſcribeth after this ſort, namely, When a man findeth the way no more difficult, rough & craggy, nor exceeding ſteep and upright, but eaſie, plaine, with a gentle deſcent, as being indeed laid even and ſmooth by exerciſe, and wherein now there begins light cleerely to appeere and ſhine out of darkenes, in ſtead of doubts, ambiguities, errors, and thoſe repentances and changes of minde, incident unto thoſe who firſt betake themſelves to the ſtudie of Philoſophie; after the manner of them who having left behinde them a land which they know well enough, are troubled whiles they cannot deſcrie and diſcover that for which they ſet ſaile and bend their courſe; for even ſo it is with theſe perſons, who when they have abandoned theſe common and familiar ſtudies whereto they were inured before they came, to learne, apprehend and enjoy better, oftentimes in the verie middle of their courſe are caried round about and driven to returne backe againe the ſame way they came. Like as it is reported of *Sexius* a noble man of *Rome*, who having given over the honorable offices and magiſtracies in the citie, for love of Philoſophie, afterwards finding himſelfe much troubled in that ſtudie, and not able at the beginning to brooke and digeſt the reaſons and diſcourſes thereof, was ſo perplexed, that he went verie neere to have throwen himſelfe into the ſea out of a gallie.

The ſemblable example we read in hiſtories, of *Diogenes* the Sinopian, when he firſt went to the ſtudie and profeſſion of Philoſophie: for when about the ſame time it chanced that the Athenians celebrated a publike ſolemnitie with great feaſting and ſumptuous fare, with theatricall plaies and paſtimes, meeting in companies and aſſemblies to make merrie one with another, with revels and daunces all night long, himſelfe in an odde corner of the market place lay lapped round in his cloathes, purpoſing to take a nap and ſleepe; where and when he fell into certaine fantaſticall imaginations which did not a little turne and trouble his braines, yea and breake his heart, diſcourſing thus in his head: That he upon no conſtraint or neceſſitie, ſhould thus wilfully betake himſelfe to a laborious & ſtrange courſe of painful life, ſitting thus by himſelfe mopiſh, ſequeſtred from all the world, & deprived of all earthly goods; In which thoughts and conceits of his, he ſpied (as the report goeth) a little mouſe creeping & running towards the crums that were fallen from his lofe of bread, and was verie buſie about them, whereupon hee tooke heart againe, reprooved and blamed his owne feeble courage, ſaying thus to himſelfe: What ſaieſt thou *Diogenes*? Seeſt thou not this ſillie creature what good cheere it maketh with thy leavings? how merrie ſhe is whiles ſhe feedeth thereupon? and thou (like a trim man indeed as thou art) doeſt waile, weepe and lament, that thou drinkeſt not thy ſelfe drunke as thoſe doe yonder; nor lie in ſoft and delicate beds, richly ſet out with gay and coſtly furniture. Now when ſuch temptations and diſtractions as theſe be, returne not often, but the rule and diſcourſe of reaſon preſently riſeth up againſt them, maketh head, turneth upon them ſuddenly againe (as it were) in the chace and purſued in the route by enemies, and ſo quickly diſcomfiteth and diſpatcheth the anxietie and diſpaire of the minde, then a man may be aſſured that he hath profited indeed in the ſchoole of Philoſophie, and is well ſetled and confirmed therein. But foraſmuch as the occaſions which doe thus ſhake men that are given to Philoſophie, yea and otherwhiles plucke them a contrarie way, doe not onely proceed from themſelves by reaſon of their owne infirmitie and ſo gather ſtrength; but the ſad and ſerious counſels alſo of friends, together with the reproofes and contradictorie aſſaults made upon them by adverſaries, betweene good earneſt and game, doe mollifie their tender hearts, and make them to bow, bend and yeeld, which otherwhiles have beene able in the end to drive ſome altogether from Philoſophie, who were well entred therein: It may be thought no ſmall ſigne of good proceeding, if one can endure the ſame meekly without being mooved with ſuch temptations, or any waies troubled and pinched when hee ſhall heare the names and ſurnames of ſuch and ſuch companions and equals otherwiſe of his, who are come to great credit and wealth in Princes courts; or be advanced by mariages, matching with wives who brought them good dowries & portions; or who are wont to go into the common Hall of a citie, attended upon and accompanied with a traine and troup of the multitude, either to attaine unto ſome place of government, or to plead ſome notable cauſe of great conſequence: for he that is not diſquieted, aſtonied, or overcome with ſuch aſſaults; certaine it is and we may be bold to conclude that he is arreſted (as it were) and held ſure as he ought to be by Philoſophie. For it is not poſſible for any to ceaſe affecting and loving thoſe things, which the multitude doth ſo highly honor and adore, unleſſe they be ſuch as admire nothing elſe in the world but vertue. For to brave it out, to conteſt, and make head againſt men, is a thing incident unto ſome by occaſion of choler, unto others by reaſon of folly; but to contemne and deſpiſe, that which others eſteeme with admiration, no man is able to performe, without a great meaſure of true and reſolute magnanimitie: In which reſpect ſuch perſons comparing their ſtate with others magnifie themſelves, as *Solon* did in theſe words:

Many a wicked man is rich,
And good men there be many poore:
But we will not exchange with ſuch,
Nor give our goodnes for their ſtore.
For vertue ay is durable,
Whereas riches be mutable.

And *Diogenes* compared his peregrination and flitting from the city of *Corinth* to *Athens*, and againe his removing from *Thebes* to *Corinth*, unto the progreſſes and changes of abode that the great king of *Perſia* was wont to make; who in the Spring ſeaſon held his Court at *Suſis*; in Winter, kept houſe at *Babylon*; and during Summer, paſſed the time and ſojourned in *Media*. *Ageſilaus* hearing upon a time the ſaid king of *Perſia* to be named, The great king: And why (quoth he) is he greater than my ſelfe? unleſſe it be that he is more juſt and righteous. And *Ariſtotle* writing unto *Antipater* as touching *Alexander* the great, ſaid: That it became not him onely to vaunt much and glorifie himſelfe for that his dominions were ſo great, but alſo any man els hath no leſſe cauſe who is inſtructed in the true knowledge of the gods. And *Zeno* ſeeing *Theophraſtus* in great admiration becauſe he had many ſcholars: Indeed (quoth he) his auditory or quire is greater than mine, but mine accordeth better and makes ſweeter harmonie than his. When as therefore thou haſt ſo grounded and eſtabliſhed in thine heart that affection unto vertue, which is able to encounter and ſtand againſt all externall things, when thou haſt voided out of thy ſoule all envies, jealouſies, and what affections ſoever are woont either to tickle or to fret, or otherwiſe to depreſſe and caſt downe the minds of many that have begunne to profeſſe philoſophie; this may ſerve for a great argument and token that thou art well advanced forward, and haſt profited much; neither is it a ſmall ſigne thereof, if thou perceive thy language to be changed from that it was wont to be; for all thoſe who are newly entred into the ſchoole of philoſophie (to ſpeake generally) affect a kinde of ſpeech or ſtile which aimeth at glory and vaine oſtentation: ſome you ſhall heare crowing aloud like cocks and mounting up aloft, by reaſon of their levity and haughty humour, unto the ſublimitie and ſplendor of phyſicall things or ſecrets in nature; others take pleaſure (after the maner of wanton whelps, as *Plato* ſaith) in tugging and tearing evermore whatſoever they can catch or light upon; they love to be doing with litigious queſtions, they goe directly to darke problemes and ſophiſticall ſubtilties, and moſt of them being once plunged in the quillits & quidities of Logicke, make that (as it were) a means or preparative to fleſh themſelves for Sophiſtrie: mary there be, who goe all about collecting and gathering together ſententious ſawes and hiſtories of ancient times; and as *Anacharſis* was wont to ſay: That he knew no other uſe that the Greeks had of their coined pieces of mony, but to tell and number them, or els to caſt account and reckon therewith; even ſo do they nothing els but count and meaſure their notable ſentences and ſayings, without drawing any profit or commodity out of them: and the ſame befalleth unto them, which one of *Platoes* familiars applied unto his ſcholars by way of alluſion to a ſpeech of *Atiphanes*: this *Antiphanes* was wont to ſay in merriment: That there was a city in the world, whereas the words ſo ſoone as ever they were out of the mouth and pronounced, became frozen in the aire, by reaſon of the coldneſſe of the place, and ſo when the heat of Summer came to thaw and melt the ſame, the inhabitants might heare the talke which had bene uttered and delivered in Winter; even ſo (quoth he) it is with many of thoſe who come to heare *Plato* when they be yoong; for whatſoever he ſpeaketh and readeth unto them, it is very long ere they underſtand the ſame, and hardly when they are become olde men: and even after the ſame ſort it fareth with them aboveſaid, who ſtand thus affected univerſally unto Philoſophie, untill their judgement being well ſetled and growen to ſound reſolution, begin to apprehend thoſe things which may deepely imprint in the minde a morall affection and paſſion of love, yea, and to ſearch and trace thoſe ſpeeches, whereof the tracts (as *Aeſope* was woont to ſay) leade rather in, than out. For like as *Sophocles* ſaid merrily upon a time, by way of deriſion: That he would firſt cut off the haughtie and ſtately invention of *Aeſchylus*, and then abridge his affected, curious and artificiall diſpoſition, and in the third place change the maner and forme of his elocution, which is moſt excellent, and fulleſt of ſweet affections; even ſo, the ſtudents in Philoſophie, when they ſhall perceive that they paſſe from orations exquiſitly penned and framed for oſtentation in frequent and ſolemne aſſemblies, unto morall ſpeeches, and thoſe that touch the quicke, aſwell the milde and gentle motions, as the hote and violent paſſions of the minde, then begin they indeed to lay downe all pride and vanity, and profit truely in the ſchoole of Philoſophie.

Conſider then, not onely in reading the works of Philoſophers, or in hearing their lectures, firſt and formoſt, whether thou art not more attentive to the words than to the matter; or whether thou be not carried with a greater affection to thoſe who deliver a more ſubtill and curious compoſition of ſentences, than ſuch as compriſe profitable, commodious, ſubſtantiall & fleſhy matters (if I may ſo ſay) but alſo in peruſing Poemes, or taking in hand any hiſtory, obſerve well and take heed, that there eſcape thee not any one good ſentence tending properly to the reformation of maners or the alleviation of paſſions: for like as (according to *Simonides*) the bee ſetleth upon flowers for to ſucke out of it the yellow honie, whereas others love onely their colour or pleaſant ſent, and neither care nor ſeeke for any thing els thereout; even ſo, when other men be converſant in Poemes for pleaſure onely and paſtime, thou finding and gathering ſomewhat out thereof woorth the noting, ſhalt ſeeme at the firſt ſight to have ſome knowledge already thereof by a certeine cuſtome and acquaintance with it, and a love taken unto it as a good thing and familiar unto thee. As for thoſe that reade the books of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, in no other regard but for the beautie of their gallant ſtile, ſeeking for nought els but for the purity of ſpeech, and the very naturall Atticke language, as if they went to gather the thin dew or tender moſſe or downe of herbs; What will you ſay of ſuch? but that they love phyſicke drugs, which have either a lovely colour or a pleaſant ſmell onely; but otherwiſe the medicinable vertues thereof and properties either to purge the bodie or mitigate any paine, they neither deſire to know nor are willing to uſe.

Moreover, ſuch as are proceeded farther, yet profited more, have the skill and knowledge how to reape fruit not onely out of words ſpoken or books written, but alſo to receive profit out of all ſights, ſpectacles, and what things ſoever they ſee, gathering from thence whatſoever is fit and commodious for their purpoſe; as it is reported of *Aeſchylus* and other ſuch as he: For *Aeſchylus* being upon a time at the Iſthmian games, beheld the fight of the ſword-fencers that fought at ſharpe, and when one of the ſaid champions had received a grievous wound, whereupon the whole theater ſet up a crie, he jogging one that was by him (named *Ion* of *Chios*) See you not (quoth he) what uſe and exerciſe is able to do? the partie himſelfe that is hurt ſaith never a word, but the lookers on crie out. *Braſides* chanced among drie figs to light upon a ſillie mouſe that bit him by the finger, and when he had ſhaken her off and let her goe, ſaid thus to himſelfe: See how there is nothing ſo little and ſo feeble, but it is able to make ſhift and ſave it life, if it dare onely defend it ſelfe. *Diogenes* when he ſaw one make meanes to drinke out of the ball of his hand, caſt away the diſh or cuppe that hee carried in his budget. Loe, how attentive taking heed and continuall exerciſe maketh men ready and apt to marke, obſerve and learne from all things that make any way for their good. And this they may the rather doe when the joine wordes and deedes together, not onely in that ſort (as *Thucidides* ſpeaketh of) by meditating, and exerciſing themſelves with the experience of preſent perils, but alſo againſt pleaſures, quarrels, and altercations in judgements about defences of cauſes and magiſtracies; as making proofe thereby of the opinions that they holde, or rather by carriage of themſelves, teaching others what opinions they are to holde. For ſuch as yet bee learners, and notwithſtanding that, intermeddle in affaires like pragmaticall perſons, ſpying how they may catch any thing out of philoſophie, and goe therewith incontinently in maner of juglers with their boxe, either into the common place and market, or into the ſchoole which young men frequent, or els to princes tables, there to ſet them abroad; we are not to thinke them philoſophers; no more than thoſe to be phyſicians, who only ſell medicinable ſpices, drugs or compound confections; or to ſpeake more properly, ſuch a ſophiſter or counterfeit philoſopher as this, reſembleth the bird that *Homer* deſcribeth, which forſooth, ſo ſoone as he hath gotten any thing, carieth it to his ſcholars (as the ſaid bird doth in her mouth convey meat to her naked young ones that cannot flie)

And ſo himſelfe he doth beguile
And thereby take much harme the while.

converting and diſtributing naught of all that which he hath gotten to his owne nouriſhment, nor ſo much as concocting and digeſting the ſame: and therefore we ought of neceſſitie to regard and conſider well whether we uſe any diſcourſe and place our words ſo, that for our ſelves they may do good; and in regard of others, make no ſhew of vaine-glorie nor ambitious deſire to be knowne abroad, but onely of an intention rather to heare, or els to teach.

But principally we are to obſerve whether our wrangling humour and deſire to be cavilling about queſtions diſputable, be allaied in us or no, as alſo whether we have yet given over to deviſe reaſons and arguments to aſſaile others; like as champions armed with hurlebats of tough leather about their armes and bals in their hands, to annoy their concurrents, taking more pleaſure and delight to fell and aſtoniſh with one rap our adverſarie, and ſo to lay him along on the earth, than to learne or teach him: for ſurely modeſtie, mildeneſſe and courteſie in this kinde will doe well; and when a man is not willing to enter into any conference or diſputation, with a purpoſe to put downe and vanquiſh another, nor to breake out into fits of choler, nor having evicted his adverſarie to be readie as they ſay to tread and trample him under foot, nor to ſeeme diſpleaſed and diſcontent if himſelfe have the foile and be put to the woorſt, be all good ſignes of one that hath ſufficiently profited. And this ſhewed *Ariſtippus* very well upon a time when he was ſo hardly preſſed and overlaid in a certaine diſputation, that he knew not what anſwer to make preſently unto his adverſarie a jolly bold and audacious ſophiſter, but otherwiſe a brainſicke foole and without all judgement: for *Ariſtippus* ſeeing him to vaunt himſelfe, puffed up with vaine glorie, that he had put him to a *non plus*: Well (quoth he) I ſee that for this time I go away with the worſe, but ſurely when I am gone I will ſleepe more ſoundly and quietly than you that have gotten the better. Moreover we may alſo proove and ſound our ſelves, whether we have profited or no, even whiles we ſpeake in publicke place; namely, if neither upon the ſight of a greater audience than we looked for, we ſhrinke not for feare and falſe heart, nor contrariwiſe be diſcouraged to ſee fewer come to heare our exerciſes than we hoped for; ne yet when we are to make a ſpeech to the people, or before a great magiſtrate, we leeſe the opportunitie thereof, for that we have not well premeditated thereof before, nor come provided of apt words to declare our mind, a thing that by report befell unto *Demoſthenes* & *Alcibiades*: for *Alcibiades* as he was paſſing ingenious and inventive of matter, ſo he wanted audacitie, and was not ſo ready as ſome other to utter the ſame, but troubled eftſoones in his pleading and deliverie of it, inſomuch as many times in the very mids of his oration he would be out and to ſeeke for a proper and fit terme to expreſſe the conception of his minde, or els to recover that word againe which was ſlipt and eſcaped out of his memorie. As for *Homer* he had ſuch an opinion of his owne perfection, and his poeticall veine in the reſt of all his worke, that he ſtucke not to ſet downe the very firſt verſe of his poeme defective in meaſure, and not anſwerable to the rules of verſifying. So much the rather therefore likely it is, that they who ſet nothing before their eies, nor aime at ought els but vertue onely and honeſtie, will make uſe of the preſent occaſion and the occurrence of affaires, fall out as they will, without regard of applauſe, hiſſing or any other noiſe whatſoever in token of liking or diſliking their ſpeech.

Now every man ought to conſider not onely his owne ſpeeches, but alſo his actions, namely whether they carie with them more profit and ſound trueth, than vaine pompe and oſtentation; for if the true love indeed of young folke, man or woman, requireth no witneſſes, but reſteth in the private contentment & enjoying of their ſweet delights, although the ſame were performed and their deſires fully accompliſhed ſecretly betweene them without the privitie of any perſon: how much more credible is it that he who is enamoured of honeſty and wiſedome, uſing the company and felowſhip familiarly of vertue by his actions, and enjoying the ſame, ſhall finde in himſelfe without ſaying one word an exceeding great contentment, and demaund no other hearers or beholders but his owne conſcience? For like as he was but a vaine foole who called unto his maid in the houſe and cried with a loud voice: *Dionyſia* come and ſee I am not proud and vain glorious now as I was wont to be; even ſo hee that hath done ſome vertuous and commendable act, and then goes foorth to tell it abroad and ſpred the fruit thereof in every place, certeine it is that ſuch an one regards ſtill outward vanities, and is caried with a covetous deſire of vain-glorie, neither hath he ever had as yet a true ſight indeed and perfect viſion of vertue, but onely a fantaſticall dreame of her, imagining as hee lies aſleepe, that hee ſeeth ſome wandring ſhadow and image thereof, and then afterward repreſenteth thus unto his view that which he hath done, as a painted table to looke upon. Well then, it is the propertie of him that proceedeth in vertue, not onely when he hath beſtowed ſomthing upon his friend, or done a good turne unto one of his familiars, for to make no words thereof; but alſo when hee hath given his voice juſtly, or delivered his opinion truely, among manie others that are unjuſt and untrue; or when he hath flatly denied the unhoneſt requeſt, or ſtoutly croſſed a bad motion of ſome rich man, great Lord or mightie Magiſtrate; or refuſed gifts and bribes; or proceeded ſo farre that being athirſt in the night he hath not drunke at all; or hath refuſed to kiſſe a beautiful boy or faire maiden & turned away from them comming toward him as *Ageſilaus* did; to keepe al this to himſelfe and ſay nothing: For ſuch a one as is content to be prooved and tried by his owne ſelfe, not ſetting light by that triall and judgement, but joying and taking delight in his conſcience, as being a ſufficient witnes and beholder, both of good things and commendable actions, ſheweth that reaſon hath turned in, to lodge and keepe reſiance with him, that it hath taken deepe root there: and as *Democritus* ſaith: That he is well framed, and by cuſtome brought to rejoice and take pleaſure in himſelfe. And like as huſbandmen are more glad and willing to ſee the eares of corne hang downe their heads, and bend toward the earth, than thoſe who for their lightnes ſtand ſtraight, upright, and ſtaring aloſt, for that they ſuppoſe ſuch eares are emptie, or have little or nothing in them, for all their faire ſhew; even ſo, among yoong men, ſtudents in Philoſophie, they that have leaſt in them of any weight, and be moſt voide, be thoſe that are at the verie firſt moſt confident; ſet the greateſt countenance; carrie the biggeſt port in their gate, and have the boldeſt face, ſhewing therein how full they are of pride in themſelves, contempt of all others, and ſparing of none: but afterwards as they begin to grow on and burniſh, furniſhing and filling themſelves with the fruits indeed of reaſon and learning; then and never before they lay away theſe proude lookes; then downe goes this vaine pride and outward oſtentation. And like as we ſee in veſſels, whereinto men uſe to powre in liquor, according to the quantitie and meaſure of the ſaid liquor that goeth in, the aire which was there before flieth out; even ſo to the proportion of thoſe good things which are certaine and true indeed, wherewith men are repleniſhed, their vanitie giveth place, all their hypocriſie vaniſheth away, their ſwelling and puffing pride doth abate and fall, and giving over then to ſtand upon their goodly long beards and ſide robes, they transferre the exerciſe of outward things into the minde and ſoule within, uſing the ſharp bit of bitter reprehenſion principally againſt themſelves. And as for others, they can finde in their hearts to deviſe, conferre, and talke with them more graciouſly and with greater courteſie; the manner of Philoſophie, and reputation of Philoſophers, they do not uſurpe nor take upon them, neither do they uſe it as their addition in former time; and if haply one of them by ſome other be called by that name, he wil not anſwere to it; but if he be a yoong gentleman indeed, after a ſmiling and pleaſant manner, yea and bluſhing withall for ſhame, he will ſay thus out of the Poet **Homer**:

I am no God nor heavenly wight:
Why doeſt thou give to me their right?

For true it is as *Aeſchylus* ſaith:

A dam'ſell yoong if ſhe have knowen,
And taſted man once carnally;
Her eie doth it bewray anon,
It ſparkles fire ſuſpiciouſly.

But a yoong man having truely taſted the profit and proceeding in Philoſophie, hath theſe ſignes following him, which the Poetreſſe *Sappho* ſetteth downe in theſe verſes:

When I you ſee, What do I aile?
Firſt ſuddenly my voice doth faile,
And then like fire a colour red,
Under my ſkinne doth run and ſpread.

It would do you good to view his ſetled & ſtaied countenance, to behold the pleaſant and ſweet regard of his eie, and to heare him when he ſpeaketh: for like as thoſe who are profeſſed in any confraternity of holy myſteries, at their firſt aſſembly & meeting together, hurry in tumultuous ſort with great noiſe, inſomuch as they thruſt and throng one another; but when they come to celebrate the divine ſervice thereto belonging, and that the ſacred reliques and ornaments are once ſhewed, they are verie attentive with reverent feare and devout ſilence; ſo, at the beginning of the ſtudie of Philoſophie, and in the verie entrie (as it were) of the gate that leadeth unto it, a man ſhall ſee much adoe, a foule ſtirre, great audaciouſnes, inſolencie, and jangling words more than enough; for that ſome there be, who would intrude themſelves rudely, and thruſt into the place violently, for the greedie deſire they have to winne reputation and credit: but he that is once within and ſeeth the great light, as if the ſanctuaries and ſacred cabinets or tabernacles were ſet open, anon he putteth on another habit, and a divers countenance with ſilence and aſtoniſhment, he becommeth humble, pliable and modeſt, readie to follow the diſcourſe of reaſon and doctrine, no leſſe than the direction of ſome god. To ſuch as theſe, me thinkes, I may do verie well to accommodate that ſpeech which *Menademus* ſomtime in mirth ſpake pleaſantly: Many there be that ſaile to *Athens* (quoth he) for to goe to ſchoole there, who when they come firſt thither ſeeme * *Sophi*, that is, be wiſe, and afterwards proove * *Philoſophi*, that is, lovers of wiſedome; then of Philoſophers they become * Sophiſters, that is, profeſſors and readers, untill in proceſſe of time they grow to be * Idiots, that is to ſay, ignorant and fooles to ſee to: for the neerer that they approch to the uſe of reaſon and to learning indeed, the more do they abridge the opinion that they have of themſelves, and lay downe their preſumption.

* Σοφοι.
* Φιλοσοφοι.
* Σοφισται.
* Ιδιωται.

Among thoſe that have need of phyſicke, ſome that are troubled with the tooth-ach, or have a felon or whitflaw on their finger, goe themſelves to the phyſician for to have remedie; others who are ſicke of an ague ſend for the phyſician home to their houſes, and deſire to be eaſed and cured by him; but thoſe that are fallen either into a fit of melancholy, or phrenſie, or otherwiſe be diſtracted in their braines and out of their right wits, otherwhiles will not admit or receive the phyſicans, although they came of themſelves uncalled, but either drive them out of doores, or elſe hide themſelves out of their ſight, and ſo farre gone they bee and dangerouſly ſicke, that they feele not their owne ſickneſſe; ſemblably of thoſe who ſinne and doe amiſſe, ſuch bee incorrigible and uncurable, who are grievouſly offended and angry, yea, and in mortall hatred with thoſe who ſeeme to admoniſh and reproove them for their misbehaviour; but ſuch as will abide them, and are content to receive and enterteine them, be in better ſtate and in a readier way to recover their health: marie he that yeeldeth himſelfe to ſuch as rebuke him, confeſſing unto them his errors, diſcovering of his owne accord his povertie and nakedneſſe, unwilling that any thing as touching his ſtate ſhould be hidden, not loving to be unknowen and ſecret, but acknowledging and avowing all that he is charged with, yea, and who praieth a man to checke, to reprove, to touch him to the quicke, and ſo craveth for helpe; certeinly herein he ſheweth no ſmall ſigne of good progreſſe and amendment: according to that which *Diogenes* was woont to ſay: He that would be ſaved (that is to ſay) become an honeſt man, had need to ſeeke either a good friend or a ſharpe and bitter enemie, to the end that either by gentle reproofe and admonition, or els by a rigorous cure of correction, he may be delivered from his vices. But how much ſoever a man in a glorious bravery ſheweth to thoſe that be abroad either a foule and thred-bare coat or a ſteined garment, or a rent ſhoo, or in a kinde of a preſumptuous humilitie mocketh himſelfe in that peradventure he is of a very low ſtature, crooked or bunch-backed, and thinketh herein that he doth a woorthy and doughtie deed; but in the meane while covereth and hideth the ordures and filthineſſe of his vile life, cloaketh the villanous enormities of his maners, his envie, maliciouſneſſe, avarice, ſenſuall voluptuouſneſſe, as if they were beaſtly botches or ugly ulcers, ſuffering no bodie to touch them, nay, nor ſo much as to ſee them, and all for feare of reproofe and rebuke, certes, ſuch a one hath profited but a little, or to ſpeake more truely, never a whit at all; but he that is ready to encounter and ſet upon theſe vices, and either is willing and able (which is the chiefe and principall) to chaſtiſe and condemne, yea, and put himſelfe to ſorrow for his faults; or if not ſo, yet in the ſecond place at the leaſt can endure patiently, that another man by his reprehenſions & remonſtrances ſhould cleanſe and purge him; certes evident it is, that ſuch an one hateth and deteſteth wickednes indeed, and is in the right way to ſhake it off: and verily, we ought to avoid the very name and apperance onely thereof, and to be aſhamed for to be thought and reputed wicked; but hee that grieveth more at the ſubſtance of vice it ſelfe, than the infamie that commeth thereof, will never be afraid, but can very well abide both to ſpeake hardly of himſelfe, and to heare ill by others, ſo he may be the better thereby. To this purpoſe may very wel be applied a prety ſpeech of *Diogenes* unto a certain yonker, who perceiving that *Diogenes* had an eie on him within a taverne or tipling houſe, withdrew himſelfe quickly more inward, for to be out of his ſight: Never do ſo (quoth he) for the farther thou flieſt backward, the more ſhalt thou be ſtill in the taverne; even ſo a man may ſay of thoſe that be given to vice, for the more that any one of them ſeemeth to denie his fault, the farther is he engaged, and the deeper ſunke in ſinne; like as poore men, the greater ſhew that they make of riches, the poorer they be, by reaſon of their vanity and bragging of that which they have not. But hee that profiteth in deed, hath for a good preſident and example, to follow that famous Phyſician *Hippocrates*, who both openly confeſſed and alſo put downe in writing, that he was ignorant in the Anatomie of a mans head, and namely, as touching the ſeames or ſitures thereof; and this account will he make, that it were an unworthy indignitie, if (when ſuch a man as *Hippocrates* thought not much to publiſh his owne errour and ignorance, for feare that others might fall into the like) hee who is willing to ſave himſelfe from perdition, can not endure to be reproved, nor acknowledge his owne ignorance and follie. As for thoſe rules and precepts which are delivered by *Pyrrho* and *Bion* in this caſe are not in my conceit the ſignes of amendment and progreſſe ſo much, as of ſome other more perfect and abſolute habit rather of the minde; for *Bion* willed and required his ſcholars and familiars that converſed with him, to thinke then (and never before) that they had proceeded and profited in Philoſophie, when they could with as good a will abide to heare men revile and raile at them, as if they ſpake unto them in this maner:

Good ſir, you ſeeme no perſon leawd,
nor fooliſh ſot, iwis:

All haile, Faire chieve you and adieu,
God ſend you alwaies blis.

And *Pyrrho* (as it is reported) being upon a time at ſea, and in danger to be caſt away in a tempeſt, ſhewed unto the reſt of his fellow paſſengers a porker feeding hard upon barley caſt before him on ſhip boord: Loe, my maſters (quoth he) we ought by reaſon and exerciſe in Philoſophie, to frame our ſelves to this paſſe, and to attaine unto ſuch an impaſſibilitie, as to be moved and troubled with the accidents of fortune no more than this pig.

But conſider furthermore, what was the conceit and opinion of *Zeno* in this point; for hee was of mind that every man might and ought to know whether he profited or no in the ſchoole of vertue, even by his very dreames; namely, if hee tooke no pleaſure to ſee in his ſleepe any filthy or diſhoneſt thing, nor delighted to imagine that he either intended, did or approved any leawd, unjuſt or outragious action; but rather did beholde (as in a ſetled calme, without winde, weather and wave, in the cleere bottome of the water) both the imaginative and alſo the paſſive facultie of the ſoule, wholly overſpread and lightened with the bright beames of reaſon: which *Plato* before him (as it ſhould ſeeme) knowing well enough, hath prefigured and repreſented unto us, what fantaſticall motions they be that proceed in ſleepe from the imaginative & ſenſual part of the ſoule given by nature to tyrannize & overrule the guidance of reaſon; namely if a man dreame that he ſeeketh to have carnall company with his owne mother, or that he hath a great minde and appetite to eate all ſtrange, unlawfull and forbidden meats; as if then the ſaid tyrant gave himſelfe wholy to all thoſe ſenſualities & concupiſcences as being let looſe at ſuch a time, which by day the law either by feare or ſhame doth repreſſe & keepe downe. Like as therefore beaſts which ſerve for draught or ſaddle, if they be well taught and trained, albeit their governors and rulers let the reines looſe and give them the head, fling not out nor goe aſide from the right way, but either draw or make pace forward ſtil, & as they were wont ordinarily keepe the ſame traine and hold on in one courſe and order, even ſo they whoſe ſenſuall part of the ſoule is made trainable and obedient, tame, and well ſchooled by the diſcipline of reaſon, will neither in dreames nor ſickneſſes eaſily ſuffer the luſts and concupiſcences of the fleſh, to rage or breake out unto any enormities puniſhable by law; but will obſerve and keepe ſtill in memorie that good diſcipline and cuſtome which doth ingenerate a certeine power and efficacie unto diligence, whereby they ſhall and will take heed unto themſelves: for if the mind hath bene uſed by exerciſe to reſiſt paſſions and temptations, to hold the bodie and all the members thereof as it were with bit & bridle under ſubjection, in ſuch ſort that it hath at cõmand the eies not to ſhed teares for pitty; the heart likewiſe not to leape & pant in feare; the naturall parts not to riſe nor ſtirre but to be ſtill & quiet without any trouble at all, upon the ſight of any faire and beautifull perſon, man or woman; how can it otherwiſe be but that there ſhould be more likelihood that exerciſe having ſeized upon the ſenſuall part of the ſoule and tamed it, ſhould poliſh, lay even, reforme, and bring unto good order all the imaginations and motions thereof, even as farre as to the very dreames and fantaſies in ſleepe: as it is reported of *Stilpo* the philoſopher, who dreamed that he ſaw *Neptune* expoſtulating with him in anger, becauſe he had not killed a beefe to ſacrifice unto him as the manner was of other prieſts to doe, and that himſelfe nothing aſtonied or diſmaid at the ſaid viſion ſhould anſwer thus againe: What is that thou ſaiſt ô *Neptune*? commeſt thou to complaine indeed like a child (who pules and cries for not having a peece big enough) that I take not up ſome money at intereſt, and put my ſelfe in debt, to fill the whole citie with the ſent and ſavor of roſt and burnt, but have ſacrificed unto thee ſuch as I had at home according to my abilitie and in a meane? whereupon *Neptune* (as hee thought) ſhould merrily ſmile and reach foorth unto him his right hand, promiſing that for his ſake and for the love of him he would that yeere ſend the Megarians great ſtore of raine and good foiſon of ſea-loaches or fiſhes called *Aphyræ* by that meanes comming unto them by whole ſculles. Such then, as while they lie aſleepe have no illuſions ariſing in their braines to trouble them, but thoſe dreames or viſions onely as be joious pleaſant, plaine and evident, not painfull, nor terrible, nothing rough, maligne, tortuous and crooked; may boldly ſay that theſe fantaſies and apparitions be no other than the reflexions and raies of that light which rebound from the good proceedings in philoſophie; whereas contrariwiſe the furious pricks of luſt, timorous frights, unmanly and baſe flights, childiſh and exceſſive joies, dolorous ſorrowes, and dolefull mones by reaſon of ſome piteous illuſions ſtrange and abſurd viſions appeering in dreames, may be well compared unto the broken waves and billowes of the ſea beating upon the rocks and craggie banks of the ſhore; for that the ſoule having not as yet that ſetled perfection in it ſelfe which ſhould keepe it in good order, but holdeth on a courſe ſtill according to good lawes onely and ſage opinions, from which when it is fartheſt ſequeſtred and moſt remote, to wit, in ſleepe, it ſuffereth it ſelfe to returne againe to the old wont and to be let looſe and abandoned to her paſſions: But whether theſe things may be aſcribed unto that profit and amendement whereof we treat, or rather to ſome other habitude, having now gathered more ſtrength and firme conſtancie not ſubject by meanes of reaſons and good inſtruction to ſhaking, I leave that to your owne conſideration and mine together.

But now foraſmuch as this total impaſſibilitie (if I may ſo ſpeake) of the mind, to wit, a ſtate ſo perfect that it is void of all affections, is a great and divine thing; and ſeeing that this profit and proceeding whereof we write conſiſteth in a kind of remiſſion and mildneſſe of the ſaid paſſions, we ought both to conſider ech of them apart and alſo compare them one with another, thereby to examine and judge the difference: conferre we ſhall every paſſion by it ſelfe, by obſerving whether our luſts and deſires be more calme and leſſe violent than in former time, by marking likewiſe our fits of feare and anger, whether they be now abated in compariſon of thoſe before, or whether when they be up and enflamed, we can quickly with the helpe of reaſon remoove or quench that which was wont to ſet them on worke or a fire: compare we ſhall them together, in caſe we examine our ſelves whether we have now a greater portion of grace and ſhame in us than of feare; whether we finde in our ſelves emulation and not envie; whether we covet honor rather than worldly goods; and in one word, whether after the manner of muſicians we offend rather in the extremitie and exceſſe of harmonie called *Dorion*, which is grave, ſolemne, and devout, than the *Lydian*, which is light and galliard-like, that is to ſay inclining rather in the whole maner of our life to hardnes and ſeveritie, than to effeminate ſoftneſſe; whether in the enterpriſe of any actions we ſhew timiditie and ſlackneſſe, rather than temeritie and raſhneſſe, and laſt of all, whether we offend rather in admiring too highly the ſayings of men and the perſons themſelves, than in deſpiſing and debaſing them too low: for like as we ſay in phyſicke it is a good ſigne of health when diſeaſes are not diverted and tranſlated into the noble members & principal parts of the body; even ſo it ſeemeth that when the vices of ſuch as are in the way of reformation and amendement of life chaunge into paſſions that are more milde and moderate, it is a good beginning of ridding them away cleane by little & little.

The Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, which were the high controllers of that whole State, demanded of the Muſician *Phrynis*, when he had ſet up two ſtrings more to his ſeven ſtringed inſtrument, whether he would have them to cut in ſunder the trebles or the baſes, the higheſt or the loweſt? but as for us, we had need to have our affections cut both above and beneath, if we deſire to reduce our actions to a meane and mediocritie. And ſurely this progreſſe or proceeding of ours to perfection, profeſſeth rather to let downe the lighteſt firſt, to cut off the extremitie of paſſions in exceſſe, and to abate the acrimonie of affections before we doe any thing elſe, in which as ſaith *Sophocles*:

Folke fooliſh and incontinent,
Moſt furious be and violent.

As for this one point, namely that we ought to transferre our judgement to action, and not to ſuffer our words to remaine bare and naked words ſtill in the aire, but reduce them to effect, we have alreadie ſaid, that is the chiefe propertie belonging to our progreſſe and going forward: now the principall arguments and ſignes thereof be theſe; if we have a zeale and fervent affection to imitate thoſe things which we praiſe; if we be forward and readie to execute that which we ſo much admire, and contrariwiſe will not admit nor abide to heare of ſuch things as we in our opinion diſpraiſe and condemne. Probable it is and ſtandeth with great likelihood that the Athenians al in general praiſed and highly eſteemed the valour and proweſſe of *Miltiades*; but when *Themiſtocles* ſaid; that the victorie and Trophee of *Miltiades* would not give him leave to ſleepe, but awakened him in the night, plaine it is and evident, that he not onely praiſed and admired, but had a deſire alſo to imitate him, and do aſmuch himſelfe; ſemblably, we are to make this reckoning, that our progreſſe and proceeding in vertue is but ſmall, when it reacheth no farther than to praiſe onely and have in admiration that which good men have woorthily done, without any motion and inclination of our will to imitate the ſame and effect the like. For neither is the carnall love of the bodie effectuall, unleſſe ſome little jealouſie be mixed withall, nor the praiſe of vertue fervent and active, which doth not touch the quicke, and pricke the heart with an ardent zeale in ſtead of envie, unto good and commendable things, and the ſame deſirous to performe and accompliſh the ſame fully. For it is not ſufficient that the heart ſhould be turned upſide downe onely, as *Alcibiades* was woont to ſay by the words and precepts of the Philoſopher reading out of his chaire, even untill the teares guſh out of the eies: but he that truly doth profit & go forward, ought by comparing himſelfe with the works & actions of good men, and thoſe that be perfectly vertuous, to feele withall in his owne heart, aſwell a diſpleaſure with himſelfe, and a griefe in conſcience for that wherein he is ſhort and defective, as alſo a joy and contentment in his ſpirit upon a hope and deſire to be equall unto them, as being full of an affection and motion that never reſteth and lieth ſtill, but reſembleth for all the world (according to the ſimilitude of *Simonides*:)

The ſucking foale that keeps juſt pace,
And runs with dam in everie place.

affecting and deſiring nothing more than to be wholy united and concorporate with a good man, by imitation. For ſurely this is the paſſion peculiar and proper unto him that truely taketh profit by the ſtudie of Philoſophie; To love and cherriſh tenderly the diſpoſition & conditions of him whoſe deeds he doth imitate and deſire to expreſſe, with a certaine good will to render alwaies in words, due honor unto them for their vertue, and to aſſay how to faſhion and conforme himſelfe like unto them. But in whomſoever there is inſtilled or infuſed (I wot not what) contentious humor, envie, and conteſtation againſt ſuch as be his betters, let him know that all this proceedeth from an heart exulcerated with jealouſie for ſome authoritie, might and reputation, and not upon any love, honor, or admiration of their vertues. Now, when as we begin to love good men in ſuch ſort that (as *Plato* ſaith) we eſteeme not only the man himſelfe happie who is temperate; or thoſe bleſſed who be the ordinarie hearers of ſuch excellent diſcourſes which daily come out of his mouth; but alſo that we do affect and admire his countenance, his port, his gate, the caſt and regard of his eie, his ſmile and maner of laughter, inſomuch as we are willing, as one would ſay to be joined, ſodered, and glued unto him; then we may be aſſured certainely that we profit in vertue; yea and ſo much the rather, if we have in admiration good and vertuous men, not onely in their proſperitie, but alſo (like as amorous folke are well enough pleaſed with the liſping or ſtammering tongue; yea and do like the pale colour of theſe whom for the flower of their youth and beautie they love and thinke it beſeemeth them, as we reade of Ladie *Panthea*, who by her teares and ſad ſilence, all heavie, afflicted and blubbered as ſhe was, for the dolor and ſorrow that ſhe tooke for the death of her husband, ſeized *Araſpes* ſo as hee was enamoured upon her) in their adverſitie, ſo as we neither ſtart backe for feare, nor dread the baniſhment of *Ariſtides*, the impriſonment of *Anaxagoras*, the povertie of *Socrates*, or the condemnation of *Phocion*, but repute their vertue, deſireable, lovely and amiable even with all theſe calamities, and runne directly toward her for to kiſſe and embrace her by our imitation, having alwaies in our mouth at everie one of theſe croſſe accidents this notable ſpeech of *Euripides*:

Oh how each thing doth well become,
Such generous hearts both all and ſome!

For we are never to feare or doubt that any good or honeſt thing ſhall ever be able to avert from vertue this heavenly inſpiration and divine inſtinct of affection, which not onely is not grieved and troubled at thoſe things which ſeeme unto men moſt full of miſerie and calamitie, but alſo admireth & deſireth to imitate thē. Hereupon alſo it followeth by good conſequence, that they who have once received ſo deepe an impreſſion in their hearts, take this courſe with themſelves: That when they begin any enterpriſe, or enter into the adminiſtration of government, or when any ſiniſter accident is preſented unto thē, they ſet before their eies the examples of thoſe who either preſently are or heretofore have bene worthy perſons, diſcourſing in this maner: What is it that *Plato* would have done in this caſe? what would have *Epaminondas* ſaid to this? how would *Lycurgus* or *Ageſilaus* have behaved themſelves herein? After this ſort (I ſay) will they labour to frame, compoſe, reforme and adorne their manners as it were before a mirrour or looking-glaſſe, to wit, in correcting any unſeemly ſpeech that they have let fall, or repreſſing any paſſion that hath riſen in them. They that have learned the names of the demi-gods called *Idæi Dactyli*, know how to uſe them as counter-charmes or preſervatives againſt ſudden frights, pronouncing the ſame one after another readily and ceremoniouſly; but the remembrance and thinking upon great and worthy men repreſented ſuddenly unto thoſe who are in the way of perfection, and taking holde of them in all paſſions and perplexions which ſhall encounter them, holdeth them up, and keepeth them upright, that they can not fall; and therefore this alſo may go for one argument and token of proceeding in vertue.

Over and beſides, not to be ſo much troubled with any occurrent, nor to bluſh exceedingly for ſhame as before-time, nor to ſeeke to hide or otherwiſe to alter our countenance or any thing els about us, upon the ſudden comming in place of a great or ſage perſonage unexpe-cted,but to perſiſt reſolute, to go directly toward him with bare and open face, are tokens that a man feeleth his conſcience ſetled and aſſured. Thus *Alexander* the great ſeeing a meſſenger running toward him apace with a pleaſant and ſmiling countenance, and ſtretching foorth his hand afarre off to him: How now good fellow (quoth hee) what good newes canſt thou bring me more, unleſſe it be tidings that *Homer* is riſen againe? eſteeming in trueth that his woorthy acts and noble deedes already atchieved, wanted nothing els, nor could be made greater than they were, but onely by being conſecrated unto immortalitie by the writings of ſome noble ſpirit; even ſo a yoong man that groweth better and better every day, and hath reformed his maners, loving nothing more than to make himſelfe knowen what he is unto men of worth and honour; to ſhew unto them his whole houſe and the order thereof, his table, his wife and children, his ſtudies and intents; to acquaint them with his ſayings and writings; inſomuch as other-whiles he is grieved in his heart to thinke and remember, either that his father naturall that begat him, or his maſter that taught him, are departed out of this life, for that they be not alive to ſee in what good eſtate he is in and to joy thereat; neither would he wiſh or pray to the gods for any thing ſo much, as that they might revive and come againe above ground, for to be ſpectators and eie-witneſſes of his life and all his actions. Contrariwiſe,thoſe that have neglected themſelves and not endevoured to do wel,but are corrupt in their maners,can not without feare and trembling abide to ſee thoſe that belong unto them, no nor ſo much as to dreame of them. Adde moreover, if you pleaſe, unto that which hath beene already ſaid, thus much alſo for a good token of progreſſe in vertue: When a man thinketh no ſinne or treſpaſſe ſmall, but is very carefull and wary to avoid and ſhunne them all. For like as they who deſpaire ever to be rich, make no account at all of ſaving a little expenſe; for thus they thinke: That the ſparing of a ſmall matter can adde no great thing unto their ſtocke, to heape it up; but contrariwiſe, hope when a man ſees that he wanteth but a little of the marke which he ſhooteth at, cauſeth that the neerer he commeth thereto, his covetouſneſſe is the more; even ſo it is in thoſe matters that perteine to vertue: he who giveth not place much, nor proceedeth to theſe ſpeeches: Well, and what ſhall we have after this? Be it ſo now: It will be better againe for it another time: and ſuch like: but alwaies taketh heed to himſelfe in every thing; and whenſoever vice inſinuating it ſelfe into the leaſt ſinne and fault that is,ſeemeth to pretend and ſuggeſt ſome colourable excuſes for to crave pardon, is much diſcontented and diſpleaſed; he (I ſay) giveth hereby good evidence and proofe that he hath a houſe within cleane and neat, and that he would not endure the leaſt impuritie and ordure in the world to defile the ſame: For (as *Aeſchylus* ſaith) an opinion conceived once,that nothing that we have is great and to be eſteemed and reckoned of, cauſeth us to be careleſſe and negligent in ſmall matters. They that make a palaiſado, a rampier or rough mud wall,care not much to put into their worke any wood that commeth next hand,neither is it greatly materiall to take thereto any rubbiſh or ſtone that they can meet with, or firſt commeth into their eie, yea, and if it were a pillar fallen from a monument or ſepulchre; ſemblablydoe wicked and leawd folke,who gather,thrumble & heape up together all ſorts of gaine, all actions that be in their way,it makes no matter what; but ſuch as profit in vertue,who are alredy planted, and whoſe golden foundation of a good life is laid (as it were) for ſome ſacred temple or roiall palace, will not take hand over head, any ſtuffe to build thereupon, neither will they worke by aime, but every thing ſhall be couched, laied and ranged by line and levell, that is to ſay, by the ſquire & rule of reaſon: which is the cauſe (as we thinke) that *Polycletus* the famous imager was wont to ſay: That the hardeſt piece of all the worke remained then to do, when the clay and the naile met together; ſignifying thus much: That the chiefe point of cunning and perfection was in the up-ſhoot and end of all.

OF

OF SVPERSTITION.

The Summarie.

IT ſhould ſeeme that Plutarch *compoſed this booke in mockerie and deriſion of the Iewes whom he toucheth, and girdeth at in one place, and whoſe religion he mingleth with the ſuperſtition of the Pagans; to aſmuch purpoſe (Iwis) as that which he delivereth in a diſcourſe at the table, where he compareth the feaſt of the Tabernacles ordeined by the eternall and almightie God, with the Bacchanalles and ſuch ſtinking ordures of idolaters; thinking verily that* Bacchus *was the god of the Iewes. This ſlaunder of his and falſe calumniation ought to be imputed unto that ignorance of the true God, wherein* Plutarch *did remaine inwrapped: yet is not he the man alone who hath derided and flouted the religion of the Iewes: but ſuch ſcoffes and deriſions of the ſages and wiſe men of this world, eſpecially and above all when they are addreſſed againſt God, fall upon the head of the authors and deviſers thereof, to their utter confuſion. Moreover as touching this point, that ſome have thought this preſent diſcourſe wherin he endevoureth and laboureth to prove ſuperſtition to be more perilous than Atheiſme is dangerous to be read, & conteineth falſe doctrine; for that ſuperſtition of the twaine is not ſo bad: I ſay that in regard of the fooliſh devotion of* Plutarch *and ſuch as himſelfe, which in no wiſe deſerveth the nane of religion, but is indeed a deriſion and profanation of true pietie and godlineſſe, it were not amiſſe to affirme that ſuperſtition is more wretched and miſerable than Atheiſme, conſidering that leſſe hurtfull and dangerous it is for a man not to have his minde and ſoule troubled at all and diſquieted with a fantaſticall illuſion of idoles and* Chimæres *in the aire, than to feare, honor and ſerve them in ſuch ſort as juſtice & humanity ſhould in maner be aboliſhed by ſuch ſuperſtitious idolaters. To be ſhort, that it were better to defeat and overthrow at once all falſe gods, than to lodge any one in his head, for to languiſh thereby in perpetuall miſerie. Concerning true religion and the extremities thereof, the caſe is otherwiſe, and the queſtion diſputable, which we leave to Divines and Theologians to ſcan upon, to diſcourſe and determine, ſince our intention and purpoſe urgeth us not at this time to diſcourſe heereupon.*

But to returne unto our author, conſidering that which we come to touch; Atheiſts cannot find how to prevaile and maintaine their opinion: for ſufficient proceſſe and accuſation againſt themſelves, they cary every minute of an houre in their cauterized & ſeered conſcience: but he ſheweth that to worſhip and ſerve many idols, is a thing without compariſon more deplorable than to diſavow and diſclaime them all. But to prove this, after he had diſcovered the courſe of ſuperſtition & Atheiſme, and declared the difference of theſe two extremities, he ſaith in the firſt place, that ſuperſtition is the moſt unwoorthy and unſeemly of all the paſſions of the ſoule, proving the ſame by divers reaſons, to wit; That the ſuperſtitious man is in continuall perplexity, he dreadeth his owne idole no leſſe than a cruell tyrant, and imagineth a thouſand evils even after his death. After this he taketh a view of the Atheiſt, and oppoſeth him againſt the ſuperſtitious, reſolving upon this point; that the ſuperſtitious perſon is more miſerable of the twaine, aſwell in adverſitie as proſperitie, and to confirme and ſatisfie his aſſertion, he ſetteth downe many arguments and notable examples. Moreover he ſheweth that the ſuperſtitious perſon is an enimie to all deitie or godhead, he putteth cleane out of his heart, and treadeth underfoote all humanitie and righteouſneſſe for to pleaſe his idols, and in one word, that he is the moſt wretched caitife in the world. And for a concluſion he exhorteth us ſo to flie ſuperſtition, that we hold our ſelves from falling into Atheiſme, keeping in the middle betweene; of which point every good man ought to conſider and thinke upon well and in good earneſt in theſe latter times of the world, albeit he who advertiſeth us thereof in this place, never knew what was true religion.

OF SUPERSTITION.

THe ignorance and want of true knowledge as touching the gods divided even from the beginning into two branches, meeting on the one ſide with ſtubborne and obſtinate natures, as it were with a churliſh peece of ground, hath in them engendred Impietie and Atheiſme; and on the otherſide, lighting upon gentle and tender ſpirits like a moiſt and ſoft ſoile, hath bred and imprinted therein ſuperſtition: now as all error in opinion and judgement, and namely in theſe matters, is hurtfull and dangerous enough; ſo if it be accompanied with ſome paſſion of the minde it is moſt pernitious. For this we muſt thinke, that every one of theſe paſſions reſembleth a deception that is feaverous and inflamed; and like as the diſlocations of any joints in a mans bodie out of their place joined with a wound be woorſe than others to be cured; even ſo the diſtortions and errors of the minde meeting with ſome paſſion are more difficult to be reformed. As for example, ſet caſe that one doe thinke that the little motes and indiviſible bodies called *Atomi*, together with voidneſſe and emptineſſe be the firſt elements and principles whereof all things are made; certeinly this is an erronious and falſe opinion of his; howbeit the ſame breedeth no ulcer, no feaver cauſing diſordinate pulſe in the arteries, nor yet any pricking and troubleſome paine. Doth ſome one hold that riches is the ſoveraigne good of man? This error and falſe opinion hath a ruſt or canker and a worme that eateth into the ſoule and tranſporteth the ſame beſides it ſelfe, it ſuffreth it not to take any repoſe, it ſtingeth, it pricketh it and ſetteth it a gadding, it throweth it downe headlong (as it were) from high rocks, it ſtifleth and ſtrangleth it, and in one word it bereaveth it of all libertie & franke ſpeech. Againe, are there ſome perſwaded, that vertue and vice be ſubſtances corporall and materiall? this haply is a groſſe ignorance and a foule error, howbeit not lamentable nor worthie to be deplored: but there be other judgements and opinions like unto this:

O vertue wretched and miſerable,
Nought elſe but words and winde variable;
Thee ſerv'd I daily with all reverence,
As if thou hadſt beene ſome reall eſſence:
Whereas injuſtice neglected I have,
Which would have made me a man rich and brave;
Intemperance eke have I caſt behind.
Of pleaſures all, the mother deere and kind.

Such as theſe verily we ought to pitie, yea and withall to be offended at, becauſe in whoſe minds they are once entered and ſetled they engender many maladies and paſſions like unto wormes and ſuch filthy vermine. But now to come unto thoſe which at this preſent are in queſtion: Impietie or Atheiſme, being a falſe perſwaſion and lewd beliefe, that there is no ſoveraigne Nature moſt happie and incorruptible, ſeemeth by incredulitie of a God-head to bring miſcreants to a certaine ſtupiditie, bereaving them of all ſenſe and feeling, conſidering that the end of this miſbeleefe that there is no God, is to be void altogether of feare. As for ſuperſtition, according as the nature of the Greeke word (which ſignifieth *Feare of the Gods*) doth imply, is a paſſionate opinion and turbulent imagination, imprinting in the heart of man a certaine fearfulneſſe, which doth abate his courage and humble him downe to the verie ground, whiles he is perſwaded that they be gods indeed, but ſuch as be noyſome, hurtfull, and doing miſchiefe unto men: In ſuch ſort, that the impious Atheiſt having no motion at all as touching the Deitie and Divine power, and the ſuperſtitious perſon mooved and affected thereto after a perverſe ſort, and otherwiſe than he ſhould, are both out of the right way. For ignorance as it doth ingenerate in the one an unbeliefe of that ſoveraign Nature which is the cauſe of all goodnes; ſo it imprinteth in the other a miſbeliefe of the Deitie, as being the cauſe of evill: ſo that as it ſhould ſeeme, Impietie or Atheiſme is a falſe judgement and opinion of the God-head; and ſuperſtition a paſſion proceeding from an erronious perſwaſion. True it is that all maladies of the ſoule are foule and the paſſions naught; howbeit in ſome of them, there is a kinde of (I wot not what) alacritie, haughtines and jollitie, proceeding from the lightneſſe of the minde; and to ſay in a word, there is in manner not one of them all, deſtitute of one active motion or other, ſerving for action; but a common imputation this is and a blame laid generally upon all paſſions, that with their violent pricks (as it were) they incite, provoke, urge, compell, and force reaſon; onely feare, which being no leſſe voide of audacitie and boldneſſe, than of reaſon; carrieth with it a certaine blockiſhneſſe or ſtupiditie, deſtitute of action, perplexed, idle, dead, without any exploit or effect whatſoever; whereupon it is named in Greeke Δεῖμα, that is to ſay, a Bond, and Τάρβος, that is to ſay, Trouble, for that it both bindeth and alſo troubleth the minde. But of all ſorts of feare, there is none ſo full of perplexitie, none ſo unfit for action as that of ſuperſtition. The man who ſaileth not, is not afraid of the ſea; neither feareth he the warres, who followeth not warfare; [illegible] more than he who keepeth home and ſtirreth not out of doores, is afraid of theeves that rob [illegible] the high way ſide; or the poore man that hath nought to looſe, of the Sycophant or promoter; nor he that liveth in meane eſtate, of envie; no more (I ſay) than he that is in *Gaule* feareth earth-quake, or in *Aethiopia* thunder and lightning: but the ſuperſtitious man that ſtands in feare of the gods, feareth all things, the land, the ſea, the aire the skie, darkeneſſe, light, ſilence and his verie dreames. Servants whiles they be a ſleepe, forget the rigour and hardneſſe of their maſters. Sleepe eaſeth the cheines, gives and fetters, of thoſe that ly by the heeles bound in priſon; dolorous inflammations, ſmart wounds, painfull ulcers and marimuls that eate and conſume the fleſh, yeeld ſome eaſe and alleviation unto patients whiles they be aſleepe, according as he ſaith in the Tragedie:

> *O ſweet repoſe, ô ſleepe ſo gracious*
> *That doeſt allay our maladies,*
> *How welcome art thou unto us,*
> *Bringing in ſeaſon remedies?*

Thus ſaid he: But ſuſperſtition will not give a man leave thus to ſay: For it alone maketh no truce during ſleepe; it permitteth not the ſoule at any time to breath and take reſt, no nor ſuffereth it to plucke up her ſpirits and take heart againe by remooving out of her the unpleaſant, tart and troubleſome opinions as touching the divine power; but as if the ſleepe of ſuperſtitious folke were a verie hell and place of damned perſons, it doth preſent unto them terrible viſions and monſtrous fanſies; it raiſeth divels, fiends and furies, which torment the poore and miſerable ſoule; it driveth her out of her quiet repoſe by her owne fearfull dreames, wherewith ſhe whippeth, ſcourgeth, and puniſheth herſelfe (as if it were) by ſome other, whoſe cruell and unreaſonable commandements ſhe doth obey; and yet here is not all; for, that which worſe is, ſuch ſuperſtitious perſons after they be awakened out of their ſleepe and riſen, do not as other men, deſpiſe their dreames, and either laugh thereat or take pleaſure therein, for that they ſee there is nothing true in all their viſions and illuſions which ſhould trouble and terrifie them; but being eſcaped out of the ſhadow of thoſe falſe illuſions, wherein there is no harme or hurt at all, they deceive and trouble themſelves in good earneſt, ſpending their ſubſtance and goods infinitly upon magicians, juglars, enchanters, and ſuch like deceivers whom they light upon, who beare a man in hand and thus ſay unto him:

> *If frighted thou be with fanſies in ſleepe,*
> *Or haunted with* Hecate *that beneath doth keepe.*

Call for an old trot that tends thy backhouſe, and plunge thy ſelfe in the ſea water, and ſit a whole day upon the ground,

> *O Greekes, you that would counted be moſt wiſe,*
> *Theſe barbarous and wicked toies deviſe.*

namely, upon a vaine and fooliſh ſuperſtition, enjoining men to begrime and beray themſelves with durt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to obſerve Sabbaths and ceaſe from worke, to lie proſtrate and groveling upon the earth with the face downeward, to ſit upon the ground in open place, and to make many ſtrange and extravagant adorations. In times paſt the maner was, among thoſe eſpecially who would enterteine and obſerve lawfull muſicke, to command thoſe that began to play upon the harpe or citterne, to ſing thereto with a juſt mouth, to the end they ſhould ſpeake no diſhoneſt thing; and even we alſo require and thinke it meet to pray unto the gods with a juſt and right mouth, & not to prie in the beaſt ſacrificed, to looke into the intrails, to obſerve whether the tongue thereof be pure and right, and in the meane time perverting and polluting our owne tongues with ſtrange and abſurd names, infecting and defiling the ſame with barbarous tearmes, offending thereby the gods, and violating the dignitie of that religion which is received from our anceſtours, and authoriſed in our owne countrey. The Comicall

Poet ſaid pleaſantly in one Comedie, ſpeaking of thoſe who laied their bedſteds thicke with golde and ſilver: Why do you make your ſleepe deare and coſtly unto your ſelves, which is the only gift that the gods have given us freely? even ſo may a man very wel ſay (and with great reaſon) unto thoſe that are ſuperſtitious: Seeing that the gods have beſtowed upon us ſleepe, for the oblivion and repoſe of our miſeries, why makeſt thou it a very bel & place of continuall and dolorous torment to thy poore ſoule, which can not flie nor have recourſe unto any other ſleep but that which is troubleſome unto thee? **Heraclitus** was wont to ſay: That men all the whiles they were awake, enjoied the benefit of no other world, but that which was common unto all; but when they ſlept, every one had a world by himſelfe: but ſurely, the ſuperſtitious perſon hath not ſo much as any part of the common world, for neither whiles hee is awake hath hee the true uſe of reaſon and wiſdome, nor when he ſleepeth is he delivered from feare & ſecured; but one thing or other troubleth him ſtill: his reaſon is aſleepe, his feare is alwaies awake; ſo that neither can he avoid his owne harme quite, nor finde any meanes to put it by, and turne it off. *Polycrates* the tyrant was dread and terrible in *Samos*, *Periander* in *Corinth*, but no man feared either the one or the other, who withdrew himſelfe into any free city or popular State; as for him who ſtandeth in dread and feare of the imperiall power of the gods, as of ſome rigorous and inexorable tyranny, whither ſhall he retire & withdraw himſelfe? whither ſhall he flie? where ſhall he find a land, where ſhal he meet with ſea, without a god? into what ſecret part of the world (poore man) wilt thou betake thy ſelfe, wherein thou maieſt lie cloſe and hidden, and be aſſured that thou art without the puiſſance and reach of the gods? There is a law that provideth for miſerable ſlaves, who being ſo hardly intreated by their maſters, are out of all hope that they ſhall be enfranchiſed and made free, namely; that they may demand to be ſolde againe and to change their maſter, if haply they may by that meanes come by a better and more eaſie ſervitude under another: but this ſuperſtition alloweth us not that libertie to change our gods for the better, nay, there is not a god to be found in the world, whom a ſuperſtitious perſon doth not dread, conſidering that he feareth the tutelar gods of his native countrey, and the very gods protectors of his nativitie: he quaketh even before thoſe gods which are knowen to be ſaviours propitious and gracious; he trembleth for feare, when he thinketh of them at whoſe hands we crave riches, abundance of goods, concord, peace, and the happie ſucceſſe of the beſt words and deeds that we have. Now if theſe thinke that bondage is a great calamitie, ſaying thus:

O heavie croſſe and wofull miſerie,
Man and woman to be in thrall-eſtate:
And namely, if their ſlaverie
Be under lords unfortunate.

how much more grievous thinke you is their ſervitude which they endure, who can not flie, who can not runne away and eſcape, who can not change and turne to another. Altars there be, unto which bad ſervants may flie for ſuccour; many ſanctuaries there be and priviledged churches for theeves and robbers, from whence no man is ſo hardy as to plucke and pull them out. Enemies after they are defeated and put to flight, if in the very rout and chaſe they can take holde of ſome image of the gods, or recover ſome temple and get it over their heads once, are ſecured and aſſured of their lives; whereas the ſuperſtitious perſon is moſt affrighted, ſcared, and put in feare by that, wherein all others who be affraid of extreameſt evils that can happen to man, repoſe their hope and truſt. Never goe about to pull perforce a ſuperſtitious man out of ſacred temples, for in them he is moſt afflicted and tormented. What needs many words? In all men death is the end of life; but it is not ſo in ſuperſtition, for it extendeth and reacheth farther than the limits and utmoſt bounds thereof, making feare longer than this life, and adjoining unto death an imagination of immortall miſeries; and even then, when there ſeemeth to be an end and ceſſation of all ſorrowes & travels, be ſuperſtitious men perſwaded that they muſt enter into others which be endleſſe & everlaſting: they dream of (I wot not what) deepe gates of a certein *Pluto* or infernall God of hell, which open for to receive them; of fierie rivers alwaies burning; of hollow gulfs and flouds of *Styx* to gape for them; of ugly and hideous darkeneſſe to overſpread them, full of ſundry apparitions; of gaſtly ghoſts and ſorrowfull ſpirits, repreſenting unto them grizlie and horrible ſhapes to ſee, and as fearefull and lamentable voices to heare: what ſhould I ſpeake of judges, of tormentors, of bottomleſſe pits, and gaping caves, full of all ſorts of torture and infinite miſeries. Thus unhappy and wretched ſuperſtition, by fearing overmuch and without reaſon, that which it imagineth to be nought, never taketh heed how it ſubmitteth it ſelfe to all miſeries; and for want of knowledge how to avoid this paſſionate trouble, occaſioned by the feare of the gods, forgeth and deviſeth to it ſelfe an expectation of inevitable evils even after death. The impietie of an Atheiſt hath none of all this geere; moſt true it is, that his ignorance is unhappie, and that a great calamitie and miſerie it is unto the ſoule, either to ſee amiſſe or wholly to be blinded, in ſo great & woorthy things, as having of many eies the principall and cleereſt of all, to wit, the knowledge of God extinct and put out; but ſurely (as I ſaid before) this paſſionate feare, this ulcer and ſore of conſcience, this trouble of ſpirit, this ſervile abjection is not in his conceit; theſe goe alwaies with the other, who have ſuch a ſuperſtitious opinion of the gods. *Plato* ſaith that muſicke was given unto men by the gods, as a ſingular meanes to make them more modeſt and gracious, yea and to bring them as it were into tune, and cauſe them to be better conditioned, and not for delight and pleaſure, nor to tickle the eares: for falling out as it doth many times, that for default and want of the Muſes and Graces, there is great confuſion & diſorder in the periods and harmonies, the accords and conſonances of the minde, which breaketh out otherwhiles outragiouſly by meanes of intemperance and negligence; muſicke is of that power that it ſetteth every thing againe in good order and their due place; for according as the poet *Pindarus* ſaith:

To whatſoever from above,
God Iupiter *doth caſt no love,*
To that the voice melodious
Of Muſes ſeemeth odious.

Inſomuch as they fall into fits of rage therewith, and be very fell & angrie; like as it is reported of tygers, who if they heare the ſound of drums or tabours round about them, will grow furious and ſtarke mad, untill in the end they teare themſelves in peeces: ſo that there commeth leſſe harme unto them who by reaſon of deafeneſſe or hard hearing, have no ſenſe at all of muſicke, and are nothing mooved and affected therewith: a great infortunitie this was of blind *Tireſias*, that hee could not ſee his children and friends, but much more unfortunate and unhappie were *Athamas* and *Agave*, who ſeeing their children, thought they ſaw lions and ſtags. And no doubt when *Hercules* fell to be enraged and mad, better it had beene and more expedient for him, that he had not ſeene nor knowne his owne children, than ſo to deale with thoſe who were moſt deere unto him, and whom he loved more than all the world beſides, as if they had beene his mortall enemies. Thinke you not then, that there is the ſame difference betweene the paſſions of Atheiſts and ſuperſtitious folke? Atheiſts have no ſight nor knowledge of the gods at all; and the ſuperſtitious thinke there are gods, though they be perſwaded of them amiſſe; Atheiſts neglect them altogether as if they were not; but the ſuperſtitious eſteeme that to bee terrible, which is gracious & amiable; cruell and tyranlike, which is kind and fatherlike; hurtful and damageable unto us, which is moſt carefull of our good and profit; rough, rigorous, ſavage and fell of nature, which is void of choler and without paſſion. And hereupon it is that they beleeve-braſſe founders, cutters in ſtone, imagers, gravers and workers in waxe, who ſhape, & repreſent unto them gods with bodies to the likeneſſe of mortall men, for ſuch they imagine them to be, ſuch they adorne, adore and worſhip, whiles in the meane time they deſpiſe philoſophers and grave perſonages of State and government, who do teach and ſhew that the majeſtie of God is accompanied with bountie, magnanimitie, love and carefull regard of our good: So that as in the one ſort we may perceive a certeine ſenceleſſe ſtupiditie and want of beleife in thoſe cauſes from whence proceed all goodneſſe; ſo in the other we may obſerve a diſtruſtfull doubt and feare of thoſe which cannot otherwiſe be than profitable and gracious. In ſum, impietie and Atheiſme is nothing elſe but a meere want of feeling and ſenſe of a deitie or divine power, for default of underſtanding and knowing the ſoveraigne good; and ſuperſtition is a heape of divers paſſions, ſuſpecting and ſuppoſing that which is good by nature to bee bad; for ſuperſtitious perſons feare the gods, and yet they have recourſe unto them; they flatter them, and yet blaſpheme and reproch them; they pray unto them, and yet complaine of them. A common thing this is unto all men, not to be alwaies fortunate, whereas the gods are void of ſickneſſe, not ſubject to old age, neither taſte they of labour or paine at any time: and as *Pindarus* ſaith,

Eſcape they do the paſſage of the firth
Of roaring Acheron, *and live alway in mirth.*

But the paſſions and affaires of men be intermedled with divers accidents and adventures which run as well one way as another. Now conſider with me firſt and formoſt the Atheiſt in thoſe things which happen againſt his minde, and learne his diſpoſition and affection in ſuch occurrences:

rences: if in other reſpects he be a temperate and modeſt man, beare he will his fortune patiently without ſaying a word; ſeeke for aide he will and comfort by what meanes he can; but if he be of nature violent,and take his misfortune impatiently, then he directeth and oppoſeth all his plaints and lamentations againſt fortune and caſualtie; then he crieth out that there is nothing in the world governed either by juſtice or with providence, but that all the affaires of man run confuſedly headlong to deſtruction: but the faſhion of the ſuperſtitious is otherwiſe, for let there never ſo ſmall an accident or miſhap befal unto him, he ſits him downe ſorrowing, and thereto he multiplieth and addeth other great and greevous afflictions, ſuch as hardly be remooved; he imagineth ſundry frights, feares, ſuſpicions, and troubleſome terrors, giving himſelfe to all kinde of wailing, groaning, and dolefull lamentation; for he accuſeth not any man, fortune, occaſion, or his owne ſelfe; but he blameth God as the cauſe of all, giving out in plaine termes, that from thence it is that there falleth and runneth over him ſuch a celeſtiall influence of all calamitie and miſery, conteſting in this wiſe, that an unhappie or unluckie man he is not, but one hated of the gods, woorthily puniſhed and afflicted, yea and ſuffring all deſervedly by that divine power and providence: now if the godleſſe Atheiſt be ſicke, he diſcourſeth with himſelfe and calleth to minde his repletions and full feedings, his ſurfeiting upon drinking wine, his diſorders in diet, his immoderate travell & paines taken, yea and his unuſuall and abſurd change of aire, from that which was familiar, unto that which is ſtrange and unnaturall: moreover, if it chance that he have offended in any matter of government touching the State, incurred diſgrace and an evill opinion of the people and country wherein he liveth, or beene falſly accuſed and ſlandered before the prince or ſovereigne ruler, he goeth no farther than to himſelfe and thoſe about him, imputing the cauſe of all thereto and to nothing els, and thus he reaſoneth:

Where have I beene? what good have I done? and what have I not done?
Where have I ſlipt? what dutie begun, is left by me undone?

whereas the ſuperſtitious perſon will thinke and ſay, that everie diſeaſe and infirmitie of his bodie, all his loſſes, the death of his children, his evill ſucceſſe and infortunitie in managing civill affaires of State, and his repulſes and diſgraces, are ſo many plagues inflicted upon him by the ire of the gods, and the verie aſſaults of the divine juſtice; inſomuch as he dare not go about to ſeeke for helpe and ſuccour, nor avert his owne calamitie; he will not preſume to ſeeke for remedie, nor oppoſe himſelfe againſt the invaſion of adverſe fortune, for feare (forſooth) leſt hee might ſeeme to fight againſt the gods, or to reſiſt their power and will when they puniſh him: thus when he lieth ſicke in bed, he driveth his phyſician out of the chamber, when he is come to viſit him; when he is in ſorrow, he ſhutteth and locketh his doore upon the Philoſopher, that commeth to comfort him and give him good counſell: Let me alone (will he ſay) and give me leave to ſuffer puniſhment as I have deſerved, wicked and profane creature that I am, accurſed, hated of all the gods, demi-gods, and ſaints in heaven. Whereas if a (man who doth not beleeve nor is perſwaded that there is a God) be otherwiſe in exceeding griefe and ſorrow, it is an ordinarie thing with him to wipe away the teares as they guſh out of his eies, and trickle downe the cheekes, to cauſe his haire to be cut, and to take away his mourning weed. As for a ſuperſtitious perſon; how ſhoud one ſpeake unto him, or which way ſuccour and helpe him? without the doores he ſits clad in ſackloth, or elſe girded about his loines with patched clothes and tattered rags; oftentimes he will welter and wallow in the mire, confeſſing and declaring (I wot not) what ſinnes and offenſes that he hath committed; to wit, that he hath eaten or drunke this or that, which his god would not permit; that he hath walked or gone ſome whither againſt the will and leave of the divine power. Now, ſay he be of the beſt ſort of theſe ſuperſtitious people, and that he labour but of the milder ſuperſtition; yet will he at leaſtwiſe ſit within houſe, having about him a number of all kindes of ſacrifices and ſacred aſperſions; yee ſhall have old witches come and bring all the charmes, ſpels, and ſorceries they can come by, and hang them about his necke or other parts of his bodie (as it were) upon a ſtake, as *Bion* was woont to ſay.

It is reported that *Tyribaſus* when he ſhould have beene apprehended by the Perſians, drew his cemiter, and (as hee was a valiant man of his hands) defended himſelfe valiantly; but ſo ſoone as they that came to lay hands on him, cried out and proteſted that they were to attach him in the kings name & by commiſſion from his Majeſtie, he laid downe his weapon aforeſaid immediately, and offred both his hands to be bound and pinnioned. And is not this whereof we treat the ſemblable caſe? whereas others withſtand their adverſitie, repell and put backe their afflictions, and worke all the meanes they can for to avoide, eſcape, and turne away that which they would not have to come upon them. A ſuperſtitious perſon will heare no man, but ſpeake in this wiſe to himſelfe: Wretched man that thou art, all this thou ſuffreſt at the hands of God, and this is befallen unto thee by his commandement, and the divine providence; all hope hee rejecteth, he doth abandon and betray himſelfe, and looke whoſoever come to ſuccour and helpe him, thoſe he ſhunneth and repelleth from him. Many croſſes there be and calamities in the world, otherwiſe moderate and tolerable, which ſuperſtition maketh miſchievous and incurable.

That ancient King *Midas* in old time being troubled and diſquieted much in his minde (as it ſhould ſeeme) with certaine dreames and viſions, in the end fell into ſuch a melancholy and deſpaire, that willingly he made himſelfe away by drinking buls blood. And *Ariſtodemus* king of Meſſenians, in that warre which he waged againſt the Lacedæmonians, when it hapned that the dogs yelled and houled like wolves, and that there grew about the altar of his houſe the herbe called *Dent de chien*, or Dogs graſſe, whereupon the wiſards and ſoothſayers were afraid (as of ſome tokens preſaging evill) conceived ſuch an inward griefe, & tooke ſo deepe a thought, that he fell into deſperation and killed himſelfe. As for *Nicias* the Generall of the Athenian armie, haply it had beene farre better that by the examples of *Midas* and *Ariſtodemus* he had beene delivered and rid from his ſuperſtition, than for feare of the ſhadow occaſioned by the eclipſe of the moone to have ſitten ſtil as he did and do nothing, untill the enemies environed and encloſed him round about; and after that fortie thouſand of Athenians were either put to the ſword or taken priſoners, to come alive into the hands of his enemies, and loſe his life with ſhame and diſhonor: for in the darkeneſſe occaſioned by the oppoſition of the earth juſt in the mids, betweene the ſunne and the moone, whereby her body was ſhadowed and deprived of light, there was nothing for him to feare, and namely at ſuch a time, when there was cauſe for him to have ſtood upon his feet and ſerved valiantly in the field; but the darkeneſſe of blinde ſuperſtition was dangerous, to trouble and confound the judgement of a man who was poſſeſſed therewith, at the very inſtant, when his occaſions required moſt the uſe of his wit and underſtanding:

The ſea already troubled is
With billowes blew within the ſound,
Up to the capes and clifs ariſe
Thicke miſtie clouds which gather round
About their tops, where they do ſeat,
Fore-ſhewing ſhortly tempeſts great.

A good and skilful pilot ſeeing this, doth well to pray unto the gods for to eſcape the imminent danger, and to invocate and call upon thoſe ſaints for helpe, which they after call Saviours: but all the while that he is thus at his devout praiers, he holdeth the helme hard, he letteth downe the croſſe ſaile-yard,

Thus having ſtruck the maine ſaile downe the maſt,
He ſcapes the ſea, with darkneſſe overcaſt.

Heſiodus giveth the husbandman a precept, before he begin to drive the plough or ſow his ſeede:

To Ceres *chaſte his vowes to make,*
To Jove *likewiſe god of his land,*
Forgetting not the while, to take
The end of his plough-taile in hand.

And *Homer* bringeth in *Ajax* being at the point to enter into combat with *Hector*, willing the Greeks to pray for him unto the gods; but whiles they praied, he forgat not to arme himſelfe at all pieces. Semblablie, *Agamemnon* after he had given commandement to his ſouldiours who were to fight,

Ech one his launce and ſpeare to whet,
His ſhield likewiſe fitly to ſet.

then, and not before, praieth unto *Iupiter* in this wiſe:

O Iupiter *vouchſafe me of thy grace,*
The ſtately hall of Priamus *to race.*

for God is the hope of vertue and valour, not the pretenſe of ſloth and cowardiſe. But the Iewes were ſo ſuperſtitious, that on their Sabbath (ſitting ſtill even whiles the enemies reared their ſcaling ladders and gained the walles of their citie) they never ſtirred foot, nor roſe for the matter, but remained faſt tied and inwrapped in their ſuperſtition as it were in a net. Thus you ſee what ſuperſtition is in thoſe occurrences of times and affaires which ſucceed not to our minde, but contrary to our will (that is to ſay) in adverſity: and as for times and occaſions of mirth, when all things fall out to a mans deſire, it is no better than impietie or atheiſme; and nothing is ſo joyous unto man, as the ſolemnitie of feſtivall holidaies, great feaſts and ſacrifices before the temples of the gods, the myſticall and ſacred rites performed when wee are purified and cleanſed from our ſinnes, the ceremoniall ſervice of the gods when wee worſhip and adore them; in which all, a ſuperſtitious man is no better than the Atheiſt: for marke an Atheiſt in all theſe, he will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beſide himſelfe; theſe toies will ſet him (I ſay) into a fit of Sardonian laughing, when he ſhall ſee their vanities; and other-whiles he will not ſticke to ſay ſoftly in the eare of ſome familiar friend about him: What mad folke be theſe? how are they out of their right wits, and enraged, who ſuppoſe that ſuch things as theſe doe pleaſe the gods? Setting this aſide, there is no harme at all in him. As for the ſuperſtitious perſon, willing he is, but not able, to joy and take pleaſure: for his heart is much like unto that city which *Sophocles* deſcribeth in theſe verſes:

Which at one time is full of incenſe ſweet,
Reſounding mirth with loud triumphant ſong,
And yet the ſame doth ſhew in every ſtreet
All ſignes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.

he looketh with a pale face, under his chaplet of flowers upon his head; he ſacrificeth, & yet quaketh for feare; he maketh his praiers with a trembling voice; he putteth incenſe into the fire, and his hand ſhaketh withall; to be ſhort, he maketh the ſpeech or ſentence of *Pythagoras* to be vaine and fooliſh, who was wont to ſay: That we are then in beſt caſe, when we approch unto the gods and worſhip them. For verily even then it is, when ſuperſtitious people are moſt wretched & miſerable, to wit, whẽ they enter into the temples & ſanctuaries of the gods, as if they went into the dennes of beares, holes of ſerpents and dragons, or caves of whales & ſuch monſters of the ſea. I marvel much therfore at them, who call the miſcreance & ſinne of atheiſts, Impiety, & give not that name rather to ſuperſtition. And yet *Anaxagoras* was accuſed of impietie; for that he held and ſaid that the Sun was a ſtone: wheras never man yet called the Cimmerians impious or godleſſe, becauſe they ſuppoſe & beleeve there is no Sunne at all. What ſay you then? ſhall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all, be taken for a profane perſon and excommunicate? and ſhall not he who beleeveth them to be ſuch as ſuperſtitious folke imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine owne part, I would be better pleaſed and content, if men ſhould ſay of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named *Plutarch*, than to give out of me and ſay: *Plutarch* is an unconſtant man, variable, cholericke, full of revenge for the leaſt occaſion that is, or diſpleaſed and given to grieve for a ſmall matter; who if when you invite others to ſupper, he be left out and not bidden, or if upon ſome buſineſſe you be let and hindered, ſo that you come not to his doore for to viſit him, or otherwiſe do not ſalute and ſpeake unto him friendly, will be ready to eat your heart with ſalt, to ſet upon you with his fangs, and bite you, will not ſticke to catch up one of your little babes and worry him, or will keepe ſome miſchievous wild beaſt of purpoſe, to put into your corne-fields, your vineyard or orchards, for to devoure and ſpoile all your fruits. When *Timotheus* the muſician one day in an open Theater at *Athens* chanted the praiſes of *Diana*, giving unto her in his ſong the attributes of *Thyas*, *Phœbus*, *Mænas*, and *Lyſſas*, that is to ſay, Furious, Poſſeſſed, Enraged, and Starke mad; as Poets are wont to doe, *Cineſias* another minſtrell or muſician, roſe up from out of the whole audience, and ſaid thus aloud unto him: Would God thou haddeſt a daughter of thoſe qualities. And yet theſe ſuperſtitious folke thinke the ſame of *Diana*, yea, and worſe to: neither have they a better opinion of *Apollo*, *Iuno*, and *Venus*; for all of them they feare and tremble at. And yet what blaſphemie uttered *Niobe* againſt *Latona*, like unto that which ſuperſtition hath perſwaded fooliſh people to beleeve of that goddeſſe? to wit, that ſhe being diſpleaſed with the reprochfull words that *Niobe* gave her, killed with her arrowes all the children of that ſilly woman,

Even daughters ſixe, and ſonnes as many juſt,
Of ripe yeeres all, no helpe, but die they muſt.

ſo inſatiable was ſhe of the calamities of another, ſo implacable was her anger. For grant it were ſo, that this goddeſſe was full of gall and choler; ſay, that ſhe tooke an hatred to leawd and wicked perſons, or grieved & could not endure to heare herſelfe reproched, or to laugh at humane follie and ignorance; certes ſhe ſhould have bene offended and angry, yea, and diſcharged her arrowes upon theſe, who untruely impute and aſcribe unto her that bitterneſſe and exceeding crueltie, and ſticke not both to deliver in words and alſo to ſet downe in writing, ſuch things of her. Wee charge **Heccuba** with beaſtly and barbarous immanitie, for ſaying thus in the laſt booke of *Homers* Iliads:

O that I could his liver get
Amid his corps, to bite and eat.

As for the Syrian goddeſſe, ſuperſtitious folke are perſwaded, that if any one do eate *Enchoiſes* or ſuch little fiſh as *Aphyæ*, ſhe will likewiſe gnaw their legs, fill their bodies with ulcers, and putrifie or rot their liver. To conclude therefore, is it impiouſly done to blaſpheme the gods and ſpeake badly of them; and is it not as impious to thinke and imagine the ſame, conſidering that it is the opinion and conceit of the blaſphemer and foule mouthed profane perſon which maketh his ſpeech to be reputed naught and wicked? For even we our ſelves deteſt and abhorre foule language, for nothing ſo much as becauſe it is a ſigne of a malicious minde, and thoſe we take for to be our enemies who give out bad words of us, in this reſpect that we ſuppoſe thē to be faithleſſe and not to be truſted, but rather ill affected unto us, and thinking badly of us. Thus you ſee what judgement ſuperſtitious folke have of the gods, when they imagine them to be dull and blockiſh, treacherous and diſloiall, variable and fickle minded, full of revenge, cruell, melancholike and apt to fret at every little matter: whereupon it muſt needs follow, that the ſuperſtitious man doth both hate and alſo dread the gods; for how can it otherwiſe be, conſidering that he is perſwaded that all the greateſt calamities which either he hath endured in times paſt, or is like to ſuffer heereafter proceed from them; now whoſoever hateth and feareth the gods, he is no doubt their enemie; neither is it to be woondred at for all this, that although he ſtand in dread of them, yet he adoreth and worſhippeth them, he praieth and ſacrificeth unto them, frequenteth duly and devoutly their temples, and is not willingly out of them; for do we not ſee it ordinarily, that reverence is done unto tyrants, that men make court unto them, and crie: God ſave your grace; yea and erect golden ſtatues to the honour of them: howbeit as great devotion and divine honour as they doe unto them in outward apparence, they hate and abhorre them ſecretly to the heart. *Hermolaus* courted *Alexander*, and was ſerviceable about him: *Pauſanias* was one of the ſquires of the bodie to king *Philip*, and ſo was *Chæreas* to *Caligula* the Emperour; but there was not of theſe but even when he ſerved them, ſaid thus in his heart,

Certes in caſe it did now lie in mee,
Of thee (thou tyrant) revenged would I be.

Thus you ſee the Atheiſt thinketh there be no gods; but the ſuperſtitious perſon wiſheth that there were none; yet he beleeveth even againſt his will that there be, nay he dare not otherwiſe doe for feare of death. Now if he could (like as *Tantalus* deſired to goe from under the ſtone that hung over his head) be diſcharged of this feare which no leſſe doth preſſe him downe, ſurely he would embrace, yea and thinke the diſpoſition and condition of an Atheiſt to be happie, as the ſtate of freedome and libertie: but now the Atheiſt hath no ſparke at all of ſuperſtition, whereas the ſuperſtitious perſon is in will and affection a meere Atheiſt, howbeit weaker than to beleeve and ſhew in opinion that of the gods, which he would and is in his minde. Moreover, the Atheiſt in no wiſe giveth any cauſe, or miniſtreth occaſion that ſuperſtition ſhould ariſe; but ſuperſtition not onely was the firſt beginning of impietie and Atheiſme, but alſo when it is ſprung up and growne, doth patroniſe and excuſe it, although not truely and honeſtly, yet not without ſome colourable pretence: for the Sages and wiſe men in times paſt grew not into this opinion, that the world was wholly voide of a divine power and deitie, becauſe they beheld and conſidered any thing to be found fault withall in the heaven, ſome negligence and diſorder to be marked, ſome confuſion to be obſerved in the ſtarres in the times and ſeaſons of the yeere, in the revolutions thereof, in the courſe and motions of the ſunne round about the earth, which is the cauſe of night and day, or in the nouriture and food of beaſts or in the yeerely generation and increaſe of the fruits upon the earth; but the ridiculous works and deeds of ſuperſtition, their paſſions woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, their words, their motions and geſtures, their charmes, ſorceries, enchantments and magicall illuſions, their runnings up and downe, their beating of drums & tabours, their impure purifications, their filthy caſtimonies and beaſtly ſanctifications, their barbarous and unlawfull corrections and chaſtiſements, their inhumane and ſhamefull indignities practized even in temples; theſe things (I ſay) gave occaſion firſt unto ſome for to ſay, that better it were there had bene no gods at all,than to admit ſuch for gods who received and approoved theſe abuſes,yea and tooke pleaſure therein , or that they ſhould be ſo outragious,proud, and injurious, ſo baſe and pinching, ſo eaſie to fall into choler upon a ſmall cauſe,and ſo heard to be pleaſed againe. Had it not beene farre better for thoſe Gaules, Scythians, or Tartarians in old time to have had no thought, no imagination, no mention at all delivered unto them in hiſtories, of gods; than to thinke there were gods delighting in the bloudſhed of men , and to beleeve that the moſt holie and accompliſhed ſacrifice and ſervice of the gods was to cut mens throates and to ſpill their bloud: and had it not beene more expedient for the Carthaginians by having at the firſt for their law-givers either *Critias* or *Diagoras* to have beene perſwaded that there was neither God in heaven nor divell in hell,than to ſacrifice ſo as they did to *Saturne*, who not (as *Empedocles* ſaid) reprooving and taxing thoſe that killed living creatures in ſacrifice;

The ſire lifts up his deere belooved ſon,
Who firſt ſome other forme and ſhape did take:
He doth him ſlay,and ſacrifice anon,
And therewith vowes and fooliſh praiers doth make.

but witting and knowing killed their owne children indeed for ſacrifice; and looke who had no iſſue of their owne, would buie poore mens children , as if they were lambes, young calves, or kiddes, for the ſaide purpoſe. At which ſacrifice the mother that bare them in her wombe would ſtand by without any ſhew at all of being mooved, without weeping or ſighing for pittie and compaſſion; for otherwiſe if ſhee either fetched a ſigh or ſhed a teare, ſhee muſt looſe the price of her childe, and yet notwithſtanding ſuffer it to be ſlaine and ſacrificed. Moreover, before and all about the image or idoll to which the ſacrifice was made, the place reſounded and rung againe with the noiſe of flutes and hautboies, with the ſound alſo of drums and timbrels, to the end that the pitifull crie of the poore infants ſhould not be heard. Now if any *Tryphones* or other ſuch like giants, having chaſed and driven out the gods, ſhould uſurpe the empire of the world and rule over us: what other ſacrifices would they delight in, or what offrings elſe and ſervice beſides could they require at mens hands? *Ameſtries* the wife of the great Monarch *Xerxes*, buried quicke in the ground twelve perſons, and offred them for the prolonging of her owne life unto *Pluto*; which god (as *Plato* ſaith) was named *Pluto, Dis*, and *Hades*, for that being full of humanitie unto mankind, wiſe and rich beſides, he was able to entertaine the ſoules of men with perſwaſive ſpeeches and reaſonable remonſtrances.

Xenophanes the Naturaliſt, ſeeing the Egyptians at their ſolemne feaſts knocking their breaſts, and lamenting pitiouſly, admoniſhed them verie fitly in this wiſe: My good friends, if theſe (quoth he) be gods whom you honor thus,lament not for them; and if they be men,ſacrifice not unto them. But there is nothing in the world ſo full of errors, no maladie of the minde ſo paſſionate and mingled with more contrarie and repugnant opinions, as this of ſuperſtition; in regard whereof, we ought to ſhunne and avoide the ſame, but not as many who whiles they ſeeke to eſchue the aſſaults of theeves by the high way ſide, or the invaſion of wilde beaſts out of the foreſt, or the danger of fire, are ſo tranſported and caried away with feare that they looke not about them, nor ſee what they doe or whither they goe, and by that meanes light upon by-waies, or rather places having no way at all, but in ſtead thereof bottomleſſe pits and gulfes, or elſe ſteepe downe-fals moſt perilous; even ſo,there be divers that ſeeking to avoid ſuperſtition,fall headlong upon the cragged rocke of perverſe and ſtif-necked Impietie and Atheiſme,leaping over true religion which is ſeated juſt in the mids betweene both.

* * *

OF

OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.

The Summarie.

THere is not a man, how well ſoever framed to the world and ſetled therein, who can promiſe unto himſelfe any peaceable and aſſured ſtate, throughout the courſe of his whole life; but according as it ſeemeth good to the eternall and wiſe providence of the Almightie (which governeth all things) to chaſtiſe our faults, or to try our conſtancy in faith, he ought in time of a calme, to prepare himſelfe for a tempeſt, and not to attend the mids of a danger, before he provide for his ſafetie, but betimes and long before to fortifie and furniſh himſelfe with that, whereof he may have need another day in all occurrences and accidents whatſoever. Our Authour therefore in this Treatiſe writing to comfort and encourage one of his friends, caſt downe with anguiſh occaſioned by his baniſhment, ſheweth throughout all his diſcourſe, that vertue it is which maketh us happie in everie place, and that there is nothing but vice that can hurt and endamage us. Now as touching his particulariſing of this point, in the firſt place he treateth what kinde of friends we have need of in our affliction, and how we ought then to ſerve our turnes with them: and in regard of exile more particularly, he adjoineth this advertiſment, above all other things to ſee unto thoſe goods which we may enjoy during the ſame, and to oppoſe them againſt the preſent griefe and ſorrow. Afterwards he prooveth by ſundrie and divers reaſons, that baniſhment is not in it ſelfe ſimply naught; he diſcovereth and laieth open the folly and miſerie of thoſe, who are too much addicted unto one countrey, ſhewing by notable examples that a wiſe man may live at eaſe and contentment in all places; that the habitation in a ſtrange region, and the ſame limited and confined ſtraightly within certaine precincts, doth much more good ordinarily than harme; that a large countrey lying out farre everie way, maketh a man never a whit the more happie: whereas contrariwiſe to be encloſed and pent up, bringeth many commodities with it, declaring that this is the onely life; and that it is no life at all to be evermore flitting to and fro from place to place. Now when he hath beautified this theame aboveſaid with many faire ſimilitudes and proper inductions, he comforteth thoſe who are debarred and excluded from any citie or province; refuting with very good and ſound arguments certaine perſons who held baniſhment for a note of infamie; ſhewing withall, that it is nothing elſe but ſinne and vice which bringeth a man into a lamentable ſtate and condition: concluding by the examples of Anaxagoras *and* Socrates, *that neither impriſonment, nor death can enthrall or make miſerable the man who loveth vertue.*

And contrariwiſe, he giveth us to underſtand by the examples of Phaëthon *and* Icarus, *that vitious and ſinfull perſons fall daily and continually one way or other, into moſt grievous calamities through their owne audaciouſnes and follie.*

OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.

Semblable is the caſe of wiſe ſentences and of good friends; the beſt and moſt and aſſured be thoſe reputed, which are preſent with us in our calamities, not in vaine and for a ſhew, but to aide and ſuccour us: for many there be who will not ſticke to preſent themſelves, yea, and be ready to conferre and talke with their friends in time of adverſitie; howbeit, to no good purpoſe at all, but rather with ſome danger to themſelves, like as unſkilfull divors, when they goe about to helpe thoſe that are at point to be drowned, being claſped about the body, ſinke together with them for company. Now the ſpeeches and diſcourſes which come from friends and ſuch as would ſeeme to be helpers, ought to tend unto the conſolation of the partie afflicted, and not to the defence and juſtification of the thing that afflicteth: for little need have we of ſuch perſons as ſhould weepe and lament with us in our tribulations & diſtreſſes, as the maner is of the *Chori* or quires in Tragedies, but thoſe rather, who will ſpeake their minds frankely unto us, and make remonſtrance plainly: That for a man to be ſad and ſorrowfull, to afflict and caſt downe himſelfe, is not onely every way bootleſſe and unprofitable, but alſo moſt vaine and fooliſh: but where the adverſe occurrents themſelves being well handled and managed by reaſon, when they are diſcovered what they be, give a man occaſion to ſay thus unto himſelfe:

Thou haſt no cauſe thus to complaine,
Unleſſe thou be diſpos'd to faine.

A meere ridiculous follie it were, to aske either of bodie and fleſh, what it aileth, or of ſoule, what it ſuffereth, and whether by the occurrence of this accident it fare worſe than before; but to have recourſe unto ſtrangers without, to teach us what our griefe is, by wailing, ſorrowing and grieving together with us: and therefore when wee are apart and alone by our ſelves, wee ought ech one to examine our owne heart and ſoule, about all and every miſhap and infortunitie, yea, and to peiſe and weigh them, as if they were ſo many burdens; for the bodie is preſſed downe onely by the weight of the fardell that loadeth it; but the ſoule often-times of it ſelfe giveth a ſurcharge over and above the things that moleſt it. A ſtone of the owne nature is hard, and yce of it ſelfe colde; neither is there any thing without, that giveth caſually to the one the hardneſſe to reſiſt, or to the other the coldneſſe to congeale; but baniſhments, diſgraces, repulſe and loſſe of dignitie, as alſo contrariwiſe, crownes, honours, ſovereigne magiſtracies, preeminences, and higheſt places, being powerfull either to afflict or rejoice hearts, in ſome meaſure more or leſſe, not by their owne nature, but according to judgement and opinion, every man maketh to himſelfe light or heavie, eaſie to be borne or contrariwiſe intolerable: whereupon we may heare *Polynices* anſwering thus to the demand made unto him by his mother:

How then? is it a great calamitie,
To quit the place of our nativitie?

POLYNICES.

The greateſt croſſe of all it is doubtleſſe,
And more indeed than my tongue can expreſſe.

but contrariwiſe, you ſhall heare *Alcman* in another ſong, according to a little Epigram written of him by a certeine Poet:

At Sardes, where mine anceſtours ſometime abode did make,
If I were bred and nouriſhed, my ſurname I ſhould take
Of ſome Celinus *or* Bacelus, *in robes of golde arai'd,*
And jewels fine, while I upon the tabour plai'd.
But now Alcman *I cleped am, and of that* Sparta *great*
A citizen, and poet: for in Greekiſh muſe my vaine
Exalts me more than Daſcyles *or* Gyges, *tyrants twaine.*

for it is the opinion, and nothing els, that cauſeth one and the ſame thing to be unto ſome, good and commodious, as currant and approved money, but to others, unprofitable and hurtfull.

But ſet caſe, that exile be a grievous calamitie, as many men doe both ſay and ſing; even ſo, among thoſe meats which we eat, there be many things bitter, ſharpe, hote and biting in taſte, howbeit, by mingling therewith ſomewhat which is ſweet and pleaſant, we take away that which diſagreeth with nature; like as there be colours alſo offenſive to the ſight, in ſuch ſort, as that the eies be much dazled and troubled therewith, by reaſon of their unpleaſant hew, or exceſſive and intolerable brightneſſe. If then, for to remedie that inconvenience by ſuch offenſive and reſplendent colours, we have deviſed meanes, either to intermingle ſhadowes withall, or turne away our eies from them unto ſome greene and delectable objects; the ſemblable may we doe in thoſe ſiniſter and croſſe accidents of fortune; namely, by mixing among them thoſe good and deſireable bleſſings which a man preſently doth enjoy, to wit, wealth and abundance of goods, a number of friends, and the want of nothing neceſſarie to this life: for I do not thinke, that among the Sardinians there be many, who would not be very wel content with thoſe goods and that eſtate which you have even in exile, and chuſe rather with your condition of life otherwiſe, to live from home and in a ſtrange countrey, than (like ſnailes, evermore ſticking faſt to their ſhels) be without all good things els, & enjoy only that which they have at home in peace, without trouble and moleſtation. Like as therefore in a certaine Comædie, there was one who exhorted his friend being fallen into ſome adverſitie, to take a good heart, and fight againſt fortune; who when he demanded of him againe, how he ſhould combat with her, made anſwere: Marie after a Philoſophicall maner; even ſo let us alſo mainteine battel, and be revenged of adverſitie, by following the rule of Philoſophie, & being armed with patience as becommeth wiſe men. For after what ſort doe we defend our ſelves againſt raine? or how be we revenged of the North winde? marie we ſeeke for fire, we go into a ſtouph, we make proviſion of clothes, and we get an houſe over our heads; neither doe we ſit us downe in the raine, untill we be thorowly wet to the ſkinne, and then weepe our fill; and even ſo, have you alſo in thoſe things which are preſently about you, good meanes, yea, and better than any other, to revive, refreſh, and warme this part of your life which ſeemeth to be frozen and benummed with colde, as having no need at all of any other helps and ſuccours, ſo long as you will uſe the foreſaid meanes, according as reaſon doth preſcribe & direct. For true it is, that the ventoſes or cupping-glaſſes that Phyſicians uſe, drawing out of mans body the worſt & moſt corrupt blood, do disburden & preſerve all the reſt. But they that are given to heavineſſe & ſorrow, who love alſo evermore to whine and complaine, by gathering together & multiplying continually in their cogitations the worſt matters incident unto them, and eftſoones conſuming themſelves with the dolorous accidents of their fortune, cauſe thoſe meanes to be unprofitable unto them, which otherwiſe are wholeſome and expedient, and even at ſuch a time, eſpecially when they ſhould do moſt good. As for thoſe two tunnes my good friend which *Homer* ſaith to bee ſet in heaven full of mens deſtinies, the one repleniſhed with good and the other with bad, it is not *Iupiter* who ſitteth to diſperſe and diſtribute them abroad, ſending unto ſome milde and pleaſant fortunes intermingled alwaies with goodneſſe, but unto others continual ſtreames (as a man would ſay) of meere misfortunes without any temperature of any goodneſſe at all: but even among our owne ſelves as many as be wiſe and are of any ſound underſtanding, draw out of their happy fortunes whatſoever croſſe and adverſe matter is mingled therewith, and by this meanes make their life the pleaſanter, and as a man would ſay more portable; whereas contrariwiſe, many men doe let their fortunes runne (as it were) through a colander or ſtreiner, wherein the woorſt ſticke and remaine in the way behind, whiles the better do paſſe and runne out; and therefore it behooveth that although we be fallen into any thing that is in truth naught and grievous unto us, we ſet a cheereful countenance on the matter, and make the beſt ſupplie and recompence that we can by thoſe good things that otherwiſe we have and doe remaine with us beſides, lenifying and poliſhing the ſtrange and adverſe accident which hapneth without by that which is milde and familiar within.

But as touching thoſe occurrents that ſimply of their owne nature be not ill, and wherein whatſoever doth trouble and offend us, ariſeth altogether and wholly upon a vaine conceit and fooliſh imagination of our owne; we ought to doe as our maner is with little children that bee afraid of maskes and diſguiſed viſours; for like as we hold the ſame cloſe and neere unto them, handle and turne them in our hands before them every way, and ſo by that meanes acquaint them therewith, untill they make no reckoning at all of them; even ſo by approching neere, by touching and peruſing the ſaid calamities with our underſtanding and diſcourſe of reaſon, wee are to conſider and diſcover the falſe apparence, the vanitie and feigned tragædie that they pretend; like to which, is that preſent accident which now is befallen unto you, to wit, the baniſhment out of that place, which according to the vulgar errour of men you ſuppoſe to be your native countrie. For to ſay a truth, there is no ſuch diſtinct native ſoile that nature hath ordeined, no more than either houſe, land, ſmiths forge or chirurgians ſhop is by nature, as *Ariſton* was wont to ſay; but every one of theſe and ſuch like according as any man doth occupie or uſe them, are his, or to ſpeake more properly, are named and called his: for man, according to the ſaying of *Plato* is not an earthly plant, having the roote fixed faſt within the ground and unmooveable, but celeſtiall and turning upward to heaven, whoſe body from the head as from a roote that doth ſtrengthen the ſame abideth ſtreight and upright. And heereupon it is that *Hercules* in a certeine tragœdie ſaid thus:

What tell you me of Argive *or* Thebain,
I do not vaunt of any place certain,
No burrough towne, nor city coms amis
Through out all Greece, *but it my countrie is.*

And yet *Socrates* ſaid better than ſo; who gave it out; That he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world; as if a man ſhould ſay for example ſake, that he were either a Rhodian or a Corinthian; for he would not exclude himſelfe within the precincts and limits of the promontories *Sunium* or *Tænarus*, nor yet the Ceraunian mountaines,

But ſeeſt thou this ſtarrie firmament,
So high above and infinitely vaſt,
In boſome moiſt of water element,
The earth beneath how it encloſeth faſt.

Theſe are the bounds of a native countrie within the pourpriſe and compaſſe whereof whoſoever is, ought not to thinke himſelfe either baniſhed, pilgrime, ſtranger or forrener; namely, whereas he ſhall meete with the ſame fire, the ſame water, the ſame aire, the ſame magiſtrates, the ſame governors and preſidents; to wit, the ſunne, the moone, and the morning ſtarre; the ſame lawes throughout, under one and the ſelfe-ſame order and conduct; the ſolſtice and tropicke of ſummer in the north; the ſolſtice and tropicke of winter in the ſouth; the æquinoxes both of ſpring and fall, the ſtarres *Pleiades* and *Arcturus*; the ſeaſons of ſeedneſſe, the times of planting; one King, and the ſame prince of all, even God, who hath in his hand the beginning, the mids, and the end of the whole and univerſall world; who by his influence goeth according to nature, directly through and round about all things, attended upon with righteouſneſſe and juſtice, to take vengeance and puniſhment of thoſe who tranſgreſſe any point of divine law: which all we likewiſe that are men doe exerciſe and uſe by the guidance and direction of nature againſt all others, as our citizens and ſubjects. Now ſay that thou doeſt not dwel and live in *Sardeis*, what matter is that? ſurely it is juſt nothing: No more doe all the Athenians inhabite in the burroughs or tribe *Colyttus*; nor the Corinthians in the ſtreet *Cranium*; ne yet the Lacedæmonians in the vilage *Pytane*: are thoſe Athenians then to be counted ſtrangers, and not inhabitants of the citie, who have remooved out of *Melite* into *Diomea*: conſidering that even there they doe ſolemnize yet the moneth of their tranſmigration named thereupon *Metageitnion*; yea and do celebrate a feſtivall holiday and ſacrifice, which in memoriall of that remooving they call *Metagetnia*, for that this paſſage of theirs into another neighbourhood, they received and interteined right willingly with joy and much contentment? I ſuppoſe you wil never ſay ſo. Now tell me what part of this earth habitable or rather of the whole globe and compaſſe thereof, can be ſaid farre diſtant or remote one from the other, ſeeing that the Mathematicians are able to proove and make demonſtration by reaſon, that the whole in compariſon and reſpect of heaven or the firmament is no more than a very pricke which hath no dimenſion at al? But we like unto piſmires driven out of our hole; or in maner of bees diſpoſſeſſed of our hive, are caſt downe and diſcomforted by and by, and take our ſelves to be foreiners and ſtrangers, for that we know not how to eſteeme and make all things our owne, familiar and proper unto us, as they be. And yet we laugh at the folly of him who ſaid: That the moone at *Athens* was better than at *Corinth*; being in the meane while after a ſort in the ſame error of judgement, as if when we are gon a journey from the place of our habitation, we ſhould miſtake the earth, the ſea, the aire and the ſkie, as if they were others and farre different from thoſe which we are accuſtomed unto: for Nature hath permitted us to goe and walke through the world looſe and at libertie: but we for our parts impriſon our ſelves, and we may thanke our ſelves that we are pent up in ſtraight roomes, that we be houſed and kept within wals; thus of our owne accord we leape into cloſe and narrow places; and notwithſtanding that we do thus by our ſelves, yet we mocke the Perſian Kings, for that (if it be true which is reported of them) the drinke all of the water onely of the river *Choaſpes*, by which meanes they make all the continent beſides waterleſſe, for any good they have by it: whereas, even we alſo when we travell and remoove into other countries, have a longing deſire after the river *Cephiſus* or *Eurotas*; yea and a minde unto the mountaine *Taigetus* or the hill *Pernaſſus*; whereby upon a moſt vaine and fooliſh opinion, all the world beſides is not onely void of water, but alſo like a deſert, without citie, and altogether inhabitable unto us. Contrariwiſe, certaine Egyptians by occaſion of ſome wrath and exceſſive oppreſſing of their King, minding to remoove into *Ethiopia*, when as their kinsfolke and friends requeſted them to turne backe againe, and not to forſake their wives and children, after a ſhameleſſe manner ſhewing unto them their genitall members, anſwered them: That they would neither want wives nor children, ſo long as they carried thoſe about them. But ſurely a man may avouch more honeſtlie, and with greater modeſtie and gravitie; that hee who in what place ſoever feeleth no want or miſſe of thoſe things which be neceſſarie for this life, cannot complaine and ſay: That he is there out of his owne countrey, without citie, without his owne houſe and habitation, or a ſtranger at all; ſo as he onely have as he ought, his eie and underſtanding bent hereunto, for to ſtay and governe him in maner of a ſure anchor, that he may be able to make benefit and uſe of any haven or harborough whatſoever he arriveth unto. For when a man hath loſt his goods, it is not ſo eaſie a matter to recover them ſoone againe; but ſurely everie citie is ſtraight waies as good a native countrey unto him, who knoweth and hath learned how to uſe it; to him (I ſay) who hath ſuch rootes as will live, be nouriſhed and grow in every place and by any meanes, ſuch as *Themiſtocles* was furniſhed with; and ſuch as *Demetrius* the Phalerian was not without; who being baniſhed from *Athens*, became a principall perſon in the court of King *Ptolomæus* in *Alexandria*, where he not onely himſelfe lived in great abundance of all things, but alſo ſent unto the Athenians from thence rich gifts and preſents. As for *Themiſtocles* living in the eſtate of a Prince, through the bountifull allowance and liberalitie of the King of *Perſia*, he was woont (by report) to ſay unto his wife and children: We had beene utterly undone for ever, if we had not beene undone. And therefore *Diogenes* ſurnamed the *Dog*, when one brought him word and ſaid, the Sinopians have condemned thee to be exiled out of the kingdome of *Pontus*: And I (quoth he) have confined them within the countrey of *Pontus* with this charge,

That they ſhall never paſſe the utmoſt bonds
Of Euxine *ſea that hems them with her ſtronds.*

Stratonius being in the Iſle *Seriphos* which was a verie little one, demaunded of his hoſt, for what crimes the puniſhment of exile was ordained in that countrey; and when he heard and underſtood by him, that they uſed to baniſh ſuch as were convicted of falſhood and untrueth: Why then (quoth he againe) haſt not thou committed ſome falſe and leawd act, to the ende that thou mighteſt depart out of this ſtraight place and be enlarged? whereas one Comicall Poet ſaid: A man might gather and make a vintage (as it were) of figs with ſlings, and foiſon of all commodities might be had, which an Iland wanted. For if one would weigh and conſider the trueth indeed, ſetting aſide all vaine opinion and fooliſh conceits, he that is affected unto one citie alone, is a verie pilgrim and ſtranger in all others; for it ſeemeth nether meete, honeſt, nor reaſonable, that a man ſhould abandon his owne for to inhabite thoſe of others. *Sparta* is fallen to thy lot (ſaith the proverbe) adorne and honor it, for ſo thou art bound to doe; be it that it is of ſmall or no account; ſay that it is ſeated in an unholeſome aire, and ſubject to many diſeaſes, or be plagued with civill diſſentions, or otherwiſe troubled with turbulent affaires. But whoſoever he be whom fortune hath deprived of his owne native countrey; certes ſhe hath graunted and allowed him to make choice of that which may pleaſe and content him. And verily the precept of the Pythagoreans ſerveth to right good ſtead in this caſe to be practiſed: Chooſe (ſay they) the beſt life; uſe and cuſtome will make it pleaſant enough unto thee. To this purpoſe alſo it may bee wiſely and with great profit ſaid: Make choice of the beſt and moſt pleaſant citie, time will cauſe it to be thy native countrey, and ſuch a native countrey as ſhall not diſtract and trouble thee with any buſineſſe, nor impoſe upon thee theſe and ſuch like exactions: Make paiment and contribute to this levie of money: Goe in embaſſage to *Rome*: Receive ſuch a captaine or ruler into thine houſe, or take ſuch a charge upon thee at thine owne expenſes. Now he that calleth theſe things to remembrance, if he have any wit in his head, and be not overblind every way in his owne opinion and ſelfe-conceit, will wiſh and chooſe, if he be baniſhed out of his owne countrey, to inhabite the verie Iſle *Gyaros*, or the rough and barraine Iland *Cinarus*, where trees or plants do hardly grow, without complaining with griefe of heart, without lamenting and breaking out into theſe plaints and womanly moanes, reported by the Poet *Simonides* in theſe words:

The roaring noiſe of purple ſea,
reſounding all about,
Doth fright me much, and ſo incloſe,
that I can not get out.

but rather he will beare in minde and diſcourſe with himſelfe the ſpeech that *Philip* king of *Macedonie*, ſometime delivered: for when his hap was in the wreſtling place to fall backward and lie along on the ground; after he was up againe upon his feet, and ſaw the whole proportion and print of his bodie in the duſt of the floore: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a ſmall deale of the earth is our portion by the appointment of nature, and yet ſee how we will not reſt, but covet to conquer the whole world that is habitable. You have ſeene (I ſuppoſe) the iſle *Naxos*; if not, yet at leaſtwiſe the iſland *Thuria* neere by; of which twaine, this was in olde time the habitation of *Orion*; but in the other there dwelt *Ephialtes* and *Otus*: as for *Alcmæon*, he made his abode and reſidence upon the muddy banke, which the river *Achelous* had newly gathered and caſt up, after it was a little dried and compact together, to avoid the purſute (as the Poets) ſay of the Furies; but in my conceit rather, becauſe he would decline the offices of State, civill magiſtracies, ſeditious broiles, and biting calumniations ſib to furies in hel, he choſe ſuch a ſtreight and narrow place to inhabit, where he might leade a life in quietneſſe and repoſe, ſecured from all ſuch buſie affaires. And *Tiberius Cæſar* in his latter daies, lived ſeven yeeres (even untill his death) in the little iſland *Caprea*, in ſuch wiſe, as the very temple and imperiall throne of the whole world retired and drawen in (as it were) into the heart, for all that time never went out from thence; and yet for his part, the ordinarie cares incident unto the empire, which were brought from all parts and came upon him to amuſe his head continually, on every ſide, would not permit him to enjoy cleerely without turbulent anguiſh of minde, that intended reſt and quietneſſe of his, in the ſaid iſland. But even that man, who may by his departure into ſome little iſland be freed and delivered from no ſmall troubles and calamities, is notwithſtanding miſerable, if he do not eftſoones ſay unto himſelfe when he is apart, yea, and chaunt oftentimes theſe verſes of *Pindarus*:

Love well the place where Cypres trees do gro,
But thin and ſmall. The forreſt great let go
Of Candie *iſle, about the* Ida *hill:*
As for my ſelfe, ſmall lands I holde and till,
By fortune given, and thoſe without an oke;
My heart likewiſe no griefs nor cares do yoke.

exempt I am from civill tumults and ſeditions; I am not ſubject to the command of princes and governours; my hand is not in the charge and adminiſtration of State affaires, nor in any publike miniſteries or ſervices, which hardly admit excuſe or refuſall. For conſidering that *Callimachus* ſeemeth not unwiſely in one place to ſay thus: Meaſure not wiſedome by the Perſian Schœne: why then ſhould we (meting felicitie with *Schœnes* & *Paraſanges*) complaine, lament and torment our ſelves, as if we were unhappie, if our fortune be to dwell in a little iſle which is not in circuit above two hundred furlongs, and nothing nere foure daies ſailing about, as *Sicilie* is? for what good can a ſpacious and large region do, for to procure felicitie, or make a man to leade a quiet and peaceable life? Heare you not how *Tantalus* in the Tragædie crieth out, and ſaith thus?

60. Stadia. 30.

The ſpacious land and countrey large,
cal'd Berecynthian plaine,
Daies journeys twelve right out, I ſow
yeerely with corne and graine.

and a little after, he proceedeth to this ſpeech;

But now my ſoule, ſometime an heavenly power,
Deſcended thence into this earthly bower,
Speaks thus to me: Learne, and betimes take heed,
Love not this world too much, I do thee reed.

And *Nauſithous* leaving the wide and large countrey *Hyperia*, for that the *Cyclopes* were ſo neere neighbours unto it, and departing into an iſland farre remote from other men, where he lived alone by himſelfe without converſing with any people:

From other mortall men apart,
Of ſurging ſea within the hart.

provided for his citizens and ſubjects a moſt pleaſant life. As for the iſlands called *Cyclades*, they were at firſt (by report) inhabited by the children of *Minos*, and afterwards the of-ſpring of *Codrus* and *Neleus* held the ſame, into which, fooliſh perſons now-adaies thinke themſelves ſore puniſhed and undone for ever, if they be confined. And yet, what iſland is there deſtined and appointed for exiled and baniſhed people, but it is larger than the territorie *Scilluntia*, wherein *Xenophon* after that renowmed expedition and voiage of his into *Perſia*, paſſed his olde age in elegancie and much happineſſe? ſemblably, the *Academie*, a little pingle or plot of ground, the purchaſe whereof coſt not above three thouſand drachmes, was the habitation of *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, and *Polemon*, wherein they kept their ſchooles, and lived at repoſe all their life time: and yet I muſt needs except one day every yeere, upon which, *Xenocrates* was wont to go downe to the city, for to ſee the plaies and paſtimes exhibited with new Tragædies at the feaſt called Bacchanales, onely to honour (as folke ſaid) and countenance that ſolemnitie with his perſonall preſence. Alſo *Theocritus* of *Chios* challenged and reproched *Ariſtotle* many times, for that to live in the court of *Philip* and *Alexander*,

upon the mouth of Borborus *to dwell*
He choſe, and Academie *bad farewell.*

Now was this *Borborus* a river, ſo called by the Macedonians, which ran along the citie of *Pella* in *Macedonie*. As for iſlands, *Homer* the Poet doth of purpoſe and expreſly recommend unto us, and celebrate them with heavenly and divine praiſes, in this wiſe:

At Lemnos *he arrived then,*
  whereas the citie ſtood,
In which ſometime that prince divine,
  king Thoas *made abode:*
And whatſoever Lesbos *iſle,*
  the pallace and the ſeat
Of gods above conteines enclos'd
  within her pourpris great.

Alſo,

When woon he had the ſtately iſle,
  which Scyros *ſometime hight,*
The native place and towne of Mars,
  the god of armes and fight.

Likewiſe,

And thoſe came from Dulichium,
  and eke the ſacred iſles,
Againſt Elis, Eclimades,
  within ſea many miles.

Moreover it is ſaid, that of famous and renowmed men, devout *Aeolus*, and beſt beloved of the gods, dwelt in one iſle; the moſt prudent and wiſe *Ulyſſes* in another; *Ajax* likewiſe, that right valiant and hardie warriour; and *Alcinous* the moſt courteous prince for hoſpitalitie and entertainment of ſtrangers, were iſlanders. *Zeno* the Philoſopher when newes was brought unto him: That the ſhip of his which remained alone of all the reſt, was drowned in the ſea with all the fraight and merchandiſe therein: Thou haſt done well ô fortune (quoth he) to drive us to our ſtudying gowne and Philoſophers life againe; even ſo, in mine opinion, there is no reaſon that a man (unleſſe he be very much beſotted and tranſported with the vaine wind of popularity) when he is confined and incloſed within an iſland, ſhould complaine of fortune therefore, but rather praiſe her, for that ſhe hath rid him of much anguiſh of ſpirit and trouble of his head, delivered him from tedious travell and wandring pilgrimages up and downe in the world from place to place; freed him from the perils of ſea, remooved him from the tumultuous ſtirs of the multitude in judiciall courts and publicke aſſemblies of the citie; and reduced him to a ſetled and ſtaied life, full of reſt and tranquillitie, not diſtracted with any ſuperfluous and needleſſe occupations, wherein he may live indeed properly to himſelfe, being raunged within the center and circumference of thoſe things which are required onely for neceſſitie. For what iſland is there which hath not houſen, walking places, ſtouphes and baines, or that is without fiſhes or hares, if a man be diſpoſed to paſſe the time in fiſhing or hunting; and that which is the greateſt matter of all, you may oftentimes there enjoy fully your reſt and repoſe, which other do ſo much thirſt and hunger after; for whereas when we are haply playing at dice, or otherwiſe keeping cloſe at home, there will be ſome of theſe ſycophants or buſie priers and curious ſearchers into all our actions, ready to draw us out of our houſes of pleaſure in the ſuburbes, or out of our delightſome gardens, to make our apparence judicially in the common place, or to performe our ſervice and give attendance in the court: there will be none ſuch about to ſaile into the Iſland where thou art confined for to trouble thee; none wil come to thee to demaund or crave any thing, to borrow monie, to requeſt thy ſuretiſhip, or thy aſſiſtance for to ſecond him in the ſute of any office and magiſtracie; unleſſe peradventure ſome of thy beſt friends onely and neereſt kinsfolke, of meere love and affectionate deſire to ſee thee, ſaile over for thy ſake; for the reſt of thy life beſides is permitted to be as free and ſafe as a ſanctuarie, not ſubject to any ſpoile, trouble, or moleſtation, if thou be willing & can skill to uſe thy liberty and repoſe. As for him who thinketh thoſe to be happy who trudge up and downe in the world abroad, ſpending moſt part of their time out of their owne houſes, either in common innes and hoſtelries, or els in ferrying from place to place, he is much like unto him that ſuppoſeth the wandring planets to be in a better ſtate than the other ſtarres which be fixed in the firmament and remoove not; and yet there is not one of the ſaid planets but is carried round in a peculiar and proper ſphære of the owne, as it were in a certeine Iſle, keeping alwaies a juſt order in their revolution: for according as *Heraclitus* ſaith; The very ſunne himſelfe will never paſſe beyond his bounds; and if he do, the furies which are the miniſters of juſtice will finde him out and be ready to encounter him. But theſe and all ſuch like reaſons my good friend we are to alledge unto them and ſing in their eares, who being ſent away and confined to ſome one Iſle, can not poſſibly change for another countrey, nor have commerce and dealing in any place els whatſoever, thoſe I ſay,

Whom ſurging waves of ſea both night and day
Encloſe perforce, and cauſe them there to ſtay.

As for you unto whom no certeine place is limited and aſſigned for to inhabit, but who are debarred and excluded onely out of one, are thus to thinke, that the excluſion out of one citie alone, is an overture and ready way made unto all others.

Now if any man will object and ſay; In this caſe of exile and baniſhment we are diſabled for bearing rule and office of State, we ſit not at counſell table in the Senate houſe; we are not preſidents in the publicke plaies and ſolemnities &c. You may anſwere and reply againe in this maner; neither are we troubled with factions and civill diſſentions; we are not called upon, nor charged with paiments in publike levies and exactions; neither be we bound to make court unto great governors, and to give attendance at their gates; nor to take care and regard whether he who is choſen to ſucceed us in the government of our province, be either haſtie and cholericke, or otherwiſe given to oppreſſion and hard dealing: but as *Archilochus* making no account at all of the fruitfull corne-fields and plenteous vineyards in *Thaſos*, deſpiſed and contemned the whole Iſle becauſe of ſome other rough, hard, and uneven places in it, giving out thereof in theſe termes,

This Iſland like an aſſes backe doth ſticke,
All overſpred with woods ſo wild and thicke.

even ſo we caſting our eies and fixing them upon that part onely of exile which is the wooſt and vileſt of the reſt, doe contemne and make no reckoning of the repoſe from buſineſſe, the libertie alſo and leaſure which it doth afford. And yet the kings of *Perſia* be reputed happy, in that they paſſe their winter time in *Babylon*, the ſummer in *Media*, and the moſt ſweet and pleaſant part of the ſpring at *Suſa*. May not hee likewiſe who is departed out of his owne native country during the ſolemnitie of the myſteries of *Ceres*, make his abode within the city *Eleuſine*; all the time of the Bacchanales, celebrate that feaſt in *Argos*; and when the Pythian games & plaies are exhibited, go to *Delphos*; as alſo when the Iſthmain paſtimes be repreſented, make a journey likewiſe to *Corinth?* in caſe he be a man who taketh pleaſure in the diverſitie of ſhewes and publike ſpectacles, if not, then either ſit ſtill and reſt, or elſe walke up and downe, reade ſomwhat, or take a nap of ſweet ſleepe without moleſtation or interruption of any man; and according as *Diogenes* was wont to ſay, *Ariſtotle* dineth when it pleaſeth king *Philip*; but *Diogenes* taketh his dinner when *Diogenes* thinketh it good himſelfe, without any buſineſſe & affaires to diſtract him, and no magiſtrate, ruler, or captaine there was to interrupt his ordinary time and maner of diet. This is the reaſon why very few of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent men that ever were, have beene buried in the countries where they were borne; but the moſt part of them without any conſtraint or neceſſitie to enforce them, have willingly weighed anker, and of their owne accord ſailed to another rode or haven to harbour in, and there to lead their life; for ſome of them have departed to *Athens*, others have forſaken *Athens* & gone to other places: for what man ever gave out ſuch a commendation of his owne native countrey as did *Euripides* in theſe verſes, in the perſon of a woman:

Our people all, at firſt no ſtrangers were,
From forraine parts who thither did arrive;
Time out of minde thoſe that inhabite here,
Were borne in place, and ſo remain'd alive.
All cities elſe and nations at one word
With aliens peopled be, who like to men
At table play, or elſe upon cheſſe-boord
Remooved have, and leapt ſome now ſome then.
If women we, may be allow'd to grace
Our native ſoile, and with proude words exalt,
Preſume we dare to ſay that in this place,
A temperate aire we have without default,
Where neither heat nor cold exceſſive is;
If ought there be that noble Greece *doth yeeld,*
Or Aſia *rich, of beſt commodities,*
And daintieſt fruits, by river or by field,
We have it here, in foiſon plentifull
To hunt, to catch, to reape, to crop and pull.

And yet even he who hath ſet ſuch goodly praiſes upon his native countrey, left the ſame, went into *Macedonia*, and there lived in the court of King *Archelaus*. You have heard likewiſe (I ſuppoſe) this little Epigram in verſe:

Enterred and entombed lieth here,
Euphorians *ſonne the Poet* Aeſchylus
(In Athens *towne though borne ſometime he were)*
To Gelas *neere, in corne ſo plenteous.*

For he alſo abandoned his owne countrey, and went to dwell in *Sicilie*, like as *Simonides* did before him. And whereas this title or inſcription is commonly read (*This is the Hiſtorie written by* Herodotus *the Halicarnaſſean*) many there be who correct it and write in this maner; *Herodotus the Thurian*, for that he remooved out of the countrey wherein he was borne, became an inhabitant among the Thurians, and enjoied the freedome of that colonie. As for that heavenly and divine ſpirit in the knowledge of Muſes and Poetrie,

Homerus, *who with woondrous pen,*
Set foorth the battels Phrygien.

what was it that cauſed ſo many cities to debate about the place of his nativitie, chalenging everie one unto themſelves, but onely this; that hee ſeemed not to praiſe and extoll any one citie above the reſt? Moreover, to *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Hoſpitall*, know we not that there be many, & thoſe right great, honors done. Now if any one ſhall ſay unto me, that theſe perſonages were all of them ambitious, aſpiring to great honor and glorie, doe no more, but have recourſe unto the Sages, and thoſe wiſe ſchooles and learned colledges of *Athens*; call to minde and conſider the renowmed clerkes and famous Philoſophers, either in *Lycæum* or the Academie: go to the gallerie *Stoa*, the learned ſchoole *Palladium*, or the Muſicke-ſchoole *Odæum*. If you affect, love and admire above all other the ſect of the Peripateticks, *Ariſtotle* the prince thereof was borne in *Stagira*, a citie of *Macedonia*; *Theophraſtus* in *Ereſſus*; *Strato* came from *Lampſacus*; *Glycon* from *Troas*; *Ariſton* from *Chios*; and *Critolaus* from *Phaſelus*. If your minde ſtand more to praiſe the Stoickes, *Cleanthes* was of *Aſſos*; *Zeno* was a *Citiean*; *Chryſippus* came from *Soli*; *Diogenes* from *Babylon*; and *Antipater* from *Tharſus*; and *Archidamus* being an Athenian borne, went to dwell among the Parthians, and left behind him at *Babylon* in ſucceſſion, the Stoicke diſcipline and Philoſophie. Who was it that chaſed and drave theſe men out of their native countries? certes none, but even of their owne accord and voluntary motion they ſought all abroad for their contentment and repoſe, which hardly or not at all can they enjoy at home in their owne houſes, who are in any authoritie and reputation; ſo that, as they have taught us verie well out of their bookes, other good ſciences which they profeſſed; ſo this one point of living in quietnes and reſt they have ſhewed unto us by practiſe and example. And even in theſe daies alſo, the moſt renowmed and approoved clerkes, yea and greateſt men of marke and name, live in ſtrange countries, farre remote from their owne habitations; not tranſported by others, but of themſelves remooving thither; not baniſhed, ſent away, and confined; but willing to flie and avoide the troubleſome affaires, negotiations and buſineſſe, which their native countries amuſe them with. That this is true, it may appeere by the moſt approoved, excellent, and commendable workes and compoſitions, which ancient writers have left unto poſteritie; for the abſolute finiſhing whereof it ſeemeth that the Muſes uſed the helpe and meanes of their exile. Thus *Thucydides* the Athenian penned the warre betweene the Peloponneſians and the Athenians whiles he was in *Thracia*, and namely neere unto a place called the *Foreſt of the Foſſe*. *Xenophon* compiled his ſtorie at *Scillos* in *Elea*; *Philip* wrate in *Epirus*; *Timæus* who was borne at *Taurominum* in *Sicilie*, became a writer in *Athens*; *Androtion* the Athenian at *Megaræ*, and *Bachilides* the Poet in *Peloponneſus*; who all and many others beſides, being baniſhed out of their countries, were never diſcouraged nor caſt downe, but ſhewed the vivacitie and vigor of their good ſpirits, and tooke their exile at fortunes hands as a good maintenance and proviſion of their journey; by meanes whereof they live in fame and renowne now after their death: whereas on the other ſide, there remaineth no memoriall at all of thoſe, by whoſe factions and ſidings they were driven out and exiled. And therefore he deſerveth to be well mocked, who thinketh that baniſhment carrieth with it ſome note of infamie and reproch, as neceſſarily adherent thereto. For what ſay you to this? Is *Diogenes* to be counted infamous, whom when King *Alexander* ſaw ſitting in the ſunne, he approched neere and ſtanding by him, demaunded whether he ſtood in need of any thing or no? he had no other anſwere from him but this, that he had need of nothing elſe, but that he ſhould ſtand alittle out of the ſunne-ſhine, and not ſhadow him as he did; whereupon *Alexander* woondring at his magnanimitie and haughtie courage, ſaid preſently unto thoſe friends that were about him; If I were not *Alexander* I would be *Diogenes*. And was *Camillus* diſgraced any way for being baniſhed out of *Rome*, conſidering that even at this daie he is reputed and taken for the ſecond founder thereof? Neither loſt *Themiſtocles* the glorie which he had woon among the Greekes by his exile, but rather acquired thereto great honor & eſtimation with the Barbarians. And no man is there ſo baſe minded and careleſſe of honor and credit, but he would chooſe rather to be *Themiſtocles* baniſhed as he was, than *Leobates* his accuſer, and the cauſe of his baniſhment; yea, and to be *Cicero* who was exiled, than *Clodius* who chaſed him out of *Rome*; or *Timotheus*, who was conſtrained to abandon and forſake his native countrey, than *Ariſtophon* who endited him and cauſed him to leave the ſame. But for that the authoritie of *Euripides* who ſeemeth mightily to defame and condemne baniſhment, mooveth many men; let us conſider what be his ſeverall queſtions and anſweres to this point:

IOCASTA.
How then! is it a great calamitie
To looſe the place of our nativitie?
POLYNICES.
The greateſt croſſe I hold it is doubtleſſe,
And more indeed than my tongue can expreſſe.
IOCASTA.
The manner would I gladly underſtand,
And what doth grieve man ſhut from native land?
POLYNICES.
This one thing firſt, the ſoreſt griefe muſt be,
That of their ſpeech they have not libertie.
IOCASTA.
A ſpight it is no doubt, and that of ſervile kind,
For men to be debard to ſpeake their mind.
POLYNICES.
Beſides, they muſt endure the fooliſhneſſe,
And ignorance of rulers, more or leſſe.

But herein I cannot allow of his ſentence and opinion as well and truely delivered. For firſt and formoſt, not to ſpeake what a man thinketh, is not the point of a ſlaviſh and baſe perſon, but rather he is to be counted a wiſe and prudent man, who can hold his tongue at thoſe times and in ſuch occaſions as require taciturnitie and ſilence; which the ſame Poet hath taught us in another place more wiſely, when he ſaith,

Silence is good when that it doth availe,
Likewiſe to ſpeake in time and not to faile.

And as for the folly and ignorance of great and mightie perſons, we muſt abide no leſſe when we tarrie at home, than in exile; nay it falleth out many times, that men at home feare much more the calumniations and violence of thoſe who injuſtly are in high places of authoritie within cities, than if they were abroad and out of their owne countries. Againe, this alſo is moſt falſe and abſurd, that the ſaid Poet depriveth baniſhed perſons of their libertie and franke ſpeech. Certes, this were a woonderfull matter, that *Theodorus* wanted his freedome of tongue, conſidering that when King *Lyſimachus* ſaid unto him: And hath thy countrey chaſed and caſt thee out, being ſo great a perſon among them; Yea (quoth he againe) for that it was no more able to beare me, than *Semele* to beare *Bacchus*: neither was he daunted and afraid, notwithſtanding that the King ſhewed unto him *Teleſphorus* encloſed within an iron cage, whoſe eies he had cauſed before to be pulled out of his head,, his noſe and eares to be cropt, and his tongue to be cut, adding withal theſe words: See how I handle thoſe that diſpleaſe and abuſe my perſon. And what ſhall we ſay of *Diogenes*? Wanted he (thinke you) his libertie of ſpeech? who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, at what time time as he made an expedition againſt the Grecians, invaded their countrey and was ready to give them battell, was apprehended and brought before the king as a ſpie, and charged therewith: I am indeed (quoth he) come hither to ſpie your inſatiable avarice, ambition, and folly, who are about now to hazard in one houre (as it were) with the caſt of a die, not onely your crowne and dignitie, but alſo your life and perſon; ſemblably, what thinke you of *Anniball* the Carthaginian? was he tongue-tied before *Antiochus*, baniſhed though himſelfe were, and the other a mightie monarch? For when he adviſed *Antiochus* to take the opportunitie preſented unto him, and to give battell unto the Romans his enemies, and the king having ſacrificed unto the gods anſwered againe, that the entrails of the beaſt killed for ſacrifice, would not permit but forbad him ſo to do: Why then (quoth he by way of reproofe and rebuke) you will doe that belike, which a peece of dead fleſh biddeth you, and not that which a man of wiſedome and underſtanding counſelleth you unto. But neither Geometricians, nor thoſe that uſe linearie demonſtrations, if haply they be baniſhed, are deprived of their libertie, but that they may diſcourſe & ſpeake frankly of their art, and ſcience of ſuch things as they have learned and knowen: how then ſhould good, honeſt and honorable perſons be debarred of that freedome, in caſe they be exiled? But in trueth, it is cowardiſe and baſenes of minde, which alwaies ſtoppeth the voice, tieth the tongue, ſtifleth the wind-pipe, and cauſeth men to be ſpeechleſſe. But proceed we to that which followeth afterwards in *Eurpides*:

IOCASTA.
But thus we ſay, thoſe that are baniſhed
With hopes alwaies of better dates be fed.
POLYNICES.
Good eies they have, a farre off they doe ſee,
Staying for things that moſt uncertaine be.

Certainely theſe words implie rather a blame and reprehenſion of folly, than of exile. For they be not thoſe who have learned and doe know how to apply themſelves unto things preſent, and to uſe their eſtate ſuch as it is, but ſuch as continually depend upon the expectance of future fortunes, and covet evermore that which is abſent and wanting, who are toſſed to and fro with hope as in a little punt or bote floting upon the water; yea although they were never in their life time without the wals of the citie wherein they were borne: moreover whereas we reade in the ſame *Euripides*,

IOCASTA.
Thy fathers friends and allies, have not they
Beene kind and helpfull to thee, as they may?
POLYNICES.
Looke to thy ſelfe, from troubles God thee bleſſe,
Friends helpe is naught, if one be in diſtreſſe.
IOCASTA.
Thy noble blood, from whence thou art deſcended:

Hath it not thee advanc'd and much amended?

POLYNICES.

I hold it ill, to be in want and need,
For parentage and birth doth not men feed.

Theſe ſpeeches of *Polynices* are not onely untrue, but alſo bewray his unthankfulneſſe, when he ſeemeth thus to blame his want of honor and due regard for his nobility, and to complaine that hee was deſtitute of friends by occaſion of his exile, conſidering that in reſpect of his noble birth, baniſhed though he were, yet ſo highly honoured he was that he was thought woorthie to be matched in marriage with a kings daughter, and as for friends, allies, and confederates, hee was able to gather a puiſſant armie of them, by whoſe aide and power he returned into his owne countrey by force of armes, as himſelfe teſtifieth a little after in theſe words:

Many a lord and captaine brave here ſtands
With me in field, both from Mycenæ *bright,*
And cities more of Greece, *whoſe helping hands*
(Though loth) I muſt needes uſe in claime of right.

Much like alſo be the ſpeeches of his mother lamenting in this wiſe;

No nuptiall torch at all I lighted have
To thee, as doth a wedding feaſt beſeeme,
No mariage ſong was ſung, nor thee to lave
Was water brought from faire Iſmenus *ſtreame.*

whom it had become and behooved rather to rejoice and be glad in heart, when ſhe heard that her ſonne was ſo highly advaunced and married into ſo roiall an houſe; but in taking griefe and ſorrow her-ſelfe that there was no wedding torch lighted, & that the river *Iſmenus* affoorded no water to bathe in at his wedding; as if new maried bridegroomes could not be furniſhed either with fire or water in the city *Argos*; ſhe attributeth unto exile, the inconveniences which more truly proceed from vanitie and follie.

But ſome man will ſay unto me; That to be baniſhed is a note of ignominie and reproch: true it is indeed, but among fooles onely, who thinke likewiſe that it is a ſhame to be poore, to be bald, to be ſmall of ſtature, yea and to be a ſtranger forſooth, a tenant, in-mate or alien inhabitant: For certes ſuch as will not ſuffer themſelves to be caried away with theſe vaine perſwaſions, nor do ſubſcribe thereto, eſteeme & have in admiration good and honeſt perſons, never reſpecting whether they be poore, ſtrangers, and baniſhed or no: Do we not ſee that all the world doth honor and reverence the temple of *Theſeus* aſwell as *Parthenon* and *Eleuſinium*, temples dedicated to *Minerva*, *Ceres*, and *Proſerpina*? and yet was *Theſeus* baniſhed from *Athens*; even that *Theſeus* by whoſe meanes the ſame citie was firſt peopled, and is at this day inhabited; and that citie loſt he which he held not from another, but founded firſt himſelfe. As for *Eleuſis* what beautie at all would remaine in it? if we diſhonor *Eumolpus* and be aſhamed of him who remooving out of *Thracia*, inſtituted at firſt among the Greeks the religion of ſacred myſteries, which continueth in force and is obſerved at this day: what ſhall we ſay of *Codrus* who became king of *Athens*? whoſe ſonne I pray you was he? was not *Melanthius* his father a baniſhed man from *Meſſina*. Can you chuſe but commend the anſwere of *Antiſthenes* to one who ſaid unto him; Thy mother is a Phrygian: So was (quoth he) the mother of the gods: why anſwer you not likewiſe when you are reproched with your baniſhment? even ſo was the father of that victorious conqueror *Hercules*: the grand-ſire likewiſe of *Bacchus*, who being ſent out for to ſeeke lady *Europa*, never returned backe into his native countrie:

For being a Phœnician borne,
At Thebes *he after did arrive,*
Far from his native ſoile beforne,
And there begat a ſonne belive,
Who Bacchus *did engender tho,*
That mooves to furie women, hight
Mad Bacchus, *runneth to and fro,*
In ſervice, ſuch is his delight.

As for that which the Poet *Aeſchylus* would ſeeme covertly by theſe darke words to inſinuate, or rather to ſhew a farre off, when he ſaith thus:

And chaſte Apollo *ſacred though he were,* *Yet baniſhed a time, heaven did forbeare.*

I am content to paſſe over in ſilence, and will forbeare to utter according as *Herodotus* ſaith: and whereas *Empedocles* in the very beginning of his philoſophie maketh this præface:

An auncient law there ſtands in force,
decreed by gods above,
Grounded upon neceſſitie,
and never to remoove:
That after man hath ſtein'd his hands
in bloudſhed horrible,
And in remorſe of ſinne is vext
with horrour terrible.
The long liv'd angels which attend
in heaven, ſhall chaſe him quite,
For many thouſand yeeres from view
of every bleſſed wight:
By vertue of this law, am I
from gods exiled now,
And wander heere and there throughout
the world I know not how.

This he meaneth not of himſelfe alone, but of all us after him, whom he declareth and ſheweth by theſe words to be meere ſtrangers, paſſengers, forreiners, and baniſhed perſons in this world. For it is not bloud (quoth he) ô men, nor vitall ſpirit contemperate together, that hath given unto us the ſubſtance of our ſoule and beginning of our life; but hereof is the bodie only compoſed and framed, which is earthly and mortall; but the generation of the ſoule which commeth another way, and deſcendeth hither into theſe parts beneath, he doth mitigate and ſeeme to diſguiſe by the moſt gentle and milde name that hee could deviſe, calling it a kinde of pilgrimage from the naturall place; but to uſe the right tearme indeed, and to ſpeake according to the very truth, ſhe doth vague and wander as baniſhed, chaſed and driven by the divine lawes and ſtatutes to and fro, untill ſuch time as it ſetleth to a bodie, as an oiſter or ſhell fiſh to one rocke or other in an iſland beaten and daſhed upon with many windes and waves of the ſea round about (as *Plato* ſaith) for that it doth not remember nor call to mind from what height of honor, & from how bleſſed an eſtate it is tranſlated, not changing as a man would ſay *Sardis* for *Athens*, nor *Corinth* for *Lemnos* or *Scyros*, but her reſiance in the very heaven and about the moone, with the abode upon earth, and with a terreſtriall life; whereas it thinketh it ſtrange and as much diſcontented heere for that it hath made exchange of one place for another not farre diſtant; much like unto a poore plant that by remooving doth degenerate and begin to wither away: and yet we ſee, that for certaine plants ſome ſoile is more commodious and ſortable than another, wherein they will like, thrive, and proſper better: whereas contrariwiſe there is no place that taketh from a man his felicitie, no more than it doth his vertue, fortitude or wiſedome: for *Anaxagoras* during the time that he was in priſon wrote his *Quadrature* of the circle: and *Socrates* even when he drunke poiſon, diſcourſed as a philoſopher, exhorting his friends and familiars to the ſtudie of philoſophie, and was by them reputed happie; but contrariwiſe *Phaeton* and *Icarus* who (as the poets do report) would needs mount up into heaven, through their owne folly and inconſiderate raſhnes, fell into moſt greevous and wofull calamities.

* * *

THAT WE OVGHT NOT TO TAKE UP MONEY UPON VSVRIE.

The Summarie.

THe covetous deſire of earthly goods, is a paſsion incurable, but eſpecially after that it hath gotten the maſterie of the ſoule, in ſuch ſort, as the advertiſements which are made in regard of covetous men, be not propoſed for any thing els but for the profit and benefit of thoſe perſons who are to keepe themſelves from the nets and ſnares of theſe enemies of humane ſocietie. Now among all thoſe who have need of good counſels in this behalfe, we muſt range them that take up money upon intereſt, who ſerving as a pray and bootie to theſe greedie and hungry hunters, ought ſo much the rather to looke unto their owne preſervation, if they would not be cruelly devoured. And as this infortunitie hath bene in the world ever ſince the entrie of ſinne, that alwaies ſome or other, yea, and great numbers have endevoured to make their commoditie and gaine by the loſſe and dammage of their neighbours; ſo we may ſee heere, that in Plutarchs *time things were growen to a woonderfull confuſion, the which is nothing diminiſhed ſince, but contrariwiſe it ſeemeth that in theſe our daies it is come to the very height. And for to applie ſome remedie heereto, our authour leaveth uſurers altogether as perſons graceleſſe, reprobate and uncapable of all remonſtrance, addreſsing himſelfe unto borrowers, to the end that he might diſcover and lay open unto them the ſnares and nets into which they plunge themſelves; and this he doth without ſpecifying or particulariſing over neere of uſurie, becauſe there is no meane or meaſure limited nor any end of this furious deſire of gathering and heaping up things corruptible. Conſidering then that covetous folke have neither nerve nor veine that reacheth or tendeth to the pittie of their neighbours, meet it is and good reaſon that borrowers ſhould have ſome mercie and compaſsion of themſelves, to weigh and ponder well the grave diſcourſes of this authour, and to applie the ſame unto the right uſe. He ſaith therefore, that the principall meanes to keepe and ſave themſelves from the teeth of uſurie, is to make the beſt of their owne, and ſhift with thoſe things that they have about them, before they approch unto the denne of this hungrie and greedie beaſt, and that men ought to make an hand & quicke diſpatch of that which is not very neceſſary, before they come thither; where he taxeth thoſe who had lever lay to gage and pawne their goods, and remaine under the burden of uſurie, than to ſell up all and diſgage themſelves at once. After this, he preſenteth the true remedie of this miſchiefe, namely, to ſpare and ſpend in meaſure; and to cauſe us to be more warie and better adviſed, he propoſeth the livelie image of this horrible monſter, whom we call an Uſurer, deſcribing him in his colours, with all his practiſes and paſsions. Which done, he ſheweth the ſource of borrowing money upon intereſt, and the way to ſtop the ſame; he directeth his pen particularly firſt unto the poore, giving them a goodly leſſon, and then unto the richer ſort, teaching the one aſwell as the other, how they are to demeane and carie themſelves, that they be not expoſed in the clutches of uſurers. And for a concluſion, he exhorteth them to behold the example of certeine Philoſophers by name, who choſe rather to abandon & forſake all their goods, than to undoe themſelves in the poſſeſsion & holding thereof.*

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO take up money upon uſurie.

PLato in his books of Lawes, permitteth not one neighbour to make bolde with anothers water, before he have digged and ſunke a pit ſo deepe in his owne ground, that he is come to a veine of clay or potters earth; untill (I ſay) he have ſounded thorowly, and found that the plot of ground is not apt to ingender water, or yeeld a ſpring; [for the ſaid potters clay being by nature fattie, ſolide and ſtrong, reteineth that moiſture which it hath once received, and will not let it ſoke or paſſe thorow:] but allowed they are, and ought to furniſh themſelves with water from others, when they have no meanes to find any of their own, foraſmuch as the law intendeth to provide for mens neceſſitie, and not to favour their idleneſſe; even ſo there ought to be an ordinance and act as touching money; That it might not be lawfull for thoſe to borrow upon uſurie, nor to goe into other mens purſes (as it were) to draw water at their welles or pits, before they have caſt about all meanes at home, ſearched every way, and gathered (as it were) from everie gutter and ſpring, trying and aſſaying how to draw and come by that which may ſerve their owne turnes, and ſupplie their preſent neceſſities. But now it falleth out contrariwiſe, that manie there be, who to furniſh their fooliſh and riotous expenſes, or els to accompliſh their ſuperfluous and chargeable delights, never ſerve their owne turnes, nor make uſe of thoſe things which they have, but are readie to ſeeke unto others, even to their great coſt, though they ſtand in no need at all: for an undoubted & certeine proofe hereof, marke how uſurers do not ordinarily put forth their money unto thoſe who are in neceſſity & diſtreſſe, but to ſuch as be deſirous to purchaſe and get that which is ſuperfluous, and whereof they ſtand not in need; inſomuch as that which is credited out and delivered unto him that borroweth, is a good proofe and ſufficient teſtimonie, that he hath ſomewhat to take to of his owne; whereas indeed he ought (ſince he hath wherewith) to looke unto it, that he take not upon intereſt, and conrrariwiſe, not to be credited nor to be in the uſurers booke, is an argument that ſuch an one is needie.

Why doeſt thou repaire and make court (as it were) obſequiouſly to a banker or merchant? goe thy waies and borrow of thine owne banke, make a friend of thine owne ſtocke; flaggons thou haſt and pots, chargers, baſons and diſhes all of ſilver plate; imploy the ſame about thy neceſſities, for to ſupply thy wants, and when thou haſt diſfurniſhed thy table and cup-boord, the gentle towne *Antis* or els the iſle *Tenedos*, will make up all again with faire veſſel of earth and pottery, which is much more neat & pure than thoſe of ſilver; for theſe cary not the ſtrong ſmel nor unpleaſant ſent of uſury, which like ruſt or canker, every day more & more, ſullieth, fretteth & eateth into thy coſtly magnificence; theſe will not put thee in minde daily of the calends and new moones, which being in it ſelfe the moſt ſacred & holy day of the moneth, is by meanes of the uſurers, become odious and accurſed. For as touching thoſe, who chooſe rather to lay their goods to gage, & to pawn them for to borrow money thereupon & pay for uſe, than to ſel them right out, I am verily perſwaded that god *Jupiter* himſelfe ſurnamed *Cteſius*, that is, Poſſeſſor, can not ſave them from beggery. Abaſhed they are to receive the price and value of their goods to the woorth; but they be not aſhamed to pay intereſt for the lone of money. And yet that wiſe and politike *Pericles* cauſed the coſtly robe and attire of the ſtatue of *Minerva* weighing forty talents in fine gold, to be made in ſuch ſort, that he might take it off and put it on as he would at his pleaſure; To the ende (quoth he) that when we ſtand in need of money for maintenance of warre, we may ſerve our turnes therewith for the time, and afterwards put in the place againe another of no leſſe weight and woorth; even ſo we likewiſe in our accuſations and affaires, like as in the beſieging of a citie, ought never to admit the garriſon of an uſurer or enemie, nor to endure to ſee before our eies our owne goods delivered out for to continue in perpetuall ſervitude, but rather to cut-off from our labour all that is neither profitable nor neceſſarie; likewiſe from our beds, from our couches, and our ordinarie expenſes in diet whatſoever is heedleſſe, thereby to maintaine and keepe our ſelves free, in hope and with full intent to ſupply and make amends againe for it, if fortune afterwards ſmile upon us. Certes, the Romane dames in times paſt were willing to part with their jewels and ornaments of gold, yea and give them away as an offering of firſt fruits to *Apollo Pythius*, whereof was made a golden cup, and the ſame ſent to the citie of *Delphi*. And the Matrons of *Carthage* ſhore the haire of their heads, to make thereof twiſted cords for to winde up and bend their engines and inſtruments of artillerie in the defence of their countrey, when the citie was beſieged. But we, as if we were aſhamed of our owne ſufficiencie, and to ſtand upon our owne bottomes, ſeeke to enthrall our ſelves by gages and obligations; whereas it behooved us much more by reſtraining our ſelves and reducing all to ſuch things onely as be profitable and good for us, of thoſe needleſſe, unprofitable and ſuperfluous veſſels which we have, after they be either melted, broken in pieces, or ſold, to build a privileged chappell of libertie, for our ſelves, our wives and children. For the goddeſſe *Diana* in *Epheſus*, yeelded ſanctuarie, franchiſe and ſavegard unto all debters againſt their creditours, who fled for ſuccour into her temple. But the ſanctuarie indeed of parſimonie, frugalitie and moderate expenſe, into which no uſurers can make entrie, for to hale and pull out of it any debter priſoner, ſtandeth alwaies open for thoſe that are wiſe, and affoordeth unto them a large ſpace, of joious and honorable repoſe. For like as that Propheteſſe which gave oracles in the temple of *Pythius Apollo*, about the time of the Medians warre, made anſwere unto the Athenian Embaſſadors: That God gave vnto them for their ſafetie a wall of wood; whereupon they leaving their lands and poſſeſſions, abandoning their citie, and forſaking their houſes and all the goods therein, had recourſe unto their ſhips for to ſave their libertie; even ſo, God giveth unto us woodden tables, earthen veſſels, and garments of courſe cloth, if we would live in freedome:

Set not thy minde upon ſteeds of great price,
And chariots brave, in ſilver harneſſe dight,
With claſpes, with bookes, and ſtuds by fine device
Ywrought, in race to ſhew a goodly ſight.

for how ſwift ſoever they be, theſe uſurers will ſoone overtake them and run beyond. But rather get upon the next aſſe thou meeteſt with, or the firſt pack-horſe that commeth in thy way, to flie from the uſurer, a cruell enemie and meere tyrant, who demaundeth not at thy hands fire and water, as ſometimes did that barbarous King of *Media*; but that which woorſe is, toucheth thy libertie, woundeth thine honor and credit by proſcriptions, writs, and open proclamations. If thou pay him not to his content, he is ready to trouble thee; if thou have wherewith to ſatisfie him, he wil not receive thy payment, unleſſe he liſt; if thou prize and ſell thy goods, he will have them under their worth; art thou not diſpoſed to make a ſale of them? hee will force thee to it; doeſt thou ſue him for his extreame dealing, he will ſeeme to offer parley of agreement; if thou ſweare unto him that thou wilt make paiment, he will impoſe upon thee hard conditions, and have thee at command; if thou goe to his houſe for to ſpeake and conferre with him, hee will locke the gates againſt thee; and if thou ſtay at home and keepe houſe, thou ſhalt have him rapping at thy doore; he will not away but take up his lodging there with thee. For in what ſtead ſerved the law of *Solon* in *Athens*, wherein it was ordained, that among the Athenians, mens bodies ſhould not be obliged for any civill debt? conſidering that they be in bondage and ſlaverie to all banquers and uſurers, who force men to keepe in their heads; and that which more is, not to them alone (for that were not ſuch a great matter) but even to their verie ſlaves, being proud, inſolent, barbarous and outrageous, ſuch as *Plato* deſcribeth the divels and fiery executioners in hel to be, who torment the ſoules of wicked and godleſſe perſons. For ſurely theſe curſed uſurers make thy hall and judiciall place of juſtice, no better than a very hell and place of torment to their poore debters, where after the manner of greedie geirs and hungrie griffons, they flay, mangle and eate them to the verie bones,

And of their beaks and talons keene,
The markes within their fleſh be ſeene.

And ſome of them they ſtand continually over, not ſuffring them to touch and taſte their owne proper goods; when they have done their vintage and gathered in their corne & other fruits of the earth, making them faſt & pine away like unto *Tantalus*. And like as king *Darius* ſent againſt the citie of *Athens* his lieutenants generall *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, with chaines, cordes and halters in their hands, therewith to binde the priſoners which they ſhould take; ſemblablie theſe uſurers bring into *Greece* with them their boxes and caskets full of ſchedules, bils, handwritings, and contracts obligatorie, which be as good as ſo many irons and fetters to hang upon their poore debters; and thus they go up and downe leaping from citie to citie, where they ſow not as they paſſe along good and profitable ſeede, as *Triptolemus* did in old time; but plant their rootes of debts, which bring foorth infinite troubles and intolerable uſuries, whereof there is no end, which eating as they goe and ſpreading their ſpaunes round about, in the end cauſe whole cities to ſtoupe and ſtinke, yea and be ready to ſuffocate and ſtrangle them. It is reported of hares that at one time they ſuckle young leverets and be ready to kinnule others that be in their bellies, and withall to conceive a freſh: but the debts of theſe barbarous, wicked and cruell uſurers, do bring foorth before they conceive. For in putting out their money, they redemand it preſently; in laying it downe, they take it up, they deliver that againe for intereſt, which they received and tooke in conſideration of lone and uſe. It is ſaid of the Meſſenians citie,

Gate after gate a man ſhall here find,
And yet one gate ther's alwaies behind.

But it may better be ſaid of uſurers:

Uſurie here, upon uſurie doth grow,
And end thereof you never ſhall know.

and here withall in ſome ſort they laugh at natural philoſophers, who holde this Axiome, That of nothing can be engendred nothing; for with them uſurie is bred of that which neither is, nor ever was; of that I ſay which never had ſubſiſtence nor being. Howbeit theſe men thinke it a ſhame & reproch to be a publicane, and take to farme for a rent the publike revenewes, notwithſtanding the lawes do permit and allow that calling, whereas themſelves againſt all the lawes of the world, exact a rent and cuſtome for that which they put foorth to uſurie; or rather to ſpeake a truth in lending their money they defraude their debtors as bankrupts do their creditors. For the poore debter who receiveth leſſe than he hath ſet downe in his obligation, is moſt falſely couſened, deceived, and cut ſhort of that which he ought to have. And verily the Perſians repute lying to be a ſinne, but in a ſecond degree: for in the firſt place they reckon to owe money and be indebted; in as much, as leaſing followeth commonly thoſe that be in debt. But yet uſurers ly more than they, neither are there any that practiſe more falſhood and deceit in their day debt bookes wherein they write, that to ſuch a one they have delivered ſo much, whereas indeed it is farre leſſe; and ſo the motive of their lying is faire avarice, & neither indigence nor poverty, but even a miſerable covetouſnes and deſire ever to have more and more; the end whereof turneth neither to pleaſure nor profit unto themſelves, but to the loſſe and ruine of thoſe whom they wring and wrong: for neither till they thoſe grounds which they take away from their debters; nor dwell in the houſes out of which they turne them; nor eate their meat upon thoſe tables which they have from them; ne yet clad themſelves with their apparell, of which they ſpoile them; but firſt, one is deſtroied, than a ſecond followeth after, and is allured as a prey by the other. And this is much like to a wilde fire, which ſtill conſumeth, and yet encreaſeth alwaies by the utter decay and deſtruction of all that falleth into it, and devoureth one thing after another. And the uſurer which maintaineth this fire, blowing and kindling it with the ruine of ſo many people, gaineth thereby no more fruit than this, that after a certaine time, he taketh his booke of accounts in hand, and there readeth what a number of debters he hath bought out of houſe and home, how many he had diſpoſſeſſed of their land and living, from whence he hath come and whither he hath gone in turning, winding, and heaping up his ſilver. Now I would not that you ſhould thus thinke of me, that I ſpeake al this upon any deadly war and enmitie that I have ſworne againſt uſurers,

For God be praiſed they neither horſes mine
Have driven away, nor oxen, ne yet kine.

But onely to ſhew unto them who are ſo ready to take up money upon uſurie, what a villanous, ſhamefull, and baſe thing there is in it, and how this proceedeth from nothing elſe but extreame folly and timiditie of heart. If thou have wherewith to weld the world, never come into the uſurers booke, conſidering thou haſt no need to borrow. Haſt thou not wherewith, yet take not money up and pay not intereſt, becauſe thou ſhalt have no meanes to make paiment. But let us conſider the one and the other apart by it ſelfe. Old *Cato* ſaid unto a certaine aged man, who behaved himſelfe verie badly: My friend (quoth he) conſidering that old age of it ſelfe hath ſo manie evils; how commeth it to paſſe, that you adde thereto moreover the reproch and ſhame of leawdneſſe and miſdemeanor? even ſo may we ſay, ſeeing that povertie of it ſelfe hath ſo many and ſo great miſeries, do not you over and above go and heape thereupon the troubles and anguiſhes that come of borrowing and being in debt; neither take thou from penurie that onely good thing, wherein it excelleth riches, to wit, the want of carking and penſive cares; for otherwiſe thou ſhalt be ſubject unto the mockerie implied by this common proverbe:

A goat alone when beare unneth I may,
An oxe upon my ſhoulder you do lay.

Semblably, you being not able to ſuſtaine povertie alone, do ſurcharge your ſelfe with an uſurer, a burden hardly ſupportable even for a rich and wealthie man. How then would you have me to live? haply ſome man will ſay: And doeſt thou indeed aske this queſtion, having hands and feet of thine owne? having the gift of ſpeech, voice, and being a man, unto whom it is given both to love and alſo to be loved; as well to doe a pleaſure, as to receive a courteſie with thankeſgiving. Thou maiſt teach Grammar, bring up yoong children, be a porter or doore-keeper; thou maiſt be a ſailer or mariner, thou maiſt row in a barge or galley: for none of all theſe trades is more reprochfull, odious, or troubleſome, than to heare one ſay unto thee: Pay me mine owne, or diſcharge the debt that thou oweſt me. *Rutilius* that rich Romane comming upon a time at *Rome* to *Muſonius* the Philoſopher, ſaid unto him thus in his eare: *Muſonius, Jupiter* ſurnamed *Saviour*, whom you and ſuch other Philoſophers as you are, make profeſſion to imitate and follow, taketh up no money at intereſt: but *Muſonius* ſmiling againe, returned him this preſent anſwere: No more doth he put foorth anie money for uſe.

Now this *Rutilius* who was an uſurer, reproched the other for taking money at intereſt, which was a fooliſh arrogant humour of a Stoicke: for what need hadſt thou *Rutilius*, to meddle with *Jupiter Saviour*, and alledge his name, conſidering that a man may report the ſelfe ſame by thoſe very things which are familiar and apparent? The ſwallowes are not in the uſurers booke, the piſmiers pay not for uſe of money, and yet to them hath not nature given either hands or reaſon, or any art and myſterie; whereas ſhe hath indued man with ſuch abundance of underſtanding, and aptneſſe to learne and practiſe, that he can skill not onely to nouriſh himſelfe, but alſo to keepe horſes, hounds, partridges, hares and jaies: why doeſt thou then diſable and condemne thy ſelfe, as if thou wert leſſe docible and ſenſible than a jay, more mute than a partridge, more idle than a dogge, in that thou canſt make no meanes to have good of a man, neither by double diligence, by making court, by obſervance and ſervice, nor by mainteining his quarrell and entring into combat in his defence? ſeeſt thou not how the earth doth bring foorth many things, and how the ſea affoordeth as many for the uſe of man? And verily as *Crates* ſaith:

I ſaw my ſelfe how Mycilus *wooll did card,*
And how with him his wife the rols did ſpin:
Thus during warre when times were extreame hard,
Both jointly wrought, to keepe them from famin.

King *Antigonus* when he had not of a long time ſeene *Cleanthes* the Philoſopher, meeting him one day in *Athens*, ſpake unto him, and ſaid: How now *Cleanthes*, doeſt thou grinde at the mill, and turne the querne-ſtone ſtill? Yea ſir (quoth *Cleanthes* againe) I grinde yet, and I doe it for to earne my living; howbeit, for all that, I give not over my profeſſion of Philoſophie. O the admirable courage and high ſpirit of this man, who comming from the mill, with that verie hand which turned about the ſtone, ground the meale and kneaded the dough, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the moone, of the ſtarres and the ſunne! But we do thinke all theſe to be baſe and ſervile works; and yet verily, becauſe we would be free (God wot) we care not to thruſt our ſelves into debt, we pay for the uſe of money, we flatter vile and baſe perſons, we give them preſents, we invite and feaſt them, we yeeld (as it were) tribute under-hand unto them; and this we do not in regard of povertie, (for no man uſeth to put forth his money into a poore mans hand) but even upon a ſuperfluity and riotous expenſe of our owne: for if we could content our ſelves with thoſe things that are neceſſarie for the life of man, there would not be an uſurer in the world, no more than there are Centaures and monſtrous Gorgones. But exceſſe it is and deintineſſe, which hath ingendered uſurers; like as the ſame hath bred gold-ſmithes, ſilver-ſmithes, confectioners, perfumers, and diers of gallant colours. We come not in debt to bakers and vinteners for our bread and wine; but wee owe rather for the price and purchaſe of faire houſes and lands, for a great number and retinue of ſlaves, of fine mules, of trimme halles and dining chambers, of rich tables and the coſtly furniture belonging thereto, beſides other fooliſh and exceſſive expenſes, which we often-times are at, when we exhibit plaies and ſolemne paſtimes into whole cities for to gratifie and do pleaſure unto the people; and that upon a vaine ambition and deſire of popular favour; and many times wee receive no other fruit of all our coſt and labour, but ingratitude. Now he that is once enwrapped in debt, remaineth a debtour ſtill all the daies of his life; and he fareth like to an horſe, who after he hath once received the bit into his mouth, changeth his rider eftſoones, and is neuer unridden, but one or other is alwaies on his backe. No way and meanes there is to avoid from thence, and to recover thoſe faire paſtures and pleaſant medowes, out of which thoſe indebted perſons are turned; but they wander aſtray to and fro, like to thoſe curſed fiends and maligne ſpirits, whom *Empedocles* writeth to have bene driven by the gods out of heaven:

For ſuch the heavenly power firſt chas'd downe to the ſea beneath;
The ſea againe, up to the earth did caſt them by and by;
Then afterwards, the earth them did unto the beames bequeath
Of reſtleſſe ſunne, and they at laſt ſent them to ſtarrie sky.

Thus fall they into the hands of uſurers or bankers, one after another; now of a Corinthian, then of a Patrian, and after of an * Athenian; ſo long, untill when all of them have had a fling at him, he become in the end, waſted, eaten out, & conſumed with uſurie upon uſurie. for like as he that is ſtepped into a quavemire, muſt either at firſt get forth of it, or els continue ſtill there, and not remove at all out of one place; for he that ſtriveth, turneth and windeth every way, not only doth wet and drench his bodie, but mireth it all over, and beraieth himſelfe more than he was at firſt, with filthy durt; even ſo they that do nothing but change one banke for another, making a tranſcript of their name out of one uſurers booke into anothers, loading their ſhoulders eftſoones with new and freſh uſuries, become alwaies overcharged more and more; and they reſemble for all the world, thoſe perſons who are diſeaſed with the cholericke paſſion or flux, who will not admit of any perfect cure to purge it at once, but continually taking away a certeine portion of the humor, make roome for more & more ſtill, to gather and ingender in the place; for even ſo theſe are not willing to be ridde and cleanſed at once, but with dolour, griefe and anguiſh pay uſurie euery ſeaſon and quarter of the yeere; and no ſooner have they diſcharged one, but another diſtilleth and runneth downe after it, which gathereth to an head; and ſo by that meanes they are grieved with the heart-ache and paine of the head; whereas it behooved that they ſhould make quicke diſpatch, and give order to be cleere and free once for all; for now I direct my ſpeech unto thoſe of the better ſort, who have wherewith above their fellowes, and yet be nicer than they ſhould be; and thoſe commonly come in with ſuch like words and excuſes, as theſe: How then; would you have mee unfurniſhed of ſlaves and ſervants? to live without fire, without an houſe and abiding place? which is all one as if hee that were in a dropſie and ſwollen as bigge as a tunne, ſhould ſay unto a phyſician; What will you doe? would you have me to be leane, lanke, ſpare bodied and emptie; and why not? or what ſhouldeſt not thou be contented to be, ſo thou maieſt recover thy health and be whole againe? and even ſo may it be ſaid unto thee? Better it were for to be without ſlaves than to be a ſlave thy ſelfe; and to remaine without heritage and poſſeſſions, that thou maieſt not be poſſeſſed by another. Hearken a little to the talke that was betweene two geires or vultures as the tale goes; when one of them diſgorged ſo ſtrongly, that he ſaid withall; I thinke verily that I ſhall caſt up my very bowels: the other being by, anſwered in this wiſe: What harme wil come of thy vomiting ſo long as thou ſhalt not caſt up thine owne entrails, but thoſe onely of ſome dead prey which we tare and devoured together but the other day; ſemblably every one that is indebted ſelleth not his own land, nor his owne houſe; but indeed the uſurers houſe & land of whom he hath taken money for intereſt, conſidering that by the law the debter hath made him lord of him and all. Yea marie will he ſay anon; but my father hath left me this peece of land for mine inheritance: I wot well and beleeve it; ſo hath thy father left unto thee freedome, good name and reputation, whereof thou oughteſt to make much more account than of land and living. He that begat thee made thy hand and thy foot; and yet if it chance that one of them be mortified, he will give a good fee or a reward to a chirurgian for to cut it off. Ladie *Calypſo* clad *Ulyſſes* with a veſture and robe ſenting ſweet like baulme, yeelding an odor of a body immortall which ſhe preſented unto him as a gift and memoriall of the love that ſhe bare unto him; and this he did weare for her ſake; but after that he ſuffred ſhipwracke and was readie to ſinke, being hardly able to flote above water, by reaſon that the ſaid robe was all drenched and ſo heavie that it held him downe, he did it off and threw it away; and then girding his naked breſt underneath with a certeine broad fillet or ſwadling band, he ſaved himſelfe by ſwimming, and recovered the bank: now when he was paſt this danger, and ſeemed to be landed, he ſeemed to want neither raiment nor nutriment: and what ſay you to this? may not this be counted a verie tempeſt, when as the uſurer after a certeine time ſhall come to aſſaile the poore debtors and ſay unto them: Paie,

* Or Corinthian againe.

Which word once ſaid, therewith the clouds above,
He gathereth thicke, and ſea with waves doth moove:
For why, the winds anon at once from eaſt,
From ſouth, from weſt do blow and give no reſt.

And what be theſe windes and waves? even uſuries upon uſuries, puffing, blowing and rolling one after another; and he that is overwhelmed therewith & kept under with their heavy weight, is not able to ſwim foorth and eſcape, but in the end is driven downe and ſinketh to the verie bottome, where he is drowned and periſhed together with his friends, who entred into bonds, and became ſureties and pledges for him.

Crates the philoſopher of Thebes therefore did very well, who being in daunger and debt to no man, onely wearied with the cares and troubles of houſe-keeping, and the penſive thoughts how to hold his owne, left all, and gave over his eſtate and patrimonie which amounted to the value of eight talents; tooke himſelfe to his bagge and wallet, to his ſimple robe and cloke of courſe cloth, and fled into the ſanctuarie and liberties of Philoſophie and povertie. As for *Anaxagoras* he forſooke his faire lands and plenteous paſtures: but what need I to alledge theſe examples? conſidering that *Philoxenus* the muſician being ſent with other to people & poſſeſſe a new colonie in *Sicilie*, and having befallen to his lot a goodly houſe and living to it, enioying (I ſay) for his part a good portion wherewith he might have lived in fulneſſe and plentie; when he ſawe once that delights, pleaſures, and idleneſſe without any exerciſe at all of good letters reigned in thoſe parts; *Par die* (quoth he) theſe goods heere ſhall never ſpoile and undoe me, but I will rather (I trow) make a hand and havocke of them; leaving therefore unto others his portion that fell unto him by lot, he tooke ſea againe & ſailed away to *Athens*. Contrariwiſe thoſe that be in debt are evermore ſued in the law, become tributaries & very ſlaves, bearing and induring all indignities, like unto thoſe varlets that digge in ſilver mines, nouriſhing and mainteining as *Phineus* did the ravenous winged harpies: for ſurely theſe uſurers alwaies flie upon them, and be ready to ſnatch and carie away their very foode and ſuſtenance; neither have they patience to ſtay and attend times and ſeaſons; for they buie up their debtors corne before it be ripe for the harveſt; they make their markets of oile before the olives fall from the tree, and likewiſe of wine: For I wil have it at this price (quoth the uſurer;) & withal the debter giveth him preſently a bill of his hand for ſuch a bargaine; meane while the grapes hang ſtill upon the vine, waiting for the moneth of September, when the ſtar *Arcturus* riſeth and ſheweth the time of vintage.

THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH PRINCES AND GREAT RVLERS, AND WITH THEM TO DISCOVRSE.

The Summarie.

If there be any in the world who have need of good companie, they are Princes and great Lords; for that their affaires being of ſuch conſequence as everie man knoweth, the feeblenes of bodie and inſufficiencie of ſpirit, not able to furniſh them throughly; great reaſon they have to ſee by the eies, and to worke with the hands of others. Now in this caſe, three ſorts of men there be who fault verie much: In the firſt place, Princes and Rulers themſelves, who in ſtead of drawing and trayning neere unto their perſons ſuch as can aide and aſſiſt them, give acceſſe rather unto flatterers and other like peſtilent members, who are ready to corrupt and ruinate their eſtates: Secondly, thoſe (whoſe number at all times hath beene verie ſmall) *whom we call Philoſophers (that is to ſay) men of authoritie, wiſe, ſage, learned, friends to vertue, lovers of the good of Princes and their ſubjects; who being of great power and able to doe much, yet notwithſtanding recule and draw backe, or being advanced to high place, have not alwaies that reſpect and conſideration, nor ſuch courage as appertaineth; ſuffering themſelves otherwhiles to be carried away to the entertainment and maintenance of the greateſt opinion, and mingling a little too much of worldly wiſedome with the apprehenſion of their true duty, whereof their conſcience being lightned in ſundry ſorts advertiſeth thē ſufficiently. The laſt (and thoſe as pernicious & execrable as the thought of man is not able to deviſe and comprehend) be the enemies of vertue (to wit) ignorant teachers, and profane ſchoolemaſters & profeſſors; mockers, ſcorners, jeſters, flatterers; in ſum, all the miniſters of vanities and filthie pleaſures, who do inſinuate and intrude themſelves, by moſt leawd and wicked means into the ſervice of Princes; and in recompence of the honor and rich gifts which they receive at their hands, doe deceive and undoe their ſimple lords and maſters, according as an infinite number of examples in Hiſtories doe verifie and give evidence unto us.* Plutarch *therefore in conſideration of theſe inconveniences, is deſirous in this treatiſe to encourage thoſe who wiſh that all things were well and in good order; and exhorteth them to approch neere unto Princes. But foraſmuch as ignorance and leawdnes cauſeth men to become ſhameleſſe, whereas wiſedome and honeſtie maketh us modeſt and conſiderate in all our actions; he ſheweth in the firſt place, that it is no point of ambition for a wiſe and learned man to joine himſelfe unto Grand ſegniories & to ſort with them; but that it is their duety ſo to do, conſidering that ſuch receive honor, pleaſure, and profit by him. And this he prooveth by reaſons, ſimilitudes, examples, al ſingular and notable. Afterwards he condemneth thoſe who enter into Princes courts, onely becauſe they would be great and powerfull, ſhewing that wiſe men indeed do aime cleane at another marke. And for the laſt point of all he treateth of the contentment which they receive, who by their ſervice to one alone, helpe by that meanes an infinite number of others, who remaine bound and obliged unto them for ſo great a benefit.*

THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT to converſe eſpecially with Princes and great Rulers, and with them to diſcourſe.

TO embrace a common love, to finde out, accept, intertaine and maintaine that amitie which may be profitable and commodious to many in particular, and yet to more in generall, is the part of honeſt men, politike, wiſe and affectionate to the publike good; and not as ſome thinke, of thoſe that be ambitious and vaine-glorious. But contrariwiſe, he is to be reputed vaine-glorious, or rather timorous and wanting courage, who doth ſhunne and is afraid to heare himſelfe called, a follower, waiter and ſervitor to thoſe that are in higheſt place. For what ſaith one of theſe perſonages who having need to be cured, is deſirous to learne and to bee acquainted with ſome Philoſopher? O that I were *Simon* the Souter, or *Dionyſius* the Pedante, in ſtead of *Pericles* or *Cato*, that a Philoſopher might diſcourſe and diſpute with me, that he might ſit by my ſide, as *Socrates* did ſometime by thoſe. And verily *Ariſton* of *Chios* being reprooved and blamed by the Sophiſters in his time, for that he uſed to deviſe and diſcourſe with all thoſe that were diſpoſed to heare him: I could wiſh (quoth he) in my heart, that the verie beaſts themſelves were able to give eare and underſtand thoſe diſcourſes that do excite and moove unto vertue. Doe we then avoide the meanes and occaſions to converſe and conferre familiarly with great perſonages and mightie men, as if they were wilde and ſavage perſons? The doctrine of Philoſophy is not like unto an imager who caſteth dumbe and deafe idole ſtatues, without any ſenſe, onely for to ſtand upon a baſe as *Pindarus* was woont to ſay, but is willing to make whatſoever it toucheth, active, operative and lively; it imprinteth therein affections and motions, judgements alſo inciting and leading to things unprofitable; intentions deſirous of all honeſtie, haughtie courage alſo and magnanimitie, joined with meekneſſe, reſolution and aſſurance; by meanes of which good parts, men of State & policie, are more readie and forward to converſe and deviſe with perſons of great puiſſance and authoritie, and not without good cauſe; for an honeſt and gentle phyſician will take alwaies more pleaſure to heale an eie that ſeeth for many, and which doth guard and looke to many; and even ſo a Philoſopher wil be more affectionate to take care for that ſoule and ſpirit, which he ſeeth to be vigilant for many, and which ought to be wiſe, prudent, and juſt for many: for ſuch an one if he were ſkilfull and cunning in the art, of finding, gathering, and conducting of waters (as we read in Hiſtories that *Hercules* and many other in old time were) would not take delight to goe into ſome deſert corner, farre remote from the frequencie of men, and to dig or ſinke pits there, nere to the Ravens rocke (as the Poet ſaith) and to open that Swine-heards mariſh *Arethuſa*, but would ſtudie rather to diſcover the lively ſources and overruning ſprings of a river, to ſerve ſome great citie or campe, or to water the orchards, gardens, and groves of kings. According as we heare that *Homer* called *Minos, Jupiters Oariſtes*, which is as much to ſay (as *Plato* himſelfe doth interpret the word) his Familiar & Diſciple; for he never meant that the diſciples of the gods were private perſons, home-keepers, and ſuch as meddle in nothing but houſe matters, keeping in and living idlely without any action; but Princes and Kings who being wiſe, juſt, debonaire and magnanimous, as many as be under their government and command, ſhall live in bliſſe and happines.

An herbe there is called *Eryngium* or Sea-holly, which hath this propertie, that no ſooner one goat taketh it in his mouth, but ſhe herſelfe firſt, and afterwards all the reſt of the flocke, will ſtand ſtill, untill ſuch time as the goat-heard come and take away out of the flocke which he will; in like maner, the defluxions which proceed from perſons of great power and authoritie, have the ſame ſwiftneſſe and celeritie, which doth dilate and ſpread it ſelfe in one moment, and in maner of fire ſeiſeth upon whatſoever is neere thereto on every ſide. And verily the ſpeech and remonſtrance of a Philoſopher, if it be addreſſed and directed unto a private man, and that loveth to live in repoſe, and who doth limit and circumſcribe himſelfe, as within a center and circumference geometricall, with the neceſſities of his owne bodie, the ſame ſpeech is not diſtributed and divided unto others, but after it hath in that one man alone, compoſed and wrought a great tranquillitie and calme of all perturbations, it fadeth, vaniſheth away, and ſo doth end incontinently; but on the contrarie ſide, if the ſaid remonſtrance meet with a man of State and government, a magiſtrate, a polititian, and one that dealeth in great affaires, and by the effectuall vertue thereof, repleniſh him with goodneſſe and honeſtie, by the meanes of that one perſon, the benefit will be imparted unto many. In this wiſe *Anaxagoras* kept companie with *Pericles*; *Plato* converſed with *Dion*, and *Pythagoras* did aſſociate himſelfe to the princes and lords of *Italie*; and as for *Cato*, he departed alone from the campe, and ſailed to *Athenodorus*; *Scipio* likewiſe laid for *Panætius*, and ſought after him, at what time as the Senate ſent him forth with commiſſion, for to goe in viſitation (as it were) and ſurvey, to ſee what right and wrong, what juſtice and injuſtice reigned in the world, according as *Poſidonius* maketh report. What then ought *Panætius* for to ſay? If you were either *Caſtor* or *Pollux*, or ſome other private perſon, deſirous to flie and avoid the frequency of great cities, and retire your ſelfe into ſome corner of a ſchoole apart, there at your leaſure and full repoſe to folde and unfolde, to reſolue and compound the ſyllogiſmes of Phyloſophers, I would willingly accept your offer, and be deſirous to converſe and ſtay with you; but ſeeing you are the ſonne of *Paulus Aemilius*, who had beene twiſe Conſull, and the nephew of *Scipio Africanus*, who defeated *Anniball* the captaine of the Carthaginians, I will not reaſon and diſpute with you. Moreover, to ſay that ſpeech is two folde; the one interior or inward, the gift of *Mercurie* ſurnamed *Hegemon*, that is, Guide; the other pronounced and uttered foorth, which is inſtrumentall, and a very interpreter to give notice of our conceptions, is a meere vaine and ſtale poſition, and may wel be compriſed under this old proverbe: Thus much I knew before *Theognis* was borne. But let not this diſtinction trouble or impeach us in that which wee are about to ſay; for aſwell of that which is conteined within the ſecret minde, as of the other which is pronounced and uttered, the end is all one; to wit, Love or amitie of this, in reſpect of a mans owne ſelfe, and of that, in regard of others: for that ſpeech which by the precepts of Philoſophie, bendeth unto vertue, and there doth end, maketh a man in tune and accordant with himſelfe, never repining and complaining of ought, full of peace, full of love and contentment:

In all his limmes is no ſedition,
No ſtrife, no warre, no ſtrange diſſention,

no paſſion rebellious and diſobedient to reaſon, no combat of will or appetite againſt will and appetite, no repugnancie and contrarietie of reaſon againſt reaſon; there is no impleaſant bitterneſſe or turbulent diſorder mixed with joies and pleaſures, as it falleth out in the confines of deſire, repentance and ſorow; but all things there be uniforme, delightſome and amiable, which cauſeth each one to content himſelfe, and joy as in abundance of all goods. As for the other kind of ſpeech that is pronounced, *Pindarus* ſaith: That the Muſe thereof was never in old time covetous, greedie of gaine or meere mercenarie; neither beleeve I that it is ſo at this day; but rather, through the ignorance and negligence of men who be careleſſe of their owne good and honour. *Mercurie,* who before was free and common, is now become an occupier and merchant, willing to doe nothing without a fee and reward. For it is not likely or probable, that *Venus* in times paſt was ſo deadly offended and angry with the daughters of *Proſpolus,* becauſe they deviſed firſt to ſow hatred and enmity among yong folke, and that *Urania, Clio* and *Calliope* take pleaſure in them who debaſe the dignitie of ſpeech and literature, by taking ſilver; but in mine opinion, the workes and gifts of the Muſes ought to be more amiable than thoſe of *Venus*: for fame and honour, which ſome propoſe for the end of their ſpeech and learning, hath bene held deare and highly beloved, for that it is the very beginning and ſeminarie of friendſhip; and that which more is, the common ſort of people meaſure honour by good-will and benevolence, eſteeming that we ought to praiſe thoſe onely whom we affect and love: but certeinly theſe men fare like unto *Ixion,* who in love following after the goddeſſe *Juno,* fell upon a cloud; for even ſo they, in ſtead of amitie embrace a vaine image of popularitie, deceitfull, pompous, wandering and uncertaine: howbeit, a man of good conceit and judgement, if he manage State affaires, or intermeddle in government of the common-weale, will ſeeke for honour and reputation ſo far forth onely, as to mainteine his authoritie and credit in all his actions, for the better management of publike affaires: for it is no pleaſure, neither is it eaſie, to doe them good who are not willing to profit and receive good; and the diſpoſition of the will proceedeth from beliefe and confidence. Like as the light doth more good unto them that ſee, than to thoſe who are ſeene; even ſo is honour more profitable unto them who perceive and feele the ſame, than to ſuch as are neglected and contemned. But hee who dealeth not in affaires of State, who liveth to himſelfe, and ſetteth downe his felicitie in ſuch a life, apart from others, in reſt and repoſe, ſaluteth a farre off vaine-glorie and popularitie, which others joy in, who be converſant in the view and ſight of people, and in frequent aſſemblies and theaters, much like unto *Hippolytus,* who living chaſte, ſaluted the goddeſſe *Venus* a great way off, but as for the other glory which proceedeth from men of woorth and honour, he neither refuſeth nor diſdaineth it. Now when as the queſtion is of amitie, we are not to ſeeke for it and to contract friendſhip onely with ſuch as be wealthie, have the glorie, credit and authoritie of great lords, no more than we ought to avoid theſe qualities, if the ſame be joined with a gentle nature, which is of faire and honeſt conditions. The Philoſopher ſeeketh not after beautifull and wel-favoured yoong men, but ſuch as be docible, tractable, well diſpoſed, and deſirous of knowledge; but if withall they be endued with beautifull viſage, with a good grace, and are in the flower of youth, this ought not to fright him from thence, neither muſt the lovely caſts of their countenance and amiable aſpects drive him from comming neere unto thoſe, nor chaſe him away if he ſee them worthy paines taking and for to be regarded. Thus when power, riches, and princely authoritie ſhall be found in men of good nature, who be moderate and civill; the philoſopher will not forbeare to love and cheriſh ſuch, neither be afraid to be called a courtier or follower of great perſonages:

They that ſtrive moſt dame Venus *to eſchue,*
Do fault as much, as they who her purſue.

Even ſo it is with the amitie of princes and great potentates: and therefore the contemplative philoſopher who will not deale at al in affaires of weale-publicke, muſt not avoid and ſhun ſuch; but the civill philoſopher who is buſied in managing of the common weale, ought to ſeeke for them and finde them out, not forcing them after a troubleſome maner to heare him, nor charging their eares with reports and diſcourſes that be unſeaſonable and ſophiſticall; but framing himſelfe willingly to joy in their companie; to diſcourſe, to paſſe the time with them when they are willing and ſo diſpoſed:

Twelve journeis long are Berecynthian plaines
And thoſe I ſowe yeerely with ſundry graines.

He that ſaid this, if he had loved men as well as he affected huſbandry and tillage, would more willingly have plowed and ſowed that ground which is able to maintaine and feed ſo many men, then that little cloſe or pindle of *Antiſthenes,* which hardly was ſufficient to find himſelfe alone.

Certes *Epicurus* who placed the ſoveraigne good and felicitie of man in moſt ſound reſt and deepe repoſe, as in a ſure harbour or haven, defended and covered from all windes and ſurging waves of the world; ſaith: That to doe good unto another, is not onely more honeſt and honorable, than to receive a benefite at anothers hand, but alſo more pleaſant and delectable; for there is nothing that begetteth ſo much joy as doth beneficence, which the Greekes terme by the name of χάρις, that is to ſay, Grace. Well adviſed he was therefore and of wiſe judgement who impoſed theſe names upon the three Graces, *Aglaia, Euphroſyne*, and *Thalia*; for without all queſtion, the joy and contentment is farre greater and more pure in him who doeth a good turne and deſerveth a thanke, than in the partie who receiveth the ſame: and therefore it is that many times men doe bluſh for ſhame when a good turne is done unto them, whereas alwaies they rejoice when they confer a benefite or favour upon another. Now do they a benefit unto a whole multitude and nation, who are the meanes to make thoſe good, whom the people and multitude can not miſſe but have need of: whereas contrariwiſe, they that corrupt and ſpoile princes, kings, and great rulers (as doe theſe flatterers, falſe ſycophants and ſlaunderous promoters) are abominable unto all, are chaſed out and puniſhed by all; like unto thoſe that caſt deadly poiſon, not into one cup of wine, but into a fountaine or ſpring that runneth for to ſerve in publike, and whereof they ſee all perſons uſe to drinke. Like as therefore (according to *Eupolis*) it is ſaid onely by way of mockerie concerning thoſe flatterers and comicall paraſites who hanted the table of rich *Callias*, that there was neither fire, braſſe, nor ſteele, that could keepe them out, but they would come to ſup with him: but as for the minions and favorites of tyrant *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, or *Dionyſius*, after the deceaſe of their lords and maſters, the people fell upon them, did beat them with cudgels, torture upon the rack, burne at a ſtake, & range them with the accurſed and damned crew; for that they before named did wrong to one alone, but theſe did injurie unto many by the meanes of corrupting one who was their ruler; even ſo thoſe philoſophers that converſe and keepe companie with private perſons, do cauſe them to be well contented, pleaſant, gracious and harmeleſſe to their owne ſelves and no more: but whoſoever reformeth ſome evill conditions in a great ruler or ſoveraigne magiſtrate, framing and directing his will and intention to that which he ought; this man I ſay after a ſort is a philoſopher to the publike State, in that he doth correct the mould and amend the pattern to which all the ſubjects be compoſed, and according to it governed. The cities and ſtates which be well ruled, decree and yeeld honour and reverence to their prieſts; for that they doe pray unto the gods for good things, not in regard of themſelves, nor of their kinsfolke and friends alone, but univerſally in the behalfe of all the citizens; and yet theſe prieſts doe not make the gods good, nor the givers of good things, but being ſuch alreadie of themſelves, to them they powre their praiers & make invocations. But philoſophers who live and converſe with princes and great lords, cauſe them to be more juſt and righteous, more moderate and better affected to well doing; by meanes whereof it is like that they receive more joie and contentment. And if I ſhould ſpeake my conceit, it ſeemeth unto me that the harpe-maker wrought and made his harpe more cheerefully and with greater pleaſure, when he knew that the maſter & owner of the ſaid harpe ſhould build the wals about the citie *Thebes*, as *Amphion* did, or to ſtaie and appeaſe the great civil ſedition of the Lacedæmonians, by ſinging to the ſaide harpe and by ſweet exhortations, as ſometimes *Thales* did; ſemblably the carpenter or ſhip-wright who maketh the helme to a ſhip or gally, wil joy more when he ſhal know that the ſaid helme ſhal ſerve to guide & rule the admirals ſhip, within which *Themiſtocles* ſhal fight againſt the Perſians in the defence of the libertie and freedome of *Greece*: or that of *Pompeius*, with which in a navall battell at ſea he defaited and vanquiſhed the armie of the pirats. What ſuppoſe you then will a philoſopher thinke of his owne ſpeech and doctrine, when he ſhall come to diſcourſe with himſelfe; that he who ſhall receive the ſame being a man of authoritie, a prince or great lord, ſhall thereby doe good unto the common-weale, in miniſtring right and juſtice indifferently to everie man; ſhall puniſh the wicked, and advaunce thoſe that bee good and vertuous. I am verily perſwaded (for my part) that a good and gentle ſhip-wright, will more willingly make an helme, when hee ſhall know that it muſt ſerve to rule the great ſhippe *Argo*, renowmed throughout the world: likewiſe a carpenter or wheele-wright, will not with ſo good a will lay his hand to make a plough or a chariot, as he would to frame thoſe tables or boords, in which he wiſt that *Solon* was to engrave his lawes. And (I aſſure you) the diſcourſes and reaſons delivered by Philoſophers, if once they be well and ſurely imprinted in the hearts of great perſonages, who have in their hands the government of States, if they once get ſure footing and take good root in them, they become as forcible and effectuall as poſitive lawes. Hereupon it was that *Plato* ſailed into *Sicilie*, in hope that the grave ſentences and principles of his Philoſophy, would be as good as lawes, and worke holeſome and profitable effects in the affaires of *Dionyſius*. But hee found that *Dionyſius* was like writing tables all raſed, and full of blurs and blots, and that he could not leave off the tincture and deepe die of tyrannie, being ſo ſurely ſet on, and having by continuance of time entred and pearced deepe, ſo that it could not be waſhed out; whereas it behooved that thoſe who are to make their profit by good advertiſements and ſage leſſons, ſhould ſtill be in motion and ſo continue.

AS TOVCHING A PRINCE OR RULER UNLEARNED.

The Summarie.

AS in the former diſcourſe he ſollicited Sages and Philoſophers to joine themſelves in acquaintance with Princes; ſo in this he deſireth one point, whereof hee dareth not aſſure himſelfe to compaſſe the ſame, by reaſon of ſome difficulties therein obſerved. For requiring in Princes thus much that they ſhould be wel inſtructed, for to be capable of good counſell; he ſheweth withall that it is a verie hard thing to bring them thereto, and to range them in that order for certaine materiall and pertinent reaſons which he ſetteth downe. Nevertheleſſe he paſſeth on ſtill and proceedeth farther; prooving that the law and lively reaſon ought to command Kings and Princes; and for to cauſe them to condeſcend thereto, he declareth unto them, that the thing which they wiſh for and deſire ſo ardently to procure; namely, to maintaine themſelves in happie eſtate, and to make their name immortall, lieth in vertue: then he pointeth out with his finger, foure impeachments and hinderances that divert and turne away Princes from ſo juſt and neceſſarie a conſideration. Which done, for to enrich this ſpeech and treatiſe of his, and the better yet to draw great perſonages to give eare unto reaſon, he letteth them ſee and underſtand the difference betweene a good Prince and a tyrant: alſo how dangerous a wicked Prince is; concluding by the benefit which commeth by equitie, and the hurt by injuſtice; that right and juſtice ought to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, againſt the greatnes and puiſſance of Princes.

AS TOVCHING A PRINCE or Ruler unlearned.

THE inhabitants of the citie *Cyrene*, requeſted *Plato* on a time to leave unto them by writing certaine good lawes; and withall to ſet them downe an order in the government of their State, which he refuſed to do, ſaying: That it was a verie hard matter to give lawes unto the Cyrenians being ſo rich and wealthie as they were: for there is nothing ſo proude and inſolent, ſo rough and intractable, ſo ſavage and hard to be tamed, as a man perſwaded well of his fortunate eſtate. This is the cauſe that it is no eaſie enterpriſe to give counſell unto princes and rulers, and to adviſe them as touching their government. For they be affraid to receive and admit reaſon as a maſter to commaund them; for feare it ſhould take away and abridge them of that, which they eſteeme to be the onely good of their grandence and puiſſance, in caſe they were ſubjected once to their duety. Which is the cauſe alſo that they cannot skill to heare the diſcourſes of *Theopompus* King of

Sparta, who was the firſt that brought into that citie the *Ephori*, and mingled their authoritie with the government of the Kings. For when his wife reproched him for leaving unto his children the royall power & dignitie, leſſe than he received it of his predeceſſors: Nay mary (quoth he) but rather farre greater, in that it ſhall be more firme and aſſured: for in remitting and letting downe a little that which in abſolute royaltie was over ſtiffe, ſtrait and rigorous, hee avoided by that verie meanes all envie and perill. And verily *Theopompus* deriving unto others from his owne authoritie, as from a great river, a little rill or riveret; looke how much he gave unto the *Ephori*, ſo much he cut off from himſelfe: but the reaſon and remonſtrance of Philoſophie, being lodged (as it were) with the Prince himſelfe, for to aſſiſt him and preſerve his perſon, taking from his puiſſance, as in a full plight and plethoricke conſtitution of the bodie, that which is exceſſive and overmuch, leaveth that behind which is ſound and healthfull. But the moſt part of Kings, Princes, and Soveraigne rulers, who are not wiſe and of good underſtanding, reſemble unskilfull cutters in ſtone and imagers, who are of opinion that the enormous and huge ſtatues, called *Coloſſes*, which they cut, will ſeeme more vaſt and mightie, if they frame them ſtradling with their legs, with their armes ſpread abroad and ſtretched foorth, as alſo with their mouthes gaping wide open; for even ſo, theſe princes and rulers by their big commanding voice, their grim and ſterne viſage, fierce lookes and regard of their eie, their odious behaviour, and living apart without ſociety of any other perſon, weene and ſuppoſe to counterfeit a kinde of gravitie, greatnes and majeſtie that is required in a mightie potentate; but they differ nothing from the foreſaid *Coloſſes*, which without do repreſent the forme of ſome god or demigod; but all within are ſtuffed full of earth, ſtone, rubbiſh and lead: this onely is the difference that the waight and heavines of thoſe monſtrous ſtatues, counterpoiſeth and keepeth them ſtanding in ſome ſort upright, ſtedfaſt, and not enclining one way or other; but ignorant and unlearned princes, rulers, and generall captaines, by reaſon of their ignorance which is within them, oftentimes do wag and totter to and fro, yea and be overturned and laid along; for comming to build their puiſſance and licentious power aloft upon a baſe that is not laid directlie to the plumbe, they reele and tumble downe withall. But like as a rule or ſquire, being of it ſelfe even, ſtreight and levell, not turning or twining any way, doeth direct and ſet ſtreight all other things, and make them like it ſelfe, by being laied thereto; even ſo ought a prince, when he hath firſt eſtabliſhed in himſelfe, his principallity and power, that is to ſay, compoſed his owne life and maners, to accommodate and frame his ſubjects accordingly, and to make them ſemblable: for neither lieth it in him who is ready to ſtumble and fall himſelfe, to ſuſteine and keepe up another, nor he who is ignorant and knoweth nothing, is fit to be a teacher, no more than he who is diſorderly, meet to redreſſe and reforme, or who is irregular, able to range and ſet in order, or who knoweth not how to obey, like for to command. But the moſt part of men are heerein deceived and thinke not aright, who ſuppoſe that the firſt and principall good in commanding and ruling, is not to be ruled and commanded. And thus the king of the Perſians imagined all his ſubjects to be his ſlaves, unleſſe it were his wife alone, of whom eſpecially above all other, he ſhould have the maſtrie and lordſhip.

Who is it then, that ſhall command a king or prince? even the law, which is the ladie and queene of all, aſwell mortall men, as immortall gods, according as *Pindarus* ſaith: I meane not the written law in books or upon tables of wood, but the lively reaſon imprinted in his owne heart, remaining alwaies with him, his continuall reſident-keeper, and never leaving his ſoule abandoned and forlorne without conduct and government. And verily the Perſian king had evermore about him one of his chamberlaines ordeined for this office; namely, to ſay unto him every morning as he entred into his chamber: *Ariſe my lord, and have regard to thoſe affaires for which* Meſoromaſdes (that is to ſay, The great God) *would have you to provide.* But if a prince be wiſe and well inſtructed, he hath alwaies within him this monitor and remembrancer, to reſound the ſame into his eares, and put him in minde of his dutie. *Polemon* was wont to ſay: That love was a miniſterie of the gods in yoong perſons, ſuch as they had care of, and were minded to preſerve: but more truely a man might ſay: That princes be the miniſters of the gods, to provide for the affaires and ſafetie of men; to the end that of thoſe good things which God hath beſtowed upon them, they ſhould diſtribute ſome, and preſerve other;

But ſeeſt thou this ſtarrie firmament,
So high above and infinitely vaſt,
In boſome moiſt of water element,
The earth beneath how it incloſeth faſt?

for this is it, that by influence ſendeth downe the principles of thoſe ſeeds which be fit and convenient, which afterwards the earth produceth and yeeldeth forth, whereof ſome grow by ſhowers of raine, others by winds; ſome alſo gather warmth and heat by the ſtarres & the moone, but it is the ſunne who ruleth and governeth all, he inſpireth and infuſeth into them from himſelfe, the gracious inſtinct of love. Now, all the goods and gifts (ſo many and ſo great) which the gods endow men withall, there is no meanes to enjoy & uſe aright, without law, without juſtice, without a prince or ruler: Juſtice is the end of law; law is the worke of a prince; and the prince is the image of God governour of all things: and this prince or ſovereigne majeſtie hath no need either of *Phidias*, or of *Polycletus* and *Myran*, to cut, caſt or forme him; but himſelfe it is, who doeth frame his owne perſon to the patterne and ſimilitude of God, and by meanes of vertue, worketh and ſetteth up the moſt pleaſant, excellent and divine ſtatue that may be ſeene: and like as God hath placed in heaven (as a moſt beautifull image of himſelfe and his divinitie) the ſunne and the moone; even ſuch a repreſentation and light is in a citie and realme. A prince or magiſtrate, ſo long as he hath in his heart imprinted the feare of God and the obſervation of juſtice; that is to ſay, all while he hath divine reaſon, which is underſtanding; not a ſcepter in his hand, nor a thunder-bolt and lightning, or a three-forked mace, as ſome fooliſh princes cauſe themſelves to be portraied and painted, making their follie odious, in affecting that which they never can attaine unto: for God indeed hateth and puniſheth thoſe who will ſeeme to imitate thunder, lightning, ſun-beames and ſuch like; but contrariwiſe, thoſe that be zealous followers of his vertue, and who endevour to conforme themſelves to his bounty, goodneſſe and clemencie, he loveth and advanceth, to them he willingly doth impart his owne equity, loialty, juſtice, verity and clemency. Theſe quallities are ſuch, as there is nothing in the world more divine and heavenly, not fire nor light, not the courſe of the ſunne, neither the riſings or apparitions, nor the ſettings and occultations of the ſtarres, no nor eternity it ſelfe and immortality: for God is not counted happy and bleſſed in regard of long life, but for that he is the prince of all vertue: and as this is divinity indeed, ſo it is true beauty to be ruled thereby. *Anaxarchus* for to give comfort and conſolation unto *Alexander*, who was caſt downe and in deſpaire, for the bloudy murder which he had committed upon the perſon of *Clytus*, ſaid unto him: That the goddeſſes *Dice* and *Themis* (that is to ſay) Juſtice and Equity, ſat as aſſiſtants to *Jupiter*, to ſhew (quoth he) that whatſoever is done by a prince, is to be thought juſt and righteous; but hee offended herein groſly, and faulted much, to the hurt of *Alexander*, in that he went about to remedy the ſorow and griefe which this prince conceived in remorſe of conſcience and repentance for his heinous ſinne, by giving him heart and aſſurance to commit the like againe. And if it be meet and lawfull in this caſe, to project our conjectures; *Jupiter* hath not equity and juſtice for his aſſeſſours, but himſelfe is juſtice and equity; he (I ſay) is the moſt ancient and perfecteſt law that is: thus ſpeake, write and teach all ancient authours; That even *Jupiter* himſelfe can not well command and rule without juſtice, which is the virgine (as *Heſiodus* ſaith) not touched & defiled, but pure and immaculate, lodged alwaies with ſhamefaſtneſſe, modeſtie, pudicitie and utilitie. Hereupon it is, that men ordinarily give this addition unto kings and princes, calling them 'Αιδοῦς, that is to ſay, Reverend and venerable: for meet and convenient it is, that thoſe who feare leaſt, ſhould have moſt majeſtie and honour. And verily a prince and ruler ought to be afraid much more to do ill, than to receive and ſuſtaine harme, foraſmuch as the one is the cauſe of the other. And this is a civill and generous feare, proper and peculiar to a good prince, namely, to be afraid leſt his ſubjects ſhould (ere he be aware) take wrong or be hurt any way;

Much like as dogs that be of gentle kinde,
Who watchfully about the folds attend,
In caſe they once by ſubtill hearing finde
A ſavage beaſt approch, and thither tend,

feare not for themſelves, but in regard of the cattell which they keepe. In like maner, *Epaminondas*, when the Thebanes fell diſſolutely to drinke and make good cheere at a certeine feſtivall time, himſelfe went all alone to ſurvey the armour and wals of the citie, ſaying: That he would faſt and watch, that all the reſt might quaffe the while and ſleepe with more ſecuritie. *Cato* likewiſe at *Utica* proclaimed by ſound of trumpet, to ſend away by ſea all thoſe who eſcaped alive upon the overthrow which there hapned; and when he had embarqued them all, and made his praiers unto the gods to vouchſafe them a bon voiage, he returned into his owne lodging and killed himſelfe; ſhewing by this example what a prince or commander ought to feare, and what he

* Or as ſome reade, To *Clytus*.

he ſhould contemne and deſpiſe. Contrariwiſe, *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Pontus*, ſhutting himſelfe within a cheſt, ſlept there as a ſerpent within her hole: and *Ariſtodemus* the tyrant of *Argos* went up into a hanging chamber aloft which had a trap dore, whereupon he cauſed a little bed or pallet to be ſet, and there he ſlept and lay with his concubine and harlot which hee kept, and when he was gotten up thither, the mother of the ſaid concubine came ordinarily to take downe the ladder, and brought it thither againe every morning. How thinke you, did this tyrant tremble for feare, when he was in a frequent theater in the palace, in the counſell houſe and court of juſtice, or at a feaſt, conſidering that he made a priſon of his bed chamber? To ſay a verie truth, good princes are afraid for their ſubjects ſake, but tyrants feare their ſubjects; and therefore as they augment their puiſſance, ſo doe they encreaſe their owne feare; for the more perſons that they commaund and rule over, the greater number they ſtand in dread of: for it is neither probable nor ſeemely as ſome philoſophers affirme: That God is inviſibly ſubſiſtent and mixed within the firſt and principall matter, which ſuffreth all things, receiveth a thouſand conſtreints and adventures, yea and is ſubject to innumerable changes and alterations: but hee ſitteth in regard of us above, and there is reſiant continually in a nature alwaies one, and ever in the ſame eſtate, ſeated upon holy foundations (as *Plato* ſaith) where he infuſeth his power, and goeth through all, working and finiſhing that which is right according to nature: and like as the ſunne in heaven, the moſt goodly and beautifull image of him, is to be ſeene by the reflexion of a mirror, by thoſe who otherwiſe can not endure to behold himſelfe as he is; even ſo God ordeineth in cities and ſocieties of men, another image of his, and that is the light of juſtice and reaſon accompanying the ſame; which wiſe and bleſſed men deſcribe and depaint out of ſentences philoſophicall, conforming and framing themſelves to that which is the faireſt and moſt beautifull thing in the world; and nothing is there that doth imprint in the ſoules and ſpirits of men ſuch a diſpoſition, as reaſon drawne and learned out of philoſophie, to the end that the ſame ſhould not befall unto us which king *Alexander* the great did; who having ſeene in *Corinth*, *Diogenes* how generous he was, eſteemed highly and admired the haughtie courage & magnanimitie of the man, inſomuch as he brake foorth into theſe words; Were I not *Alexander* ſurely I would be *Diogenes*: which was al one in maner as if he ſhould have ſaid; That he was troubled & encombred with his wealth, riches, glory and puiſſance, as impeachments and hinderances of vertue, and bare an envious and jealous eie to the homely courſe cloke of the philoſopher, to his bagge and wallet, as if by them alone *Diogenes* was invincible and impregnable, and not (as himſelfe) by the meanes of armes, harniſh, horſes, ſpeares, and pikes: for ſurely he might with governing himſelfe by true philoſophicall reaſon have beene of the diſpoſition and affection of *Diogenes*, and yet continue neverthleſſe in the ſtate and fortune of *Alexander*; and ſo much the rather be *Diogenes* becauſe he was *Alexander*; as having need againſt great fortune, (like a tempeſt raiſed with boiſterous winds, and full of ſurging waves) of a ſtronger cable and anchor, of a greater helme alſo, and a better pilot: for in meane perſons who are of low eſtate, and whoſe puiſſance is ſmall, ſuch as private men be, follie is harmeleſſe; and ſottiſh though ſuch be, yet they doe no great hurt, becauſe their might is not anſwerable thereto; like as it falleth out in fooliſh and vaine dreames: there is a certeine griefe (I wot not what) which troubleth and diſordereth the mind, being not able to compaſſe & bring about the execution of her deſires & luſts: but where might & malice are met together their power addeth folly unto paſſions & affections; & moſt true is that ſpeech of *Denys* the tyrant, who was wont to ſay; That the greateſt pleaſure & contentment which he enjoied by his tyranny was this, that whatſoever he would was quickly done, & preſently executed; according to that verſe in *Homer*:

No ſooner out of mouth the word was gone,
But preſently withall, the thing was done.

A dangerous matter it is for a man to will and deſire that which he ought not, being not able to performe that which hee willeth and deſireth: whereas malicious miſchiefe making a ſwift courſe through the race of puiſſance and might, driveth and thruſteth forward every violent paſſion to the extremitie, making choler and anger to turne to murder, love to proove adultery, and avarice to growe into confiſcation of goods; for no ſooner is the word ſpoken, but the partie once in ſuſpition is undone for ever, and preſently upon the leaſt ſurmiſe and imputation enſueth death. But as the naturall philoſophers do hold, that the lightning is ſhot out of the cloud after the clap of thunder (like as bloud iſſueth after the wound is given and inciſion made) and yet the ſaid lightning is ſeene before, for that the eare receiveth the ſound or cracke by degrees, whereas the eie meeteth at once with the flaſh; even ſo in theſe great rulers and commanders, puniſhments oftentimes go before accuſations, and ſentences of condemnation before evident proofes:

For wrath in ſuch may not long time endure,
No more than flouke of anchor can aſſure
A ſhip in ſtorme, which taketh ſlender hold
On ſand by ſhore, whereof none may be bold.

unleſſe the weight of reaſon doe repreſſe and keepe downe licentious power, whiles a Prince or great Lord doth after the manner of the ſunne, who at what time as he is moſt high mounted in the ſeptentrionall or northren parts, ſeemeth leaſt to move, and by his ſlow motion maketh his race the more ſtedfaſt and aſſured. For impoſſible it is that vices in great perſons ſhould remaine covert and hidden; but like as thoſe who are ſubject to the falling ſickneſſe, ſo ſoone as ever they be ſurpriſed with outward cold, or turne round never ſo little, preſently fall into a dimnes of ſight, grow to be dizzie in the head and ready to ſtagger, which paſſions do bewray and detect their maladie; even ſo ignorant perſons and ſuch as want inſtruction and good bringing up, no ſooner are lifted up by fortunes favour to wealth and riches, to dignities, promotions, and places of high authoritie, but preſently ſhee ſheweth them their owne fall and ruine; or rather to make the thing more plaine and familiar; like as a man can hardly know whether veſſels be ſound or faultie, ſo long as they be emptie, but in caſe you powre into them any liquor, it appeareth whether they leake and runne or no; even ſo, the ſoules of men that be putrified and corrupt, can not containe and hold ſure their might and authoritie, but run out by meanes of their luſts and deſires, their cholericke fits, their vanities and abſurd demeanors. But what neede we draw foorth the diſcourſe hereof more at large? conſidering that great men and noble perſonages are expoſed to calumniations and reproches for the leaſt delinquencie and fault that they commit. *Cimon* was blamed for his good wine; *Scipio* for his ſleepe, and becauſe hee loved his bed well; and *Lucullus* grew into an ill name in regard of his bountifull table and liberall fare that he kept.

THAT VICE ALONE IS SVFFICIENT TO MAKE A MAN WRETCHED.

The Summarie.

Although this Treatiſe be ſo defective both in the beginning and the end, that to this preſent wee know not how to gueſſe and conjecture, which way to redreſſe and ſupply the ſame; yet the very title and fragments remaining thereof, ſufficiently diſcover the intention of the Author. And like as by the ruines of ſome ancient royall palace, there is in ſome ſort repreſented to our thought and conceit the beawtie thereof whiles it ſtoode entire and upright; even ſo, this remnant which is left unto us, ſheweth ſufficiently what wee have loſt. But albeit the malice and injurie of the time hath deprived us of ſo great a benefit, and of many others ſemblably; yet notwithſtanding, that which remaineth may profit us, maimed and imperfect as it is, and ſuffice to range and contrive us in our dutie. In the beginning, our Author diſcourſeth of the miſerie of a covetous perſon, and one that followeth the court. Then he addeth according to his principall deſeigne and purpoſe: That vice is the abſolute work-miſtreſſe of wretchedneſſe and infelicity, having need of no other miniſters or inſtruments to cauſe a man to be miſerable; whereupon he doth collect and gather, that there is no danger nor calamitie, but we ought to chooſe, rather than to be ſinfull and vicious. Afterwards he anſwereth thoſe objections which are made to the contrarie, and concludeth, that adverſitie can not prejudice or hurt us any thing, ſo long as it is not accompanied with vice.

THAT VICE ALONE IS SVFficient to make a man wretched.

HE abideth much who hath his bodie ſold for a dowrie (as *Euripides* ſaith) to wit, ſmall availes he hath thereby, and thoſe verie uncertaine. But unto him who paſſeth not through much aſhes, but a royall fire (as one would ſay) wherewith he is ſcorched and burnt round about, who continually draweth his winde thicke and ſhort, and is full of feare and ſweat by trudging over ſea for gaine, ſhe giveth in the end a certaine Tantalian riches (that is to ſay) ſuch as he is not able to enjoy by reaſon of the continuall occupations wherewith he is encombred. For verie wiſely did that *Sicyonian* who bred and kept a race of horſes, when he gave unto *Agamemnon* the king of the Achæans as a preſent, a notable ſwift mare for a courſer, becauſe he might be diſpenſed with, for going in warfare to *Troy*:

That unto Troy *that ſtately towne,*
he might not with him go
To ſerve in armes; but ſtay at home,
and reſt there far from wo;
Where he might live in ſolace much,
enjoying all his owne,
For Jupiter *in meaſure great,*
had wealth on him beſtowne.

to the end, that he ſtaying behinde at home, might roule and welter at eaſe in a depth of riches, and give himſelfe much time and leaſure for aſſured repoſe void of all paine and trouble. Howbeit our courtiers at this day, who would be eſteemed men of action and great affaires, never expect untill they be called, but of themſelves intrude and thruſt their heads into princes courts and ſtately palaces, where they muſt watch, waite and give attendance in all dutifull ſervice, with much paine and travell, to gaine thereby at laſt, a great horſe, a faire chaine, or ſome ſuch bleſſed favour.

Homerus de Proteſilao.

Meane while the wife is left alone behind
In Phylace, *and thinkes he is unkind*
To leave her ſo: her face ſhe rents and teares;
The houſe remaines halfe built, when he it reares.

and the husband is carried here and there wandring in the world, drawen on with certaine hopes which oftentimes in the end deceive him and worke his ſhame. But if peradventure he obtaine ſome thing that his heart deſired, after a certaine time that he hath beene turned round about with the wheele of fortune, ſo long untill his head be dizzie, and mounted on high in the aire, he wiſheth and ſeeketh nothing more than evaſion and meanes to eſcape, deeming and calling thoſe happie, who leade a private life, without expoſing themſelves to ſuch perils: and they again repute him bleſſed and fortunate, ſeeing him ſo highly advanced above themſelves. Thus in one word you ſee, how vice doeth diſpoſe men unto all ſorts of infelicitie, being of it ſelfe a perfect artiſan of infortunity, and needs none inſtruments and miniſters beſides. As for other tyrants, who ſtudy nothing more, than to make thoſe moſt wretched and miſerable whom they pinch, doe mainteine executioners and tormentours, deviſe red-hot ſearing yrons to burne, and invent racks and other inſtruments for to put the reaſonleſſe ſoule to extreame torture; but vice without any ſuch preparation of engins, ſo ſoone as it ſeizeth upon the ſoule, preſently overturneth and bringeth it to ruine and deſtruction, filleth a man with dolour and griefe, with lamentations, ſorowes and repentance. For a certaine proofe hereof, you ſhall ſee many endure to have their fleſh mangled and cut, without ſaying one word; abide to be whipped and ſcourged patiently; who being put to the racke and other tortures by their cruell maſters or tyrants, will not give one ſcreeke or crie, ſo long as the ſoule repreſſing the voice by reaſon, as with the hand keepeth it downe, and conteineth it from breaking out: whereas contrariwiſe, a man ſhall hardly or never command either anger to ſtay and be quiet, or dolour to be ſilent, no nor perſwade him that is ſurpriſed with ſudden feare to reſt ſtill, or one who is ſtung with remorſe and repentance

repentance to forbeare crying out, to hold his hands frō tearing his haire & ſmiting his thighs; of ſuch force and violence is vice & ſinne, above either the heat of fire or the edge of the ſword. Moreover, cities & ſtates, when they publiſh their purpoſe to put forth to making any ſhips or huge ſtatues called *Coloſſi*, give eare willingly to the workmen diſputing one againſt the other, as touching the workmanſhip, heare their reaſons, & ſee their models & platformes which they bring, and afterwards make choiſe of him to goe in hand with that piece of worke, who with leſſe coſt and charges will do the deed as well or rather better, and more ſpeedily. Now put the caſe that we publiſh by proclamation to make a man infortunate, or cauſe a life to be wretched and miſerable, and that there preſent unto us for to enterpriſe this, fortune on the one ſide and vice on the other; the one (to wit, fortune) is full of her tooles and inſtruments of all ſorts, and provided of furniture coſtly and chargeable, for to make a life unhappie and miſerable; as for example, brigandiſe and robberies, bloody warres, inhumane cruelty of tyrants, and tempeſts at ſea; ſhe draweth after her flaſhes of lightning out of the aire, ſhe mixeth and dreſſeth a poiſoned cup of deadly hemlocke, ſhe bringeth ſharpe edged ſwords to do the buſineſſe, ſhe ſtirreth ſlanders and raiſeth falſe ſurmiſes and calumniations, ſhe kindleth burning agues and hote feavers, ſhe commeth with fetters, manacles and other yrons jingling; finally, ſhe buildeth cages and priſons for this purpoſe; and yet the moſt part of all this geere proceedeth rather from vice than fortune: but ſuppoſe that all came from fortune; and that vice ſtanding by all naked, and having need of no other thing in the world without it ſelfe to aſſaile a man, ſhould demand of fortune, how ſhe could make a man infortunate and heartleſſe in theſe tearmes? What fortune? doeſt thou menace povertie? *Metrocles* will be ready to laugh thee to ſcorne, who in Winter time uſed to ſleepe among ſheepe, and in Summer ſeaſon tooke his repoſe in cloiſters and church porches; and ſo challenged for his felicity the king of *Perſia*, who was wont to Winter in *Babylon* and paſſe the Summer in *Media*: threateneſt thou ſervitude and bondage? bringeſt thou chaines and yrons, or the wofull condition to be ſolde in open market as a ſlave? *Diogenes* will deſpiſe thee for all that, who being expoſed and offered to ſale by the rovers and theeves that tooke him, cried and proclamed himſelfe aloud: Who will buy a maſter who? doeſt thou temper or brew a cup of poiſon? why didſt not thou before offer ſuch a cup to *Socrates* for to drinke? but hee full meekely with all mildneſſe and patience, without trembling for feare and changing either countenance or colour for the matter, drunke it off roundly; and after he was dead, thoſe that ſurvived, judged him happy, as one who in the other world made account to live an heavenly and bleſſed life: preſenteſt thou fire to burne withall? loe, how *Decius* a Romane captaine hath prevented thee; who when there was a fire made in the mids betweene two armies for to conſume him, voluntarily and with a formall praier offered himſelfe as an holocauſt or burnt offering unto *Saturne*, according to his vow made for the ſafetie of the Romane empire. The honeſt and chaſte dames of the Indians, ſuch as entirely love their husbands, ſtrive and be ready to fight one with another about the funerall fire; and as for her who obteineth the victorie, and is burned therein together with the dead corps of her husband, all the reſt doe deeme right happie, and teſtifie ſo much in their hymnes and ſongs. As for the Sages and wiſe Philoſophers of thoſe parts, there is not one of them all reputed a holy man or bleſſed, if he do not whiles he is alive, in perfect health and ſound ſenſe and underſtanding, ſeparate his owne ſoule from the body by the meanes of fire, and after he hath cleanſed and conſumed all that was mortall, depart out of the fleſh all cleane & pure: but (forſooth) from abundance of wealth and riches, from an houſe ſumptuouſly built and furniſhed, from a coſtly and daintie table full of fine & delicate viands, thou wilt bring me to a poore thred-bare cloake, to a bag and wallet, and to begging of my daily bread from doore to doore; well, even theſe things were the cauſe of *Diogenes* felicitie; theſe woon unto *Crates* freedome and glory: but thou wilt crucifie mee or cauſe mee to be hanged upon a jibbet, or ſticke my body thorow with a ſharpe ſtake? and what cared *Theodorus* whether his corps rotted above ground or under the earth? theſe were the happie ſepultures of Tartarians and of the Hircanians, to be eaten and devoured of dogs; as for the Bactrians, by the lawes of the countrey thoſe were thought to have had the moſt bleſſed end, whom the fowles of the aire did eat after they were dead; Who then are they whom theſe and ſuch accidents do make unhappy? even ſuch as are falſe-hearted, baſe-minded, ſenſeleſſe and void of underſtanding, untaught, and not exerciſed in affaires of the world, and in one word, ſuch as reteine ſtill the opinions which were imprinted in them from their infancie. Thus you ſee how fortune alone is not a ſufficient worke-miſtreſſe of unhappineſſe and infelicity, in caſe ſhe have not ſinne and vice to aide and helpe her: for like as a thred is able to divide and ſaw (as it were) thorow a bone which hath lien ſoaking long before in aſhes and vineger; and as workemen can bend, bow and bring into what faſhion they will, yvorie, after it hath bene infuſed and mollified in ale or beere, and otherwiſe not; even ſo fortune comming upon that which is already of it ſelfe crazie and corrupt, or hath bene ſuſteined by vice, is of power to pierce, wound and hollow the ſame.

Moreover, like as the poiſon *Pharicum*, otherwiſe called *Napethus* or *Aconitum*, being hurtful to no other perſon, nor doing harme to thoſe who handle and beare it about them; but if it touch never ſo little one that is wounded, preſently killeth him by meanes of the ſore or wound which receiveth the influxion and venim thereof; even ſo he whoſe ſoule is like to be deſtroied and overthrowen by fortune, ought to have within himſelfe and in his owne fleſh ſome ulcer, ſome impoſtume or maladie for to make thoſe accidents which befall outwardly, wretched, pitifull, and lamentable. What? is vice then of that nature that it had neede of fortunes helping hand to worke wretchedneſſe & infelicitie? from what coaſt I pray you doth not fortune raiſe tempeſts upon the ſea, and trouble the water with ſurging billowes? environeth not ſhe and beſetteth the foote of deſart mountaines, with the ambuſhes and forelayings of theeves and robbers? powreth not ſhe downe with great violence, ſtormes of haile-ſtones out of the clouds upon the fertile corne-fields? was it not vice and malice that ſtirred up *Melitus*, *Anytus*, and *Callixenus* to be ſycophants and falſe accuſers? is it not ſhe that bereaveth folke of their goods, empeacheth and diſableth men for being commanders and leaders of armies, and all to make them unhappie? nay ſhe it is that maketh them rich and plentifull; ſhe heapeth upon them heritages and poſſeſſions; ſhe accompanieth them at ſea; ſhe is alwaies cloſe unto them and neer at hand; ſhe cauſeth them to conſume and pine with luſts and deſires; ſhe enflameth and ſetteth them on fire with choler and anger; ſhe troubleth their minds with vaine ſuperſtitions, and draweth them away after the luſts of their eies.

HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE HIMSELFE WITHOUT INCURRING ENVIE AND BLAME.

The Summarie.

IMpoſsible it is during the time that we ſojorne in this life, that our ſpirit which knoweth not how to be ſtill and at reſt, ſhould not ſtirre and moove the tongue to ſpeake of the actions either of other men or of our owne; whereby we cannot chooſe but incurre marvellous daungers of flatterie, ſlander, or els of ſelfe-praiſe; inſomuch as not without good cauſe that man hath beene called perfect, who knoweth well to moderate this little member, which is at it were the bit and bridle of the whole bodie of man, and the verie helme and ſterne of that ſhip or veſſell in which we row and hull to and fro in the ſea of this world. Requiſite it is therefore, that morall philoſophie ſhould ſpeake, to the end that it may teach us for to ſpeake. We have ſeene before in many diſcourſes the dutie of everie one towards his neighbours, as well in words as in deeds: but in this treatiſe Plutarch *ſheweth the cariage of a man towards himſelfe, and above all in that way which is moſt ſlipperie, to wit, in the queſtion of our owne praiſes: then after hee hath laide this for a ground and foundation; That it is an unſeemely thing for a man to make himſelfe ſeeme great by vaine babble, and alledged the reaſons wherefore, he ſetteth downe one generall exception; to wit, that a vertuous man may praiſe himſelfe in certeine caſes and occurrences, the which (after he hath taxed the ambition of thoſe who ſet up a note of their owne praiſes to be chaunted aloud by others) he particularizeth upon theſe points; to wit, if he be driven to anſwer unto ſome falſe ſlaunderer; if a man* *be in any diſtreſſe and adverſitie, or if he be blamed for the beſt deeds that he hath done. After this, he enterlaceth certeine advertiſements or corrections; to wit, that a man ought to mingle his owne praiſes with thoſe of other men; that he aſcribe not the whole honor of a woorthy deed to his own ſelfe; that he utter only thoſe things which be chiefe and principall, and ſtand upon that which is moſt commendable; and that he give a certeine luſter thereto, by the foile of confeſſing his owne imperfections: which done, he proceedeth to declare what kinde of men they ought to bee who are allowed to praiſe themſelves; to what this praiſe ought to be referred and have reſpect; and wherefore they ſhould enter into it; moreover, at what time, and for what occaſion he ought to make head unto a third, who would do ſufficiently; and for a finall concluſion, he propoſeth an excellent meanes to avoid the troubles and inconveniences that might ariſe from importunate praiſe, willing that the partie who ſpeaketh of his owne good parts ſhould flie all ambition, not pleaſe himſelfe in rehearſing and recitall of his owne exploits, take heed how in ſelfe-praiſing hee feigne praiſes, and neverthelеſſe in blaming his neighbour to be content for to be praiſed of another, without putting himſelfe betweene and ſpeaking in his owne behalfe. In ſumme, ſince there is nothing ſo odious as to ſee and heare a man ſpeake exceeding much of himſelfe, he concludeth that in no wiſe a man ought ſo to do, unleſſe there accrew therby great profit and commoditie to the hearers.*

HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE himſelfe without incurring envie and blame.

TO ſpeake much of ones ſelfe in praiſe, either what he is in perſon, or of what valour and power among others; there is no man (friend *Herculanus*) but by word of mouth will profeſſe it is moſt odious, and unbeſeeming a perſon well borne and of good bringing up; but in very deed few there be who can take heed and beware of falling into the inconvenience and enormitie thereof, no not even thoſe who otherwiſe do blame and condemne the ſame: as for *Euripides* when he ſaith,

If words were coſtly men among,
for to be bought and ſold,
No man to praiſe and magnifie
himſelfe would be ſo bold:
But now (ſince that each one may take
out of the aire ſo large,
As much as will his minde ſuffice,
without his coſt and charge)
Well pleaſ'd are all men of themſelves
to ſpeake what comes in thought,
As well untruth as what is true,
for ſpeech them coſteth nought.

doth uſe a moſt odious and importune vanterie, eſpecially in this, that he would ſeeme to interlace amongſt the paſſionate accidents and affaires of Tragicall matters, the ſpeech of a mans ſelfe, which is not befitting nor pertinent unto the ſubject argument; ſemblably *Pindarus*, having ſaid in one place,

To brag and vaunt unſeaſonably,
Sound's much of raſh and vain-folly,

ceaſeth not neverthleſſe, to magnifie his owne ſufficiencie in the gift of poetrie, as being (in trueth) worthy of right great praiſe, as no man can denie. But thoſe who are crowned with garlands in thoſe ſacred plaies and games, are declared victours and conquerours by the voice of others, who thereby eaſe them of that odious diſpleaſure that ſelfe-praiſe carrieth with it. And in very deed our heart riſeth againſt that vaine-glory of *Timotheus*, in that he wrote himſelfe (as touching the victorie which he atchieved againſt *Phrynis*) Oh happy man thou *Timotheus*; at what time as the herald proclamed with a loud voice theſe words: *Timotheus* the Mileſian hath conquered *Ianocamptes* that ſonne of *Carbo*: for ſurely this carrieth with it no grace at all, but is a meere abſurditie and againſt all good faſhion, for a man to be the trumpeter of his owne victorie: for true it is according to *Xenophon*; That the moſt pleaſant voice that a man can heare, is his owne praiſe delivered by another, but the moſt odious thing unto others, is a man commending himſelfe: for firſt and formoſt, we eſteeme them to be impudent who praiſe themſelves, conſidering that they ought rather to bluſh and be aſhamed even when others fall to praiſe them in their preſence: ſecondly, we repute them unjuſt herein, for that they give and attribute that to themſelves which they ſhould receive at the hands of others: thirdly, either if we keepe ſilence when we heare one to praiſe himſelfe, it ſeemeth we are diſcontented or do beare envie unto him, or if we feare that, compelled we are our ſelves to confirme and approve thoſe praiſes, and to give teſtimonie thereof againſt our owne minde; a thing more beſeeming vile and baſe flatterie, than true honour, namely, if we can abide to praiſe any in preſence. Howbeit, although this be moſt true, and that the caſe ſtandeth ſo, ſuch occurrences may ſo fall out, that an honourable perſon who manageth the politike affaires of a common-wealth, may hazzard and venture boldly to ſpeake of himſelfe and in his owne behalfe for his advantage, not in regard of any glory, grace or pleaſure to gaine thereby, but for that the occaſion or action that is preſented, requireth that he ſhould ſpeake and give teſtimonie of himſelfe, as he would and might doe of any other matter of trueth, eſpecially when the deeds by him atchieved or the parts that be in him be good and honeſt, then he is not to forbeare or ſpare to ſpeake hardly, that he hath done ſo or els much like: for ſurely ſuch a praiſe as this, bringeth forth good fruit, and out of it as from a fruitfull graine or ſeed, there proceed many other praiſes, & thoſe farre greater. And certes, a civill and politike man doeth not deſire and love honour as a ſalarie, ſolace or recompenſe for his vertuous actions; but for that to have the credit and reputation among others of a truſtie and faithfull perſon, in whom men may repoſe their truſt and confidence, doth affoord him good meanes and occaſions to performe many other greater and more goodlier actions: for a pleaſant and eaſie matter it is to benefit them who love thee and put their truſt in thee; whereas on the contrary ſide, exceeding hard it is, or rather impoſſible, to make uſe of vertue, and to imploy it to the good of thoſe who have thee in ſuſpition, or be ready to raiſe falſe calumniations againſt thee, and ſo to force them who do avoid the meanes of receiving any good and pleaſure at thy hands.

Moreover, it would be conſidered, what other occaſions there may be, for which a man of honour and honeſtie may praiſe himſelfe; to the end that by taking good heed and avoiding of that which in ſelfe-praiſe is ſo vaine and odious, we faile not to ſerve our turnes with the profit and commodity that may come thereby. Now of all others, moſt fooliſh is their praiſe who commend themſelves to this end, that they would be praiſed of others; and ſuch praiſe as this we hold moſt contemptible, for that it ſeemeth to proceed from ambition and an unſeaſonable appetite of vaine-glory onely: for like as thoſe who have no other food to feed upon, be conſtreined to eat the fleſh of their owne bodies againſt nature, which is the very extremity and end of famine; even ſo thoſe that hunger after honour and praiſe, if they can not meet with others to praiſe them, fall to praiſe themſelves; wherein their behaviour is unſeemly and ſhamefull, for that upon a love of vaine-glory they are deſirous to make a ſupply and ſufficiency from their owne ſelves; but yet when as they go not ſimply to worke nor ſeeke to be praiſed by themſelves, but upon a certaine emulation and jealouſie of other mens praiſes, they come to compare and oppoſe their owne deeds for to dim and darken the actions of others; then over and beſides their vanity, they adde thereto envie and malice; for according to the common proverbe: He is curious and ridiculous, who ſetteth his foot in another mans daunce; but upon envie and jealouſie to thruſt a mans ſelfe betweene the praiſes of others, and to interrupt the ſame with his owne ſelfe-praiſe, is a thing that wee ought to beware of; and not onely ſo, but alſo to take heed that wee ſuffer not others at ſuch a time to praiſe us, but gently to yeeld honour unto thoſe who are worthy to be praiſed and honoured; and if peradventure, they be unworthy and deſerve not the ſame, yet ought not wee to deprive them of the praiſes which are given unto them, by interpoſing our owne, but rather ſtand up againſt them, convince them openly, and prove by evident and pregnant reaſons that there is no cauſe why they ſhould be reputed ſo great, and be ſo highly honoured. As touching this point therefore, plaine and evident it is, that we ought not ſo to doe, howbeit, a man may praiſe himſelfe without blame: firſt and formoſt, if he do it by way of his owne defence in anſwering to a ſlander raiſed, or an imputation charged upon him; like as *Pericles* did in *Thucydides*, where he uttereth theſe words: And yet you my maſters of *Athens* are angrie with me, who may vaunt of my ſelfe to be ſuch an one as need not to give place unto any whatſoever, either in foreſight and knowledge of that which is behovefull to the common-wealth, or in eloquence and delivery thereof, or in love to the State, or in ſincere integrity, free from all corruption, bribery and avarice, againſt which I ſtand invincible: for in ſpeaking thus magnificently of himſelfe in ſuch a caſe, he did not onely avoid the blame and reproch of vanity, of arrogancy and preſumptuous ambition, but alſo that which more is, he ſhewed withall his wiſedome and greatneſſe, yea, and the magnanimitie of vertue, which was ſo farre from being humbled and dejected, that it rather conquered and held under hand, envie; inſomuch as others hearing ſuch men ſpeake in this wiſe, proceed not any farther nor be willing to judge and cenſure them, but are caried away and raviſhed with a certaine joy, yea and inſpired (as it were) from heaven to heare ſuch brave vanteries; namely, if the perſons be conſtant and the reports which they make true, according as the effects which follow do teſtifie. The Thebanes verily (at what time as their captaines were accuſed, for that when the terme of their government and magiſtracie, called *Bœotarchia*, was expired, they returned not incontinently home, but made an invaſion and entred in armes into *Laconia*, and dealt in the adminiſtration of affaires about the citie of *Meſſæne*) hardly and with much adoo aſſoiled and quit *Pelopidas*, when he humbled himſelfe and became a ſuppliant unto them for pardon: but contrariwiſe, when *Epaminondas* came and recounted in magnificent words thoſe brave exploits which he had atchieved in that voiage and at the ſame time, proteſting in the ende that he was preſt and readie to take his death, ſo that they would confeſſe and acknowledge, that mauger their minds and againſt their wils he had pilled and ſpoiled *Laconia*, repeopled *Meſſæne*, and reduced into a league and amitie with them all the cities of *Arcadia*, they had not the heart ſo much as to give their voices and ſuffrages in any ſentence of condemnation againſt him, but departed out of the aſſembly, admiring the haughtie courage of the man, and rejoicing with mirth and laughter to heare him plead his cauſe with reſolution. And therefore the ſpeech of *Sthenelus* in *Homer* is not ſimply and altogether to be reprooved, when he ſaith:

Pronounce I dare and it avow,
we better warriours be
In theſe daies than our fathers were
by many a degree.

If we call to minde and remember the precedent words a little before:

Thou ſonne of noble Tydëus
a wiſe and hardy knight,
How is it that thy heart doth pant,
for feare when thou ſhouldſt fight?
Why do'ſt thou caſt thine eie about,
and looke on everie ſide?
How thou maiſt out of battell ſcape,
and dar'ſt not field abide.

for it was not *Sthenelus* himſelfe unto whom this ſharpe and bitter ſpeech was addreſſed, but he replied thus in the behalfe of his friend whom he had thus reproched, and therefore ſo juſt a cauſe and ſo fit an occaſion gave him libertie to ſpeake thus bravely and boldly of himſelfe. As for the citizens of *Rome*, they were offended & diſpleaſed much with *Cicero* praiſing himſelfe ſo much as he did, and namely relating ſo often the woorthie deeds by him done againſt *Catiline*; but contrariwiſe, when *Scipio* ſaid before them all in a publike aſſembly: That it was not meet and ſeemely for them to ſit as judges upon *Scipio*, conſidering that by his meanes they were growen to that grandence as to judge all the world; they put chaplets of flowers upon their heads, and in this wiſe adorned, mounted up together with him into the temple of the Capitoll, for to ſacrifice and render thankes unto *Jupiter*: and good reaſon both of the one and the other; for *Cicero* rehearſed his owne praiſe-worthy deeds ſo many times without any need enforcing him thereto, onely to glorifie himſelfe; but the preſent perill wherein the other ſtood, freed him from all hatred and envie, notwithſtanding he ſpake in his owne praiſe. Moreover, this vanterie and glorious boaſting of a mans ſelfe, is not befitting thoſe onely who are accuſed or in trouble and danger of the law, but to as many alſo as be in adverſitie rather than in proſperitie; for that it ſeemeth that theſe reach and catch (as it were) at glorie and take pleaſure and joy therein, onely to gratifie and content therein their owne ambitious humor; whereas the other by reaſon of the qualitie of the time, being farre from all ſuſpition of vaine glorie and ambition, doe plucke up and erect themſelves upright againſt fortune, ſuſtaining and upholding what they can the generioſitie of their minds, avoiding as much as lieth in them that baſe conceit, to be thought for to beg commiſeration and crave pittie, as if they would be moaned for their miſadventures, and thereby bewray their abject hearts. For like as we take them for fooles and vaine-glorious fellowes, who as they walke ordinarily, lift up themſelves, and beare their heads and neckes aloft; but contrariwiſe, we praiſe and commend thoſe who erect their bodies, and do all they can to put foorth themſelves, either in fight at ſharpe, or in buffeting with fiſts; even ſo, a man who being overthrowen by adverſe fortune, raiſeth himſelfe up againe upon his feet, and addreſſeth his whole might to make head,

Like as the champion doth ariſe,
Upon his hands to winne a priſe.

and in ſtead of ſhewing himſelfe humble, ſuppliant and pittifull, by glorious words maketh a ſhew of braverie and haughtie courage, ſeemeth not thereby proude and preſumptuous, but contrariwiſe, great, magnanimous and invincible. Thus in one place the poet *Homer* depainteth *Patroclus* modeſt and nothing at all ſubject to envie, when he had done any exploit fortunately and with valour; but at his death when he was ready to yeeld the ghoſt, he deſcribed him to ſpeake bravely in this wiſe:

If twentie ſuch with all their might,
Had met with me in open fight, &c.

And *Phocion* who otherwiſe was alwaies meeke and modeſt, after that he ſaw himſelfe condemned, gave all the world to underſtand his magnanimitie, as in many other things, ſo eſpecially in this point, that he ſaid unto one of thoſe that were to ſuffer death with him, who made a pitious moane and great lamentation: How now man, what is that thou ſaieſt? doth it not thee good at the heart to thinke that thou ſhalt die with *Phocion?* And verily, no leſſe, but rather much more it is permitted to a man of State, who is injuriouſly dealt withall for to ſpeake ſomewhat frankly of himſelfe, namely unto thoſe who ſeeme to be oblivious and unthankfull. Thus *Achilles* at other times rendred the glorie of fortunate ſucceſſe in his affaires to the heavenly power of God, and ſpake modeſtly in this maner:

That Jupiter *would give us power and ſtrength,*
Troy *citie ſtrongly wall'd to winne at length.*

But otherwiſe when indignities were offred unto him, and he unjuſtly wronged and abuſed, he ſang another note, and diſplaied his tongue at large in anger, breaking out into theſe haughtie and brave words:

With ſhips of mine well man'd with ſouldiours brave,
By force of armes twelve cities wonne I have.
Alſo:
For why? approch they dare not neere to me,
The brightnes of my morion for to ſee.

For libertie of franke ſpeech, being a part of juſtification and defence in law, is allowed to uſe great words for plea. And verily *Themiſtocles* according to this rule, who all the while that hee performed the exploits of noble ſervice in his owne countrey, never did or ſaid ought that ſavoured of odious pride; yet when he once ſaw that the Athenians were full of him, and that they made account of him no more, forbare not to ſay unto them thus: What meane you my maſters of *Athens* thus to diſdaine & be wearie of thoſe at whoſe hands you receive ſo oftentimes benefits; In time of ſtorme and tempeſt you flie to them for refuge, and ſhroud your ſelves in their protection as under the harbor and covert of a ſpreading tree; no ſooner is the ſtorme overblowne and the weather faire againe, but you are ready to give a twitch at them, and every one to pull and breake a branch thereof as you paſſe by. Thus you ſee how theſe men perceiving themſelves otherwiſe injuried, in their diſcontentment ſticke not to rehearſe their ſervice and good deeds paſt and caſt them in their teeth who are forgetfull thereof. But he that is blamed and ſuffreth a reproch for things well done, is altogether for to be excuſed and unblameable, in caſe he ſet in hand to praiſe his owne deeds, foraſmuch as he ſeemeth not to reproch and upbraid any, but to anſwere onely in his own defence, & to juſtifie himſelfe. Certes, this it was that gave unto *Demoſthenes* an honeſt and laudable libertie to ſpeake for his owne behoofe; and he avoided thereby all tedious ſatietie of his owne praiſes, which he uſed throughout that whole oration, entituled *Of the crowne,* wherein he gloried and vaunted of that which was imputed unto him as reprochable, to wit, the embaſſages in which he went, and the decrees which he had enacted as touching the warre. Moreover, not farre from theſe points above rehearſed,

hearſed, the reverſing of an objection by way of *Antitheſis* may be placed, and carieth with it a good grace; to wit, when the defendant doth proove and ſhew that the contrary to that wherewith he is charged and accuſed, is wicked and diſhoneſt: After which maner the oratour *Lycurgus*, at *Athens* in his plea and anſwer to thoſe who laid to his charge that he had given a piece of money to a ſycophant for to ſtop his mouth & appeaſe him: What kinde of citizen (quoth he) do you take me for to be? who all this long time that I have dealt in the government and managing of State affaires among you, am chalenged before you rather to have given than taken ſilver injuſtly. Likewiſe *Cicero*, when *Metellus* ſaid unto him that he had undone and brought to confuſion more men by his teſtimonie, than ſaved by his patronage and eloquence; And what man is there (quoth he) who will not ſay by this, that there is more fidelitie in me, than force of utterance. Alſo theſe places in *Demoſthenes*; And who would not juſtly have condemned me to die, if I had but once gone about in bare word to contaminate the honors and glorious titles that this citie hath? againe, And what (thinke ye) would theſe wicked perſons have ſaid, if whiles I diſcourſed particularly of theſe points, the cities had fallen away and revolted: In ſum, that whole oration throughout concerning the Crowne, moſt finely and wittily inferreth his owne praiſes among thoſe oppoſitions & ſolutions which he alledgeth. Over and beſides, it is woorth the noting and learning, as a moſt profitable point, how cunningly in the ſaid oration, and how artificially he intermedled with the ſpeeches that he gave out of himſelfe, the commendations alſo of the hearers, and thereby freed himſelfe from the taint of envie, hatred, and ſelfe-love; namely in avowing how good and gracious the Athenians were to thoſe of *Eubœa*; how woorthily they demeaned themſelves toward the Thebanes; what good turnes they had done to the Bryzantines, as alſo how beneficiall they had bene to the inhabitants of *Cherſonneſus*; ſaying withall, that himſelfe was but their miniſter. For I aſſure you by this meanes the hearer himſelfe being ſecretly woon and gained ere he is aware by his owne praiſes, enterteineth more willingly and with greater pleaſure the ſpeech of the oratour; well contented he is and pleaſed to heare the good deeds related by another which he hath done; and upon this joy of his there inſueth incontinently an admiration and love of thoſe, by whoſe meanes hee hath atchieved thoſe acts. Heereupon *Epaminondas* one day in open place, when *Meneclidas*, one of his envious and malicious adverſaries mocked him for that he magnified and thought better of himſelfe than ever did king *Agamemnon*; Grand mercy, you my maſters of *Thebes* (quoth he) with whom alone I overthrew in one day and ſubverted the whole dominion of the Lacedæmonians. Now foraſmuch as the moſt part of men ordinarily miſlike in their hearts, and are mightily offended with one that praiſeth himſelfe, but fare not ſo againſt him that commendeth another; nay many times they are well pleaſed therewith, and ready to confirme ſuch praiſes by their owne teſtimonies: ſome are wont to have this deviſe, namely, in taking their time and opportunitie, to commend thoſe who love, chuſe, and do the ſelfe ſame things, and briefly who are of the like conditions, and given to the ſame humor with themſelves, do winde and inſinuate into the grace and favour of the hearer, and by ſuch an occaſion draw his heart unto them; for ſtreightwaies he doth acknowledge in the ſpeaker although he ſpeaketh of another, the reſemblance and ſimilitude of the like vertue which deſerveth the ſame praiſes: for like as he who reprocheth another man for thoſe vices whereof himſelfe is guiltie, doth hurt his owne perſon more than the party whom he ſeemeth to touch; even ſo good and honeſt men in yeelding honor to thoſe perſons who are good, doe as much as make mention of themſelves to ſuch as are privie to their vertues, and know them well enough; inſomuch as preſently they are ready to follow and ſecond them them with theſe and ſuch like acclamations; And are not you alſo the ſame in every reſpect? After this ſort *Alexander* in honouring *Hercules*; and *Androcoptus* likewiſe in honouring *Alexander*, procured to themſelves ech one due honour from the ſemblable. Contrariwiſe *Dionyſius* by mocking *Gelon*, and ſaying by alluſion to his name; that he was *Gelos* indeed (that is to ſay) the Laughter and mockerie of *Sicilie*, perceived not how before hee was aware, by the envie that he drew upon him himſelfe, he overthrew the greatnes and dignitie of his owne puiſſance and ſeignorie. A man of State therefore and a politician, ought to learne, obſerve and practiſe theſe rules even in other caſes alſo. And as for thoſe who otherwhiles are enforced to praiſe themſelves, they ſhall cauſe this ſelfe-praiſe of theirs to be more tolerable and leſſe ſubject to envie and hard conceit, in caſe they take not all to themſelves, and attribute the whole to their owne worthineſſe; but as if glorie were ſome heavie and weightie burthen, diſcharge one part thereof upon fortune, and another upon God; and therefore wiſely ſaid *Achilles* in *Homer*:

Since that th'almightie Gods have given me grace,
Mine enemie to overthrow in place.

Well likewiſe did *Timoleon* at *Saracoſe*, who upon his valiant and noble exploits dedicated an altar to *Bon-adventure*, and likewiſe conſecrated an houſe to his good Angell. But beſt of all and moſt wiſely did that *Python* the *Aenean*, who being arrived at *Athens* after he had murdered King *Cotys*, when the oratours ſtrived avie one with another, who ſhould extoll and ſet foorth his praiſes moſt unto the people, and perceiving ſome to carrie an envious eie unto him, and be highly diſpleaſed with him; as he paſſed by, brake foorth into theſe words: It was ſome God (quoth he) ô yee Athenians that did this deed, as for my ſelfe, I did but lend my helping hand. Semblably, *Sylla* exempted his owne acts from envie, in giving alwaies the praiſe to his good fortune; in ſo much as in the end, he ſurnamed himſelfe Επαφρόδιτος, that is, lovely, fortunate, or *Venus* darling. For all men in manner would ſeeme to be vanquiſhed rather by fortune, than conquered by vertue; for that they thinke the one to be a good, not pertinent to the conqueror, and the other a proper defect and imperfection of their owne, and which proceedeth from themſelves: which is the reaſon by report, that the lawes of *Zalenus* wonderfully pleaſed the Locrians, for that he put into their heads and bare them in hand, that the goddeſſe *Minerva* appeared and came many times unto him; that ſhe endited and taught him thoſe lawes which he penned and gave unto them; finally, that there was not one of them proceeding from his head, counſell and invention. Peradventure therefore neceſſarie it is to deviſe theſe and ſuch like remedies, and lenitive medicines to meet with thoſe perſons, who are by nature fierce and envious; but to ſuch as as be of the better ſort, and of a modeſt and temperate diſpoſition, it would not be impertinent and abſurd to uſe certaine corrections of praiſes in this caſe: as for example; If one haply in our preſence fall to praiſe us for being eloquent, learned, rich, or in great reputation, to pray him not to give ſuch reports of us, but rather for to commend us if we be good and bountiful, hurtful to none, and profitable to many; for in ſo doing, we ſeem not to confer praiſes upon our ſelves, but to transfer them; not to take pleaſure in them that praiſe us, but rather to be grieved and diſpleaſed, that we are not praiſed for ſuch things as we ought, nor as we ſhould; as alſo to hide the woorſe qualities under the better, not ſo much willing and deſirous to be praiſed, as to teach how it is meet to praiſe: for this manner of ſpeech (neither with ſtone nor bricke have I fortified and walled this citie, but if you will needs know how I have fenſed it, you ſhall finde that I have furniſhed it with armor, horſes, confederates and allies) ſeemeth to come neere and tend unto ſuch a rule: yea and the ſaying of *Pericles* toucheth it neerer; for when the hower of his death now approched, and that he was to goe out of this world, his kinsfolke and familiar friends, weeping, wailing, and grieving thereat (as good reaſon was) called to minde and rehearſed the armies that hee had conducted, the expeditions which hee had made, his puiſſance that he had borne, as alſo how many victories he had atchieved, what Trophees he had erected, what townes & cities he had conquered, and laid to the ſeignorie of the Athenians; all which he now ſhould leave behind him: but he lifting up himſelfe a little, reproved and blamed them greatly, for relating and alledging thoſe praiſes, which were common to manie, and whereof ſome were more due to fortune than to vertue; whiles they omitted and let paſſe the greateſt and moſt beawtifull commendation of all others, and that which truely and indeed properly belonged unto him: namely, that for his ſake, there was never any Athenian that put on blacke or wore a mourning gowne: this example of his, giveth both unto an oratour if he be praiſed for his ſingular eloquence, meanes and occaſion to transferre the praiſe unto his life and maners; and alſo to a warrior & generall captaine, who is had in admiration for his martiall proweſſe, experience, or fortunate ſucceſſe in wars, to ſtand rather upon his clemencie and juſtice and thereof freely to diſcourſe. And contrariwiſe againe, when a man hath exceſſive praiſes heaped upon him (as the manner commonly of many is, by way of flatterie to give thoſe commendations which moove envie) meet it is to uſe ſuch a ſpeech as this:

With gods in heaven above I have no ſhare,
To them therefore why doſt thou me compare?

But if thou knoweſt me aright, and takeſt me truely for ſuch an one as I am, praiſe theſe good parts in me; that I am uncorrupt and not overtaken with gifts and briberie; that I am ſober and temperate; that I am ſenſible, reaſonable, full of equitie and humanitie. For the nature of envie, is willingly to yeeld unto him that refuſeth the greater praiſes thoſe that be leſſe and more modeſt; neither depriveth ſhe of true commendation thoſe who will not admit and receive falſe and vaine praiſes: and therefore men thinke not much to honor thoſe Kings and Princes who are unwilling to be ſtiled gods or the children of gods, but rather to be intituled either *Philadelphi*, that is, Kinde to brothers and ſiſters; or *Philometores*, that is, Loving to their mothers; or *Euergetoi*, that is, Benefactors; or elſe *Theophiles*, that is, Deerely beloved of the gods; which are goodly and beawtifull denominations, meet for men and good princes: like as againe, thoſe who hardly will endure them, that either in writing or ſpeaking, attribute unto them the name of *Sophi*, that is, Sages or wiſe men, can well abide to heare thoſe who name them *Philoſophi*, that is, Lovers of wiſedome; or ſuch as ſay of them, that they profit in the ſtudy of wiſedome, or give them ſuch like attribute as is modeſt and not ſubject to envie; whereas theſe ambitious Rhetoritians and vaine-glorious Sophiſters, who in their orations (to ſhew their learning) expect theſe and ſuch like acclamations from their auditorie: O divine and angel-like ſpeech! ô heavenly and magnifically ſpoken; loſe withall this commendation, as to be ſaid for to have delivered their minde modeſtly, courteouſly, and as becommeth civill men. Certes, like as they who be loth and take heed to offend and hurt them that are bleere-eied or otherwiſe given to the paine and inflamation of them, do mingle among the gallant and lively colours, ſome duskiſh ſhadowes; even ſo, ſome there be, who in rehearſing their owne praiſes not altogether reſplendent & cleere without any mixture at all, but intermedled with ſome imperfections, defects and light faults among, by that meanes diſcharge themſelves of the heavie load of envie and hatred. Thus *Epireus* in *Homer*, giving out glorious words of his wreſtling and buffet-fight, vaunting bravely of his valour,

As if he would his teene and anger wreake
Upon him, and with fiſts his boanes all breake.

ſaid withall:

Is't not enough that herein I do vant?
For other skill in combat I do want.

But haply this man is woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, who for to excuſe his arrogant braverie of a wreſtler and champion, bewraied and confeſſed that otherwiſe he was but a fearefull coward; whereas contrariwiſe that man is of judgement, civil alſo and gracious beſides, who alledgeth againſt himſelfe ſome oblivion or ignorance, ſome ambitious ſpirit, or els a deſire to heare and learne the Sciences and other knowledge, like as *Ulyſſes* when he ſaid:

But lo my minde deſirous was
  to hearken and give eare,
I will'd my mates me to unloſe,
  that I might go more neare.

And againe in another place;

Although much better it had beene,
  yet would I not beleeve:
But ſee his perſon, and then trie
  if gifts he would me give.

To be ſhort, all ſorts of faults, ſo they be not altogether diſhoneſt and over-baſe, if they be ſet unto praiſes, rid them of all envie and hatred; and many other there be, who interpoſing a confeſſion of povertie, want of experience, yea, and (beleeve me) their baſe parentage, among their praiſes, cauſe them thereby to be leſſe odious and envied. Thus *Agathocles*, as he ſat drinking unto yoong men out of golde and ſilver plate right curiouſly wrought, commanded other veſſels of ſtone, earth and potters worke to be ſet upon the table, ſaying unto them: Lo (quoth he) what it is to perſevere in travell, to take paines, and adventure valiantly? for wee in times paſt made thoſe pots, (pointing to the earthen veſſell) but ſee, now we make theſe, (ſhewing the plate of golde and ſilver: and verily it ſeemed that *Agathocles* (by reaſon of his baſe birth and povertie) was brought up in ſome potters forge, who afterward became the abſolute monarch (almoſt) of all *Sicilie*. Thus it appeareth what remedies may be applied outwardly, to avoide envie, if a man be forced to ſpeake of himſelfe: other meanes there are beſides, inhærent (after a ſort) even in them who be in this wiſe praiſed; and ſuch *Cato* made uſe of, when he ſaid, that he was envied, becauſe he neglected his owne affaires, and ſat up watching whole nights for the good and ſafetie of his countrey. Like to which is this ſpeech:

What wiſedome thinke you was in me,
  who cleane exempt from care,
From charge and travell, like ſome one,
  who in the armie were

A plaine and common ſouldiour
might enjoy within the hoſt
My fortune with the wiſeſt of
them all that meddle moſt?

as alſo this other:

I doubt and feare, that of my labours paſt,
The thanke is gone, and caried with a blaſt;
And yet thoſe paines that now preſented be
Afreſh, reject unneth I will from me.

For men ordinarily beare envie unto thoſe who ſeeme to acquire glory *gratis*, without any coſt, and to come by vertue eaſily, like as if they purchaſed houſe or land for a little or nothing; whereas ſeldome or never they envie ſuch as have bought the ſame very deare, with many travels and great dangers. And foraſmuch as we ought in praiſing of our ſelves to effect not only this; that we offend not the hearers thereby nor procure their envie, but endevour alſo to profit them and doe them good, as if we ſeemed not to aime at our ſelfe-praiſe, but to ſhoot at ſome other thing: in ſo doing conſider firſt and formoſt when a man is in a veine of praiſing himſelfe, whether he may do it by way of exhortation, to kindle a zeale, and exerciſe a kinde of emulation and ſtrive for glory in the hearers; after the example of *Neſtor*, who in recounting his owne proweſſe and valiant ſervice, encouraged *Patroclus* and the other nine gallants and brave knights, to enter combat and ſingle fight with *Hector*: for an exhortation which hath word and deed to meet together, carrying with it example, with a familiar zeale and imitation, is wonderfull quicke and lively, it pricketh, provoketh and ſtirreth exceedingly, and together with a reſolute courage and ardent affection, it carieth with it the hope of compaſſing things very acceſſible and in no wiſe impoſſible: and therefore of the three renowmed daunces and quires in *Lacedæmon*, one which conſiſted of olde men, chaunted thus:

The time was, when we gallants were,
Youthfull and hardie, void of feare.

another, of children, ſung in this wiſe:

And we one day ſhall be both tall and ſtrong,
And farre ſurpaſſe, if that we live ſo long.

the third, namely of yong men, had this dittie:

But we are come to proofe, and now at beſt,
Trie who that will, to fight we are now preſt.

wherein the law-giver, who inſtituted theſe dances, did wiſely and politikely, to propoſe unto yong men ſuch familiar examples and at hand, even by thoſe things that were done and executed. Yet nevertheleſſe, it were not amiſſe, otherwhiles to vaunt and to ſpeake highly and magnifically of ones ſelfe, for to daunt, beat downe, repreſſe, and keepe (as it were) under hand, a bragging and audacious fellow, like as *Neſtor* himſelfe did againe in another place:

Converſed have I in my daies,
with men of better deed
Than you iwis, and yet diſdaine
they never would my reed.

Semblably ſaid *Ariſtotle* unto king *Alexander*: That lawfull it was and beſeeming not onely for thoſe to have an haughtie minde, who had many ſubjects under them at their commaund; but ſuch alſo as held true opinions as touching the gods. And verily theſe points are commodious for us otherwhiles, even in regard of our enemies, foes, and evill willers, according to that verſe in *Homer*:

Children they are of wretched ſires,
and borne to miſadventure,
Whoſe lucke it is my force of armes
in battell to encounter.

Ageſilaus alſo, having ſpeech upon a time as touching the King of *Perſia*, who uſually was called the Great Monarch: And wherein (quoth he) is that king greater than my ſelfe, if he bee not more juſt and righteous. *Epaminondas* likewiſe replied upon the Lacedæmonians, who had framed a long accuſation againſt the Thebans: Well it is (quoth he) and a good turne that we yet have made you give over your accuſtomed ſhort ſpeech. Thus much of thoſe rules which concerne either our private and particular evill willers, or our publike enemies.

As for our friends and fellow-citizens, we may likewiſe by uſing fitly in time and place, and as the caſe requireth haughty language, not onely take downe and cauſe thoſe to vaile bonet who are over-proude and audacious; but alſo on the other ſide raiſe up and encourage ſuch, as be diſmaied, aſtonied and beyond meaſure timorous. For *Cyrus* alſo in the mids of battell and dangers of warre was woont to ſpeake bravely, but elſe-where not. And *Antigonus* the yoonger or ſecond of that name, who otherwiſe was in words ſober, modeſt, and nothing proude; yet in a battell at ſea which he fought neere the iſle *Cos*; when one of his friends about him ſaid a little before the medley began: See you not ſir how many more ſhips our enemies have than wee? Why (quoth he) for how many ſhips doeſt thou reckon me? And it ſhould ſeeme that *Homer* was of the ſame minde and meant ſo much, when he feigneth that *Ulyſſes* ſeeing his people affrighted with the hideous noiſe and fearfull tempeſt that iſſued out of the gulfe *Charybdis*, called to their remembrance his ſubtill engine and ſingular valour, in ſaying thus unto them:

My friends and mates, this accident
is not ſo dangerous,
As when that monſtrous Cyclops *he,*
a giant furious,
Us turn'd and courſt with mightie force
about his hollow cave;
Yet thence we chac'd him by my wit,
advice, and proweſſe brave.

For this manner of praiſing proceedeth not from a glozing vaine-glorious oratour, nor a vanting Sophiſter, nor from one that ſeeketh applauſe, and clapping of hands; but beſeemeth a perſonage who pawneth unto his friends, as a gage of aſſurance and confidence his owne vertue and ſufficiency. For a matter this is of great importance & conſequence tending to ſafetie in dangerous times, to wit, the opinion, reputation and affiance, that we may have of a man in authoritie, and the experienced proweſſe of a captaine. Now albeit I have ſufficiently ſhewed before, that it is neither convenient nor ſeemely for a man of State and honour to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the glorie and praiſe of another; yet nevertheleſſe when the caſe ſo ſtandeth, that a falſe and perverſe commendation doth bring hurt and damage, and by example inferreth a dangerous imitation of evill things, together with a wicked purpoſe and leawd intention in matters of great moment, it were not amiſſe to repulſe the ſame backe, or rather to divert and turne away the hearer unto better things, and open unto him the difference: for in mine advice a man may well take content and delight, to ſee that men abſtaine willingly from vice, when they perceive it to be blamed and reprooved; but in lieu of condemning it, if they heare it commended, and if over and beſides the pleaſure and profit that commonly it ſeemeth to bring with it, it be held alſo in honor and reputation, there is not a nature ſo happie and bleſſed, nor ſo ſtrong and ſtout withall, but ſhee is able to conquer it: and therefore a man of policie and government ought to make warre and fight, not ſo much againſt the praiſes of perſons, as of things, in caſe they be corrupt and naught: for theſe they be that ſpill and marre our manners, by reaſon that with ſuch praiſes there entreth commonly a will to imitate and follow ſuch diſhoneſt and foule actions, as if they were good and ſeemely: but then moſt of all are they detected what they be, and do appeere in their colours, when they are compared in oppoſition with true praiſes indeed. Thus it is reported, that *Theodorus* the Tragædian actor, ſaid upon a time unto *Satyrus* a Comicall player: That it was no great marvell to make the ſpectators to laugh, but rather a matter of woonder to cauſe them for to weepe and crie: but (I ſuppoſe) a ſage and wiſe philoſopher may well ſay thus unto the ſame *Theodorus*: Nay (good ſir) it is not ſo great a matter to ſet men a weeping and wailing, but rather to ſtill and ſtay their ſorrow and lamentation, were an admirable thing: for if a man praiſe himſelfe in this ſort, he profiteth the hearer and changeth his judgement. Thus did *Zeno* ſpeake of the great number of *Theophraſtus* his ſcholers, who reſorted unto his ſchoole: His quire (quoth he) is greater than mine, but yet mine accordeth better and maketh the ſweeter harmonie. *Phocion* likewiſe, when as *Leoſthenes* ſtill flouriſhed and bare a great name, being demaunded by the Rhetoricians who uſed to make ſolemne orations, what good himſelfe had ever done to the weale-publike, anſwered them in this manner: None other (quoth he) but this, that all the whiles I was lord General, and had the conduct of an army, none of all you made ever any funerall oration, but interred all your citizens who departed this life in the ſepulchers and monuments of your anceſtors. As for *Crates* when he read theſe verſes containing the Epitaph of *Sardanapalus*:

What hath gone downe my throat I have,
my wanton ſports remaine,
Which Ladie Venus *did vouchſafe,*
or elſe I count but vaine.

wrate thus againe verie wittily and in a pleaſant conceit:

What during life I ſtudied have
and learned, is my gaine,
The skill which muſes then me gave,
and nought elſe I retaine.

for ſuch manner of praiſe as this, is excellent, honeſt, and profitable, teaching men to love, eſteeme and admire ſuch things as be commodious and expedient, and not thoſe that are vaine and ſuperfluous; and therefore this advertiſement ought to be ranged with the reſt before ſpecified as touching the ſubject argument now in queſtion.

It remaineth now by order and courſe according as the preſent theame in hand requireth, and our diſcourſe admoniſheth us, to declare how every man may avoid this importunate and unſeaſonable ſelfe-praiſe: for ſurely to ſpeake of a mans ſelfe, having ſelfe-love as a commodious fort from whence it iſſueth, ſeemeth many times to lay wait and give the aſſault even unto them who are of all others moſt modeſt and fartheſt from vain-glorie. And like as one precept of health there is, to flie and ſhunne altogether unholſome tracts and contagious, or at leaſtwiſe to take heed of them moſt carefully if a man be in them; even ſo there be certeine dangerous times and ſlipperie places which one ſhall ſlide and fall into upon the leaſt occaſion in the world, by raſhly ſpeaking of himſelfe. For firſt and formoſt thoſe who are by nature ambitious, when they heare another man praiſed, commonly (as it hath beene ſaid before) advance forward to talke of themſelves, and then anon this humour of ſelfe-praiſe being once provoked and tickled (as it were) with an itch, a certeine deſire and furious appetite of glorie which hardly can be held in, taketh hold of them, eſpecially if the partie who is praiſed before them be but equall or inferior to them in merit: for like as they who are hungrie have the greater appetite, and are provoked more to eate when they ſee others fall to their meate before them; even ſo the praiſe of another inflameth the jealouſie of thoſe who be given to the greedy deſire of honor & glorie. Secondly, the recitall and diſcourſe of thoſe things which have beene happily executed and to a mans minde, drive many men into a brave vaunting, for the joy that they conceive in relating the ſame: for after they be once fallen into a narration of their victories atchieved in warre, or the enterpriſes which they have fortunately managed in their ſoveraigne government of State, or their actions and affaires performd under other chiefe rulers and commanders, or of the ſpeeches which they have made to great purpoſe and good ſucceſſe and commendation, they cannot conteine and hold themſelves: to which kind of vaunting & ſpeaking of ones-ſelfe, we ſee thoſe are moſt ſubiect who are warriors and ſerve eſpecally at ſea; likewiſe this hapneth uſually unto ſuch who are come from the courts of mighty princes, or from thoſe places where there hath beene exploited ſome great ſervice: for in making mention of princes and grand Seigneours, they can not chuſe but interlace ordinarily among, ſome ſpeeches which thoſe potentates have delivered to their commendation; and therein they doe not thinke that they praiſe themſelves, but recite onely the commendable teſtimonies that others have given out, of them: and verily ſuch as theſe, be of opinion that the hearers perceive them not, when they recount the embracements, greetings, ſalutations, and favours which kings, emperours, and ſuch great potentates have beſtowed upon them; as if forſooth they rehearſed not their owne ſelfe-praiſes, but the courteſies and demonſtrations of the bountie and humanitie of others; whereof every one of us ought moſt fully and warily to looke unto our ſelves when we praiſe any one, that the ſaid praiſes be pure and ſincere, voide of ſuſpition, that we do not reſpect & aime at an oblique ſelfe-love, & ſpeech of our owne ſelves, for feare leſt we make the commendation of *Patroclus*, as it is in *Homer*, a covert, colour and pretence of our owne praiſe, and by commending others cunningly, praiſe our owne ſelves. Moreover, all the ſort of blames and reprehenſions of others, are otherwhiles very dangerous, cauſing thoſe to goe out of the way and ſtumble, who are never ſo little ſicke of vain-glorie; into which maladie old folke many times incurre, and namely when they breake out into the reprofe of their youngers, finding fault with their leawd maners and faſhions, for then in blaming others, they fall to magnifying themſelves, as if in times paſt they had done wonders, in compariſon of thoſe things which now they condemne: and verily ſuch as they be we ought to give place unto, in caſe they be not onely for age, but alſo in regard of their vertue and reputation venerable: for this maner of rebuke is not unprofitable, but breedeth in thoſe who are chaſtiſed by them, a great deſire and emulation withall to atteine unto the like place of honour and dignitie. But as for our ſelves we ought to take heed and beware how we trip or tread awry in this caſe; for the maner of blaming our neighbours, being as it is otherwiſe very odious and almoſt intolerable, and which hath need of great caution and warineſſe; he that medleth his proper praiſe with the blame of another, and ſeeketh glorie by his infamy, cannot chuſe but be exceeding hatefull and unſupportable, as if he hunted after renowme and honour by the reprochfull and diſhonorable parts of his neighbours. Furthermore, as they who naturally are enclined and diſpoſed to laughter, are to avoid and decline the ticklings and ſoft handling in thoſe parts of the body that are moſt ſmooth, ſliecke and tender, which ſoone yeelding and relenting to thoſe light touches, ſtirre up and provoke immediately that paſſion of laughing; even ſo this caveat and advertiſement would be given unto ſuch as paſſionately be given to this deſire of glory, that they abſteine from praiſing themſelves, at what time as they be collauded by other: for a man that heareth himſelfe praiſed, ought indeed to bluſh for ſhame, and not with a bold and ſhameleſſe face to hearken thereto, nay he ſhould doe well to reproove thoſe that report ſome great matter of him, rather then to finde fault for ſaying too little, and not praiſing him ſufficiently; a thing iwis that many men doe, who are ready of themſelves to prompt and ſuggeſt, yea and to inferre other magnanimous facts and proweſſes, ſo far forth that they marre all, aſwell the praiſe that they give themſelves, as the laudable teſtimoniall of others. And I aſſure you many there be who flattering themſelves, tickle and puffe up their owne conceits with nothing els but winde; others againe upon a malicious intent, laying ſome petie praiſe as it were a bait for them to bite at, draw them on thereby to fall into their owne commendation: ſome alſo you ſhall have who to that purpoſe will keepe a queſtioning with them, & propoſe certeine demands for the nonce to traine them within their toile, and all to have the more matter that they might ſoone after laugh at. Thus in *Menander* the glorious ſoldier made good ſport, being demanded of one

DEMAND. *Good ſir how came you by this wound and ſcar?*
SOLDIER. *By dint of iavelin launced from a far.*
DEMAND. *But how? for gods ſake how? let us all know:*
SOLDIER. *As I a wall did ſcale I caught this blow,*
But well I ſee whiles that I do my beſt
This to relate, theſe make of me a jeſt.

And therefore in all theſe caſes, a man ought to bee as warie as poſſiblie hee can, that he neither himſelfe breake out in his owne praiſes, nor yet bewray his weakeneſſe and folly by ſuch interrogatoies; and that hee may in the beſt and moſt abſolute manner take heede thereto, and ſave himſelfe from ſuch inconveniences, the readieſt way is to obſerve others neerely that love to bee praiſers of themſelves; namely to call to minde and repreſent unto their owne remembrance how diſpleaſant and odious a thing it is to all the world, and that there is or can be no other ſpeech ſo unſavory, tedious and irkeſome to heare: for ſuppoſe that we are not able to ſay that we ſuffer any other harme at their hands who praiſe themſelves, yet we do all that we can to avoid ſuch ſpeech; we make ſhift to be delivered from it, and haſten all that we may to breath our ſelves, as if it were an heavy burden which of it ſelfe and the owne nature overchargeth us, inſomuch as it is troubleſome and intolerable even to flatterers, paraſites, and needy ſmel-feaſts in that neceſſitie and indigence of theirs, to heare a rich man, a prince, a governor, or a king to praiſe himſelfe: nay they give out that they pay the greateſt portion of the ſhot, when they muſt have patience to give eare to ſuch vanities; like unto that jeſter in *Menander*, who breaketh out into theſe words,

He killeth me when at his boord I ſit
And with his cheere I fatter am no whit,
But rather pine away, you may be ſure,
When ſuch bald jeſts to heare I muſt endure.
And yet as wiſe and warlike as they ſeeme,
A bragging foole and leawd ſot I him deeme.

For conſidering that we are wont to ſay thus, not onely againſt ſoldiers and glorious upſtarts newly enriched, whoſe maner is to make much of their painted ſheaths, powring out brave and proud diſcourſes; but alſo againſt ſophiſters, rhetoritians, and philoſophers, yea and great captaines, puffed up with arrogancy and preſumption, and ſpeaking bigge words of themſelves: If we would call to remembrance that a mans owne proper praiſes be accompanied alwaies with the diſpraiſes of others, and that the end commonly of ſuch vaine-glory is ſhame and infamie; alſo, that tediouſneſſe unto the hearers, is (as *Demoſthenes* ſaith) the reward, and not any opinion to be reputed ſuch as they ſay, we would be more ſparie and forbeare to ſpeake ſo much of our ſelves, unleſſe ſome greater profit and advantage might afterwards grow either to us or to the hearers in place.

WHAT PASSIONS AND MALADIES BE WORSE, THOSE OF THE SOULE, OR THOSE OF THE BODIE?

The Summarie.

This preſent queſtion upon which Plutarch *hath framed this declamation, whereof there remaineth extant in our hands but one little parcell, hath beene of long time diſcuſſed and debated among men; the greater is our damage and detriment, that we have heere no better diviſion, nor a more ample reſolution of it by ſo excellent a philoſopher as he was: but ſeeing that this loſſe can not be recovered, let us ſeeke for the cleering of all this matter in other authors; but principally in thoſe, who ſearch deepely to the verie bottom, for to diſcover the ſource of all the maladies of the ſoule, in ſtead of ſuch writers who have treated of morall philoſophie, according to the doctrine and light of nature, onely accompanied with precepts out of her ſchoole, and have not touched the point but ſuperficially, as being ignorant what is originall and hereditarie corruption; what is ſinne; how it entred firſt into the world; what are the greateſt impreſſions, aſſaults, effects, and what is the end and reward thereof. But to come unto this fragment, our author after he had ſhewed that man of all living creatures is moſt miſerable, declareth wherein theſe humane miſeries ought to bee conſidered; and prooveth withall, that the diſeaſes of the ſoule are more dangerous than thoſe of the body, for that they be more in number, and the ſame exceeding different, hard to be knowen and incurable, as evidently it is to be ſeene in effect, that thoſe who are afflicted with ſuch maladies, have their judgement depravate and overturned, refuſing remedie with the loſſe of reſt and repoſe, and a ſingular pleaſure which they take to diſcover their unquietneſſe, anxietie and miſerie.*

WHAT PASSIONS AND MALAdies be worſe, thoſe of the ſoule or thoſe of the bodie?

Homer having viewed and conſidered very well the ſundry ſorts of living creatures mortall, compared alſo one kind with another, as well in the continuance as the converſation and maner of their life, concluded in the end with this exclamation,

> *Lo how of creatures, all on earth*
> *which walke and draw their wind,*
> *More miſerable none there are*
> *nor wretched than mankind.*

attributing unto man this unhappie ſoveraigntie, that he hath the ſuperioritie in all miſeries whatſoever: but we ſetting this downe for a ſuppoſition granted already, that man carieth the victorie, and ſurpaſſeth all others for his infortunitie, and is already declared and pronounced the moſt unhappie wretch of all living creatures, will ſet in hand to compare him with his owne ſelfe, in a certeine conference of his proper calamities that follow him; and that by dividing him, not in vaine and unfruitfully, but very pertinently and to good purpoſe, into the ſoule and the bodie, to the end that wee may learne and know thereby whether we live more miſerablie in regard of our ſoules, or our ſelves, that is to ſay, our bodies: for a diſeaſe in our bodie is engendred by nature; but vice and ſinne in the ſoule is firſt an action, but afterwards becommeth a paſſion thereof: ſo that it is no ſmall conſolation, but maketh much for the contentment of our minde, to know that the worſe is curable, and the lighter is that which can not be avoided.

The fox in *Aeſope* pleading upon a time againſt the leopard, as touching the varietie of colours in their skins, after that the leopard had ſhewed her bodie, which to the eie and in outward apparence was well marked & beſet with faire ſpots, whereas the foxes skin was tawny, foule and ill-favoured to ſee to: But you (quoth he) ſir Judge, if you looke within, ſhall finde me more ſpotted and divers coloured than that leopard there; meaning the craft and ſubtiltie which he had, to turne and change himſelfe in divers ſorts, as need required; after the ſame maner let us ſay within our ſelves: O man, thy body breedeth and bringeth foorth many maladies and paſſions naturally of it ſelfe, many alſo it receiveth and enterteineth comming from without, but if thou wilt anatomize and open thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt finde within, a ſave, an ambrie, nay a ſtorehouſe and treaſurie (as *Democritus* ſaith) of many evils and maladies, and thoſe of divers and ſundry ſorts, not entring and running in from abroad, but having their originall ſources ſpringing out of the ground, and home-bred, the which, vice abundant, rich and plenteous in paſſions putteth forth. Now, whereas the diſeaſes that poſſeſſe the body and the fleſh, are diſcovered and knowen by their inflamations and red colour, by pulſes alſo or beating of the arteries, and namely, when the viſage is more red or pale than cuſtomably it is, or when ſome extraordinarie heat or laſſitude, without apparent cauſe, bewraieth them: contrariwiſe, the infirmities and maladies of the ſoule are hidden many times unto thoſe that have them, who never thinke that they be ſicke and ill at eaſe; and in this regard worſe they be, for that they deprive the patients of the ſenſe and feeling of their ſickneſſe: for the diſcourſe of reaſon, whiles it is ſound and hole, feeleth the maladies of the bodie; but as for the diſeaſes of the ſoule, whiles reaſon herſelfe is ſicke, ſhe hath no judgement at all of that which ſhe ſuffereth, for the ſelfe ſame that ſhould judge is diſeaſed; and we are to deeme and eſteeme, that the principall and greateſt maladie of the ſoule is follie, by reaſon whereof vice, being remedileſſe and incurable in many, is cohabitant in them, liveth and dieth with them: for the firſt degree and very beginning of a cure, is the knowledge of a diſeaſe, which leadeth and directeth the patient to ſeeke for helpe; but he who will not beleeve that he is amiſſe or ſicke, not knowing what he hath need of, although a preſent remedie were offered unto him, will refuſe and reject the ſame. And verily, among thoſe diſeaſes which afflict the bodie, thoſe are counted worſt which take a man with a privation of ſenſe; as lethargies, intolerable head-ach, or phrenſies, epilepſies or falling-evils, apoplexies and feavers-ardent; for theſe burning agues many times augment their heat ſo much, that they bring a man to the loſſe of his right wits, and ſo trouble the ſenſes, as it were in a muſicall inſtrument, that

They ſtirre the ſtrings at ſecret root of hart,
Which touched ſhould not be, but lie apart.

which is the reaſon that practitioners in phyſicke deſire and wiſh in the firſt place, that a man were not ſicke at all, but if hee be ſicke, that hee be not ignorant and ſenſeleſſe altogether of his diſeaſe; a thing that ordinarily befalleth to all thoſe who be ſicke in minde: for neither witleſſe fooles, nor diſſolute and looſe perſons, ne yet thoſe who be unjuſt and deale wrongfully, thinke that they do amiſſe and ſinne; nay, ſome of them are perſwaded that they do right well. Never was there man yet, who eſteemed an ague to be health, nor the phthiſicke or conſumption to be a good plight and habit of the bodie, nor that the gout in the feet was good footmanſhip, ne yet that to be ruddy and pale or yellow, was all one; yet you ſhall have many who are diſeaſed in minde, to call haſtines and choler, valiance; wanton love, amitie; envie, emulation; and cowardiſe, warie prudence. Moreover, they that be bodily ſicke, ſend for the phyſicians (becauſe they know whereof they ſtand in need) for to heale their diſeaſes; whereas the other avoid and ſhun the ſage philoſophers; for they thinke verily that they do well when they fault moſt. upon this reaſon we holde, that the ophthalmie, that is to ſay, the inflamation of bloud-ſhotten eies, is a leſſe maladie than *Mania*, that is to ſay, rage and furious madneſſe; and that the gout in the feet is nothing ſo bad as the phrenſie, which is an inflamation or impoſtume bred in the braine; for the one of theſe patients finding himſelfe diſeaſed, crieth out for paine, & calleth for the phyſician, and no ſooner is he come, but he ſheweth him his diſeaſed eie for to dreſſe and anoint, he holdeth forth his veine for to be opened, & yeeldeth unto him his head for to be cured; whereas you ſhall heare ladie *Agave* in the Tragædies, ſo farre tranſported out of all ſenſe and underſtanding (by reaſon of her raging fit) that ſhee knew not thoſe perſons which were moſt deare and entire unto her; for thus ſhe ſaith:

This little one here newly kild,
And cut in pieces in the field,
From hilles we bring to dwelling place,
How happy, ô, hath beene our chace!

As for him who is ſicke in bodie, preſently he yeeldeth thereto, he laies him downe upon his pallet, or taketh his naked bed, he eaſeth himſelfe all that he can, and is content and quiet all the while that the phyſician hath him in cure; but if peradventure he tumble and toſſe in his bedde, fling and caſt off his clothes, by reaſon that his bodie is tormented with ſome grievous hot fit, no ſooner ſtirreth he never ſo little, but one or other that ſtandeth or ſitteth by to tend him, is ready to ſay gently unto him:

Poore ſoule, be quiet, feare none ill,
Deare heart, in bed ſee thou lie ſtill.

he ſtaieth and keepeth him downe, that he ſhall not ſtart and leape out of his bed: but contrariwiſe, thoſe that be ſurpriſed with the paſſions of the ſoule, at ſuch a time be moſt buſie, then they be leaſt in repoſe and quiet; for their violent motions be the cauſes moving their actions, and their paſſions are the vehement fits of ſuch motions: this is the cauſe that they will not let the ſoule to be at reſt, but even then when as a man hath moſt need of patience, ſilence and quiet retrait, they draw him moſt of all abroad into the open aire; then are diſcovered ſooneſt his cholerike paſſions, his opinionative and contentious humors, his wanton love and his grievous ſorrowes, enforcing him to commit many enormities againſt the lawes, and to ſpeake many words unſeaſonably, and not befitting the time.

Like as therefore much more perillous is the tempeſt at ſea, which impeacheth and putteth backe a ſhip, that it can not come into the harbour to ride at anchor, than that which will not ſuffer it to get out of the haven and make ſaile in open ſea; even ſo thoſe tempeſtuous paſſions of the ſoule are more dangerous which will not permit to be at reſt, nor to ſettle his diſcourſe of reaſon once troubled, but overturneth it upſide downe, as being diſfurniſhed of pilots and cables, not well ballaiſed in the ſtorme, wandring to and fro without a guide and ſteeresmen, carried mauger into raſh and dangerous courſes, ſo long, untill in the end it falleth into ſome ſhipwracke, and where it overthroweth the whole life, in ſuch ſort that in regard of theſe reaſons and others ſemblable, I conclude, that woorſe it is to be ſoule-ſicke than diſeaſed in bodie; for the bodies being ſicke, ſuffer onely, but the ſoules if they be ſicke, both ſuffer and doe alſo amiſſe. To proove this, what neede we further to particularize and alledge for examples many other paſſions, conſidering that the occaſion of this preſent time is ſufficient to admoniſh us thereof, and to refreſh our memorie? See you not this great multitude and preaſſe of people thruſting and thronging here about the Tribunall and common place of the citie; they are not all aſſembled hither to ſacrifice unto the Tutelar gods, Protectors of their native countrey, nor to participate in common the ſame religion and ſacred ceremonies of divine ſervice; they are not all met heere together for to offer an oblation unto *Jupiter Aſtræus,* out of the firſt fruits of *Lydia,* and to celebrate and ſolemnize in the honor of *Bacchus,* during theſe holy nights, his feſtivall revils with daunſes, maſks, and mummeries accuſtomed: but like as by yeerly acceſſe and anniverſarie revolutions, the forcible vigor of the peſtilence returneth for to irritate and provoke all *Aſia*; ſo they reſort hither to entertaine their ſuits and proceſſes in law to follow their pleas; and a world here is of affaires, like to many brookes and riverets which run all at once into one channell and maine ſtreame; ſo they are met in the ſame place, which is peſtered and filled with an infinite multitude of people, to hurt themſelves and others. From what fevers or colde, ague-fits, proceed theſe effects? from what tenſions or remiſſions, augmentations or diminutions? from what diſtemperature of heat, or overſpreading of cold humours comes all this? If you aske of everie ſeverall cauſe here in ſuite, as if they were men and able to anſwere you from whence it aroſe, how it grew, and whereupon it came and firſt began? you ſhall finde that one matter was engendred, by ſome wilfull and proud anger; another proceeded from a troubleſome and litigious ſpirit; and a third was cauſed by ſome unjuſt deſire and unlawfull luſt.

THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

The Summarie.

We have heere a mixture, and medley of rules for married folke, who in the perſons of Pollianus *and* Eurydice, *are taught their mutuall duety: upon which argument needleſſe it is to diſcourſe at large, conſidering that the whole matter is ſet out particularly, and tendeth to this point: That both at the beginning, in the ſequell alſo and continuation of mariage, man and wife ought to aſsiſt, ſupport, and love one another with a ſingle heart and affection, farre remooved from diſdainfull pride, violence, vanitie, and filthineſſe; the which is ſpecified and compriſed in 45. articles; howbeit in ſuch ſort, that there be ſome of thoſe precepts, which ſavour of the corruption of thoſe times, bewraying the inſufficiency of humane wiſedome, unleſſe it be lightened with Gods truth. We ſee alſo in this Treatiſe more particular advertiſements appropriate to both parties, touching their devoir as well at home as abroad; and all enriched with notable ſimilitudes and excellent examples. In ſumme, if theſe precepts following be well weighed and practiſed, they are able to make mans life much more eaſie and commodious than it is. But* Plutarch *ſheweth ſufficiently by the thirtieth rule, how hard a matter it is to reteine each one in their ſeverall dutie; and that in manner all doe regard and looke upon things with another eie, than they ought. How ever it be, thoſe perſons whom vertue hath linked and joined together in matrimonie, may finde here whereby to profit; and ſo much the more, for that they have one leſſon, which naturall, equitie and conſcience putteth them in minde of everie day, if they will enter never ſo little into themſelves, which being joined with the commandements of the heavenly wiſedome, it can not be but huſband and wife ſhall live in contentment and bleſſed eſtate.*

THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

PLUTARCH *to* POLLIANUS *and* EURYDICE, *ſendeth greeting.*

AFter the accuſtomed ceremoniall linke of marriage in this countrie, which the Prieſtreſſe of *Ceres* hath put upon you, in coupling you both together in one bed-chamber, I ſuppoſe that this diſcourſe of mine, comming as it doth to favorize and ſecond this bond and conjunction of yours, in furniſhing you with good leſſons and wiſe nuptiall advertiſements, will not be unprofitable, but ſound, verie fitting and comformable to the cuſtomarie wedding ſong obſerved in theſe parts. The muſicians among other tunes that they had with the haut-boies, uſed one kind of note which they called *Hippotharos*, which is aſmuch to ſay as Leape-mare; having this opinion that it ſtirred and provoked ſtallions to cover mares. But of many beautifull and good diſcourſes which philoſophie affoordeth unto us, one there is which deſerveth no leſſe to be eſteemed than any other, by which ſhee ſeeming to enchant and charme thoſe who are come together to live all the daies of their life in mutuall ſocietie, maketh them to be more buxome, kinde, tractable, and pliable one to the other. Therefore I have made a certaine collection of ſuch rules and precepts which your ſelves have heard already oftentimes, being both of you trained up and nouriſhed in the ſtudie of philoſophie; and reduced them all in few words to certaine principall heads and articles, to the end that they might be more eaſily remembred: the which I ſend as a common preſent to you both, beſeeching withall, the Muſes that they would vouchſafe in your behalfe, and for your owne ſake to aſſiſt and accompanie the goddeſſe *Venus*; foraſmuch as their office is to make a good conſonance and accord in marriage and houſe-keeping, by the meanes of reaſon and harmonie philoſophicall, no leſſe than to ſet in tune a lute or harpe, or any muſicall inſtrument.

1 And to begin withall: This is the reaſon that our auncients ordeined, that the image of *Venus* ſhould be placed jointly with that of *Mercurie*, as giving us thereby to underſtand, that the delight and pleaſure of marriage, had need eſpecially to be maintained with good language and wiſe ſpeeches: they uſed to ſet alſo with theſe two images, the Graces, and Goddeſſe of Eloquence Ladie *Pitho*, that is, Perſwaſion, intending thereby that thoſe folke whom the bond of matrimonie had linked together, might obtaine what they deſired one at the others hand gently and by faire meanes, not by debate, chiding and brawles.

2 *Solon* gave order and commanded that the new-wedded bride ſhould eate of a quince before that ſhe came in bed with her bridegrome; ſignifying covertly in mine opinion by this darke ceremony, that firſt and above all, the grace proceeding from the mouth, to wit, the breath and the voice, ought to be ſweete, pleaſant, and agreeable in everie reſpect.

3 In the countrey of *Bœotia*, the cuſtome was upon the wedding day when the nuptial vaile was put over the bride, for to ſet alſo upon her head a chaplet made of wilde preckie Spirach branches, for that this plant out of a moſt ſharpe and pricking thorne, putteth foorth a moſt pleaſant and delectable fruit; even ſo, the wedded wife in caſe her husband do not reject and flie her companie, for the firſt difficulties and troubleſome inconveniences incident to marriage, ſhall bring unto him afterwards a ſweete and amiable ſocietie; but they that can not endure at firſt the jarres and quarrels of their yoong wives, whom they married virgins, may for all the world be reſembled to thoſe who give away ripe grapes from themſelves to others, becauſe they be ſowre before they are ripe; ſemblably, many new wedded-wives, who take a diſdaine to their husbands by reaſon of ſome debates and encounters at the firſt, doe much like unto thoſe who having abidden the ſting of the Bee, caſt away the honie-combe out of their hands. It behooveth therefore new-married folke, to take heed eſpecially in the beginning, that they avoide all occaſions of diſſention and offence giving; conſidering this with themſelves, and ſeeing daily that the pieces of woodden veſſels which are newly joined and glued together, at the firſt are ſoone diſjoined, and go aſunder againe upon the leaſt occaſion in the world, but after that in continuance of time the joint is ſtrongly ſettled and ſoundly confirmed, a man ſhall hardly part and ſeparate one piece from another with fire or yron edged toole.

4 And like as fire kindleth ſoone & catcheth a flame if it meet with light ſtubble, chaffe, or the haire of an hare, but it quickly goeth out againe, if there be not put thereto ſome matter or fewell anon, which may both hold in and alſo maintaine and feede the ſame; even ſo, we are to thinke that the love of yoong-wedded perſons, which is enflamed and ſet on fire by youth, and the beawtie of the bodie onely, is not firme and durable, unleſſe it be ſurely founded upon the conformitie of good and honeſt maners, and take hold of wiſedome, whereby it may engender a lively affection and reciprocall diſpoſition one toward the other.

5 Fiſhes are ſoone caught and taken up by baites made of empoyſoned paſte, or ſuch like medicines, but their meat is naught and dangerous to be eaten; ſemblably, thoſe women who compound certaine love drinkes, or deviſe other charmes and ſorceries for to give their husbands, and thinke by ſuch allurements of pleaſure to have the hand and command over them, it is all to nothing, that afterwards in their life together they ſhal find them to be blockiſh, fooliſh, & ſenſles companions. Thoſe men whom *Circe* the famous ſorcereſſe enchanted with hir witchcraft, did her no pleaſure, neither ſerved they her in any ſtead, being transformed (as they were) into ſwine and aſſes; whereas ſhe loved and affected entirely and exceedingly *Ulyſſes*, an ingenious man and who converſed wiſely with her; but ſuch wives as had rather bee miſtreſſes and over-rule their doltiſh husbands, than obey them that be wiſe & men of underſtanding, may very properly be compared unto them, who chooſe rather to leade and conduct the blind, than to be

guided by thoſe that ſee,and to follow them that have knowledge. Theſe women will never beleeve that *Paſiphaë* being a Kings wife loved a bull, notwithſtanding they ſee ſome wives that can not endure their husbands, if they be any thing auſtere, grave, ſober, and honeſt, but they abandon and give themſelves over more willingly to accompanie with ſuch as be compoſed altogether of luxurious looſeneſſe, of filthie luſt and voluptuouſneſſe, like as if they were dogs or goats.

6 Some men there be ſo tender, feeble, and effeminate, that being not able to mount up their horſe-backes as they ſtand, teach them to ſtoupe and reſt upon their knees,that they may get upon them; and even ſo, you ſhall finde divers husbands, who having eſpouſed rich wives and deſcended of noble houſes, never ſtudie to make them better, but keepe downe their wives and hold them under, being perſwaded that they ſhall rule them the better when they are thus humbled and brought low; whereas indeed they ſhould as well maintaine the dignitie of their wives, as regard and keepe the juſt ſtature and height of their horſes, as well in the one as the other,make uſe of the bridle.

7 We ſee that the moone, the farther that ſhe is from the ſunne, the brighter ſhe ſhineth and is more cleere,and when ſhe approcheth neere unto his raies and beames, ſhe loſeth her light and is darkened; but a chaſte, honeſt and wiſe woman muſt do cleane contrarie; for ſhee ought to be moſt ſeene with her husband, and if he be away, to keepe cloſe and hold her ſelfe within houſe.

8 It was not well ſaid of *Herodotus*: That a woman caſteth off her pudicitie,when ſhe putteth off her ſmocke or inner garment; for cleane contrarie it is in a chaſte and ſober matron, for in ſtead thereof ſhe putteth on ſhamefaſtnes and honeſtie; and the greateſt ſigne of all other that married folke do love reciprocally is this, when they have moſt reverence and ſhamefaſt regard one to the other.

9 Like as if one take two ſounds that accord together, the baſe is alwaies more heard, and the ſong is aſcribed to it; even ſo, in an houſe well ordered and governed, all goes well which is done by the conſent of both parties; but evident it is and apparent, that the conduct, counſell and direction of the husband, is that which effecteth it.

10 The ſunne upon a time (as the fable goeth) had the victorie over the northern winde; for when the ſaid winde blew forcibly upon a man, and with the violence of his blaſts, did what it could to drive his cloake or upper garment from off his ſhoulders, the man ſtrived ſo much the more to hold it on and keepe it cloſe about him; but when the ſun came to be hot after the ſaid wind was laid,and ſet the man in exceeding heat by his beames,he was glad to throw off his ſaid cloake; yea and feeling himſelfe to burne with heat, put off his coat,ſhirt and all; and even ſemblably do the moſt part of women, for when they perceive that their husbands by their authoritie, and perforce will take from them their ſuperfluous delights and vaine pleaſures, they ſtrive againe and make reſiſtance, and are offended and diſcontented therewith; but when as contrariwiſe they come unto them with gentle remonſtrances and milde perſwaſions, then of themſelves they will be content peacebly to lay them aſide,and endure all with patience.

11 *Cato* deprived a ſenatour of *Rome* of his honorable place,for that in the preſence of his owne daughter,he kiſſed his wife. I cannot ſimply commend this act of his, for it ſavoured peradventure too much of ſeveritie and rigor: but if it be (as no doubt it is) an unſeemely ſight for man and wife to kiſſe, clip, embrace, and uſe dalliance together in the preſence of others; how can it chuſe but be more ſhamefull and unſeemly to chide,brawle,and taunt one another before ſtrangers? and when a man hath plaied, ſported,and uſed love-delights in ſecret with his wife, afterwards in open place to checke, rebuke,nip and gird at her with ſpightfull ſpeeches in the face of the world?

12 Like as a mirrour or looking glaſſe garniſhed with golde and precious ſtones, ſerveth to no purpoſe, if it doe not repreſent to the life the face of him or her that looketh into it; no more is a woman worth ought (be ſhe otherwiſe never ſo rich) unleſſe ſhe conforme and frame her ſelfe,her life, her maners and conditions ſutable in all reſpects to her husband. A falſe mirrour it is, and good for nothing, that ſheweth a ſad and heavie countenance to him who is merrie and jocund, and contrariwiſe, which reſembleth a glad and ſmiling viſage to one who is melancholike,angrie and diſcontent; even ſo, a bad woman is ſhe,and a very untoward piece, who when her husband is deſirous to ſolace himſelfe and be merry in diſporting with her, frowneth and looketh doggedly under the browes, and on the other ſide, when ſhe ſeeth him amuſed in ſerious matters,and in a deepe ſtudy about his affaires,is ſet on a merrie pin,and given to mirth

and laughter; for as the one is a ſigne of a ſowre plumme and an unpleaſant yoke-fellow, ſo the other bewraieth a woman that ſetteth light by the affections of her husband; whereas indeed befitting it were, that as (by the ſaying of Geometricians) the lines and ſuperficers move not at all of themſelves, but according to the motions of the bodies; even ſo a wife ſhould have no proper paſſion or peculiar affection of her owne, but be a partaker of the ſports, ſerious affaires, ſad countenance, deepe thoughts, and ſmiling looks of her husband.

13 They that take no pleaſure, nor can not away that their wives doe eat and drinke freelie with them at the table in their ſight, doe as much as teach them how to cram themſelves and fill their gorge apart when they be alone; even ſo they that will not vouchſafe to live merrily and be pleaſant with their wives, nor can abide to diſport and laugh privately with them, teach them the ready way to ſeeke their pleaſures and delights by themſelves.

14 The kings of *Perſia* at their ordinarie meales have their queenes or eſpouſed wives to ſit by them at the boord, but when they liſt to be merrie indeed and carrouſe luſtily untill they be drunke, they ſend them away to their chambers, and call for their concubines, ſinging wenches, and muſicall trulles in their place; * I can commend them yet for ſo doing, in that they would not have their owne lawfull wives to be partakers of their drunkenneſſe and licentious looſeneſſe. If therefore it chance that ſome private perſon abandoned to his owne pleaſures, untaught, and given to leawd conditions, chance to do a fault in abuſing himſelfe either with his paramour or his wives chamber-maid, his wife muſt not be angrie for the matter and frowne at him for it, but rather thus to thinke with her ſelfe, and make this conſtruction, that her husband being loth and affraid to offend her with his drunkenneſſe, unbridled luſt and intemperance, turned another way for that purpoſe.

* *Plutarch* herein ſmelleth of the corruption in his time: for a Christian dame & honeſt matron will not abide to put up ſuch an injurie, nor winke at her husbands follies in that caſe.

15 Kings if they love muſicke, cauſe many good muſicians to be in their kingdome; if they ſet their minds upon their booke, they make many learned clearks; if they be given to feats of activitie and exerciſe of the body, many of their ſubjects (by that example) will prove champions and tall men of their hands; even ſo a husband that loveth to trim and pamper his bodie, cauſeth his wife (by that meanes) to ſtudy nothing els but the tricking and pruning of her ſelfe; he that followeth his pleaſures and wanton delights, maketh her alſo to be laſcivious and to play the harlot; but who that embraceth honeſtie, and enſueth vertue and good things, by his example ſhall have an honeſt, vertuous and wiſe wife of her.

16 A yoong woman of *Sparta* being asked the queſtion by one, whether ſhe had medled or lien yet with her husband: Not I (quoth ſhe) but he hath with me. And in very trueth, in this maner (by mine advice) it would become an honeſt matron and huſwife to behave herſelfe toward her husband, that ſhe neither reject and diſdaine dalliance and love-ſports with him, if he begin with her, nor yet herſelfe offer ſuch temptations firſt unto him; for as this is a tricke of a wanton and unſhame-faced ſtrumpet, ſo the other bewraieth a proud woman, and one who is nothing lovely nor amiable.

17 A woman ought to have no peculiar friends by herſelfe, but to uſe her husbands friends and take them as her owne. Conſidering then, that the gods challenge the firſt and principall place in friendſhip, * the wife is to acknowledge and worſhip the ſame gods (and none els but thoſe) whom her husband honoureth, ſerveth, and reputeth gods; moreover, ſhe ought to ſhut and locke the gate againſt all curious and new inventions of religions, and not to enterteine any ſtrange and forren ſuperſtitions; for I aſſure you, to none of the gods can thoſe divine ſervices and ſacrifices be acceptable, which a woman will ſeeme to celebrate by ſtealth, and without the knowledge and privitie of her husband.

* Herein alſo *Plutarch* ſheweth of what religion he is.

18 *Plato* writeth, that the citie is bleſſed and happie, wherein a man ſhall never heare theſe words: *This is mine,* and, *This is not mine:* for that the inhabitants thereof have all things there (eſpecially, if they be of any woorth and importance) as neere as poſſibly they can, common among them: but theſe words ought rather to be baniſhed out of the ſtate of matrimonie, unleſſe it be (as the Phyſicians holde) that the blowes or woundes which are given on the left ſide of the body, are felt on the right; even ſo a wife ought to have a fellow-feeling (by way of ſympathie and compaſſion) of her husbands calamities, and the husband of his wives, much more; to the end, that like as thoſe knots are much more faſt and ſtrong, when the ends of the cords are knit and interlaced one within another, even ſo the bond of marriage is more firme and ſure, when both parties (the one aſwell as the other) bring with them a mutuall affection and reciprocall benevolence, whereby the fellowſhip and communion betweene them is mainteined jointly by them both; for nature herſelfe hath made a mixture of us, of two bodies, to

the end that by taking part of one and part of another, and mixing all together, ſhe might make that which commeth thereof, common to both, in ſuch ſort, as neither of the twaine can diſcerne and diſtinguiſh what is proper to the one or peculiar to the other. This communion of goods eſpecially, ought principally to be among thoſe who are linked in wedlocke, for that they ſhould put in common, and have all their havorie incorporate into one ſubſtance, in ſuch wiſe, as they repute not this part proper to one, and that part peculiar to another, but the whole proper to themſelves, and nothing to another: and like as in one cuppe where there is more water than wine, yet we ſay nevertheleſſe that the whole is wine; even ſo the goods and the houſe ought to beare the name of the husband, although peradventure the wife brought with her the bigger portion.

19 *Helene* was covetous, and *Paris* laſcivious; contrariwiſe, *Ulyſſes* was reputed wiſe, and *Penelope* chaſte; and therefore the mariage of theſe laſt named, was bleſſed, happie and beloved; but the conjunction of thoſe two before, infortunate, bringing upon the Greeks and Barbarians both, a whole *Iliad*, that is to ſay, an infinite maſſe of miſeries and calamities.

20 A gentleman of *Rome*, who eſpouſed an honeſt, rich, faire and yoong ladie, put her away, and was divorced from her; whereupon being reprooved and ſharply rebuked by all his friends, he put forth his foot unto them and ſhewed them his ſhoo: What finde you (quoth he) in this ſhoo of mine amiſſe? new it is and faire to ſee to; howbeit, there is not one of you all knoweth where it wringeth me, but I wot well where the fault is, and feele the inconvenience thereof. A wife therefore is not to ſtand ſo much upon her goods and the dowrie ſhee brings, nor in the nobilitie of her race and parentage, ne yet in her beautie, as in thoſe points which touch her husband moſt, and come neereſt to his heart; namely, her converſation and fellowſhip, her maners, her cariage & demeanor, in all reſpects ſo diſpoſed, that they be all not harſh, nor troubleſome from day to day unto her husband, but pleaſant, lovely, obſequious, and agreeable to his humor: for like as Phyſicians feare thoſe feavers which are engendred of ſecret and hidden cauſes within the bodie, gathering in long continuance of time by little and little, more than ſuch as proceed from evident and apparent cauſes without; even ſo there fall out otherwhiles petie jarres, daily and continuall quarels betweene man and wife, which they ſee and know full little that be abroad; and theſe they be which breed ſeparation, and cauſe them to part ſooner than any thing els, theſe marre the pleaſure of their cohabitation more than any other cauſe whatſoever.

21 King *Philip* was enamoured upon a certaine Theſſalian woman, who was ſuppoſed and charged, by her ſorceries and charmes to have enchanted him to love her; whereupon queene *Olympias* his wife wrought ſo, that ſhe got the woman into her hands; now when ſhe had well viewed her perſon, and conſidered her beautifull viſage, her amiable favour, her comely grace, and how her ſpeech ſhewed well that ſhe was a woman of ſome noble houſe, and had good bringing up: Out upon theſe ſlanderous ſurmiſes (quoth ſhe) and falſe imputations; for I ſee well that the charmes and ſorceries which thou uſeſt, are in thy ſelfe. In like maner we muſt thinke, that an eſpouſed and legitimate wife is as one would ſay, a fort inexpugnable, namely, ſuch an one, as (in her ſelfe repoſing and placing all theſe things, to wit, her dowrie, nobilitie, charmes and love-drinks, yea, and the very tiſſue or girdle of *Venus*, by her ſtudy and endevour, by her gentle behavior, her good grace and vertue) is able to win the affectionate love of her husband for ever.

22 Another time, the ſame queene *Olympias* hearing that a certaine yoong gentleman of the Court had married a ladie, who though ſhe were faire and well-favoured, yet had not altogether the beſt name: This man (quoth ſhee) hath no wit at all in his head, for otherwiſe hee would never have married according to the counſell and appetite of his eies only. And in trueth we ought not to goe about for to contract marriage by the eie or the fingers, as ſome doe who count with their fingers how much money, or what goods a wife bringeth with her, never caſting and making computation of her demeanour and conditions, whether ſhe be ſo well qualified, as that they may have a good life with her.

23 *Socrates* was woont to counſell yoong men who uſed to ſee their faces and looke upon themſelves in mirrours, if they were foule or ill-favoured, to correct that deformitie by vertue; if they were faire, not to ſoile and ſtaine their beautie with vice; ſemblably, it were very well that the miſtreſſe of an houſe having in her hand a looking glaſſe, ſhould ſay thus unto her ſelfe if ſhe be foule and deformed: What a one ſhould I be if I were nought or leawd withall? if faire and well-favoured: How highly ſhall I be eſteemed, if I be honeſt and wiſe beſides? for if an

hard-favoured woman be loved for her faire and gentle conditions, ſhe hath more honor thereby, than if ſhe wan love by beautie onely.

24 The tyrant of *Sicily* (*Dionyſius*) ſent upon a time unto the daughters of *Lyſander* certeine rich robes, coſtly wreathes and precious jewels as preſents; but *Lyſander* would not receive theſe gifts, ſaying: Theſe preſents would bring more ſhame than honour to my daughters. And the Poet *Sophocles*, before *Lyſanders* time, wrote to the like effect in theſe verſes:

This will (ô wretch) to thee none honour bring,
But may be thought a foule and ſhamefull thing;
It doth bewray a ſop and foole in kinde,
And one who beares a moſt laſcivious minde.

for (according as the Philoſopher *Crates* ſaid) That is an ornament which doth adorne; and that adorneth a wife, which maketh her more comely and decent: this are not jewels of golde able to do, nor emerauds and other precious ſtones, nor purple and ſcarlet robes, but that only which cauſeth her to be reputed grave, ſober, lowly and modeſt.

25 Thoſe that ſacrificed to *Juno* (ſurnamed *Gametia*, that is, Nuptiall) offered not the gall with the reſt of the beaſt that was killed, but plucked it out of the body, caſt it aſide, and laid it by, about the altar; by which ceremonie, he whoſoever he was that firſt inſtituted it, would give us to underſtand; that in matrimonie there ought to be no gall, that is to ſay, no bitter choler and anger at all; hee meant not thereby that a woman ſhould not be grave, for a wife and matron that is miſtreſſe of an houſe, muſt carie an auſtere countenance in ſome ſort, but this auſterity or tartneſſe ought to be like that verdure which is in wine, that is to ſay, holſome and pleaſant, not bitter or eager in any wiſe, as is *Aloe Succotrine*, nor reſembling any ſuch purgative drugs.

26 *Plato* perceiving *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher (a man otherwiſe vertuous and well diſpoſed) to be given a little to over-much ſeveritie, admoniſhed him to ſacrifice unto the Graces; even ſo I ſuppoſe, that a vertuous dame hath need alſo of the Graces helpe, as much as of any thing els, when ſhe converſeth with her husband, to the end that ſhe may live in joy with him (as *Metradorus* ſaith) and not move him to anger and diſpleaſure, for all ſhe be an honeſt and chaſte matron, and ſo repent another day of her pudicitie: for neither muſt a frugall huſwife and ſaving dame neglect to be cleane and neat, nor ſhe that loveth her husband entirely, ceaſe to offer kindneſſe unto him, and deale with him after an amiable and loving ſort; for ſurely the ſowre converſation of a woman maketh all her honeſty to be but odious, like as ſluttery alſo cauſeth all her frugalitie and thrift to be hatefull and diſpleaſant; inſomuch as ſhe who is afraid to looke pleaſantly, and ſmile upon her husband, or to ſhew ſome ſuch like love-trickes, becauſe forſooth ſhe would not be thought bold and wanton, is much like unto her, who becauſe ſhe would not ſeeme to have her head beſmeered with precious perfumes, forbeareth alſo to be annointed with oile, and for that folke ſhould not thinke that ſhee painteth her face, will not ſo much as waſh the ſame. Poets we ſee and orators, as many of them as would avoide a baſe, illiberall, and ill affected kinde of ſtile, without good grace which breedeth tediouſnes in the reader and hearer, ſtudie and endevour with all the wit they have to entertaine and moove both the one and the other by their fine invention, good diſpoſe, and naturall repreſentation of the manners of each perſon; and even ſo, an honeſt dame and huſwife ſhall do well, to avoide and reject all ſuperfluitie, all curioſitie, and in one word whatſoever ſavoureth of a whoore, or ſuch an one as loveth to ſhew her ſelfe abroad in pompous manner, and rather employ all her wit, her art and induſtrie in the pleaſant and amiable carriage of her ſelfe, in her affabilitie and lovely converſation with her husband, daily and howerly acquainting and accuſtoming him to honeſtie and decencie with pleaſure and delight. Howbeit, if it fall out ſo, that ſome one woman be ſo auſtere of nature, that by no meanes which the husband uſeth, he can make her pleaſant and ſociable, in this caſe he muſt be content and beare his owne croſſe; and like as *Phocion* anſwered to *Antipater*, who required him to do a diſhoneſt act and little beſeeming his eſtate: Sir (quoth he) you can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; even ſo muſt he ſay to himſelfe of ſuch a wife, who is ſowre and unpleaſant, but yet honeſt: It is not meet that I ſhould looke to converſe with her as a true eſpouſed wife and a light harlot alſo.

27 The Egyptian wives by the ancient cuſtome of their countrey, weare no ſhooes at all on their feete, to the end that this faſhion of going might put them in mind to keepe home; but far otherwiſe it is with our dames for the moſt part, from whom if you take their gilded pantofles, their carkanets, their bracelets, their fine garters, their purple garments and pearles, they will never go once out of their houſes.

28 *Theano*, as ſhe one day dreſſed her ſelfe and put on her raiment, chanced to ſhew her arme a good way bare, and when one that ſtood by perceived it, and ſaid withall: Oh there is a faire elbow: True (quoth ſhe) but it is not for every man; and even ſo, not the arme onely of a chaſte and honeſt dame ought not to be common, but alſo not ſo much as her verie ſpeech; for ſhe is as well in manner to take heed and beware how ſhe open her mouth and ſpeake much, as to diſcover and lay her bodie naked before ſtrangers, for that her manners, actions, and conditions which ſhe hath, ſhe openeth unto others when ſhe ſpeaketh.

29 *Phidias*, when he made the image of *Venus* for the Elæans, deviſed that ſhe ſhould tread with her feete upon a tortoiſe ſhell, ſignifying thereby that a woman ought to keepe home and not goe foorth of doores, but ſtay within houſe with ſilence; for ſurely a wife is to ſpeake either unto her husband onely, or elſe by the meanes of her husband; neither muſt ſhe thinke much and be offended, if like the minſtrell that ſoundeth the hautboies, ſhe utter a lowder and bigger voice than her owne, by the tongue of another.

30 Great men and rich, princes alſo and kings, in honouring Philoſophers, do grace both them and their owne ſelves; but Philoſophers in making court and doing ſervice unto thoſe rich and mighty perſonages, adde thereby no reputation unto them, but make themſelves more honored and better accepted; ſemblably it fareth with wives, for when they be ſubject to their husbands, they winne praiſe and commendation, but when they will needs bee maſters, they get greater ſhame by it, and do more undecently, than thoſe whom they have the maiſtrie of. For by good right, the husband ought to rule over the wife; not as the lord over his ſlave, or that which he poſſeſſeth; but after the ſame manner as the ſoule governeth the bodie, by a certaine mutuall love and reciprocall affection, wherewith he is linked unto her: for as the ſoule may well have a care of the bodie, without ſubjecting it ſelfe to the pleaſures and diſordinate luſts thereof; even ſo, may an husband have the ſoveraignty over his wife, and withall exerciſe the ſame neverthele ſſe in all kindnes, and be readie to gratifie and pleaſe her.

31 Philoſophers doe hold opinion that of bodies ſome conſiſt of parts disjoined and diſtinct, and ſeparate one from another, as a fleet of ſhips or an armie of men; others of pieces joined together and touching cloſe one another, as an houſe or a ſhip; and ſome againe bee compoſed of parts united and incorporate into one nature living and growing together, as the bodies of living creatures. Much like to theſe compoſitions is wedlocke: for the conjunction of thoſe in matrimonie, who love entirely one another, and for pure love be linked in marriage, reſembleth a bodie, the parts whereof are naturally united together: that copulation of thoſe who marrie for rich dowries, wealth, or procreation of children, may be compared to that bodie which ſtandeth of pieces, that touch onely and meet together in a joint: but ſuch a marriage as reſpecteth nothing but carnall companie in bed together, is like unto thoſe bodies, the parts whereof ſtand aſunder, and neither be united in one, nor touch one the other. But like as the naturall Philoſophers affirme, that liquid bodies or humours be thoſe which are apt to bee mingled wholy one with another in every part; even ſo, it behoveth that of thoſe who are joined together in matrimony the bodies, goods, friends, & familiars, be totally intermingled together: which is the reaſon that the law-giver in ſetting downe the Romane lawes, forbad expreſly ſuch as were entred into the bond of wedlocke, to give and receive any gifts interchangeably, or to make mutuall donation; not intending thereby that they ſhould participate in nothing, but that they ſhould repute all things in common betweene them.

32 A cuſtome their was in *Leptis*, a citie ſituate in *Libya*, that the new-wedded bride the morrow after her marriage, ſhould ſend unto the bridegroomes mother, for to borrow a braſſe pot or kettle to hang over the fire; but his mother-inlaw muſt denie it and ſay, ſhee hath none for her; to the ende that this yoong wife being at the firſt acquainted with the faſhions of her mother-inlaw, ſavouring ſomewhat of a crooked ſtepdame, might not thinke it ſtrange or be much grieved if it chance afterward that ſhe deale more hardly with her. A wife knowing thus much, ought betimes to meet with all occaſions of ſuch ordinarie offences which proceed from nothing els, but a jealouſie that the ſtepmother hath over her, for the love that ſhe beareth unto her ſonne: The only remedie of which paſſion is this, that the new-wedded wife endeuor ſo to win the affection of her husband, that ſhe doe not withall diminiſh nor withdraw that affection of his which a ſonne ought to beare unto his naturall mother.

33 It ſeemeth that mothers ordinarily of children, love their ſonnes better than the daughters, as at whoſe hands they hope for more ſuccour another day; and fathers contrariwiſe affect their daughters more, as who have more need of their helping hand; and peradventure it may

be, that in regard of the honor the one beareth to the other, either of them would ſeeme to carie greater affection to that which is more proper and familiar to the other: and yet happily this holdeth not alwaies, but there may be ſome difference therein: but certeinly a civill part it is and very well befitting a wife to ſhew herſelfe to have a better inclination to honor and make much of hir huſbands parents than hir owne; yea & if at any time ſhe be offended or grieved at ought, to conceale her griefe from her owne father and mother, and to lay the ſame open and make her mone unto his; for in declaring that ſhe hath the better affiance and truſt in them, ſhe gaineth more confidence at their hands, and by ſeeming to love them better, ſhe is the rather beloved of them againe.

34 The captaines under *Cyrus* gave commandement to their ſoldiors, that when the enimies gave the charge upon them with great out-cries, they ſhould receive them with ſilence; & contrariwiſe, if they came to aſſaile and ſet upon them in ſilence, they ſhould encounter them with mightie ſhouts; even ſo, women that are wiſe and of good underſtanding, when they perceive their huſbands in choler, & thereupon growing to high words, uſe to hold their tongues; and on the other ſide, if their huſbands go up and downe and ſay nothing, although they be angrie, ought to moove ſpeech unto them, and by faire language to appeaſe and mittigate their moode. Wiſely did the poet *Euripides* in reprooving thoſe that called for the harpe and other minſtrelſie at feaſts where they dranke wine liberally: For it behoved rather (quoth he) to have muſicke when as men be in fits either of choler or melancholie, to delay their anger and heavineſſe, than to enervate them yet more, who are in their meriments and pleaſure enfeebled alreadie; ſemblably you muſt thinke that you doe a fault, if you goe to bed and companie together for to pleaſure one another, and when you bee at ſome debate and difference, you part beds and lie aſunder; not calling at ſuch a time for the aide of lady *Venus*, who knoweth beſt and is wont in ſuch caſes to remedie all: which the poet *Homer* in one place teacheth us verie well, where he bringeth in dame *Iuno* ſpeaking in this wiſe:

Their long debates I will ſoone end,
and bitter braules compoſe,
By bringing them to bed both twaine,
to ſport and take repoſe.

Certes a wife ought at all times and in everie place to avoide the occaſion of quarrels with her huſband, and the huſband likewiſe with the wife; but eſpecially they muſt beware how they fall out when they are in one bed, for to ſolace one another and to ſleepe together. A good wife there was, who when ſhe was in travell and ready to cry out as feeling the throwes comming thicke upon her, and not able to endure them, when the women about her would have laid her upon a bed: And how can (quoth ſhe) this bed eaſe the paines of this my maladie, ſeeing I gat it firſt upon the ſame bed; and even ſo verily the quarrels, braules, ſhrewd words, and angrie fits which ariſe in bed, hardly can be taken up and ended at any other time, or els where than in bed.

35 It ſeemeth that lady *Hermion* ſpake truely when in a tragedie of *Euripides* ſhe ſaid thus:

Leawd women who to my houſe did reſort,
Have me undone, and rais'd a bad report.

Howbeit this is not ſimply true, neither falleth it out alwaies ſo when ſuch uſe to come into an houſe, but onely at thoſe times when the quarrellous braules and jealous fits of a wife with her huſband openeth not the doores onely of the houſe, but her eares alſo to ſuch goſſips. At ſuch a time therefore a wiſe woman ought to ſtop her eares and take heed of their whiſpering and pratling ſuggeſtions, for feare leaſt ſhe ſtirre new coles, or put fire to fire, and to have in readines the ſaying of king *Philip* of *Macedon*: for we read of him, that when his friends incited him to anger againſt the Greekes, who (notwithſtanding he was ſo gracious unto them, and had received many favors at his hands) ceaſed not to backbite and ſlander him, made them this anſwer: What thinke you will they doe then, if I ſhould worke them a ſhrewd turne? ſemblablie when make-bate women ſhall come twatling and ſay: How doth your huſband miſuſe you, loving him, and making ſo much of him as you doe in all dutie and loialty? your anſwere muſt be: What will become of me then if I ſhould begin to hate him and doe him injurie?

36 A certeine maſter there was upon a time who eſpied a ſlave of his that was long before runne away, and when he had ſet his eie upon him, ranne apace for to take hold of him; the poore ſlave fled ſtill, and gat at length a mil-houſe over his head: That's happie (quoth the maſter to himſelfe) I would not wiſh to meet with him in a better place; even ſo a woman who up-

on jealouſie is upon the point to be divorced and depart from her husband, and being ill appaid in her mind for being driven to this hard exigent, ſhould thus ſpeake unto herſelfe: What is it that my concurrent who is the cauſe of this my jealouſie can wiſh in her heart to content her better than to ſee me do this whereabout I am? namely, to vexe and torment my ſelfe thus as I do, to be ſo far out, and in ſuch tearmes with my husband, abandoning his houſe, and forſaking our mariage bed.

37 The Athenians obſerve and celebrate three ſeaſons of ſacred ſeedneſſe in the yeere; the firſt in the iſle *Scyros*, in memoriall of the firſt invention of tillage and ſowing in that countrey; the ſecond in a place called *Raria*; and the third, under their owne citie walles, which they call *Buzygion*, in remembrance of yoking oxen to the plough: but the nuptiall tillage (as I may ſo ſay) which is imploied for iſſue and procreation of children, and to mainteine our race and poſterity, is the moſt ſacred of all other, and ought to be obſerved with all holineſſe. And therefore *Sophocles* well and wiſely gave this attribute unto *Cytherea* or *Venus*, when hee named her *Eucarpos*, that is, Fertile or Fruitfull; in which regard man and wife lawfully joined in matrimonie, are to uſe the ſame religiouſly and with all preciſeneſſe, abſteining wholly from all inceſtuous, illegitimate and forbidden conjunctions, and not plowing or ſowing there, whereas they are not willing to reape, or if it chance that there come up any fruit, they are aſhamed thereof, and willing to hide and conceale it.

38 *Gorgias* the oratour, in a great aſſembly at the Olympian games, made a ſolemne oration to the Greeks, who were met there from all parts, exhorting them to live in peace, unitie and concord one with another; at which ſpeech of his, one *Melanthius* there preſent: This man (quoth he) telleth us a tale of unitie, and exhorteth us all to concord here in publike, who can not perſwade in his private houſe at home, himſelfe, his owne wife & her chamber-maid to agree and live peaceably together, being but three in all, and no more: for it ſhould ſeeme that *Gorgias* caſt a fancie to the ſaid wench, and his wife was jealous of her: and therefore his houſe and familie ought to be in good order, who will buſie himſelfe and intermeddle in ordering of publike affaires, or compoſing of matters among friends; for commonly it falleth out that the faults which we commit againſt our wives, be more divulged abroad in the world, than the miſdemeanours of our wives.

39 Cats are much offended (they ſay) with the odour and ſent of ſweet perfumes, inſomuch as they will runne mad therewith; if it chance likewiſe, that a woman can not away with ſuch perfumes, but that her braines be thereby troubled, and ready to overturne, her husband were of a very ſtrange nature and ſhould deale hardly with her, in caſe he would not forbeare to uſe ſweet ointments or ſtrong ſenting odours, but for a little pleaſure of his owne, to ſuffer her for to fall into ſo great inconvenience, and to neglect her contentment. Now if it be ſo, that ſuch accidents of brain-ſickneſſe happen unto women, not when their husbands be perfumed, but when they are given to keepe queanes and love harlots, it were meere injuſtice in them, for a ſmall pleaſure of their owne to offend and diſquiet their wives, and not to doe ſo much for their ſake as thoſe who come among bees, who for that purpoſe will not touch their owne wives for the time, becauſe bees (as it is ſaid) hate ſuch, and are ready to ſting them above all others, but cary ſo bad a minde with them, as to come and lie by their owne wives ſide, being polluted and defiled with the filthie companie of other ſtrumpets.

40 They that have the government of elephants, never put on white raiment when they come about them, no more do they weare red clothes who approch neere unto bulles; for that theſe beaſts before named are afraid of ſuch colours eſpecially, and grow fierce and wood therewith. It is ſaid moreover, that tygers when they heare the ſound of drummes or tabours about them, become enraged, and in a furious madneſſe all to teare themſelves. Seeing it is ſo therefore, that there be ſome men who can not abide, but are highly diſpleaſed to ſee their wives in their ſcarlet & purple robes; and others againe, who can not away with the ſound of cymbals or tabours; what harme is it, if their wives wil forbeare both the one and the other, for feare of provoking and offending their husbands, and live with them without unquiet brawles and janglings in all repoſe and patience?

41 A certeine yong woman, when king *Philip* plucked and haled her unto him againſt her will: Hand off good ſir (quoth ſhe) and let me goe, all cats be gray in the darke, and when the candle is out all women are alike. It is not amiſſe to ſay ſo (I confeſſe) unto diſſolute perſons and adulterers; but an honeſt married dame ought (eſpecially when the light is gone) not to be all one with other common naughty packs, but even then when as her body can not be ſeene, to

let her chaſtitie, honeſtie, and pure love to her husband appeare moſt, that it may be well ſeene that ſhe keepeth herſelfe for him alone.

42 *Plato* exhorted elder folke to behave themſelves more modeſtly before yong perſons, than any other, that ſo they might learne alſo to reverence their elders and be reſpecteous of them; for where olde people be ſhameleſſe, it is not poſſible to imprint any ſhame or grace in the yonger. Now ought an husband evermore to cary in remembrance this precept: To have none in the world in better reſpect and more reverence, than his owne wife, foraſmuch as the bed-chamber is unto her a ſchoole-houſe either of chaſtity and pudicity, or els of looſeneſſe and incontinence; for the husband that followeth thoſe pleaſures himſelfe which he debarreth his wife of, doth as much as bid his wife to fight with thoſe enemies unto whom he hath already yeelded himſelfe priſoner.

43 Moreover, as touching the love and deſire to go trim, and to decke and adorne the body, I would wiſh you (ô *Eurydice*) to endevor for to call to your remembrance thoſe rules which you have read in the treatiſe that *Timoxenus* wrote unto *Ariſtilla* concerning that argument. And as for you (ô *Pollianus*) never thinke that your wife will abſteine from ſuch curioſity, and lay away thoſe delights and ſuperfluities, ſo long as ſhe perceiveth that you deſpiſe not, nor reject the like vanity in other things, but that you take pleaſure both to ſee and have your cuppes and goblets gilt, your cabinets curiouſly and coſtly painted, your mules and horſes ſet out with rich capariſons, ſumptuous trappings, and coſtly furniture: for an hard matter it is to chaſe away and baniſh ſuch delicate ſuperfluities out of the nurcery and womens chamber, ſo long as they ſee the ſame to reigne in the mens parlour and where they have to do.

44 Furthermore, you *Pollianus* being now of ripe yeres to ſtudie thoſe ſciences which are grounded upon reaſon, and proceed by undoubted demonſtration, adorne from hence forward your maners by frequenting the company of ſuch perſons, and converſing with them, who may ſerve you in good ſtead and farther you that way: and as for your wife, ſee you doe the part of a ſtudious and induſtrious Bee, in gathering for her and to her hand from all parts good things which you thinke may benefit & profit her, likewiſe bring the ſame home with you, impart them unto her, deviſe and commune with her about them apart, and by that meanes make familiar and pleaſant unto her the beſt bookes and the beſt diſcourſes that you can meet with all:

For why? to her you are in ſtead,
of ſire and brother kind;
A mother deere from henceforth now
to her ſhe muſt you find.

like as in *Homer*, *Andromache* ſaid of her husband *Hector*. And verily in mine opinion it were no leſſe honorable for a man to heare his wife ſay thus unto him: My husband, you are my teacher, my regent, my maſter, and inſtructor in Philoſophie, and in the knowledge of the moſt divine and excellent literature; for theſe ſciences and liberall arts do above all other things divert and withdraw the minds of women from other unwoorthie and unſeemely exerciſes. A matron or dame who hath ſtudied Geometrie, will be aſhamed to make profeſſion of dauncing the meaſures; and ſhe that is alreadie enchanted and charmed (as it were) with the ſingular diſcourſes of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, will never like of the charmes and enchantments of witches and ſorcerers; and if any enchantreſſe ſhould come unto her, and make promiſe to draw downe the moone from heaven, ſhe would mocke thoſe women and laugh at their groſſe ignorance, who ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded for to beleeve the ſame, as having learned ſomewhat in Aſtrologie, and heard that *Aganice* the daughter of *Hegetor*, a great Lord in *Theſalia*, knowing the reaſon of the ecclipſes of the moone when ſhe is at the full, and obſerving the verie time when the bodie of the moone will meet right with the ſhadow of the earth, abuſed other women of that countrey, and made them beleeve that it was herſelfe who fetched downe the moon out of the skie.

45 It was never heard yet that a woman by courſe of nature ſhould conceive, and bring foorth a childe of her ſelfe alone without the companie of man: marie ſome there be who have beene knowen to gather in their wombe a rude maſſe or lumpe, without the true forme of a reaſonable creature, reſembling rather a piece of fleſh engendred and growing to a conſiſtence by meanes of ſome corruption, which ſome call a Mole. Great heed therefore would be taken that the like befall not to the ſoule and mind of women; for if they receive not from others the ſeeds of good matters and inſtructions, that is to ſay, if their husbands helpe them not to conceive good doctrine and ſound knowledge, they will of themſelves fall a breeding and be delivered of

many ſtrange conceits, abſurd opinions, and extravagant paſſions. But mine advice unto you *Eurydice*, is to be ſtudious alwaies in the notable ſayings and ſentences morall of ſage, wiſe, and approoved men: have alwaies in your mouth the good words, which heretofore when you were a yoong maiden you heard and learned of us; to the end that you may be a joy to your husband, and be praiſed and commended by other women, when they ſhall ſee you ſo honorably adorned and beautified without any coſt beſtowed upon brooches, tablets and jewels: for you can not poſſibly come by the precious pearles of this or that rich and wealthie woman, nor have the ſilken gownes and velvet robes of ſuch a Ladie of a ſtrange countrey, for to array or trim your ſelfe withall, but you muſt buy them at an exceeding high and deere price: but the ornaments and attire of *Theano*, of *Cleobuline*, of *Gorgo* the wife of king *Leonidas*, of *Timoclea*, the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, of *Clodia* the ancient Romane Ladie, of dame *Cornelia*, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, and of other Ladies and gentlewomen ſo much renowmed and bruited heretofore for their rare vertues, you may have *gratis*, freely and without a penie coſt; wherewith if you decke and adorne your ſelfe, you ſhall live both happily, and alſo with honor and glorie. For if *Sappho* for her ſufficiency in Poetrie, and the skill that ſhe had in verſifying, ſtucke not to write thus to a certaine rich and wealthie dame in her time:

All dead thou ſhalt one day entombed be,
There ſhall remaine of thee no memorie,
For that no part of roſes came to thee
That flower upon the mountaine Pierie.

Why ſhouldeſt not thou thinke better of thy ſelfe, and take more joy and contentment in thine heart, conſidering thou haſt thy part not onely of the roſes and flowers, but alſo of the fruits which the Muſes bring foorth and yeeld to thoſe who love good letters, and highly eſteeme of Philoſophie?

THE BANQVET OF THE SEVEN SAGES.

The Summarie.

WHether it were that the perſons named in this diſcourſe following were at a banquet in deed, and there diſcourſed of ſuch matters as are here by Plutarch *handled; or that himſelfe had collected and gathered the Apophthegmes and hiſtories of his time; or how ſoever it was; we may ſee by this preſent Treatiſe what was the cuſtome of Sages and wiſe men in ancient time at their feaſts, namely, to invite one another courteouſly, to ſolace themſelves and make merrie hartily, without many ceremonies and complements to ſhew ſincere amitie, and without exceſsive coſt and expenſe to keepe good cheere after a plaine, open, and ſimple manner. The principall part of which meetings and frequentings of the table, being emploied in deviſing ſadly, and with ſetled minde both during their repaſt, and a prettie while after, of matters honeſt, pleaſant, and tending to good inſtruction and edification; as this booke and the Sympoſiakes or Table-diſcourſes, whereof we ſhall ſee more hereafter do plainly ſhew. This manner and cuſtome deſerveth to be oppoſed partly againſt the ſolitarie life, and beggerly niggardiſe of baſe miſers, covetous penni-fathers, and ſuch like enemies of humaine ſocietie, and in part againſt the exceſsive pompe, unmeaſurable ſumptuoſitie, diſſolute riots and fooliſh vanitie and gourmandiſe of thoſe that love nothing but their paunch, and know no other god to worſhip but their bellie; as alſo againſt the fond laughters, bragging vanteries, impudent facings, ſcurrile mockeries, and dogged backbitings, that ſenſleſſe ſots and peeviſh perſons are given unto; and finally againſt the enormities, violences, and outrages, of ſuch as are wholy abandoned and given over to ſinne and wickednes. Moreover, to come more particularly to this booke folowing,* Plutarch *bringeth in one named* Diocles, *who recoũteth unto* Nicarchus *all that was ſeid and done at* Corinth *in a certeine banquet, at which were theſe perſons, namely,* Periander *the ſovereigne lord of that citie, and the hoſt who bad all the gueſts, to wit,* Solon, Bias, Thales, Cleobulus, Pittacus *and* Chilon, *named in thoſe daies, The ſeven Sages or wiſe men of* Greece, Item, Anacharſis, Aeſope, Niloxenus, Cleodemus *and certeine others. But before that he entreth into any ſpeech of that which paſſed during the banquet and afterwards, he rehearſeth the communication held betweene* Thales *and thoſe of his company, upon the way of* Corinth, *where they talke of matters handled more at large afterwards: then conſequently hee treateth of that which a gueſt ought to do who is invited to a banquet, and deſcribeth what hapned among ſome of the gueſts: proceeding a little forward, he declareth what was the maner of the entrance, the ſtint and end of the banquet, to wit, modeſt, and ſeaſoned with pleaſant ſpeeches (and thoſe moſt honeſt and civill) of the hoſt and his familie: which done, he entreth into the recitall of the talke that was held after the ſupper or banquet; of which the beginning grew from the muſicke of flutes, and by a certeine compariſon deviſed with a good grace, he cauſeth audience to be given unto* Niloxenus *a ſtranger; by occaſion whereof,* Bias *doth expound the riddle or darke queſtion ſent by a king of* Aethiopia *unto the king of* Aegypt, *which in the ſame traine inferreth an excellent occaſion to ſpeake of the duetie and office of kings; of which argument, all the foreſaid Sages deliver their minds ſummarily, together with the proper riddles and ænigmaticall queſtions from the king of* Aegypt *to the king of* Aethiopia. *Now after the deſciphering and aſſoiling of the ſaid riddles, the former Sages fall into a diſcourſe as touching the government popular and oeconomicall, upon which point they doe opine and ſpeake their mindes in order; comming afterwards to conference together of certeine particularities of houſe-keeping, to wit, of drinking and other pleaſures; of the quantitie of goods that may ſuffice a man; of the frugalitie, thrift and ſobrietie of men in olde time; of the neceſſitie and delight of drinking and eating; and finally, of the diſcommodities, inconveniences and miſeries incident to mans life in this behalfe. And for a concluſion, bringeth in one* Gorgias, *who being arrived unlooked for, and comming ſuddenly in place, relateth the ſtrange accident of* Arion *ſaved by the meanes of a dolphin; which report draweth on the companie to other like narrations and tales: at the end whereof, after grace ſaid and thanksgiving according to the accuſtomed maner of that people, the gueſts retire themſelves and depart.*

THE BANQUET OF THE ſeven Sages.

DIOCLES.

Certes, the long proceſſe and continuance of time (my good friend *Nicarchus*) can not chuſe but breed and bring much darkneſſe, obſcuritie and incertitude of mens actions and affaires; when as now in matters ſo freſh, ſo new, and ſo lately paſſed, you have met with certeine falſe reports, which notwithſtanding are beleeved and received for true: for there were not onely thoſe ſeven gueſts at the table in this feaſt, as you have heard and are borne in hand, but more than twiſe ſo many, of whom my ſelfe made one, being familiar and inward with *Periander*, by reaſon of mine art and profeſſion; and the hoſt beſides to *Thales*; (for by the commandement of *Periander*, he lodged in mine houſe) neither hath he (whoſoever he was that related the thing unto you) borne well in minde, and remembred what the ſpeeches and diſcourſes were, which they held; which maketh me verily to thinke that he was not himſelfe one of them who were at the banquet. But ſeeing we are now at good leaſure (and for that olde age is no ſuretie ſufficient to give good warrantiſe for to defer and put off this report unto a farther time, and becauſe you are ſo deſirous to know the trueth) I will rehearſe unto you all in order even from the very beginning.

Firſt and formoſt, the feaſt was prepared by *Periander*, not within the citie, but about the port or haven *Lechæon*, in a faire great hall or dining chamber neere to the Temple of *Venus*, unto whom there was alſo a ſacrifice offered; for ſince the infortunate love of his mother, who voluntarily made herſelfe away, having not ſacrificed unto *Venus*, this was the firſt time that he was moved thereto, as being incited by certaine dreames of *Meliſſa* to worſhip and adore the ſaid goddeſſe. Now to every one of the gueſts invited to this banquet, there was a coatch brought, richly appointed and ſet out accordingly, for to convey and conduct them to the place appointed, for that it was the Summer ſeaſon, and all the port-way from the citie, as farre as to the ſea-ſide, was full of duſt, and reſounded with great noiſe by reaſon of a number of chariots and a world of people going to and fro betweene. As for *Thales*, ſeeing at my gates a coatch ſtanding and ready to carie him, he fel a ſmiling and laughing, and ſo ſent it backe againe: he and I then put our ſelves in our way, and went faire and ſoftly together on foot over the fields; and a third there was, who bare us companie, to wit, *Niloxenus* of *Naucratia*, a man of good woorth, and one who had beene familiarly acquainted with *Solon* and *Thales* before-time in *Aegypt*, and as then was he ſent the ſecond time unto *Bias*, but wherefore, himſelfe knew not, unleſſe (as hee ſuſpected) it were to bring unto him a ſecond queſtion incloſed and ſealed within a packet; for this charge and commandement he had: That if *Bias* refuſed and would not take upon him to aſſoile and expound the ſame, he ſhould ſhew it to the wiſeſt Sages of the Greeks. Then began *Niloxenus*: An happy feaſt (quoth he) is this to me (my maſters) and unexpected, wherein I ſhall finde you all together, for I carie with me thither a packet as you ſee, and with that he ſhewed it unto us: Then (quoth *Thales* ſmiling) if you have therein any hard and untoward queſtion to bee diſſolved, cary it againe to *Pyrene*, for *Bias* will declare the meaning thereof, like as hee aſſoiled the former: What former queſtion was that (quoth I:) Mary (quoth he againe) hee ſent unto him a ſheepe for ſacrifice, commanding that hee ſhould take out of it the beſt and woorſt piece thereof, and ſo to ſend the ſaid fleſh unto him: hee therefore well and wiſely plucked foorth the tongue, and ſent it unto him; for which hee was (by good right) well praiſed, highly eſteemed, and held in great admiration. It was not therefore onely (quoth *Niloxenus*) that hee came to ſo great a name, but alſo for that hee refuſed not the amitie of princes and kings as you doe: for *Amaſis* admired many more things in you, and namely among others, when you tooke the meaſure of the height of the Pyramis in *Egypt*, he woondered exceedingly, and made high account of your conceit, for that without any great hand-labour, and the ſame requiring no inſtrument at all, by ſetting up a ſtaffe onely plumbe upright, at the very point and end of the ſhadow which the ſaid Pyramis caſt, and by two Triangles which the beames of the ſunne cauſed, you made demonſtration, that what proportion there was betweene the length of both ſhadowes, to wit, of the Pyramis and the ſtaffe, the ſame was betweene the height of the one and the other. But as I ſaid before, you were accuſed unto the ſame king *Amaſis* for bearing no good will unto kings and their eſtate, which was the cauſe of your diſgrace and diſfavour with him; beſides, there were brought unto him and preſented many ſlanderous ſpeeches and contumelious anſwers of yours as touching tyrants: as for example; when *Molpagoras* a great lord of *Ionia* demaunded upon a time of you what ſtrange thing you had in your time ſeene? you anſwered: A tyrant living to be an old man: Againe, at a certeine banket there being ſome ſpeech mooved as touching beaſts which was the worſt and did moſt harme? you made anſwer, that: Of wilde beaſts a tyrant, and of tame beaſts a flatterer was moſt dangerous; for I may tell you: Kings howſoever they ſay that they differ from tyrãts, yet take they no pleaſure at ſuch Apophthegmes as thoſe. That anſwer (quoth *Thales* againe) was none of mine, but *Pittacus* it was, who made it one day in ſcoffing merilie to *Myrſilus*: for mine one part, I doe not ſo much mervaile at an aged tyrant, as I doe woonder to ſee an olde pilot: howbeit as touching this tranſpoſition and taking one for another, I am of the ſame minde, and am willing to ſay, as that yoong man did who flung a ſtone at a dogge, and miſſing the dog hit his owne ſtepmother and felled her withall; whereat: It makes no matter (quoth he) for even ſo, the ſtone hath not light amiſſe. For, and in truth I my ſelfe alwaies eſteemed *Solon* a right wiſe man, for that he refuſed to be the tyrant of his owne country: and even ſo *Pittacus* if he had never come to take upon him a monarchie, would not have delivered this ſpeech; How hard a thing is it to bee a good man! And it ſhould ſeeme that *Periander* being ſeized upon (as a man would ſay) by the ſame tyranny, as an hereditarie diſeaſe from his father, did not amiſſe to endevour what he could to free himſelfe and get out of it, by converſing with the beſt men and frequenting their companie, as hee hath done to this day, and training unto him the ſocietie of Sages and philoſophers, and being ruled and adviſed by them, not approoving nor admitting the perilous and unhappie counſell of my country-man *Thraſibulus*, perſwading him to cut the chief men ſhorter by the heads: For a tyrant who chooſeth to command and rule ſlaves and vaſſailes rather than free men indeed, nothing differeth from the husbandman, who had leifer gather locuſts and catch foules, than reape and bring in good graine of wheat and barley; for theſe ſoveraigne dominions and principalities bring with them this onely good thing in ſtead and recompence of many evils; to wit, a kind of honor and glorie: if men be ſo happie as in ruling over good men, they be better themſelves, and in commaunding great perſons become greater themſelves; as for ſuch as in their government and place of command, aime at nothing but their ſecuritie, without reſpect of honour and honeſtie, deſerve to be ſet over a number of ſheepe, horſes, or beaſts, and not of men: but this good gentleman ſtranger heere, hath (I wot not how) caſt us upon ſuch diſcourſes which are nothing convenient for our preſent purpoſe, omitting both to ſpeake and alſo to demaund thoſe matters that befit better thoſe who goe to a feaſt: for thinke you not that the gueſt who is bidden, ought not to goe prepared as well as the very maſter himſelfe is to make preparation? For the Sybarites (as it ſhould ſeeme) ſolemnly invite their dames to their feaſts, & ſeeme to bid them a whole yeere before, of purpoſe that they might have time enough to trim themſelves at their good leaſure with rich aray and jewels of gold againſt they goe to a feaſt; and for mine owne part, I aſſure you of this mind I am, that the right preparative of one who is to go unto a great dinner as he ſhould, would require a longer time than ſo, by how much harder it is to find fit and decent ornament for the manners of the minde, than to provide for the ſuperfluous, needleſſe, and unprofitable ſetting out of the bodie: for a wiſe man who hath wit and underſtanding, goeth not to a feaſt carying with him his body as a veſſell to be filled, but he goes thither with an intention to paſſe the time either in ſerious diſcourſes, or pleaſant and mery talke; to ſpeake I ſay and heare according as the time ſhal give occaſion to the companie, if they meane with joy and mirth to converſe together one with another. A man that is come to a feaſt may if he like not a diſh of meat, or if it be naught refuſe it; or if the wine be not good, have recourſe unto the nymphes: but a troubleſome gueſt, a talkative buſi-bodie, and an unmannerly or untaught neighbour ſitting at the boord, marreth all the grace of the viands, be they otherwiſe never ſo deinty, he corrupteth the wine, yea and all the ſweetneſſe of the muſicke, how melodious ſo ever it be. Neither may a man when he liſt vomit and caſt up readily againe this trouble and vexation once received: but in ſome, a mutuall diſcontentment and offence taken at the table one with another, ſticketh by them and continueth as long as they have a day to live, inſomuch as they cannot endure the enterview one of another againe; but like an old ſurfeit, ariſen of wrong done, or of anger conceived by drinking wine, the ſpight remaineth feſtering & corrupting in the ſtomacke and never will be digeſted. In mine opinion therefore did *Chilon* very well and wiſely, who being invited as it were yeſterday to a feaſt, would never promiſe to come before he knew what other gueſts he ſhould meet with there, even everie one of them; for this was his ſaying: That a man muſt endure will he nill he if he be once at ſea, a rude companion and uncivil fellow-paſſenger in the ſame ſhip where he is embarked; as alſo in warfare a troubleſome mate in the ſame pavilion, for that he is forced of neceſſitie to ſaile with the one and encampe with the other; but for a man to ſort himſelfe indifferently and without diſcretion with al kinds of men at a banket, bewraieth one that is void of all wit and judgement. As for the faſhion and maners of the Egyptians, namely to bring in place ordinarily at their feaſts a Scelet, that is to ſay, a drie and withered anatomie of a dead man, and there to ſhew it before all the gueſts at the boord, to put them in minde of death, and that within a while they all ſhould become ſuch; although I muſt needs ſay that ſuch a one were an unwelcome gueſt, and came very unſeaſonably among them; yet it cannot be denied but there is ſome good uſe thereof; for although he cheere not up the gueſts there to drinke freely and to make merry, yet he inviteth and ſtirreth them up to carie mutuall love and affection one to the other, in admoniſhing them to remember that their life being of it ſelfe ſhort, they ſhould not ſeeke to make it long and tedious by troubleſome buſineſſe and affaires.

Thus ſpent we the time by the way, until at length we were come to the banquetting houſe. And as for *Thales* he refuſed to waſh or go into a baine: For that (quoth he) I am annointed already; but in the meane time that the reſt were bathing, he went walking up and downe to ſee the pleaſant races, the wreſtling places, and the faire grove which along the ſea was very well planted and kept accordingly; not becauſe he woondered at the ſight of any of all theſe delights, but for that he would not ſeeme to deſpiſe *Periander*, or diſdaine his magnificence in any thing. As for the others, according as any of them were waſhed or anointed, the ſervitors were readie to conduct them into the hall or dining place, appointed for men, and that through a porch or gallerie, within which ſate *Anacharſis*, and before him ſtood a damoſell plaiting and combing the haire of his head with her hands (whom as ſhe ran toward *Thales*) moſt willingly and courteouſly he kiſſed, and after a ſmiling manner: Well done (quoth he) make that ſtranger, who of himſelfe is the mildeſt and gentleſt man in the world, to have a pleaſant and faire countenance, that he looke not upon us fearfull and hideous to ſee to. I enquired then what pretie maiden this was: Why (quoth *Thales*) know you not that wiſe damoſell ſo famous and ſo much renowmed, *Eumetis*? for that is the name that her father gave her, howſoever the people call her after her fathers name *Cleobuline*. You praiſe this virgin (quoth *Niloxenus*, doe you not) for her quick ſpirit in propounding, and her ſubtill wit and wiſedome in aſſoiling riddles and darke queſtions, ſuch as be called Aenigmes? For by report there be ſome of her enigmaticall queſtions, which are gone as far as *Egypt*: No marie (quoth *Thales* againe) I ſay not ſo; for ſhe uſeth them but as dice or coc-kall bones, when ſhe liſt to diſport her ſelfe and paſſe away the time with thoſe that encounter her, and are diſpoſed to enter into contention with her: but of a woonderfull courage and haughtie mind ſhe is; a politike head ſhe hath of her owne worthy to governe a State; of a courteous nature ſhe is beſide, and of ſweet behaviour; in regard of which her carriage, ſhee maketh her father to ſeeme a more milde and popular ruler among his citizens and ſubjects. It may well be ſo (quoth *Niloxenus*) for ſurely ſhe ſeemeth no leſſe, if a man behold her homely apparell, and how ſimply ſhe goes: but how commeth this inward affection and kindneſſe to *Anacharſis*, that ſo lovingly ſhe dreſſeth and trimmeth him? Becauſe (quoth *Thales*) he is a temperate and ſober man, and beſides a great ſchollar and a learned clearke, and for that he hath willingly and at large recounted unto her the manner of the Tartarians life, and namely how they uſe to charme the maladies of thoſe that are ſicke; and I verily beleeve that even now whiles ſhe maketh ſo much of the man, ſtroking his head, plaiting and broiding his haire, ſhe learneth ſomewhat of him, or diſcourſeth with him about ſome point of learning. Now when we drew neere to the hall or dining chamber aboveſaid, who ſhould meet us but *Alexidemus* the Mileſian, a baſtard ſonne of *Thraſybulus* the Tyrant? who was newly come foorth from thence in a great heat, diſtempered and troubled, and ſaying (I wot not what) to himſelfe in a pelting chafe: for underſtād we could not plainly what his words were, he ſpake them ſo huddle: he had no ſooner his eie upon *Thales*, but he ſeemed to reclaime himſelfe, and ſo ſtaied a little, breaking out into theſe audible tearmes: *Periander* (quoth he) hath offered me abuſe & done me great wrong, in that he would not give me leave to depart, when I was willing and readie to embarke, but by his entreatie hath importuned me to ſtay ſupper; and now forſooth that I am come, he hath ſet me at the table in a place moſt diſhonorable for my perſon, and hath preferred the Aeolians, the Iſlanders, and other baſe companions, and indeed whom not, and before *Thraſybulus*; for apparant it is, that he deſpiſeth my father who ſent me, and meaneth that the diſgrace offered unto me ſhould redound upon him. How now (quoth *Thales*) is it ſo indeed? and are you afraid that like as the Egyptians hold opinion & ſay? That the ſtars in making their ordinarie revolutions, are one while elevated on high, & another while afterwards falling as low, and according to their heights, or baſeneſſe of the place, become either better or woorſe than they were? ſo you in regard of the place that is given you, ſhould be advanced or debaſed more or leſſe; for by this meanes you are worſe & more baſe minded than the Laconian, who being by the maſter of the ceremonies ſet in the loweſt place of the quire or daunce, was no more mooved thereat, but ſaid: Well done of you, I ſee you can skill of the meanes how to make this place more honorable: for when wee bee ſet at a table, wee ought not to looke and regard, either beneath whom we ſit, or after whom we are placed, but rather how we may accommodate and frame our ſelves to ſort and agree with thoſe next to whom wee ſit; ſhewing preſently at the verie firſt that wee have in our ſelves the beginning and handle (as a man would ſay) of amitie, in that we can finde in our hearts not to be offended with the place that is given us, but to praiſe our fortune in that wee are matched with ſo good companie: for he that is angrie about a place or ſeat, is more offended with him to whom he ſitteth next, than with the maſter of the feaſt that bad him, and hee maketh himſelfe odious as well to the one as the other. Tuſh (quoth *Alexidemus*) theſe are but words; for in verie deed I have obſerved, that even you who would be counted Sages and wiſe men, lay for meanes enough to make your ſelves honored; and with that he paſſed by us and went his way. Now as we muſed and woondered much at this ſtrange faſhion and behaviour of the man: *Thales* turning unto us; This man (quoth he) is a brain-ſicke foole, and of a monſtrous nature, as you may well know by one tricke that he plaied when he was a verie youth: for when there was brought unto *Thraſybulus* his father, a moſt excellent, ſweet and precious ointment, he powred it out all into a great boll or ſtanding cup, and wine likewiſe upon it, and when he had ſo done, drunke it up himſelfe every drop, working by this meanes enmitie in ſtead of friendſhip to *Thraſybulus*. Immediately after this there comes to me a ſervitor with theſe words: *Periander* requeſteth you to take *Thales* & this other ſtranger with you, and to come and ſee a thing that is newly preſented and brought unto him, for to know your opinon, whether he is to take it as an occurrent happened by meere chance, or rather a prodigie that doth preſage and prognoſticate ſome ſtrange event, for he himſelfe is much troubled in minde thereat, and mightily feareth that it be ſome pollution or ſtaine to this his feaſtivall ſacrifice; hee had no ſooner ſaid this, but he brought us into one of the houſen that ſtood upon the garden, where we found a yoong lad, ſeeming unto us to be ſome heard-man, he had not yet an haire on his face, and otherwiſe (beleeve me) he was faire enough and well-favoured, who opening a leather poke or bag that he had, ſhewed unto us a yoong monſtrous babe, which (as he ſaid) was borne of a mare; in the upper parts about the necke and armes ſhaped like a man, but all the reſt reſembling an horſe; howbeit, crying and wrawling, as like as poſſibly might be to an infant new come into the world: at which ſight *Niloxenus* turning his face at one ſide, cried out: God bleſſe us, & turne away his diſpleaſure from us. But *Thales* after he had looked wiſtly a good while upon the yoong lad aforeſaid, ſmiled at the matter (as his maner was to play and make good game with me about mine art:) Are you not minded (quoth he) ô *Diocles* to go about ſome expiatorie ſacrifice for this prodigious ſight, and to ſet on worke thoſe gods whoſe care and charge it is to divert ſuch imminent perils and misfortunes, this being as it is ſo fearfull a prodigie and unluckie accident? How elſe? (quoth I againe) for I aſſure you this is a token preſaging diſcord and ſedition; and I much feare leſt this matter proceed as farre as to marriages, and the act of generation, even to the prejudice of poſteritie, conſidering that the goddeſſe before the expiation and ſatisfaction of her former anger, threatneth thus the ſecond time, as you ſee. *Thales* anſwered never a word to this, but departed laughing. And when *Periander* met us at the verie hall doore, and enquired what we thought of this ſtrange occurrent which we went to ſee? *Thales* left me, and taking him by the hand: As touching that (quoth he) which *Diecles* wil perſwade you unto, do you as he willeth you at your beſt leaſure: for mine owne part, mine adviſe and counſell unto you is, that you entertaine no more ſuch youthes as this to keepe your mares, or at leaſt-wiſe, that you give them wives to wed. At the hearing of which words, it ſeemed unto me that *Periander* was exceeding well pleaſed; for he laughed a good, and after he had embraced *Thales*, kiſſed him. Then *Thales* turning unto me: I ſuppoſe verily (quoth he) ô *Diocles* that this prodigious token hath wrought the effect, and is come to an end alreadie; for ſee you not what an evill accident is befallen unto us, in that *Alexidemus* will not dine with us? Well, when wee were come within the hall, *Thales* beginning to ſpeake with a loude voice: And where is the place (quoth he) wherein this honeſt man thought ſcorne, & tooke ſuch ſnuffe to be ſet: which when it was ſhewed unto him, he turned about, and went to ſit there himſelfe, and ſo tooke us with him; ſaying withall, I would (for mine owne part) have given any money (rather than failed) to ſit at the ſame boord with *Ardalus*. Now was this *Ardalus* a Trœzenian, by profeſſion a Piper, and a Prieſt ſerving the Ardalian Muſes, whoſe images ancient *Ardalus* the Trœzenian had erected and dedicated. Then *Aeſope*, who not long before had beene ſent by king *Crœſus*, as well to *Periander* as to the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of *Delphos*, being ſet upon a low ſettle neere to *Solon*, who ſat above him, came in with his fable, and thus ſaid: A mule (quoth he) of *Lydia* having beheld the forme and ſhape of his owne body within a river, and woondring much at the beautie and goodly ſtature thereof, began to runne with full cariere, to fling and ſhake his head and his maine, like a luſtie brave horſe; but within a while, remembring that hee was an aſſes ſonne, and foaled by an aſſe, he ſtaid his ſwift courſe all on a ſudden, and laid away his pride and inſolent braverie. At theſe words, *Chilo* briefly in his Laconian language: Thou haſt told (quoth he) a tale by thine owne ſelfe, who being a ſlow-backe like and aſſe, will needs runne as the ſaid mule. After this entered in dame *Meliſſa*, and tooke her place cloſe unto *Periander*: *Eumetis* alſo ſate downe to ſupper with them: Then *Thales* addreſſed his ſpeech unto me who ſate next above *Bias*, and ſaid: My friend *Diocles*, how hapneth it that you tell not *Bias*, that your friend and gueſt *Niloxenus* of *Naucratia* is come from beyond ſea the ſecond time, ſent from his lord the King unto him with new queſtions and riddles for to aſſoile, to the end that he may take knowledge of them while he is ſober, and in caſe for to ſtudie and thinke upon their ſolutions? Then *Bias* taking the word out of his month: It hath bene (quoth he) his old faſhions of long time, for to ſeeme to fright & aſtoniſh me with ſuch admonitions & advertiſements as theſe; as for me I know ful wel that as *Bacchus* otherwiſe is a wiſe and powerfull god, ſo in regard of his wiſedome he is ſurnamed *Lyſius*, which is as much to ſay, as unfolding and undooing the knots of all difficulties; which is the cauſe that I have no feare at all, that if I be full of him, I ſhal bee leſſe heartie and able to mainteine the combat when I come to it and am put to diſpute. Theſe and ſuch like pleaſant ſpeeches paſſed to and fro in meriment as they ſat at meat. Now when I ſaw the ſetting out, and proviſion of this ſupper more frugall and ſparie than ordinarie, I thought in my minde that to make a feaſt and give enterteinment to wiſe and good men, putteth a man to no greater coſt and expences, but rather eaſeth him of ſome charges: for that it abridgeth all curioſity of daintie viands, exquiſite cates, coſtly perfumes, precious ointments, confitures and march-pains brought from forreine and farre countries, yea and fine and delicate wines, wherewith *Periander* being ſerved daily at his ordinary, according to the magnificence of his princely eſtate, riches, affaires and occaſions, yet at ſuch a time he tooke a glorie among theſe Sages and wiſe men, in ſobrietie, frugalitie, and ſlender proviſion; for not in other things onely he cut off and concealed all ſuperfluitie and needleſſe furniture which was uſuall in his houſe-keeping, but alſo in his wives attire and ornaments, whom hee ſhewed to his friends and gueſts nothing coſtly arraied, nor keeping ſtate, but meanely ſet out and adorned. Now when the tables were taken away, and that *Meliſſa* had given and dealt chaplets of flowers unto us round about, wee rendred thanks and ſaid grace unto the gods, in powring out unto them devoutly a little wine; and the minſtrell-woman having ſung a while after our grace, and according to our vowes, departed out of the roome.

Then *Ardalus* calling unto *Anacharſis* by name, demanded of him whether among the Scythians there were any ſuch ſinging women & minſtrell wenches that could play upon wind inſtruments? unto which demaund he anſwered *extempore* and without ſtudying for the matter; No (quoth he) nor ſo much as vines; and as *Ardalus* replied againe: But yet there are ſome gods among them, are there not? Yes iwis (quoth he) that there be, and thoſe who underſtand the ſpeech and language of men; but yet the Scythians are not of the ſame mind that the Greeks, who although they thinke themſelves to ſpeake more freely and elegantly than the Scythians, yet they hold opinion that the gods take more pleaſure to heare the ſound of bones and wood, whereof their flutes and hautboies are made than the voice of man. But my good friend (quoth *Aeſope* then) what would you ſay, if you knew what thſe pipe-makers do nowe a daies, who caſt away the bones of young hind-calves and fawnes, and chooſe before them aſſes bones, ſaying forſooth that they make a better ſound? whereupon *Cleobuline* made one of her ænigmes or riddles touching a Phrygian flute,

Of braying aſſe
when he dead was,
The long ſhanke-bone.
Did force the eare
with ſound ſo cleare
Upright anone,
Of mightie ſtag
with hornes to brag
As hard as ſtone.

in ſuch ſort, that it is a wonder how an aſſe which is otherwiſe a moſt blockiſh and abſurd beaſt, of any other moſt remote from all ſweet harmonie of muſicke, ſhould yeeld a bone ſo ſlicke, ſo ſmooth, and proper, to make thereof a moſt muſicall inſtrument. Certes, (quoth *Niloxenus* then) this is the reaſon that the inhabitants of the city *Buſiris*, reproch al us of *Naucratia*, for that we likewiſe have already taken two aſſe-bones for the making of our pipes; and as for them, it is not lawfull to heare ſo much as the ſound of a trumpet, becauſe it ſomewhat doth reſemble the braying of an aſſe; and you all know that the aſſe is infamous and odious with the Aegyptians, becauſe of *Typhon*. Upon this every man held his peace for a while; and when *Periander* perceived that *Niloxenus* had a good minde to ſpeake, but yet durſt not begin or broach any ſpeech; My maſters (quoth he) I doe like very well of the cuſtome of cities and head-magiſtrates, in that they give audience and diſpatch unto all ſtrangers, before their owne citizens; and therefore me thinks it were well that for a time both you & we forbeare our ſpeeches which are ſo familiar and as it were native and home-borne among us in our owne countrey, to give acceſſe and audience, as it were in a ſolemne counſell and aſſembly of eſtate, unto thoſe queſtions and demaunds which our good friend heere hath brought out of *Aegypt*; and namely ſuch as are mooved from the king to *Bias*, and *Bias* I doubt not will confer with you about the ſame. Then *Bias* ſeconding this motion of his: And in what place (quoth he) or with what companie would a man wiſh rather for to hazard and trie his skill than in this, for to make anſwers accordingly and give ſolutions, if he be put unto it and need require? eſpecially, ſeeing that the king himſelfe hath given expreſſe commandement, that in propoſing this queſtion he ſhould firſt begin within, & afterwards go round about the reſt & preſent the ſame unto you all? Heerupon *Niloxenus* delivered unto him the kings letter, deſiring him to breake it open, and to reade the ſame with an audible and loud voice before all the companie. Now the ſubſtance or tenor of the ſaid letter ran in this forme. *Amaſis* the king of the Aegyptians, unto *Bias* the wiſeſt

“ Sage of all the Greekes ſendeth greeting. So it is, that the king of the Aethiopians is entred in-
“ to conteſtation and contention with me, as touching wiſedome: and being in all other propoſi-
“ tions put downe by me and found my inferior, in the end after all, he hath impoſed upon me a
“ commandement very ſtrange, woonderfull, and hard to be performed, willing me forſooth to
“ drinke up the whole ſea. Now if I may compaſſe the ſolution of this riddle and darke queſtion,
“ I ſhall gaine thereby many townes, villages & cities of his: but in caſe I cannot aſſoile the ſame,
“ I muſt yeeld unto him al my cities within the country *Elephantine*. Theſe are therfore to requeſt
“ you, that after you have well conſidered of the premiſſes, you ſende backe unto me *Niloxenus*
“ incontinently with the interpretation thereof. And if either your ſelfe or any of your citizens
“ and country-men have occaſion to uſe me in your affaires and occaſions, be ſure you ſhall not
“ faile of me wherein I may ſtead you. Farewell.

This letter being read, *Bias* made no long ſtay, but after ſome little pauſe and meditation with himſelfe, he rounded *Cleobulus* it the eare, who ſat cloſe unto him: And then, what is that you ſay (my friend of *Naucratia*) will your maſter and lord king *Amaſis* (who commandeth ſo great a multitude of men, and poſſeſſeth ſo large, ſo faire and plentifull a countrey) drinke all the ſea, for to get thereby, I wot not what poore townes and villages of no importance? Then *Niloxenus* laughing at the matter: I pray you (quoth he) conſider upon the point what is poſſible to be done, even as you will your ſelfe: Mary then (quoth he) let him ſend word vnto the Aethiopian king, and enjoine him to ſtay the courſe of all rivers that diſcharge themſelves into the ſea, untill he have drunke up in the meane time all the water in the ſea that is now at this preſent; for of that onely, his demand and commandement is to be underſtood, and not of the ſea that ſhall be hereafter. Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoken, but *Niloxenus* tooke ſo great a contentment therein, that he could not holde, but needs he muſt embrace and kiſſe him immediatly for it; yea, and all the reſt commended and approved likewiſe his ſpeech: but *Chilo* laughing heartily: O my friend (quoth he) of *Naucratia*, I beſeech you before all the ſea be drie and cleane ſpent, ſaile home with all ſpeed, and do the king your maſter to underſtand, that he ſhal not need to travell and buſie his braines in ſearching how he may conſume ſo great a quantitie of ſalt water, but rather how he may make his regiment and roiall rule (now brackiſh and unpleaſant) to be ſweet and potable unto his ſubjects; for in theſe feats *Bias* is a moſt cunning workeman and a ſingular maſter, which when king *Amaſis* hath well and throughly learned of him, he ſhall not have any uſe of that golden baſen to waſh his feet in, and for to conteine the Aegyptians in awe and obedience, but they ſhall ſerve him all willingly and love him affectionately, when they ſhall ſee him become a good prince, although hee were a thouſand times more odious unto them than he ſeemeth now to be. Certes (quoth *Periander*) then it were worthily done of us all to contribute unto K. *Amaſis* ſuch like firſt fruits & preſents ἀνδρακὰς, as *Homer* ſpeaketh, that is to ſay, every one of us by the poll, and one after another in order; for by this meanes the acceſſarie haply and addition will ariſe to a greater matter, and be more woorth unto him than the principall or ſtocke for the negotiation wherefore this voiage was undertaken, and beſides, there will accrew unto ech of us alſo ſome great profit. Meet it were then (quoth *Chilo*) that *Solon* ſhould begin the ſpeech; not only for that he is of all our ancient, and hath the higheſt place of the table, but alſo becauſe he beareth the greateſt and moſt abſolute office, being the man who ordeined and eſtabliſhed the lawes of *Athens*. *Niloxenus* then turning toward me, and ſpeaking ſoftly in mine eare: I beleeve verily (quoth he) ô *Diocles*, that many things goe for currant and are beleeved, although they be untrueths, and many men there be who are delighted with the falſe rumors and ſiniſter reports that goe of great and wiſe men, both which themſelves do deviſe, and alſo which they receive readily from others; as namely thoſe be which are brought unto us as farre as into *Aegypt*, of *Chilon*, namely, that he ſhould renounce all amitie and hoſpitalitie with *Solon* for mainteining this: That all lawes were mutable. A fooliſh and ridiculous report is this (quoth I:) for if it were ſo, *Chilon* ſhould have fallen out with *Lycurgus*, and condemned him, who together with his lawes, altered and changed the whole State of the Lacedæmonians. Then *Solon*, after a little pauſe made, began to ſpeake in this wiſe: For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that a king or ſovereigne prince can finde no meanes to make himſelfe more glorious, than by turning his monarchie or abſolute government into a democratie or popular ſtate, in communicating his authority ſovereigne indifferently to his ſubjects. In the ſecond place ſpake *Bias*, and ſaid: That a prince could not do better for his owne honour, than to be the firſt man that ſubmited himſelfe to the poſitive lawes of his countrey. After him opined *Thales*: I repute (quoth he) that prince and ſovereigne ruler happie, who liveth to olde age, and dieth by a naturall death. *Anacharſis* inferred thus much more in the fourth place: If he be onely wiſe. With that ſaid *Cleobulus* in his turne: If he repoſe no confidence in any one about his perſon. Sixtly came *Pittachus* with his opinion, ſaying: If a prince could ſo nurture and ſchoole his ſubjects, that they ſhould not feare him, but for his ſake. And after him, in the laſt place, delivered *Chilo* this ſpeech: That a prince ought to amuſe his minde about no mortall and tranſitorie things, but meditate onely upon that which was eternall and immortall. Now when every one of theſe Sages had given out his mot, we requeſted of *Periander*, that he alſo would ſay ſomewhat for his part; but he with a countenance nothing mery and cheerefull, but compoſed to ſadneſſe and ſeveritie: I will tell you (quoth he) what I thinke of all theſe ſentences thus delivered by theſe my lords; that they all in a maner be enough to fright a man who is of judgement and underſtanding, from all ſovereigne rule and government. Then *Aeſope* as one who ever loved to be croſſe and finding faults: It were meet therefore (quoth he) that everie one of us ſhould deale in this point apart and ſeverally, leſt in pretending to be counſellers unto princes, and make profeſſion of friendſhip unto them, we become their accuſers. Then *Solon* laying his hand upon his head, and ſmiling withall: Thinke you not (quoth he) ô *Aeſope*, that he maketh a ruler more reaſonable and a tyrant more gracious and inclined to clemencie, who perſwadeth him that it is ſimply better, not to rule, than to rule? And who is he (quoth *Aeſope* againe) that will beleeve you in this, rather than the very god himſelfe who delivered unto you this ſentence, by way of oracle:

I holde that citie happie alone,
Where voice is heard of * *Sergeant one.*

* Crier.

Why (quoth *Solon*) Is there any man heareth at *Athens* now any more voices than of one Sergeant, and one ſole magiſtrate, which is the Law? notwithſtanding, the citie hold of a popular State, but you *Aeſope* are ſo deeply ſeene in hearing and underſtanding the voices of crowes and gaies, that you heare not wel and perfectly in the meane time your owne ſpeech and language; for you that thinke according to the oracle of *Apollo*, that citie moſt happie which heareth the voice but of one, ſuppoſe notwithſtanding that it is the grace of a feaſt, when all the gueſts therein met, may reaſon and diſcourſe, yea and of every matter. True it is (quoth *Aeſope*) for you have not yet ſet downe a law, that houſhold ſervants ſhould not be allowed wherewith to be drunke; like as you have made one at *Athens*, forbidding ſervants to make love or to be anointed drie, that is, without the baine. *Solon* began to laugh at this reply of his: and *Cleodemus* the Phyſician inferred thereupon: In mine opinion (quoth he) it is all one to anoint (as you ſay) drie, and to talke freely when a man is well whitled and drenched with wine, for moſt delectable and pleaſant is both the one and the other. *Chilo* taking hold of this ſpeech; Why then (quoth he) ſo much the rather it behooveth to abſtaine from it. *Aeſope* rejoined againe; and verily *Thales* ſeemed to ſay, that it is a meanes whereby a man ſhall verie quickly age and looke old. Hereat *Periander* began to take up a laughter and ſaid: Now truely *Aeſope*, we are well enough ſerved, and are woorthily puniſhed according to our deſert, in that we have ſuffered our ſelves to be carried away into other diſcourſes and diſputations, before wee have heard out all the reſt of the contents in King *Amaſis* letters, according as wee purpoſed in the beginning; and therefore good ſir *Niloxenus* go on with that which followeth in your letters miſſive, and make uſe of theſe perſonages heere aſſembled, whiles they bee all in place together. Now truely (quoth *Niloxenus*) in my conceit that demaund of the Aethiopian, a man may well and properly ſay to bee nothing elſe (but if I may uſe the wordes of *Archilochus*) a tewed or bruiſed whip: but King *Amaſis* your hoſt, in propoſing of ſuch queſtions is more gentle and civil; for hee propounded unto him theſe demands to bee anſwered: What thing in the whole world is eldeſt or moſt ancient? What is the faireſt? What the greateſt? What moſt wiſe? What moſt common? Over and beſides, What moſt profitable? What is moſt hurtfull? What moſt puiſſant? and What moſt eaſie? What (quoth *Periander*) did the Aethiopian prince anſwere to theſe demands, & aſſoile them all? Will you ſee (quoth *Niloxenus* then) what anſwers he made? and after you have heard his anſwers, be you judge whether he ſatisfied them or no? for the king my maſter hath proceeded therin ſo ſincerely, that he would not for any thing in the world, be juſtly thought to cavill and carpe like a ſycophant at the anſwers of another, and yet his care and endevour is, not to faile in reprooving that wherein one hath erred and is deceived: but I will from point to point recite unto you his anſwers. What is moſt ancient? Time (quoth he.) What moſt wiſe? Trueth. What moſt beautifull? The light. What moſt common? Death. What moſt profitable? God. What moſt hurtfull? The Divell. What moſt mightie? Fortune.

tune. What moſt eaſie? The thing that pleaſeth. When theſe anſwers were read (ô *Nicharchus*) they all remained ſilent for a time: and then *Thales* asked of *Niloxenus*, whether King *Amaſis* approoved theſe ſolutions or no: *Niloxenus* anſwered, that ſome of them he allowed; but with others of them he reſted not well contented: And yet (quoth *Thales* againe) there is not one of them all but deſerveth great reprehenſion, for they doe everie one bewray much error and groſſe ignorance; and to begin withall; How can it be held and maintained, that Time ſhould be the eldeſt thing that is, conſidering that one part thereof is paſſed already; another preſent; and a third yet to come? for the future time which is to follow us, can not chooſe but by all reaſon be eſteemed yoonger than all men, or all things which are preſent. Againe, to thinke that veritie were wiſedome, in my judgement is as much as if a man ſhould ſay, that the eie and the light is all one. Furthermore, if he reputed the light to be a faire thing (as no doubt it is) how happeneth it that he forgat the ſunne? Moreover, as touching his anſwers of God and the devils, they are verie audacious and dangerous. But concerning Fortune, there is no probalitie or likelihood of trueth therein; for if ſhe were ſo powerfull and puiſſant (as he ſaith) how commeth it about that ſhe turneth and changeth ſo eaſily as ſhe doth? Neither is death the commoneſt thing in the world; for common it is not to the living. But becauſe it ſhall not be thought, that we can skill of naught, but reprooving and correcting others; let us conferre a little our particular opinions and ſentences in this behalfe with his: and if *Niloxenus* thinke ſo good, I am content to offer my ſelfe firſt, to anſwere unto theſe demaunds beforeſaid, one after another. Now will I therfore declare unto you *(Nicharchus)* in order the interrogatories and anſwers, according as they were propounded and delivered. What is moſt ancient? God (quoth *Thales*) for he never had beginning nor nativitie. What is greateſt? Place; for as the world containeth all things elſe, ſo place containeth it. What is faireſt? The world. And why? becauſe whatſoever is diſpoſed in lively order, is a part thereof. What is wiſeſt? Time; for it hath found all things alreadie deviſed, and will finde out all inventions hereafter. What is moſt common? Hope; for it remaineth ſtill with them who have nothing elſe. What moſt profitable? Vertue; in that it maketh all things commodious, according as they be uſed. What is moſt hurtfull? Vice; for it marreth all good things beſides, whereſoever it is. What is moſt mightie? Neceſſitie; for that onely is invincible. What is moſt eaſie? That which agreeth to nature; for even pleaſures many times we do abandon and forſake. Now when all the companie had approoved and commended highly the anſwers of *Thales*: Theſe be queſtions in deed (quoth *Cleodemus* unto *Niloxenus)* meet for kings and princes, both to propoſe and alſo to aſſoile: as for that barbarous king of *Aethiopia*, who enjoined king *Amaſis* to drinke up the ſea, deſerveth as ſhort an anſwere as that was which *Pittacus* made to king *Alyattes*, who when he demaunded ſomwhat of the Lesbians by his arrogant and proud letters, had no other anſwere returned him from *Pittacus* but this: That he ſhould eate oinions and hot bread. upon which words *Periander* inferred and ſaid: I aſſure you *Cleodemus*, it hath bene the maner in old time among the ancient Greeks, to propoſe one unto another ſuch queſtions as theſe. For we have heard by report, that in times paſt, the moſt skilfull and excellent Poets which were in thoſe daies, met at the funerals and obſequies of *Amphidamas* within the citie of *Cholcis*: Now had this *Amphidamus* beene a man of great honour in government of the common-weale in his country; who having put the Eretrians to much trouble in thoſe wars which they waged againſt thoſe of *Cholcis*, in the quarrell of *Lilantes*, hapned to leeſe his life at the laſt in a battell. And for that the curious verſes which the ſaid poets provided and brought to be ſcanned of, were intricate and hard to be judged of by thoſe who were choſen as judges of the doubtfull victorie; and beſides the glorie of two renowmed concurrents, *Homer* and *Heſiodus* held the judges in great perplexitie, and ſhame to give their ſentences as touching two ſo famous perſonages, they grewe to ſuch as theſe queſtions in the end: and propounded one unto another as *Leſches* ſaith after this maner.

Now helpe me Muſe *for to endite*
what things have never beene,
Nor hencefoorth whiles the world endures
for ever ſhall be ſeene?

unto which demand, *Heſiodus* anſwered readily and *extempore* in this wiſe.

When ſteeds to win the prize, with ſound
of feet ſhall runne amaine,
And at the tombe of Jupiter,
their chariots breake in twaine.

For which cauſe eſpecially it is reported he was ſo highly admired, that thereby he wonne the tre-feet of gold. And what difference (quoth *Cleodemus*) is there betweene theſe queſtions and the riddles put foorth by *Eumetis?* which haply are no more unſeemely for her to deviſe in ſport and mirth, and when ſhe hath (as it were) twiſted them, to propoſe unto dames like herſelfe, than for other women to delight for their paſtime, to buſie their heads in, and working girdles of tiſſue, or knitting net-worke coifes and cawles; but certeinly that men of wiſedome and underſtanding ſhould make any account thereof, were very ridiculous and a meere mockerie. At which ſpeech of his it ſeemed that *Eumetis* was willing enough to have replied, and ſaid ſomewhat unto him againe, but that maidenly modeſtie ſtaied her; for her bloud was up, and ſhe bluſhed as red as skarlet all her face over: But *Aeſope* taking her part as it were to revenge her quarrell: Nay were it not (quoth he) more ridiculous farre, not to bee able to ſolve ſuch queſtions? and namely ſuch a riddle as this, which ſhe put foorth unto us a little before ſupper:

A man I ſaw, with helpe of fire,
who ſet a peece of braſſe,
Faſt to a man, ſo as it ſeem'd
to him it ſodred was.

Now tell me, can you with all your cunning ſay what this ſhould be? No iwis (quoth *Cleodemus*) neither meane I to beate my braines about the knowledge of it: And yet there is no man (quoth he) knoweth this thing better, nor uſeth it more than you; and if you denie it, I will call to witneſſe your ventoſes and cupping boxes. Heereat *Cleodemus* could not chuſe but laugh: for there was not a phyſician in thoſe daies that uſed cupping and boxing ſo much as he, and in regard that he practiſed it ſo much, this remedie or deviſe in phyſicke was in no ſmall requeſt and reputation. But *Mneſiphilus* the Athenian a familiar friend and zealous follower of *Solon*, began to ſpeake in this wiſe unto *Periander:* Sir, if I might be ſo bold, I thinke it good, & my deſire is, that the ſpeeches and diſcourſes of this good company, may not bee dealt among the rich and noble perſons onely who are heere in place, but parted equally and indifferently among them all, and go round like a cup of wine, as the manner is in democratie or ſtate of a citie, governed by the people: this I ſpeake for that we who live in a popular common-wealth, participate in nothing of all that which you have right now delivered as touching ſoveraigne rule of prince & king: we thinke it reaſon therefore that you would enter every one of you into a diſcourſe of popular government, & deliver your ſeveral opinions upon the point, beginning firſt againe at *Solon*. To this motion they all agreed; whereupon *Solon* thus began to ſpeake: As for you (ô *Mneſiphilus*) like as all the other inhabitants of *Athens*, you have heard heeretofore what mine opinion is concerning the government of a weale publike: and yet if it pleaſe to heare me now alſo, I ſay againe that in my judgement that citie is right well governed, and maintaineth beſt the popular eſtate and libertie, wherein thoſe very perſons who have not been wronged and oppreſſed, do proſecute the law upon an oppreſſor and wrong doer, yea and ſeeke to puniſh him, no leſſe than the partie himſelfe who hath ſuſteined the injurie & outrage. After him *Bias* opined thus: That the popular government was beſt, in which all the inhabitants feared the law as much as a rigorous tyrant. Then *Thales* followed in this maner: That he reputed ſuch a common-wealth beſt ordered which had in it neither too wealthie, nor yet over poore citizens. Next to him tooke *Anacharſis* his turne and delivered his minde in theſe words: That in his conceit that citie was right well governed wherein all other things being equally determined among the inhabitants, the better cōdition was meaſured by vertue, & the worſe by vice. In the fifth place *Cleobulus* affirmed; That the policie of that popular city was ſimplie beſt, the citizens whereof did more dread diſhonor than the law. Then *Pittacus* in his courſe gave his opinion thus: That he accounted a State paſſing well governed in which wicked perſons might not beare any authoritie but good men onely. Then *Chilo* when his turne came; pronounced: That pollicie to excel al others when as the people gave greateſt care unto the lawes, and leaſt hearkened unto oratours. After them all *Periander* in the laſt place gave his judgement, ſaying: That he reckoned that popular eſtate ſeemed to be beſt, which came neereſt unto an ariſtocratie or regiment of a wiſe and noble Senate.

Now when this diſputation was ended, I requeſted them to proceed farther, and to inſtruct us as touching œconomie or an houſholde, how it ought to be ordered; for that few men were called unto the government of cities and realmes, but every one of us had an houſe and familie of his owne to be governed: Not ſo (quoth *Aeſope*, & therewith he laughed) if you reckon

Anacharſis in the number of us; for no houſe hath he of his owne, and (forſooth) he glorieth therein, that none he hath, ſaying: That he maketh his abode in a chariot, as (men ſay) the ſun doth, who is caried round about the world in his chaire, and one while goeth to this quarter, and another while to that quarter of the heaven: And even in this reſpect (quoth *Anacharſis*) the ſunne onely is free, or at leaſt-wiſe more at libertie, and at his owne diſpoſe, than any other of all the gods, commanding all, and not commanded of any; and therefore he reigneth in deed, and having the reines in his owne hand, conducteth his owne chariot himſelfe: but me thinks you never conceived and compriſed the grandence and beautie of the ſunne, how excellent and admirable his chariot is; for otherwiſe you would never in bourd and by way of merry jeſt have compared it to ours: furthermore, it ſeemeth that you take an houſe to be theſe cloiſters covered with tile, and walled with clay or earth; which is as much to ſay, that a tortoiſe is the ſhell, and not the living creature which is therein: and therefore I nothing woonder that you mocked *Solon* upon a time, for that he having viewed the palace of king *Crœſus*, richly furniſhed and ſumptuouſly adorned, deemed not by and by the owner and lord thereof to be ſtately and happily lodged; but deſired firſt to ſee and behold the good parts that were within him, rather than the goods which were about him; and heerein it ſeemeth unto mee, that you have forgotten your owne tale of the fox, who being come to conteſt and debate with the leopard, whether of the twaine were beſet with more colours and divers ſpots, required of the judge betweene them, that he would not regard and conſider ſo much the outward painting of the skin, as the varietie of the ſpirit and ſoule within, for that he ſhould finde the ſame bedight with a world of divers ſpots; but you looke onely to the workemanſhip of cutters in ſtone, and of maſons, eſteeming that onely to be the houſe, and not that which is domeſticall and within, to wit, children, wife, friends and ſervitours, unto whom (being wiſe, ſober and of good conditions) the father of the familie, and houſholder, communicating and imparting that which he hath (ſay he were within a birds-neaſt or in an emmets hole) may avouch that he dwelleth in a good and bleſſed houſe. Lo what mine anſwere is to *Aeſope*, as alſo for my part, what collation and dole I contribute unto *Diocles*; now for the reſt of you, let every man conferre (as reaſon is) to it, what he thinketh good, and utter his mind. Then *Solon*: That houſe (in mine opinion) is beſt, the goods wherein, were neither gotten by unjuſt and indirect meanes, nor bred any feare, ſuſpition and doubt for the keeping, ne yet drew repentance for the ſpending of them. After him *Bias* opined: That he held the familie beſt, the maſter whereof was of himſelfe the ſame man within, as (for feare of the law) abroad. Then *Thales*: Wherein the maſter may live at moſt eaſe and greateſt leaſure. And *Cleobulus*: Wherein there be more perſons that love, than feare the maſter. Next delivered *Pittacus* his minde, and ſaid: That he tooke that to be the beſt houſe, wherein there was no deſire of ſuperfluities, nor miſſe of neceſſaries. After him came *Chilo* with his ſentence: That an houſe ought as much as is poſſible, to reſemble a citie or ſtate governed by the abſolute commandement of a king; adding moreover, that which *Lycurgus* anſwered ſometimes unto one who adviſed him to eſtabliſh in the citie *Sparta* the popular government: Beginne (quoth he) firſt thy ſelfe to ordeine in thine owne houſe a popular eſtate, where every one may be as great a lord and maſter as another. After this ſpeech alſo finiſhed, *Eumetis* and *Meliſſa* went foorth. Then *Periander* taking a great cup in his hand, dranke to *Chilon*, and *Chilon* likewiſe in order to *Bias*. Then *Ardalus* ſtood up, & addreſſing his ſpeech unto *Aeſope*: Wil not you neither (quoth he) let the cup come unto us, ſeeing that they there ſend it round about from hand to hand among them, as if it were the can of *Bathycles*, and will not impart and let it paſſe to others? Then (quoth *Solon*) neither is this cup (ſo farre as I ſee) any whit popular, ſtanding as it hath done a long time before *Solon* onely. Whereat *Pittacus* calling unto *Mneſiphilus* by name: What is the reaſon (quoth he) that *Solon* drinketh not, but goeth againſt his owne Poems, wherein himſelfe hath written theſe verſes:

> *The ſports of* Venus *ladie bright,*
> *And* Bacchus, *now are my delight:*
> *In muſicke eke I pleaſure take,*
> *For why? theſe three, mens joies do make.*

Then *Anacharſis* helped him out, and ſpake in his behalfe, ſaying: He doth it (*Pittacus*) for feare of you and that ſevere and rigourous law of yours, by which you have ordeined, that whoſoever by occaſion of drunkenneſſe chanceth to commit a fault, what-ever it be, ſhall incurre a double penalty, and be fined twiſe as much as if he had done it whiles he was ſober. Then *Pittacus*: Yet neverthelеſſe (quoth he) you carie your ſelfe ſo proudly and diſdainfully in mockage of this my ſtatute, that both the laſt yere not long ſince, being at my brother *Lybis* his houſe, whē you were drunke, you demanded to have the prize therof & called for the garland & crown. And why not (quoth *Anacharſis*) conſidering there was propoſed a reward for the victory to him that drunke moſt? and if I were overcharged with wine & drunk with the firſt, ſhould not I chalenge by right the prize & reward of victory? or els tell me what other end is there of drinking luſtily, than to be drunke? *Pittacus* hereat began to laugh; & than *Aeſope* told ſuch a tale as this: The wolfe (quoth he) perceiving upon a time the ſhepheards to eate a mutton within their cottage, approched unto them and ſaid; Oh what a ſtirre and outcrie would you have made at us if I had done that which you doe? Heereat *Chilon*: *Aeſope* (quoth he) hath well revenged himſelfe now (whoſe mouth ere-while we ſtopped that he had not a word to ſay) ſeeing at this preſent as he doth, that others had taken the anſwere out of *Mneſiphilus* his mouth, and not given him libertie to ſpeake, being demaunded the queſtion why *Solon* dranke not? and like it was that he ſhould have anſwered in his behalfe. Then *Mneſiphilus* rendered this reaſon and ſaid; That he wiſt well *Solon* was of this opinion, that the proper worke of every art and facultie, as well divine as humane, was rather the effect and thing by it wrought, than that whereby it was effected; and the end thereof rather than the meanes tending thereto: for ſo I ſuppoſe that a weaver will ſay, that his worke is to make a web for a mantle, a coat or ſuch a robe, and not to ſpoole, winde quils, lay his warpe, ſhoot ouſe, or raiſe and let fall the weights and ſtones hanging to the loome: Alſo that the worke of a ſmith is to ſoder iron, or to give the temper of ſteele for the edge of an axe head rather than any other thing needfull to ſuch an effect, to wit, the kindling of coles and ſetting them on fire, or the preparing of any ſtone-grit ſerving for the former purpoſe. Semblably, a carpenter or maſon emploied in architecture, would much more complaine and finde fault with us, if we ſhould ſay, that neither a ſhip nor an houſe were their worke, but the boaring of holes in timber with an auger or the tempring of morter. In like manner would the muſes take exceeding great indignation, and not without good cauſe, if wee ſhould thinke that their workes were either harpes, lutes, pipes, and ſuch inſtruments of muſicke: and not the reforming and inſtitution of folks maners, the dulcing and appeaſing of their paſſions who delight in ſong, harmonie, and muſicall accord. And even ſo we muſt confeſſe that the worke of *Venus* is not carnall companie and medling of two bodies; nor of *Bacchus*, wine-bibbing and drunkenneſſe, but rather mirth and ſolace, affectionate love, mutuall amitie, converſation, and familiarity one with another, which are procured unto us thereby: for theſe be the works indeed which *Plato* calleth divine and heavenly: and theſe he ſaith that he deſired and purſued when he grew aged and was well ſtept in yeeres. For I aſſure you *Venus* is the work-miſtreſſe of mutuall concord, ſolace and benevolence betweene men and women, mingling and melting (as it were) together with the bodies their ſoules alſo, by the meanes of pleaſure: *Bacchus* likewiſe in many who before had no great familiaritie together, nor any knowledge and acquaintance to ſpeake of, by ſoftning and moiſting the hardnes of their maners, and that by the meanes of wine (like as fire worketh iron to be gentle and pliable) hath engendred a beginning of commixtion and incorporation one with another. True it is I muſt needs ſay, that when ſuch perſonages are met and aſſembled together, as *Periander* hath hither invited, there is no need either of cup or flagon for to bring them acquainted: for the muſes ſetting in mids before them a cup of ſobriety, to wit, their conference and ſpeech, wherein there is not onely ſtore of pleaſure and delight, but alſo of erudition, learning, and ſerious matter, doe excite, drench, enlarge and ſpread abroad by the meanes of diſcourſe and talke, the amiable joy of ſuch gueſts, ſuffring for the moſt part the wine pot or flagon to ſtand ſtill above the cup or goblet: a thing that *Heſidiodus* forbad expreſly among ſuch as could skill better to carrouſe than to diſcourſe. And whereas we reade thus in *Homer*,

For howſoever other Greeks
that weare their haire ſo long,
Doe drinke about their meaſure just
allowed them among:
Your cup I ſee ſtands ever full,
no gage to you is ſet,
But hartie draughts you may carrouſe,
no man there is to let.

Me thinks I heare and underſtand heereby that our auncients called this manner of drinking one to another by way of challenge & provocation Δαιτρὸν, according to the tearme that *Homer* giveth it, and ſo every man dranke a certaine meaſure in order: yea and afterwards (like as *Ajax* did) ech one divided portions of fleſh to his next fellow ſitting at the boord: Now when *Mneſiphilus* had thus ſaid: *Cherſias* the poet, whom lately *Periander* had quit of certeine imputations charged upon him, and who was newly returned into his favour at the earneſt requeſt of *Chilon*: I would gladly know (quoth he) whether *Jupiter* gage the reſt of the gods with a certeine meaſure and ſtint of drinking, (for that they uſe to drinke one to another when they dine and ſup with him) like as *Agamemnon* dealt by the princes of the Greeks when they were at his table? Then *Cleodemus*: If it be true (quoth he) friend *Cherſias* as you and other poets doe ſay, that certeine doves flying hardly and with great difficultie over the rocks called *Planctæ*, bring unto *Jupiter* that celeſtiall meat named *Ambroſia*; thinke you not likewiſe that he had much adoo to get the heavenly drinke *Nectar*, and that he had but ſmall ſtore thereof, whereby he could not chuſe but make ſpare and give of it to every one according to meaſure? Yes verily (quoth *Cherſias*) and peradventure they had it diſtributed equally among them: but ſince we are fallen againe into a freſh diſcourſe of houſe-keeping, which of you will goe on and finiſh the reſt which remaineth to be ſaid thereof? Then *Cleobulus* inferred this ſpeech and ſaid: As for wiſe men indeed, the law (quoth he) hath given them a preſcript meaſure; but as touching fooles, I will tell you a tale which I heard my mother once relate unto a brother of mine: The time was (quoth ſhe) that the moone praied her mother to make her a peticoate fit & proportionable for her body: Why, how is it poſſible (quoth her mother) that I ſhould knit or weave one to fit wel about thee conſidering that I ſee thee one while full, another while croiſſant or in the waine, & pointed with tips of horns, & ſomtime againe halfe round? Even ſo (friend *Cherſias*) a man is not able to ſet downe a definit & juſt proportion of ſubſtance & goods to mainteine an houſe unto a fooliſh or a naughtie perſon; for ſuch a one hath need one while of this thing, and another while of that, according to his divers deſires & variable events & occaſions, much like to *Aeſops* dog, who as he ſaith, in the winter ſeaſon ſhrinking together, & lying round for cold wherewith he is ready to be frozen and ſterved, is of mind to build himſelfe an houſe: but in ſummer when he lies ſleeping ſtretched out at length, he thinkes himſelfe to be very great, and ſuppoſeth it a needleſſe thing to builde an houſe, and beſides no ſmall peece of worke to ſet up a frame bigge and large enough to receive his bodie. See you not likewiſe ô *Cherſias*, that theſe kinde of folke will bee thought nowe but ſmall and little, and reſtraine themſelves into a narrow compaſſe, propoſing forſooth a ſtreight and laconicall manner of life; but anon all at once they will bee aloft, and if they may not have all that they ſee, and poſſeſſe not onely the eſtate of private perſons, but alſo of kings and princes, they are undone for ever, and complaine as if they were pined and readie to die for hunger: at which words *Cherſias* held his peace. But *Cleodemus* then began and ſaid: Howbeit, we all ſee (quoth he) that you my maſters your ſelves who are ſage and wiſe, have your goods and poſſeſſions unequally dealt among you, if a man would go about to meaſure and count them. True indeed my good friend (anſwered *Cleobulus* againe) and this is becauſe the law (like unto a good weaver or knitter) hath given unto everie one of us that which is fit, ſutable, and convenient for us; and even ſo your you ſelfe ſir, in your direction for diet, nouriſhment, and purging of your patients by reaſon, after the preſcription (as it were) of law, do not ſet them downe receits and orders all alike, but ſuch as are agreeable and meete for everie one. upon this ſpeech *Ardalus* replied, ſaying: How then? Is there a law that commaundeth *Epimenides* here our familiar friend and *Solons* hoſte, to forbeare all other viands, and by taking onely in his mouth a little of the compoſition called *Alimon*, which hath vertue to put-by hunger (which pleaſant electuarie or confection he maketh himſelfe) to continue a whole day without meate and drinke, without dinner and ſupper. This ſpeech mooved attention and ſilence in the whole companie there in place: onely *Thales* after a jocund and merrie manner anſwered: That *Epimenides* did well and wiſely not to buſie and trouble himſelfe about grinding corne, baking meale, or dreſſing his owne meates (as *Pittacus* did): for my ſelfe (quoth he) whiles I was in the Iſle *Lesbos*, heard a wench of a forrein countrey, as ſhe turned the querne about, ſing thus, Grind mil, Grind; for even *Pittacus* the king of Great *Mitylenæ*, is a miller and grindeth. But *Solon* ſaid; I woonder much *Ardalus*, that you never read in *Heſiodus* his Poeme, the receit of the regiment of that mans diet: for he was the firſt who gave unto *Epimenides* the ſeeds of this nouriſhment, and taught him to ſearch:

In Mallowes and in Aſphodels,
which grow on everie ground:
What uſe and profit manifold,

for man there may be found.

Why? thinke you (quoth *Periander*) that *Heſiodus* had any ſuch meaning in that verſe; and not rather (as he is alwaies a great praiſer of ſparing and frugalitie) that he exhorted us unto the ſimpleſt viands, as to thoſe which were moſt pleaſant: for ſurely the Mallow is good to eate, and the Aſphodell ſtem verie ſweete in taſte: as for thoſe which the Phyſicians came *Alima* and *Adipſa*, that is to ſay, putting-by hunger and thirſt; I heare ſay and underſtand that they be medicines and not meats, and that among other ingredients that go to their making, they receive honie and a certaine barbarous kinde of cheeſe, beſides many other ſeeds which are eaſie enough to come by: for how elſe ſhould not (as we read in *Heſiodus*)

The plough beame hang aloft in ſmoothrie ſmoke,
The oxe and mule ceaſe both to draw in yoke.

if need there were of ſo great proviſion? But I marvell much *Solon*, at your hoſte, that having but lately celebrated a ſolemne feaſt of Purification among the Delians, he obſerved not how they themſelves brought with great ceremonie into their temple, the enſignes and monuments of the ancient and primitive nouriſhment of mankinde? and namely, among other things very common, and which grow of themſelves without mans hand, the Mallow and the Aſphodell: which two hearbs (it is verie probable and like) that *Heſiodus* alſo recommended unto us for their ſimplicitie & profit. Not in thoſe regards onely (quoth *Anacharſis*) but for that they both the one as well as the other, are commended as eſpeciall hearbs for the health of man. True (quoth *Cleodemus*) and great reaſon you have ſo to ſay: for *Heſiodus* was well ſeene in Phyſicke, as may appeare by that which he hath written ſo exactly and ſkilfully of diet, and the regiment of our feeding, of the manner of tempering wine, of the vertue and goodneſſe of water, the uſe of baines, bathes and women, of the time of keeping companie with them, and of the poſiture of infants in the wombe, and when they ſhould be borne. But to judge aright, *Aeſope* had more reaſon than *Epimenides* to avow himſelfe the diſciple of *Heſiodus*, for the talke which the hauke had with the nightingall, gave unto *Aeſope* the firſt beginning of his faire, variable, and many tongued learning of his. But willing I am to heare *Solon*; for verie like it is, that he having lived and converſed ſo familiarly many yeeres together with *Epimenides* at *Athens*, asked of him oftentimes and knew full well upon what accident or occaſion, and for what purpoſe he choſe and followed this ſtrait courſe of life. And what need was there (quoth *Solon*) to demaund that of him? for all the world knoweth, and moſt evident it is, that as the greateſt and moſt ſoveraigne good of man, is to have no need at all of nouriture; ſo the next unto it is to require the leaſt nouriſhment that is: Not ſo (quoth *Cleodemus* if I may be ſo bold as to ſpeake my mind: For I do not thinke that the ſoveraigne good of man is to eate nothing, eſpecially when the table is laide and furniſhed with meat; for to take away the viands ſet thereupon, is as much as to ſubvert the altar and ſacrifice unto the gods, and to overthrow the amity and hoſpitalitie among men. And like as *Thales* ſaith: That if the earth were taken out of the world, there muſt of neceſſitie enſue a generall confuſion of all things; even ſo we may ſay, put downe the boord, you doe as much as ruinate the whole houſe; for with it you aboliſh fire which keepeth the houſe; the tutelar-deitie of *Veſta*; the amiable cuſtome of drinking together out of one boll and cup; the laudable manner of feaſting friends; the kind faſhion of entertaining ſtrangers, and all reciprocall hoſpitalitie, and mutuall uſage of gueſts; which be the principall and moſt courteous converſations that can bee deviſed among men one with another: and to ſpeake in ſumme more truely; farewell then, all the ſweetnes of humane life and ſocietie, in caſe there be allowed any retrait at all, ſolace and paſſion apart from buſineſſe and affaires, whereof the need of ſuſtenance and the preparation thereto belonging, yeeldeth moſt matter, and affoordeth the greateſt part. Moreover, the miſchiefe hereof would reach as far as to agriculture, and that were great pity, conſidering that if huſbandrie were laid downe with the decay & ruine therof, there would enſue againe a rude & deformed face of the whole earth, as being neglected, & not clenſed from fruitleſſe trees, buſhes & weeds, and overflowed with the inundation of waters & rivers running out of their chanels to and fro without order, for want of good huſbandrie and the diligent hand of man: over and beſides, periſh there ſhall with it, all arts and handicrafts which the table mainteineth and keepeth in traine, giving unto them their foundation & matter, in ſuch ſort as they will come all to nothing, if you take it away: nay more than that; What will become of religion and worſhip done to the gods? for ſurely, men will exhibit but little or none honour at all unto the Sunne, and much leſſe unto the Moone, as having nought els from them but their light & heat onely: and who will ever cauſe an altar to be reared and furniſhed as it ought to be, to *Ju-*

piter, for ſending downe ſeaſonable raine, or to *Ceres* the patroneſſe of agriculture, or to *Neptune* the protectour of trees and plants? who will ever-after offer any ſacrifices unto them? how ſhall *Bacchus* be the authour of joy and mirth, if we have no more any need of that pleaſant liquor of wine which he giveth? what ſhall we ſacrifice? what ſhall wee powre upon the altars? what oblations ſhall we offer unto the gods? and whereof ſhall wee preſent any firſt fruits? In one word, this abuſe would bring with it a totall ſubverſion and generall confuſion of the beſt and chiefeſt things. True it is, that to follow all kinde of pleaſures, and in every maner were bruitiſhneſſe; and even ſo to flie them all, and in no wiſe to embrace them, were no leſſe follie and ſottiſhneſſe. The ſoule may well enough enjoy other pleaſures and delights, which are better and more noble; but the bodie can finde none at all more harmleſſe and honeſt, to content it ſelfe with, than to eat and drinke, whereby it is fed and nouriſhed; a thing that there is no man but he both knoweth and acknowledgeth; in regard whereof, men uſe to ſet and ſpread their tables in publicke and open places, for to eat and drinke together in the broad day-light; whereas to take the pleaſure of *Venus,* they wait for the night, and ſeeke all the darkneſſe they can, ſuppoſing it to be as beaſtly and ſhameleſſe to do the one in publike and common, as not at all to doe the other but forbeare it altogether. When *Cleodemus* herewith brake off, and ended his ſpeech, I followed in the ſame traine, and ſeconded his words in this wiſe: But you overpaſſe one thing beſides, namely, that by this meanes, together with our food and nouriſhment, we baniſh and drive away all ſleepe: now if there be no ſleepe, there will be no dreames, & ſo by conſequence, we may bid farewell to a moſt ancient kinde of oracle and divination which we have by them. Over and beſides, our life will be alwaies after one faſhion, and to no purpoſe, but in vaine ſhall the ſoule be clad (as a man would ſay) within the bodie, ſeeing that the greateſt number and the principall parts of the ſaid bodie were made and framed by nature for to ſerve as inſtruments of nouriſhment; as for example, the tongue, the teeth, the ſtomacke and the liver, &c. for there is nothing in the whole ſtructure and compoſition of mans body, that either lieth ſtill & idle, or is ordeined for any other uſe; inſomuch as whoſoever hath no need of food, needeth not the body alſo; which is as much to ſay, as that hee ſtandeth in no need of himſelfe; for every one of us doth conſiſt aſwell of bodie as ſoule. Thus much may ſerve for my part, to have ſpoken in the defence of the bellie; now if *Solon* or any other have ought to ſay and object againſt it, by way of accuſation, ready we are and diſpoſed to give him the hearing. Yes mary (quoth *Solon*) unleſſe we would be reputed of leſſe judgement and underſtanding than the Aegyptians, who ripping open the belly of a dead bodie, ſhew it unto the ſunne, and caſt away the guts and entrails together with the paunch, into a running river; but afterwards, when they have thus rid away the garbage, and cleanſed the corps, the reſt they imbaulme and be carefull of: for to ſay a trueth, theſe inwards, be the very pollution and inquination of the fleſh, and to ſpeake properly, the very hell of our bodie; for ſo they ſay, that the place of the damned is full of (I wot not what) horrible rivers and winds confuſed together with fire and dead carcaſes. For no creature living, is nouriſhed with any food that liveth; but we (in killing thoſe creatures which have ſoules, or in deſtroying plants, herbs and fruits which participate likewiſe of life, inaſmuch as we ſee them to be nouriſhed and grow) do evill, and ſinne very grievouſly, foraſmuch as whatſoever is tranſmuted and turned into another, loſeth that nature which it had before, and wholly is corrupted, for to become nouriſhment to another. As for abſtinence from eating of fleſh, as (by report) *Orpheus* did in olde time, is rather a ſubtile ſhift of Sophiſtrie, than any perfect ſhunning or forbearing of thoſe ſinnes which are committed in delicious fare and ſuperfluous gormandize; but the onely way to avoid enormitie in this behalfe, and the meanes to keepe a mans ſelfe perfectly pure and undefiled, according to the abſolute rule of juſtice, is to be content with that which is within himſelfe, and to live without deſire of any thing without, whatſoever: but he that is by God framed to that nature and condition, that without the dammage and hurt of another, he can not poſſibly preſerve his owne being and ſafetie; unto him he hath given a nature which will continually move him to injuſtice, & to commit wrong. Were it not then (my good friend *Diocles*) very meet and requiſit to cut off together with injuſtice and ſinfulneſſe, the belly, ſtomacke and liver, yea, and all other ſuch parts which give unto us the appetite of nothing in the world that is honeſt, but reſemble partly the inſtruments of a cooke, and veſſels of the kitchin, to wit, chopping-knives, cawdrons, pots and kettles, and in part are like unto the utenſils of a mill, of a chimney, oven or furnace, or ſuch tooles as ſerve either to digge pits, or be uſed in bake-houſe and paſtrie? for to ſay a trueth, you may plainely ſee and perceive that the ſoule in many men lieth hidden within the bodie, as it were in a certeine mil-houſe, turning round continually (as one would ſay) about a querne, in purſuite after the neceſſities thereof, even as we here, ere-while perceived by experience in our owne ſelves, when we neither ſaw nor heard, nor regarded one another; but every one of us inclining forward and ſtouping downe to our victuals ſerved our owne need & looked to our food, but now when the tables be taken up, as you ſee, having chaplets of flowers on our heads, we take delight in deviſing together, & holding honeſt diſcourſes, we rejoice in fellowſhip & good company, we paſſe the time away in eaſe & repoſe, being once come to that point, that we have no more any deſire or need of nouriſhment: If then we could hold us ſo ſtill, & continue while we live in this preſent ſtate, ſo that we neither feared wāt & poverty, nor yet knew what was covetouſnes & deſire of riches, ſhould we not lead (thinke you) a bleſſed and eaſie life, as having leiſure to converſe together and joy in our mutuall ſocietie? For know wel this, that looking after the needles ſuperfluities immediately enſueth upon the appetite and deſire of things neceſſarie. But whereas *Cleobulus* is of this opinion, that needes there muſt be meat & food, to the end that their might be tables and ſtanding cups upon them, that men may drinke one to another, alſo that they might ſacrifice to dame *Ceres* & her daughter *Proſerpina*: another man may as well and truely ſay: There ought to be warres and battels, to the end that we may have wals and fortifications for our cities, arcenals for our navy, and armories alſo, that for the killing of an hundred enemies, wee might in thankeſgiving to the gods offer ſacrifices thereupon, called *Hecatomphonia*, according as they ſay, there is a ſtatute importing ſo much among the Meſſenians. Or all one it were as if ſome other ſhould be angrie or offended with health, ſaying: It were great pitie, if becauſe there are none ſicke, any more there ſhould be no uſe of eaſie beds, fine linnen ſheets, ſoft pillowes and coverings, nor any need to ſacrifice unto *Aeſculapius* or other gods, to divert and turne away our maladies; and ſo the art of phyſick, with all the tooles, inſtruments, drugs and medicines belonging thereto, be caſt aſide and neglected, without honor and regard. For what ods is there betweene the one and the other, conſidering that we receive food as a medicine to cure our hunger? Beſides, all they that keepe a certaine diet, are ſaid to cure themſelves, uſing this remedie, not as a pleaſure delightſome and deſireable, but as meanes to content and ſatisfie nature. For ſurely we may reckon more paines than pleaſures, that come unto a man by his feeding; or to ſpeake more truely, the pleaſure of eating hath but a little place, and continueth as ſmall a while in mans bodie; but the trouble and difficultie which it hath in providing and preparing, with how many ſhamefull inconveniences and painefull travels it peſtereth us, what ſhould I relate unto you? for I ſuppoſe, that in regard of all theſe vexations, *Homer* took upon him to proove, that the gods died not, by this argument, that they received no food:

For neither eate they bread in heaven,
nor pleaſant wine to drinke:
Thus bloodleſſe ſince they be, we them
immortall name and thinke.

As if by theſe verſes he would give us to underſtand, that our eating and drinking is not onely the meanes of our life, but alſo the cauſe of our death: for thereupon a number of diſeaſes take hold of our bodies, which are gathered within the ſame, and proceed no leſſe from fulneſſe than emptineſſe, and many times we have more adoe to concoct, conſume, and diſſipate our foode, than we had to get and provide it. And much like as if the daughters of *Danaus* were in doubt what to do, and what life to lead, or how to be emploied, after they were delivered and freed once from their ſervile taſke impoſed upon them, for to fill their tunne boared full of holes; even ſo doubt we (in caſe we were come to this paſſe, as to ceaſe from ſtuffing and cramming this unſatiable fleſh of ours, which will never ſay Ho, with all ſorts of viands that land or ſea may affoord) what we ſhould do? and al becauſe for want of experience & knowledge what things be good & honeſt, we love all our life time to ſeeke for to be provided of neceſſaries: and like as they who have beene ſlaves a long time, after they come once to be delivered from ſervitude, do of themſelves and for themſelves the verie ſame ſervices, which they were woont to performe for their maſters, when they were bound; even ſo, the ſoule taketh now great paines and travel to feed the bodie, but if once ſhe might be diſpatched and diſcharged from this yoke of bondage, no ſooner ſhall ſhe finde her ſelfe free and at libertie, but ſhe will nouriſh and regard herſelfe, ſhe will have an eie then, to the knowledge of the truth, and nothing ſhall plucke her away, or divert and withdraw her from it. Thus much ô *Nicharchus* as touching thoſe points which were then delivered concerning nouriſhment. But before that *Solon* had fully finiſhed his ſpeech, *Gorgias* the brother of *Periander* entred into the place, being newly returned from *Tænarus*, whither he had beene ſent before by occaſion of (I wot not what) oracles, for to carrie thither certaine oblations unto *Neptune*, and to doe ſacrifice unto him; we all ſaluted him and welcomed him home; but *Periander* his brother comming toward and kiſſed him, cauſing him afterwards to ſit downe by himſelfe upon the bed-ſide, where hee made relation unto him alone of certaine newes. *Periander* gave good eare unto his brother, and ſhewed by his countenance that he was diverſly affected, and verie paſſionate upon that which he heard him to report; and by his viſage it ſeemed one while that he ſorrowed and grieved, another while that he was angrie and offended; he made ſemblant for a time, as if he diſtruſted and would not give credit unto him, and anon againe he ſeemed as much to woonder and ſtand in admiration; in the end he laughed and ſaid unto us: Verie gladly would I out of hand recount unto you the tidings which my brother hath told me, but hardly dare I, neither will I be over haſtie ſo to doe, for feare of *Thales*, whom I have heard otherwiſe to ſay: That well we might make report of newes that be probable and like to be true; but touching things impoſſible, we ought altogether for to hold our peace. Hereupon *Bias*: But as wiſe a ſaying (quoth he) was this of *Thales*: That as we ought not to beleeve our enemies in things that be credible, ſo we are not to diſcredit our friends even in thoſe things that are incredible. For mine owne part, I thinke verily by this ſpeech of his, that hee tooke thoſe for his enemies who were leawd and fooliſh, and reputed for friends ſuch as were good and wiſe. I would adviſe you therefore (ô *Gorgias*) that either you would declare your newes here before all this companie, or rather reduce that narration which you come withall to pronounce aloude unto us, into thoſe new kinde of verſes which are called *Dithyrambes*. Then *Gorgias* ſet tale on end and began to ſpeake in this maner: After we had ſacrificed for the ſpace of three daies together, and the laſt day performed in a generall aſſembly all the night a feſtivall ſolemnitie with plaies and dances along the ſtrond by the ſea ſide, as the moone ſhone at full upon the ſea, without any winde in the world ſtirring at all, ſo as there was a gentle generall calme, and every thing ſtill and quiet; behold we might diſcover a farre off a certeine motion or trouble in the ſea, bending toward a promontorie or cape, and as it approched neerer thereto, raiſed withall a little ſcumme, and that with a great noiſe by reaſon of the agitation of the water and waves that it made in ſuch ſort, as that all the companie of us woondered what it might be, and ran toward the place whereunto it ſeemed to make way and bend the courſe for to arrive; but before that we could by any conjecture geſſe what it was, (the ſwiftneſſe thereof was ſuch) we might evidently deſcrie with our eie a number of dolphins, ſome ſwimming round about it thicke together, others directing the whole troupe toward the eaſieſt and gentleſt landing place of the banke, and ſome there were againe that followed behinde as it were in the rereward: now in the mids of all this troupe there appeered above the water I wot not what lumpe or maſſe of a bodie floting aloft, which we could neither diſcerne nor deviſe what it was, untill ſuch time as the ſaid dolphins all cloſe together and ſhooting themſelves into the ſhore, landed upon the banke a man both alive and alſo mooving; which done they returned toward the rocke or promontorie aforeſaid, leaping and dauncing wantonly as it ſhould ſeeme for verie joy more than they did before: which the greateſt part of our company (quoth *Gorgias*) ſeeing, were ſo greatly afraid, that they fled from the ſea amaine all amazed; my ſelfe with ſome few others tooke better heart and approched nere, where we found that it was *Arion* the harper, who of himſelfe tolde to us his name, and eaſie he was otherwiſe to be knowne, for that he had the ſame apparell which he was wont to weare when he plaied in publike place upon his harpe: So we tooke him up incontinently and brought him into a tent (for harme he had none in the world, ſave only that by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe & violent force of his cariage he was wearie and ſeemed ready to faint) where we heard from his mouth a ſtrange tale, and to all men incredible, unleſſe it were to us who ſaw the end and iſſue thereof. For this *Arion* reported unto us, that having beene of long time reſolved to returne out of *Italy* and ſo much the rather becauſe *Periander* had written unto him for to make haſte & come away upon the firſt opportunity preſented to him of a Corinthian carricke that made ſaile frõ thence, he preſently embarked, but no ſooner were they come into the broad and open ſea, and that with a gentle gale of winde, but he perceived that the mariners conſpired together for to take away his life, whereof the pilot himſelfe alſo of the ſame ſhip gave him advertiſement ſecretly, namely, that they intended to put the thing in execution that night. *Arion* thus finding himſelfe deſtitute of all ſuccour, and not knowing what to doe; it came into his minde as it were by a certeine heavenly and divine inſpiration (whiles hee had yet ſome time to live) for to adorne his bodie with thoſe ornaments which he accuſtomed to put on when he was to play upon his harpe for a prize in ſome frequent Theater; to the end that the ſame habit might ſerve him for his funerall weed now at his death; and withall to ſing a dolefull ſong and lamentable dittie before his departure out of this life, and not to ſhew himſelfe in this caſe leſſe generous than the ſwans: being therefore thus arraied and decked accordingly, and doing the marriners to wit before hand, that he had a wonderfull deſire to chaunt a ſonet or hymne unto *Apollo Pythius*, for the ſafetie of himſelfe, the ſhip and all thoſe fellow paſſengers who were within it, he ſtood upright on his feet in the poope cloſe to the ſhip ſide, and after he had ſounded a certaine invocation or praier to the ſea-gods, he chanted the canticle beforeſaid, and as he was in the mids of his ſong, the ſunne went downe and ſeemed to ſettle within the ſea, and with that they began to diſcover *Peloponneſus*. Then the marriners who could no longer ſtay nor tarrie for the darke night, came toward for to kill him; when he ſaw their naked ſwords drawen, and beheld the foreſaid Pilot how he covered his face, becauſe he would not ſee ſo vilanous a ſpectacle, he caſt himſelfe over ſhip-boord, and leapt as farre into the ſea from the ſhip as he could; but before that his whole bodie was under the water, the dolphins made haſte, and from beneath were readie to beare him up for ſinking. Full of feare and perturbation of ſpirit hee was at firſt, inſomuch as being aſtonied thereat, hee wiſt not what it might be; but within a while after, perceiving that he was carried at eaſe, and ſeeing a great flote of dolphins environing gently round about him; and that they ſucceeded and ſeconded one another by turnes, for to take the charge of carrying him, as if it had beene a ſervice impoſed upon them all, and whereunto they were neceſſarily obliged; and ſeeing beſides that the carrike was a good way behind (by which he gathered that he went apace, and was carried away with great celerity:) He was not (quoth *Gorgias*) ſo fearful of death, or deſirous otherwiſe to live, as hee had an ambitious deſire to arrive once at the haven of ſafetie, to the ende that the world might know that he ſtood in the grace and favour of the gods, and that he repoſed an aſſured beliefe and firme affiance in them, beholding as he did the skie full of ſtarres, the moone ariſing pure and cleere with exceeding brightneſſe, and the whole ſea about him ſmooth and calme; but that the courſe of theſe dolphins traced out a certaine way and path, ſo that hee thought thus within himſelfe, that the divine juſtice had not one eie alone, but as many eies as there were ſtarres in the heaven, and that God beheld all about whatſoever was done both by ſea and land: Which cogitations and thoughts of mind (quoth he) mightily ſtrengthened and ſuſtained my bodie, which otherwiſe was readie to faint and yeeld with travell and wearineſſe: finally, when the dolphins were come as farre as to the great promontorie of *Tenarus*, ſo high and ſteepe, they were verie warie and careful that they ran not upon it, but turned gently at one ſide, and ſwom behind it a long the coaſt, as if they would have conducted a barke ſafe and ſound, to a ſure bay and landing place, whereby he perceived evidently that carried he was thus by the guidance of the divine providence. After that *Arion* (ſaid *Gorgias*) had made all this diſcourſe unto us, I inquired of him, where he thought that the ſhip aboveſaid intẽded to arrive. At *Corinth* (quoth he) without all doubt, but it will be very late firſt, for it being toward evening when I leapt into the ſea, I ſuppoſe that I was carried upon the dolphins backs no leſſe than a courſe of five hundred furlongs, and no ſooner was I from ſhip-boord, but there inſued preſently a great calme at ſea. Moreover, *Gorgias* ſaid: That he having learned the names aſwell of the ſhip-maſter as the pilot, and withall knowen what badge or enſigne the ſhip carried, made out certaine pinnaces, and thoſe manned with ſouldiours, for to obſerve what creeks, commodious baies, and landing places there were upon the ſaid coaſt; but as for *Arion*, *Gorgias* conveied him ſecretly with him, for feare leſt if the mariners ſhould have had any advertiſement of his deliverie and ſafetie, they might flie away and eſcape: But as God would have it, every thing fell out ſo, as we might ſee (quoth *Gorgias*) the very immediat hand of the divine power; for at one and the ſame inſtant that I arrived here, I had intelligence alſo that the ſaid ſhip was fallen into the hands of thoſe ſouldiors whom I ſet out; and ſo the mariners and paſſengers within it were taken all priſoners. Hereupon *Periander* commanded *Gorgias* preſently to ariſe to apprehend them, and lay them up faſt in cloſe priſon, where no perſon might have acceſſe unto them, or certifie them that *Arion* was alive and ſafe. Then *Aeſope*: Mocke on now (quoth he) at my gaies and crowes that talke and tell tales, when you ſee that dolphins alſo can in this wiſe play their youthfull parts, and atchieve ſuch proweſſes. Nay (quoth I then) we are able to report, *Aeſope*, another narration like to this, which hath bene ſet downe in writing, and received for currant and good theſe thouſand yeeres paſſed and more, even from the daies of *Ino* and *Athamas*. Then *Solon* taking occaſion of ſpeech by theſe words: Yea, but theſe matters, ô *Diocles* (quoth he) concerne the gods more neerely, and ſurpaſſe our puiſſance; but as for that which befell to *Heſiodus,* was a meere humane accident and not impertinent unto us, for I ſuppoſe you have heard the hiſtorie tolde. No I aſſure you (quoth I:) But woorth it is the hearing (quoth *Solon* againe.) And thus by report it was. A certaine *Mileſian* with whom as it ſhould ſeeme *Heſiodus* had familiar acquaintance, in ſo much as they lodged, eat and drunke together ordinarily in the citie of *Locres* kept their hoſts daughter ſecretly, and abuſed her body, ſo as in the end he was taken with the manner. Now was *Heſiodus* ſuſpected to have beene privie to him of this vilannie from the verie beginning; yea and to have kept the doore and aſſiſted him in concealing the ſame, whereas indeed he was in no fault at all, nor culpable any way; howbeit, by means of falſe ſuſpitions and ſiniſter ſurmizes of people, hee incurred much anger and was hardly thought of, neither could he avoide the unjuſt imputations of the world: for the brethren of the yoong damoſell lay in ambuſh for him neere unto a wood about *Locri,* ſet upon and ſlew him outright together with his ſervant or page *Troilus,* who tended upon him. After this murther committed, and their bodies caſt into the ſea, it chanced that the corps of *Troilus* being carried foorth into the river *Daphnus,* reſted upon a rocke environed and daſhed round about with the water, and the ſame not far from the ſea, which rocke thereupon tooke his name, and is ſo called at this day. But the dead bodie of *Heſiodus,* immediately from the land was received by a float or troupe of Dolphins, and by them carried as farre as to the capes *Rhion* and *Molychria.* It fortuned at the verie ſame time that the citizens of *Locri,* held a ſolemne aſſembly and celebrated feſtivall ſacrifices, called *Rhia,* which they performe even at this daie alſo in the verie ſame place with great magnificence and ſtate: this corps being eſpied floating toward them, (you may wel thinke) cauſed all the company there to marvell not a little, who thereupon ranne all to the ſhore, and taking knowledge that it was the corps of *Heſiodus,* becauſe it ſeemed freſh killed, they laid all other buſineſſe apart & with all ſpeed, ſent about and made inquiſition of this murther, by reaſon of the great renowme and name that went of *Heſiodus:* and this they followed with ſuch diligence, that quickly they found out the murtherers, whom after they were apprehended, they threw alive headlong preſently into the ſea, drowned them, and razed their houſe. Now was the corps of *Heſiodus* enterred neere unto the ſaid *Nemeium;* howbeit, few ſtrangers there be that know of this his ſepulcher, for concealed of purpoſe it is, by reaſon of the Orchonenians who made ſearch for it (by report) and were deſirous by the appointment of certaine oracles to take up his reliques, and burie them in their countrey. If then the Dolphins be ſo kind and lovingly affected to the dead, much more probable it is, that they be willing and readie to helpe thoſe who are alive, eſpecially if they be drawen and allured by the ſound of the pipes, fluits or other harmonie: for who is there of us all that knoweth not how theſe creatures are delighted in ſong, following and ſwimming along thoſe veſſels where they heare muſicke, as taking great pleaſure in the ſongs and muſicall inſtruments of thoſe paſſengers, who do ſing or play in a faire and calme ſeaſon: alſo they are not a little pleaſed to ſee yoong children ſwimming & they joy and ſtrive to be douſſing, badling, & diving together with them: and therefore provided it is by an unwritten law, as touching their ſecuritie, that they ſhould not be hurt; by vertue whereof none doe fiſh for them, no nor doe them any harme, unleſſe haply when they chance to be taken in any nets, they hinder the taking of other fiſhes, or otherwiſe hurt them, and then beaten they are and corrected gently for it, like as little children who have done amiſſe and made a fault. And here I call to minde what I have heard recounted for certaintie of the inhabitants of *Lesbos,* that in times paſt within their countrey, there was a yoong maiden ſaved by a Dolphin, from perill of being drowned in the ſea: but for that *Pittacus* ſhould know this much better, it were more reaſon that he himſelfe reported it. True it is indeed (quoth *Pittacus*) the tale is verie notorious and related by many. For there was an anſwere given by oracle to thoſe founders, who firſt peopled *Lesbos;* that when in ſailing upon the ſea they arrived at a rock called *Meſſogæan,* that is to ſay, *Mediterranean,* they ſhould caſt into the ſea for *Neptune* a bull, but for dame *Amphitrite* and the Nymphs *Nereides* a virgin alive. Now ſeven principall conductors & kings there were of that company which were to inhabit there, and *Echelaus* made the eight, expreſly named by the oracle for the planting of a colony, and he as yet a batcheler & unmaried. Now when the other ſeven, who had daughters mariageable, & yet unwedded, caſt lots among themſelves whoſe daughter ſhould be offered (as is before ſaid) it fell out ſo, that the lot light upon the daughter of *Smintheus;* her therfore they arraied with rich robes, & adorned with coſtly jewels of gold for that purpoſe, and being come to the place appointed, after they had made their praiers and oraiſons accordingly, as in ſuch a caſe, and were now at the verie point to throw her into the ſea; a certaine yoong man, one of the paſſengers in the ſhip, of a gentle nature and good diſpoſition (as it appeared) whoſe name was *Enalus*, being enamoured of the ſaid yong damoſell, entred preſently into a reſolution to ſuccor her in this extremitie, although hee ſaw well that it was in manner unpoſſible, and embracing her faſt about the middle, he caſt himſelfe and her together into the ſea: and even then there ran a rumor, although without any certaine ground or author; howbeit beleeved by many of the armie, that both of them were caried to land and ſaved alive: but afterwards (by report) the ſaid *Enalus* was ſeen in the iſle *Lesbos*, who made relation, that he and ſhee both were mounted upon dolphins backes, and ſo carried ſafe to the firme land without any danger. I could rehearſe other ſtrange narrations belonging hereto, more marvellous than theſe, able as well to raviſh with admiration, as to affect with delectation the minds of any that ſhall heare them; but hard it is to averre them all for true, and to bring proofe thereof, namely: That when there aroſe a mightie huge billow of water about the iſland like a rocke, ſo as no men durſt approch nere unto the ſea, *Enalus* only came thither and a number of Polype fiſhes, or poulpes followed after, and accompanied him to the temple of *Neptune*, where the biggeſt of them brought unto *Enalus*, a ſtone which he tooke and dedicated there in memoriall of this miracle; which ſtone we call *Ei* to this day. But in ſumme (quoth he) if a man knew well the difference betweene impoſſible and unuſuall, and could diſtinguiſh betweene that which is contrarie to the order or courſe of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleeving too raſhly, nor diſcrediting a thing too eaſily, he might obſerve wel from time to time your rule ô *Chilon*, [*Nothing overmuch*] which you ordeine to be kept. After him ſpake *Anacharſis*, ſaying: That is not to be wondered at, that the goodlieſt and greateſt matters in the world were done by the will and providence of God, conſidering that according to the good and wiſe opinion of *Thales*, there is in all the chiefe and principall parts thereof a certeine ſoule: for as the organ and inſtrument of the ſoule is the body; ſo the inſtrument of God is the ſoule: and like as the body hath many motions of the owne, but the greater part of them, and namely thoſe which are moſt noble, proceed from the ſoule; even ſo the ſoule likewiſe doth worke ſome of her operations by her owne inſtinct, but in others ſhe yeeldeth herſelfe to be ordered, turned, managed and directed by God, as it pleaſeth him to uſe her, being indeed of all inſtruments the moſt meet and handſome: for it were a very ſtrange and abſurd thing, that wind, water, clouds & raine, ſhould be Gods inſtruments, by meanes whereof he nouriſheth and mainteineth many creatures, and whereby he deſtroieth and overthroweth as many; and that he ſhould uſe the miniſterie of no living creatures in any worke of his: Reaſon it is yet and probable, that ſeeing ſuch creatures depend wholy upon the puiſſance and omnipotencie of God, that they ſhould ſerve al his motions, yea and obey his wils and ſecond his purpoſes, more than bowes are accommodate to the Scythians, and harpes or hautboies to the Greekes. After this ſpeech the poet *Cherſias* made mention of many others who had beene miraculouſly and beyond all hope & expectation ſaved from death, and among the reſt he gave inſtance of *Cypſelus* the father of *Periander*, whom being but a yoong babe and infant new borne, certeine bloudie murderers were ſent to kill, and upon the ſight of him, for verie pittie turned away and forbare to commit ſo bloudy a fact; but afterwards bethinking themſelves, and repenting ſuch fooliſh compaſſion, they returned backe againe to ſeeke him out but could not finde him, for that his mother had hidden him within a little corne flasket or twiggen hamper, called in Greek *Cypſele*: in remembrance whereof *Cypſelus* afterwards when he was a man dedicated a chappell within the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, as beleeving how at that time hee had beene miraculouſly preſerved, and by the hand of God kept from crying, which might have bewraied him to the murderers. Then *Pittacus* addreſſing his ſpeech to *Periander* ſaid thus: *Cherſias* hath done me a great pleaſure to mention this chapell or cell; for many a time deſirous I was to know of you what ſhould be the meaning of thoſe frogs which are ſeene graven round about the foot of the palme tree therein; and what they did concerne either the ſaid God *Apollo*, or the man himſelfe who built and dedicated the ſaid houſe. And when *Periander* willed him to aske *Cherſias* that queſtion, who wiſt well enough what it was, for that he was with *Cypſelus* at the dedication thereof; *Cherſias* ſmiled and ſaid: I will not expound the myſterie thereof, unleſſe I may know firſt of them that be heere, what is meant by theſe olde ſaid ſawes; *Nothing too much. Know thy ſelfe*: and that other mot, (which hath cauſed ſome to continue ſingle and unmaried, others to forbeare ſureti-ſhip, and many to be diſtruſtfull, to be mute and ſilent) to wit, *Give thy word and pay: Be ſurety, and be ſure of a ſhrewd turne.* And what need is there quoth *Pittacus* that we ſhould interpret and declare theſe ſentences, conſidering you ſo greatly praiſe the fables that *Aeſope* hath compoſed, which ſhew the ſubſtance of every one? *Aeſope* anſwered: So ſaith

Cherſias indeed when he is diſpoſed to jeſt and be merry with me: but when he ſpeaketh in good earneſt, he affirmeth that *Homer* was the firſt author of theſe ſentences, ſaying that *Homer* knew himſelfe well enough, who advancing forward to ſet upon other captaines of the Greeks,

Refuſed well and wiſely for to fight,
With Ajax, *ſonne of* Telamon *that knight.*

He ſaith moreover, that *Ulyſſes* approoved and commended this ſentence, *Nothing too much*; when he admoniſhed *Diomedes* in theſe tearmes:

Sir Diomede, *praiſe not me overmuch*
Ne yet diſpraiſe I love no doings ſuch.

And as for ſureti-ſhip, others are of opinion that he condemneth it as a leawd, naughty, and dangerous thing in theſe words

Who ſureties are for men diſtreſt
  and in calamity,
Taſte oftentimes for their kind heart
  much infortunity.

But this Poet *Cherſias* here ſaith: That the fiend *Ate*, which is as much to ſay as Plague or Infortunitie, was by *Jupiter* flung downe from heaven to earth, for that ſhe was preſent at the caution or warrantiſe which he interpoſed as touching the nativitie of *Hercules*, whereby *Jupiter* was circumvented and overtaken. Then *Solon:* Seeing it is ſo (quoth he) I am of this minde, that we ſhould give eare and credit to the moſt wiſe Poet *Homer*, whoſe counſell this is:

Since that the night comes on apace,
  and hath ſurpriſed us,
Full meet it is her to obey,
  and end our ſpeeches thus.

After we have therefore given thanks in powring out wine and offering it to the Muſes, *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*, let us (if you thinke ſo good) end this our aſſembly and banquet. Thus *Nicarchus* this our mery meeting brake up, and was for that time diſſolved.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THEM THAT MANAGE AFFAIRES OF STATE.

The Summarie.

T*yrannie in any publike government, be it of prince, ſeignourie or people, as it is dangerous and deteſtable; ſo we are no leſſe to feare anarchie, and the horrible confuſion of thoſe States where every one is a lord & maſter. The wiſe man ſaid very wel:* That a people or citie deſtitute of government, is neere to ruine; and publike affaires proſper well, when there be ſtore of good counſellers. *And on the other ſide, experience ſheweth, that humane ſocietie can not ſtand without magiſtrates, the mainteiners of lawes & good order, which be the nerves or ſinewes, the cords and props of our life and converſation one with another. But if there be any way in the world ſlipperie, it is that of the management of State affaires, by reaſon of the leawdneſſe of ſome, whom I may call Sage fooles, who runne by heaps after publike offices, not ſuffering men of honour to enter into them, as fearing to be afterwards ranged and ordered by reaſon. Since then that ambition is a mortall plague in the mind and underſtanding of him who would advance himſelfe by crooked and indirect meanes, it behooveth on the contrary ſide, that thoſe who have a ſincere affection to ſerve in publike place, take heed that they be not diſcouraged, although otherwhiles they be kept under and put downe by ſuch perſons as by good right ought to ſerve, and not command. To holde therefore ſome meane in this caſe, betweene mounting up unto vain-glory, and falling* *into cowardiſe,* Plutarch *for to content and ſatisfie a friend of his, giveth good inſtructions to every man that entreth into the managing of State affaires: and in the firſt place he requireth at his hands a good will, free from vanitie and lightneſſe, void of avarice, and delivered from ambition and envie: afterwards, his advice is, that he endevour to know thoſe well, whom he muſt governe, for to acquit him well in his owne dutie, in caſe he be inducted unto any high degree, in reforming himſelfe, and being furniſhed with a good conſcience, knowledge & eloquence, proper inſtruments for to go thorow all difficulties. This done, he teacheth a States-man to manage well his owne words, alſo what way he ought to take for the entrance into the conduct of his weightie affaires; what friends he is to chuſe, and how he is to demeane himſelfe aſwell with them as his enemies: afterwards, he diſcuſſeth and handleth this queſtion, to wit, Whether ſuch a perſon as he whom he hath repreſented, ought to intermeddle and deale in all offices, and reſolveth that he ought to manage none but that which is of greateſt importance. From this he proceedeth to ſpeake of that diſcretion which is requiſit for the ranging and bringing into order of ſlanderers and enemies; and withall, with what maner of affaires a politician ſhould buſie and imploy himſelfe, and whereto his ſpirit and minde is to tend; wiſhing above all, that he ſhould enterteine the amitie of other lords and rulers, who are able to further and advance the publike good; and in the meane time to be well adviſed that he doe not goe about to ſave, or ruinate rather, his owne countrey by forren meanes. Heereupon he diſcourſeth of thoſe maladies whereunto common-wealths be ſubject, and holdeth this: That if there doe ariſe any miſchefe, it ought to be repreſſed, kept downe and cured at home. Conſequently, he ſheweth unto a magiſtrate the maner of converſing with his collegues or companions in office: and after he had commended thoſe who walke ſingly, & go roundly and plainly to worke, hee entreth very pretily into a diſcourſe ariſing from the precedents, namely, as touching policie and good government, declaring wherein it doth conſiſt: and ſo toucheth in a word, the duetie of good ſubjects in a ſtate well ruled. Which done, he returneth to his former purpoſe, and maketh mention of certeine caſes, wherein a magiſtrate may accommodate and frame himſelfe to his owne people: alſo what perſons he ought to uſe & employ for aſſiſtance in the execution of important affaires, and from what vices he is to keepe himſelfe pure and cleane; how he ought to eſteeme and regard true honour, ſtanding upon two points: the one, that he do truſt and relie upon himſelfe: the other, that he be well beloved of the people, unto whom he ought to ſhew himſelfe liberall. To this aboveſaid, there is joined a certeine diſcretion to be uſed in the largeſſes of magiſtrates to their ſubjects (a thing much practiſed in olde time, and in theſe daies turned cleane againſt the haire) propoſing all in one traine, the true and moſt expedite way how to gaine the hearts of men, to which no prince nor governour ſhall ever attaine unleſſe he be ſuch an one as our authour doth deſcribe: and repreſenting on the other ſide, the ridiculous and unhappie condition of ambitious perſons, and other ſuch as thirſt after ſhamefull glorie, whoſe name ſerveth for nought els but to play with the leaſt peties in a common-wealth. And for a finall concluſion, he treateth of ſeditions and civill warres; namely, how a good magiſtrate ought to cary himſelfe therein; what a care he ſhould have to quench with all ſpeed ſuch fire, and keepe his ſubjects in good unitie and concord, and how he ſhould eaſily come thereto, which is the very cloſing up of the booke, inriched with notable arguments, ſentences, ſimilitudes and examples, for thoſe eſpecially, who have the command of others, and yet are beſides, to appeare before the throne of their ſovereigne, the examination, triall and fearefull judgement of whom, they can not avoid.*

INSTRVCTIONS FOR THEM that manage affaires of State.

IF there be any ſpeech in the world, ſir *Menemachus,* unto which a man may properly apply theſe verſes of the Poet *Homer:*

> *Of all the Greekes there is no man,*
> *Who blame theſe words or gaineſay can;*
> *But yet forſooth you ſay not all,*
> *Nor come are to the finiall.*

certes, it is in the caſe of thoſe Philoſophers, who exhort ſufficiently in generall tearmes, to undertake the affaires of State and publike government: but they teach us not how, nor give us precepts and directions thereto; who (me thinks) may wel be reſembled to thoſe, who ſnuffe and draw out the wicke of a lampe, but they powre no oyle into it. Seeing then that you have upon verie good reaſon deliberated and reſolved to meddle in the State affaires of your countrey, and deſire according to the nobilitie of your houſe and native countrey, from whence you are deſcended,

To frame your ſpeech with ſeemely grace,
And deeds performe, meet for your place.

and conſidering that you are not yet come to that maturitie of yeeres, as to have ſeene evidently the life of a wiſe man and true Philoſopher in matters of government, or viewed his carriage and demeanor in State affaires; ne yet to bee a ſpectator of worthie and goodly examples practiſed in deed and effect, and not diſcourſed upon in word onely; in which regards you have requeſted me earneſtly to give unto you certaine rules, precepts, and advertiſements for your better knowledge & inſtruction, how you ought to behave your ſelfe in this behalfe; me thought I I could not with any honeſtie denie your requeſt: but my deſire & wiſh rather is, that whatſoever I have collected to this purpoſe, may be anſwerable both to the ardent zeale of your intention, and alſo to the willing forwardnes of mine affection; and verily to gratifie your minde, I have accompanied theſe precepts with many faire and beautifull examples.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, let this be laid for a ſure ground & ſtrong foundation, That whoſoever mindeth to be a States man, and to mannage affaires of policie, bring with him a good intent, mooved by reaſon and judgement, and in no wiſe ariſing upon any blind paſſion, or deſire of vaine-glorie, or jealouſie and emulation of another, or finally upon default of other occupations: for like as there be ſome who ſpend moſt of their time in the common-hall or market place, although they have nothing there to do, becauſe they have no good thing at home to be emploied about; even ſo, you ſhall have diverſe men that thruſt themſelves into civill and publike affaires, for that they have no private buſines of their owne, worth tending, and ſo they uſe policie as a courſe of life, or rather a paſtime and recreation. Others there be againe, who being by ſome fortune or chance arrived, or rather caſt upon the management of common-weale, and having thereof enough &(as it were) their bellies full, can not with any eaſe withdraw and retire themſelves, when they are once in, reſembling thoſe for all the world, who being embarked in ſome veſſel take the ſea, only for to be rocked & ſhaken therin a little for their exerciſe; but after they be caried by a gale of winde into the deepe, when their heads once begin to turne, and their ſtomacks ſicke and readie to caſt, they looke out backe toward the land, but for all that, forced they be to tarrie ſtill on ſhip-boord, and to frame themſelves to their preſent fortune.

Their lovely joies and pleaſures are then gon,
To walke upon the hatches gaily dight,
With rowers ſeats in foiſt or gallion,
Whiles ſea is calme and weather faire and light:
Which yeelds proſpect moſt pleaſant to their ſight,
And hearts content, to cut the waves aright.

And theſe are they, who as much as any, or rather moſt of all, diſcredit the thing, in that they repent and be much diſcontented with their choiſe; namely, when in ſtead of glorie which they promiſed themſelves, they fall into infamie, and whereas they looked to be feared of others by the meanes of their great credit and authoritie, they bee carried into a world of affaires full of troubles and dangers. But he who commeth to the government of weale publike, and beginneth to enter upon it by ſound judgement and true diſcourſe of reaſon, as a moſt honeſt vocation in it ſelfe, and moſt agreeable to his eſtate and qualitie, will no whit be diſcouraged or diſmaied at any of theſe accidents, nor ever change his reſolution. For a man is not to take upon him the managent of State affaires, with intent to negotiate and trafficke there, or to make a gainefull trade and occupation thereof to himſelfe, like as in times paſt at *Athens*, *Stratocles* and *Dromoclidas*, with thoſe about them, for to go unto their golden harveſt (for ſo by way of jeſt and merrie ſpeech they called the Tribunall ſeat, and publike pulpit where orations were made unto the people) no nor upon any fit of a ſudden paſſion that commeth upon him, as *Cajus Gracchus* did at *Rome* ſometime, who at the verie time when his brothers troubles were hot, and his death freſh and new, retired for a while out of the way, and betooke himſelfe to a private courſe of life, farre remote from the common-wealth affaires; but afterwardes, being ſuddenly enkindled and inflamed againe with choler, upon certaine outragious dealings and opprobrious wordes given him by ſome, would needes in all the haſte upon a ſpleene, ruſh into the government of State, and quickly had his handes full of buſineſſes, and his ambitious humour was ſoone fed and ſatisfied: but then when as he would with all his heart have withdrawen himſelfe, changed his life, and taken his repoſe, he could not by any meanes lay downe his authoritie and puiſſance (to ſuch greatnes it was growen) but was killed before he could bring that about. As for theſe who compaſſe and dreſſe themſelves as plaiers for to act upon the ſcaffold in ſome great Theater, and champions to contend with other concurrents, or elſe aime at vaine-glorie; it can not be, but they muſt needs repent of that which they have done, eſpecially when they once ſee that they muſt ſerve thoſe whom they thought they were woorthie to rule, or that they can not chuſe but diſpleaſe them, whom they were deſirous to gratifie and content. And verily this is my conceit of ſuch, that they runne headlong upon policie and State matters, like unto thoſe who by ſome miſadventure, and ſooner than they looked for, be fallen into a pit; for it can not otherwiſe be, but they be woonderouſly diſquieted, ſeeing the depth thereof, and wiſh they had never come there, but were out againe, whereas they, who conſiderately, and upon good deliberation goe downe into the ſaid pit, carrie themſelves ſoberly with quietnes and contentment of ſpirit, they are vexed, offended and diſmaied at nothing, as who at their firſt entrie, put on a reſolute minde, propoſing unto themſelves vertue and their dutie onely, and intending no other thing for to be the ſcope and end of all their actions.

Thus when as men have well grounded their choiſe in themſelves, untill it be ſo ſurely ſetled & confirmed, that unneth or hardly it can be altered or changed; then they ought to bend all their wits to the conſideration and knowledge of the nature, of their citizens and ſubjects, whoſe charge they have undertaken, or at leaſtwiſe of that diſpoſition, which being compounded (as it were) of them all, appeereth moſt and carrieth greateſt ſway among them. For at the verie firſt and all at once, to goe about a change and to order and to reforme the nature of a whole cominaltie, were an enterpriſe, neither eaſie to be effected nor ſafe to bee practiſed: as being a thing that requireth long time and great authoritie and power. But doe they muſt as wine doth in our bodies; which at the beginning is moiſtned (as it were) and overcome by the nature of him who drunke it, but afterwards by gentle warming his ſtomacke, and by little and little entring into his veines, it becommeth of ſtrength to affect the drinker, and make a change and alteration in him; ſemblably, a wiſe politician and governor, untill ſuch time as he hath wonne by the confidence repoſed in him, and the good reputation that he hath gotten, ſo much authority among the people, that he is not able to rule and lead them at his pleaſure, will accommodate and apply himſelfe to their manners and faſhions ſuch as he findeth them, and thereby conjecture and conſider their humors, untill he know wherein they take pleaſure, whereto they are inclined, and what it is, wherewith they will ſooneſt be lead and carried away. As for example, the Athenians as they are given to be haſtie and cholericke; ſo they be as ſoone turned to pitie and mercy; more willing to entertaine a ſuſpition quickly, than to have patience and at leaſure to be enformed, and take certaine knowledge of a thing; and as they be more enclined and readie to ſuccour baſe perſons and of low condition; ſo they love, embrace and eſteeme merrie words and pleaſant conceits, delivered in game and laughter, more than ſage and ſerious ſentences; they are beſt pleaſed when they heare themſelves praiſed, and leaſt offended againe with thoſe that flout and mocke them; terrible they are and dread, to their verie rulers and magiſtrates, and yet courteous and milde enough, even to the pardoning of their profeſſed enemies. The nature of the Carthaginian people is farre otherwiſe, bitter, fell, fierce, ſterne and full of revenge; obſequious to their betters and ſuperiours; churliſh and imperious over their inferiours and underlings; in feare moſt baſe and cowardly; in anger moſt cruell; firme and conſtant in their reſolution, and where they have taken a pitch; hard to be mooved with any ſports, paſtimes, and jolitie; and in one word, tough & untractable. You ſhould not have ſeene theſe fellowes, if *Cleon* had requeſted them ſitting in counſell (foraſmuch as he had ſacrificed unto the gods, and was minded to feaſt ſome ſtrangers that were his friends, and come to viſit him) to put off their aſſembly to another day; to ariſe laughing and clapping their hands for joy; nor, if whiles *Alcibiades* was a making unto them a ſolemne oration, a quaile ſhould have eſcaped from under his gowne and gotten away, would they have runne after her away to catch her, and given her to him againe? nay they would have fallen all upon him; they would have killed them both in the place, as if they had contemned them and made fooles of them: conſidering that the baniſhed captaine *Hanno*, becauſe in the campe and armie when he marched, he uſed a lion as a ſumpter horſe to carrie ſome of his baggage; ſaying, that this ſavoured ſtrongly of a man that affected tyrannie. Neither do I thinke that the Thebanes could ever have contained themſelves, but have opened the letters of their enemies, if they had come into their hands: like as the Athenians did, who having ſurprized king *Philips* poſts and curriers would never ſuffer one of their letters

ters miſſive to be broke open, which had the ſuperſcription to Queene *Olympias* my wife; nor diſcover the love-ſecrets and merrie conceits paſſing from an husband being abſent in another countrey, and writing to his wife. Neither doe I thinke, that the Athenians on the other ſide, would have endured and borne with patience the proude ſpirit and ſcornefull contempt of *Epaminondas*, who would not make anſwere to an imputation charged againſt him, before the bodie of the people of *Thebes*, but aroſe out of the Theater where the people was aſſembled, and thorow them all went his way, and departed into the place of publike exerciſes. The Lacedæmonians likewiſe would never have put up the inſolent behaviour and mockerie of *Stratocles*, who having perſwaded the Athenians to ſacrifice unto the gods, in token of thankeſgiving for a victorie, as if they had beene conquerours, and afterwards upon the certaine newes of a defeature and overthrow received, when he ſaw the people highly offended and diſpleaſed with him, demaunded of them what injurie he had done them, if by his meanes they had beene merrie and feaſted three daies together?

As for the flatterers that belong to Princes courts, they play by their lords and maſters, as thoſe fowlers do, who catch their birds by a pipe counterfeiting their voices; for even ſo they, to winde and inſinuate themſelves into the favour of kings and princes, doe reſemble them for all the world, and by this deviſe entrap and deceive them. But for a good governour of a State, it is not meet and convenient that he ſhould imitate the nature and the manners of the people under his government; but to know them and to make uſe of thoſe meanes to every particular perſon, by which he knoweth that he may beſt win and gaine them to him: for the ignorance and want of skill in this behalfe, namely, how to handle men according to their humours, bringeth with it all diſorders, and is the cauſe of irregular enormities, as well in popular governments, as among minnions and favorites of princes. Now after that a ruler hath gotten authoritie and credit once among the people, then ought he to ſtrive and labour, for to reforme their nature and conditions if they be faultie; then is he by little and little to lead them gently (as it were) by hand unto that which is better: for a moſt painefull and difficult thing it is to change and alter a multitude all at once: and to bring this about the better, he ought firſt to begin with himſelfe, and to amend the miſdemeanours and diſorders in his owne life and manners, knowing that he is to live from thence foorth (as it were) in open Theater, where he may be ſeene and viewed on everie ſide. Now if haply it be an hard matter for a man to free his owne mind from all ſorts of vices at once, yet at leaſt wiſe he is to cut-off, and put away thoſe that bee moſt apparent and notorious to the eies of the world. For you have heard (I am ſure) how *Themiſtocles* when hee minded to enter upon the mannaging of State-matters, weaned himſelfe from ſuch companie wherein hee did nothing but drinke, daunce, revell and make good cheere; and when he fell to ſitting up late and watching at his booke, to faſting and ſtudying hard, hee was woont to ſay to his familiars, that the *Tropheæ* of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to ſleepe and take his reſt. *Pericles* in like caſe altered his faſhions in the whole courſe and maner of his life, in his perſon, in his ſober and grave going, in his affable and courteous ſpeech, ſhewing alwaies a ſtaied and ſetled countenance, holding his hand ever-more under his robe, and never putting it foorth, and not going abroad to any place in the citie, but onely to the tribunall and pulpit for publike orations, or els to the counſell houſe. For it is not an eaſie matter to weld and manage a multitude of people, neither are they to be caught of every one, and taken with their ſafetie in the catching; but a gracious and gainfull piece of worke it were, if a man may bring it thus much about, that like unto ſuſpicious & craftie wilde beaſts, they be not affrighted, nor ſet a madding at that which they heare and ſee, but gently ſuffer themſelves to be handled, and be apt to receive inſtruction; and therefore this would not in any wiſe be neglected, neither are ſuch to have a ſmall regard to their owne life and maners, but they ought to ſtudie and labor as much as poſſibly they can, that the ſame be without all touch and reproch: for that they who take in hand the government of publike affaires, are not to give account, nor to anſwere for that onely which they either ſay or doe in publike, but they are ſearched narrowly into, and manie a curious eie there is upon them at their boord; much liſtening after that which paſſeth in their beds; great ſifting and ſcanning of their marriages and their behaviour in wedlocke, and in one word all that ever they doe privately, whether it be in jeſt or in good earneſt. For what need we write of *Alcibiades*, who being a man of action and execution, as famous and renowmed a captaine as any one in his time, and having borne himſelfe alwaies invincible and inferiour to none in the managing of the publike State, yet notwithſtanding ended his daies wretchedly, by meanes of his diſſolute looſenes and outragious demeanour, in his private life and converſation at home, inſomuch as he bereft his owne countrey of the benefit they might have had by his other good parts and commendable qualities, even by his intemperance and ſumptuous ſuperfluitie in expence? Thoſe of *Athens* found fault with *Cimon*, becauſe he had a care to have good wine: and the Romaines finding no other thing in *Scipio* to reproove, blamed him for that hee loved his bed too well: the ill-willers of *Pompey* the Great, having obſerved in him that otherwhiles he ſcratched his head with one finger, reproched him for it. For like as a little freckle, mole or pendant-wert in the face of man or woman is more offenſive, than blacke and blew marks, than ſcars or maimes in all the reſt of the bodie; even ſo, ſmall and light faults otherwiſe of themſelves, ſhew great in the lives of Princes, and thoſe who have the government of the weale-publike in their hands, and that in regard of an opinion imprinted in the minds of men touching the eſtate of governours and magiſtrates, eſteeming it a great thing, and that it ought to be pure and cleere from all faults and imperfections. And therefore deſerved *Julius Druſus*, a noble Senatour and great ruler in *Rome* to be highly praiſed, in that, when one of his workemen promiſed him (if he ſo would) to deviſe and contrive his houſe ſo, that whereas his neighbours overlooked him, and ſaw into many parts thereof, they ſhould have no place therein expoſed to their view and diſcoverie, and that this tranſlating and alteration thereof ſhould coſt him but five talents: Nay (quoth he) thou ſhalt have ten talents, and make mine houſe ſo, that it may bee ſeene into on everie ſide, to the end that all the citie may both ſee and know how I live; for in trueth he was a grave, wiſe, honeſt, and comely perſonage. But peradventure it is not ſo neceſſarie that a houſe lie ſo open as to be looked into on all ſides: for the people have eies to pierce and enter into the verie bottom of governours manners, of their counſels, actions, and lives, which a man would thinke to be moſt covert & ſecret, & no leſſe quick-ſighted are they in their private carriage, as in that which they ſee them doe, and heare them ſpeake in publike; loving ſome with a kinde of admiration, and hating others in diſdainfull and contemptuous manner. What? will ſome one ſay, do not ſome cities otherwhiles love to be ruled by governors, whom they know to be diſſolute and diſordinate in their manner of life? Yes, I beleeve it verie well. And ſo forſooth, we ſee ſome women when they are with childe, long many times to eate grit of ſtones, and they who are ſtomacke-ſicke, and have a peeviſh appetite, deſire ſalt-fiſh, and ſuch other naughtie meates; but within a while after, when the fit is once paſt, they reject, refuſe and lothe the ſame; even ſo many States and Comminalties often-times upon an inſolencie, wantonneſſe and diſordinate deſire, or for default of better governours, be ſerved with thoſe that come firſt, and they care not with whom, notwithſtanding they have them in contempt and deteſtation, but afterwards they are very well content when ſuch ſpeeches goe of them, as *Plato* a comicall Poet in one of his Comedies inferreth to be ſpoken by the people themſelves:

Take me by hand, take holde and that right ſoone,
Agyrrius *els I'll captaine chuſe anon.*

And againe in another place, he bringeth in the people calling for a baſon and a feather for to provoke vomit, ſaying thus:

At my tribunall ſeat moſt eminent,
Herſelfe to me Mantile *doth preſent.*

And a little after,

A ſtinking head it keepes and feedeth now,
A maladie moſt foule, I do avow.

And the people of *Rome*, at what time as *Carbo* avouched a thing, and bound it by a great oath, yea, and the ſame with a curſe and execration, if it were not ſo; yet for all that all with one voice ſware aloud to the contrary, and proteſted that they would not beleeve him. Alſo at *Lacedæmon*, when one *Demoſthenes*, a wicked and diſſolute perſon, had delivered his opinion and advice, verie well fitting and behoovefull to the matter in queſtion, the people rejected it; but the *Ephori* having choſen one of their Ancients and honourable counſellers of Eſtate, willed him to ſpeake to the ſame point and the like effect; which was as much as if they had taken it out of one foule and filthie veſſell, and put the ſame into another that was faire and cleane, and all to pleaſe and content the people and multitude: ſo effectuall is for the government of an Eſtate, the aſſured perſwaſion of the honeſtie of a perſonage, and as forcible likewiſe is the contrarie. I write not thus to this end, that we ſhould neglect the grace of eloquence and the powerfull ſkill of well-ſpeaking, as if all ſhould lie upon vertue, and nothing els, but that we are to thinke, that Rhetoricall ſpeech and brave utterance is not the thing alone which perſwadeth the people, but that it is a good helpe, and doth cooperate in perſwaſion, ſo that we may in ſome ſort correct and amend that ſentence of *Menander*:

The honeſt life of him that ſpeakes in place,
And not his tongue, doth credit win and grace.

For life and language both ought to concurre, unleſſe haply one would ſay, That it is the pilot onely that governeth the ſhip, and not the helme; and the rider alone turneth the horſe head, and not the reines or bridle; ſemblably, that the ſcience of policie and government of weale-publike uſeth maners and not eloquence, as an helme or bridle, to manage, direct and governe a whole citie, which is (according to *Plato*) a creature (as one would ſay) moſt eaſie to be turned, ſo that it be conducted and guided, as it were, in the poope: for ſeeing that thoſe great kings, the ſonnes of *Jupiter* (as *Homer* calleth them) ſet out and puffe up their magnificent part, with long robes of purple, with ſcepters in their hands, with a guard of ſquires and penſioners about their perſons, with whom they were environed on everie ſide, yea, and with the oracles of the gods in their favour, ſubjecting unto their obeiſance (by this outward venerable ſhew) the common ſort, and imprinting an opinion that they are in greater ſtate than men; and yet for all this, were deſirous to learne how to ſpeake wiſely, and not careleſſe and negligent to winne grace by good ſpeech,

And eloquence, whereby more perfect they
In warlike feats might be another day.

not recommending themſelves to *Jupiter* onely the Counſeller, nor to bloodie *Mars* and warlike *Minerva*, but invocating likewiſe the Muſe *Calliope*,

Who doth upon great kings attend,
And makes them ay more reverend.

with her perſwaſive grace and vertue dulcing and appeaſing the violent mood and fierceneſſe of the people. Seeing (I ſay) that mightie princes be furniſhed with ſo many helps and meanes; is it poſſible that a private perſon, with a ſimple robe and popular habit, taking upon him to weld and rule a whole citie or State, ſhould ever be able to effect his purpoſe, namely, to tame and range into order an unruly multitude, unleſſe he have eloquence to aide him in this buſineſſe, for to perſwade and bring them to the bent of his bow? for mine owne part, I thinke No. As for the maſters and captaines of gallies and other ſhips, they have other officers under them, as their boat-ſwaines, to give knowledge what they would have to be done; but a good governour of State ought to have within himſelfe the ſkill and knowledge of the ſteeres-man to ſit at ſterne and guide the helme, and beſides that, good ſpeech alſo to make knowen his will and pleaſure, to the end that he need not at all the voice of another, nor be forced to ſay as *Iphicrates* did when he was overcome and braved out by the eloquent words of *Ariſtophon*: My adverſaries plaier acteth better than mine, but ſurely my play is much better than theirs: and that he have not need often-times to have in his mouth theſe verſes of *Euripides*:

Would God the ſeed and race of mortall men
Were ſpeechleſſe cleane, or could not ſpeake words ten.

As alſo of theſe:

Oh God, that mens affaires and cauſes all
Required no words, and for no ſpeech did call,
That oratours, whoſe tongues do plead ſo hard,
Were not emploied, nor in ſo good regard.

For theſe ſentences perhaps might give leave to ſome Alcamenes, Neſiots, and Ictines, or ſuch maner of people, who live by their handy-worke, get their living by the ſweat of their browes, and are paſt all hope to atteine unto any perfection of eloquence, to flie there-fro: as it is reported of two Architects or great Maſons at *Athens* ſometimes, who came in queſtion for their ſkill, whether of the twaine was more ſufficient to make a great fabricke and publike piece of worke; the one, who could ſpeake very well and expreſſe his minde with varietie and elegancie of words, pronounced a premeditate oration as touching the frame and building thereof; which he did ſo well, that he moved the whole aſſembly therewith; the other, who was more ſkilfull in Architecture, & the better workman by far, but one that could not deliver his mind ſo eloquently, when he came before the people, ſaid no more but thus: My maſters of *Athens*, that which this man here hath ſaid, I will do. And verily ſuch good fellowes as theſe, acknowledge no other goddeſſe or patroneſſe than *Minerva* the artiſan, ſurnamed *Ergane*, and who as *Sophocles* ſaith:

Upon the maſsive anvile tame,
With weightie ſtrokes of hammer ſtrong,
A liveleſſe barre of yron, and frame
Obeiſant to their labours long.

But the miniſter or prophet to *Minerva Polias*, that is to ſay, the protectreſſe of cities, and to *Themis* or Juſtice the protectreſſe of counſell:

Who of mens counſels preſident,
Diſſolves, or holds them reſident.

he (I ſay) having but one inſtrument to uſe and occupie, which is his ſpeech, by forming and faſhioning ſome things to his owne mould, and others which he findeth untoward and not pliable to the deſſeine of his worke (as if they were knurres and knots in timber, or flawes and riſings in yron) by ſoftning, poliſhing and making plaine and ſmoothe, embeliſheth in the end a whole citie. By this meanes the Common-wealth of *Pericles*, in name and outward appearance being popular, was in trueth and effect a principality and regall State, governed by one man the principall perſon of the citie: and what was it that did the deed? ſurely the force and power of his eloquence: for at the ſame time there lived *Cimon*, a good man, *Ephialtes* alſo and *Thucydides*, who being one day demanded by *Archidamus* the king of the Lacedæmonians, whether hee or *Pericles* wreſtled better: That were (quoth hee) very hard to ſay; for when in wreſtling I beare him downe to the ground, he is by his words able to perſwade the ſtanders-by and beholders, that he is not fallen, and ſo goeth cleere away with it. And verily, this gift of his brought not onely to him honour & glorie, but alſo ſafetie to the whole citie; which being by him ruled and perſwaded, preſerved and mainteined full well the wealth and eſtate which it had of her owne, and forbare to deſire the conqueſt of any other: whereas poore *Nicias*, although hee had the ſame good meaning and intention, yet becauſe he wanted that perſwaſive facultie with his ſmooth tongue and eloquent ſpeech, like unto a gentle bit, when he went about to bridle & reſtraine the covetous deſire of the people, could not compaſſe it, but mauger and in ſpight of his heart was overſwaied, caried away, and haled by the very necke into *Sicilie*; ſuch was the violence of the people. An olde ſaid ſaw it is, and a true proverbe: That it is not good holding of a wolfe by the eares; but ſurely of a city or State, a man muſt principally take hold by the eares; and not as ſome doe, who are not ſufficiently exerciſed nor well ſeene in the feat of eloquence, ſearch other abſurd and fooliſh handles to catch hold by, for to win and draw the people unto them: for divers you ſhall have, who thinke to draw and leade the multitude by the belly, in making great feaſts and banqueting them; others by the purſe, in giving them largeſſes of ſilver; ſome by the eie, in exhibiting unto them goodly ſights of plaies, games, warlike dances and combats of fencers at the utterance; which devices are not to draw and leade the people gently, but to catch them rather cunningly: for the drawing or leading of a multitude, is properly to perſwade them by force of eloquence; whereas the other allurements and enticements reſemble very well the baits that are laied for to take brute and wilde beaſts, or the fodder that herd-men uſe to feed them with. Since then it is ſo, that the chiefe inſtrument of a wiſe and ſage governour, is his ſpeech, this principall care would be had, that the ſame be not too much painted and ſet out, as if he were ſome yoong gallant that deſired to ſhew his eloquence in a Theater and frequent aſſembly of a great faire or market, compoſing his oration as a chaplet of flowers with the moſt beautifull, ſweet and pleaſant phraſes or tearmes that he can chuſe; neither ought the ſame to be ſo painfully ſtudied and premeditated as that oration of *Demoſthenes* was, which *Pytheas* ſaid (by way of reproch) that it ſmelled of lamp-oile; nor full of over-much ſophiſticall curioſitie of enthymemes and arguments too witty and ſubtile; nor yet with clauſes and periods exactly meaſured to the rule and compaſſe. But like as Muſicians are deſirous that in touching and ſtroke of their ſtrings there ſhould appeare a ſweet and kinde affection, and not a rude beating; even ſo in the ſpeech of a ſage ruler, whether it be in giving counſell or decreeing any thing, there ought not to be ſeene the artificiall cunning of an Oratour, nor any curious affection; neither muſt it in any wiſe tend to his owne praiſe, as if he had ſpoken learnedly, formally, ſubtilly, wittily and with preciſe reſpect and diſtinctions: let it be full rather of naturall affection without arte, of true heart and magnanimitie, of franke and fatherly remonſtrance, as may become the father of his countrey, full of forecaſt and providence, of a good mind and underſtanding, carefull of the common-weale, having together with honeſt and comely dignitie a lovely grace that is attractive, conſiſting of grave tearmes, pertinent reaſons, and proper ſentences, and the ſame ſignificant and perſwaſive. For in trueth the oration and ſtile of a States-man and governour admitteth in compariſon of a lawier or advocate pleading at the barre in court, more ſententious ſpeeches, hiſtories, fables and metaphors, which do then move and affect the multitude moſt, when the ſpeaker knoweth how to uſe them with meaſure, in time and place convenient; like as he did, who ſaid: My maſters, ſee that you make not *Greece* one-eied: (ſpeaking of the citie of *Athens*, when they were about to deſtroy it) and according as *Demades* alſo did, when he ſaid, that he ſat at ſterne to governe, not a ſhip, but the ſhipwracke of a citie and Commonwealth: Semblably *Archilochus* in ſaying,

Let not the ſtone of Tantalus
This iſle alwaies hang ouer thus.

Likewiſe *Pericles* when he gaue advice and commanded to take away that eie-ſore of the haven *Pirean*, meaning thereby the little iſle *Aegina*. In the ſame maner *Phocion* ſpeaking of the victorie atchieved by Generall *Leoſthenes*, ſaid thus; The *ſtadium* or ſhort race of this warre is good, but I feare (quoth he) the *dolichus* thereof; that is to ſay, the afterclaps and length thereof. In ſumme, a ſpeech ſtanding ſomewhat of hautineſſe, grauitie, and greatneſſe, is more beſitting a gouernour of State: and for example heereof, go no further than to the orations of *Demoſthenes* penned againſt king *Philip*, and among other ſpeeches, ſet downe by *Thucydides*, that which was delivered by the *Ephorus Sthenelaidas*: alſo that of king *Archidamus*, in the citie *Platææ*: likewiſe the oration of *Pericles* after that great peſtilence at *Athens*. As for thoſe long ſermons, cariyng a great traine of ſentences and continued periods after them, which *Theopompus*, *Ephorus* and *Anaximenes*, bring in to be pronounced by captaines unto their ſoldiours when they be armed and ſtand arranged in battell-ray, a man may ſay of ſuch as the Poet did:

What fooles would ſpeake thus many words,
So neere to edge and dint of ſwords.

Over and beſides; true it is that a man of government may otherwhiles give a taunt and nipping ſcoffe, he may caſt out alſo a merrie jeſt to moove laughter, and namely, if it be to rebuke, chaſtiſe, yea and to quippe one and take him vp for his good, after a modeſt maner, and not to touch him too neere and wound him in honour and credite to his diſgrace, with a kinde of ſcurrilitie. But aboue all it may beſeeme him thus to doe when he is provoked thereunto, and is driven to replie and give one for another by way of exchange: for to begin firſt in that ſort, and to come prepared with ſuch premeditate ſtuffe, is more beſitting a pleaſant or common jeſter, who would make the companie laugh, beſides that, it carieth alſo an opinion of a malicious and ſpitefull minde: and ſuch are the biting frumpes and broad jeſts of *Cicero* and *Cato* the elder; likewiſe of one *Euxitheus* a familiar and diſciple of *Ariſtotle*; for theſe many times began firſt to ſcoffe and taunt; but when a man never doth it but by way of reply or rejoinder, the ſodaine occaſion giveth him pardon to be revenged, and withall ſuch requitals carie the greater grace with them. Thus dealt *Demoſthenes* by one who was deepely ſuſpected to be a theefe: for when he would ſeeme to twit *Demoſthenes* by his watching and ſitting up all night at his booke for to endite and write: I wot well (quoth *Demoſthenes*) that I trouble and hinder thee very much with keeping my candle or lampe burning all night long. Alſo when he anſwered *Demades*, who cried out aloud: *Demoſthenes* would correct me (as much to ſay forſoorth) as if according to the common proverbe, the ſow ſhould teach *Minerva*: *Minerva* (quoth he, taking that word out of his mouth) what's that you ſay? *Minerva* was ſurprized not long ſince in adulterie. Semblably it was with no ill grace that *Xenetus* anſwered his country-men and fellow citizens, who caſt in his teeth and upbraided him, for that being their leader and captaine he fled out of the field: With you (quoth he) my loving and deere friends, I ran away for companie. But great regard and heed would be taken, that in this kinde he overpaſſe not himſelfe, nor go beyond the bonds of mediocritie in ſuch ridiculous jeſts, for feare that either he offend and diſpleaſe the hearers unſeaſonably, or debaſe and abject himſelfe too groſly, by giving out ſuch ridiculous ſpeeches: which was the fault of one *Democrates*, who mounting one day up into the pulpit or publicke place of audience, ſaid openly to the people there aſſembled; That himſelfe was like unto their citie, for that he had ſmall force, and yet was puft up with much winde. Another time alſo, and namely when the great field was loſt before *Charonea*, he preſented himſelfe to ſpeake unto the people in this maner: I would not for any thing that the common wealth were driven to ſuch calamitie and ſo hard an exigent, that you ſhould have patience to heare me, and neede to take counſell at my hands: for as in the one he ſhewed himſelfe a baſe and vile perſon, ſo in the other he plaied the brain-ſicke foole and ſenceleſſe aſſe: but for a man of

State, neither is the one nor the other decent and agreeable. Furthermore, *Phocion* is had in admiration for his brevitie of ſpeech, inſomuch as *Polyeuctus* giving his judgement of him, ſaid: *Demoſthenes* indeed is the greateſt Oratour, and the moſt famous Rhetorician, but *Phocion* beleeve me, is the beſt ſpeaker; for that his pithie ſpeech was ſo couched, that in few words it contained much ſubſtance and good matter. And even *Demoſthenes* himſelfe, howſoever he made no reckoning of all other orators in his time, yet if *Phocion* roſe up to deliver a ſpeech after him, would ſay: Lo heere ſtandeth up now the hatchet or pruning knife of my words. Well then, endevour you as much as poſſibly you can, when you are to make a ſpeech before the multitude to ſpeake conſiderately and with great circumſpection, directing your words ſo, as they may tend to ſafetie and ſecuritie, and not in any caſe to vſe vaine and frivolous language: knowing well that *Pericles* himſelfe, that great governour, was woont to make his praier unto the gods before hee entred into his oration in publicke audience: That he might let fall no word out of his mouth impertinent to the matter which he was to handle; and yet for all this, you muſt be well exerciſed nevertheleſſe, and practiſed in the knowledge how to be able to anſwere and replie readily; for many occaſions paſſe in a moment, and bring with them as many ſudden caſes and occurrences, eſpecially in matters of government. In which regard, *Demoſthenes* was (by report) reputed inferior to many others in his time, for that otherwhiles he would withdraw himſelfe and not be ſeene when occaſion was offered, if he had not well premeditated and ſtudied aforehand of that which he had to ſay. *Theophraſtus* alſo writeth of *Alcibiades*, that being deſirous to ſpeake, not onely that which was convenient, but alſo in maner and forme as it was meet; many a time in the mids of his oration would make a ſtay, and be at a *nonplus*, whiles he ſought and ſtudied for ſome proper tearmes, and laboured to couch and compoſe them fitting for his purpoſe: but he who taketh occaſion to ſtand up for to make a ſpeech of ſudden occurrences, and reſpective to the occaſions and times preſented unto him, ſuch a one I ſay of all others doth moſt moove and aſtoniſh a multitude, he I ſay is able to leade them as he liſt and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure. After this maner plaied *Leon* the Bizantine, who was ſent upon a time from thoſe of *Conſtantinople* vnto the Athenians, being at civill debate and diſſention among themſelves, for to make remonſtrances unto them of pacification and agreement: for a very little man was he of ſtature, and when the people ſawe him mounted up into the place of audience, everie one began to teigh, tittre, and laugh at him; which he perceiving well enough: And what would you do and ſay then (quoth he) if you ſawe my wife, whoſe crowne of hir head will hardly reach up ſo high as my knee? At which word, they tooke up a greater fit of laughter then before throughout the whole aſſembly: And yet (quoth he againe) as little as we both be, if we chance to be at variance and debate one with another, the whole citie of *Conſtantinople* is not big enough for us, nor able to holde us twaine. *Pytheas* likewiſe, the Orator, at what time as he ſpake againſt the honors which were decreed for king *Alexander*, when one ſaid unto him: How now ſir, dare you preſume to ſpeake of ſo great matters, being as you are, ſo yoong a man? And why not (quoth he) for *Alexander* whom you make a god among you by your decrees, is yoonger than my ſelfe.

Furthermore, over and beſides a ready tongue and well exerciſed, he ought to bring with him a ſtrong voice, a good breaſt and a long breath, to this combat of State government; which I aſſure you, is not lightly to be accounted of, but wherein the champion is to be provided for all feats of maſteries or fight; for feare leſt if it chance that his voice faile or be wearie and faint, he be overcome and ſupplanted by ſome one

Catchpoll, Crier, and of that ranke,
Wide-mouth'd Jugler or mount-banke.

And yet *Cato* the yoonger, when he ſuſpected that either the Senate or the people were foreſtalled by graces, laboring for voices and ſuch like prevention, ſo as he had no hope to perſwade and compaſſe ſuch matters as he went about, would riſe up and holde them all a day long with an oration; which he did to drive away the time, that at leaſt-wiſe upon ſuch a day there ſhould be nothing done or paſſe againſt his mind. But as touching the ſpeech of a governor, how powerfull and effectuall it is, and how it ought to be prepared, we have this already ſufficiently treated, eſpecially for ſuch an one as is able of himſelfe to deviſe all the reſt, which conſequently followeth hereupon.

Moreover, two avennes (as it were) or waies there be to come unto the credit of government; the one ſhort and compendious, yeelding an honourable courſe to win glory and reputation; but it is not without ſome danger; the other longer and more baſe and obſcure, howbeit alwaies ſafe and ſure. For ſome there be, who making ſaile and ſetting their courſe (as a man would ſay) from ſome high rocke ſituate in the maine ſea, have ventured at the firſt upon ſome great and worthy enterpriſe, which required valour and hardineſſe, and ſo at the very beginning entred into the middes of State-affaires, ſuppoſing that the Poet *Pindarus* ſaid true in theſe his verſes:

A worthy worke who will begin,
Muſt when he enters firſt therein,
Set out a gay forefront to view
Which may farre off the luſtre ſhew.

For certeinly the multitude and common ſort being ſatisfied and full already of thoſe governours whom they have bene uſed to a long time, receive more willingly all beginners and new-commers, much-like as the ſpectatours and beholders of plaies or games have better affection a great deale to ſee a new champion entring freſh into the liſts. And verily all thoſe honours, dignities and powerfull authorities which have a ſudden beginning and glorious encreaſe, doe ordinarily aſtoniſh and daunt all envie: for neither doth the fire (as *Ariſton* ſaith) make a ſmoke which is quickly kindled, and made to burne out of a light flame; nor glorie breed envie when it is gotten at once and ſpeedily; but ſuch as grow up by little and little, at leiſure, thoſe be they that are caught therewith, ſome one way and ſome another. And this is the cauſe that before they come to flower (as it were) and grow to any credit of government, fade and become dead and withered about the publike place of audience. But whereas it falleth out according to the Epigram of the courrier or runner *Ladas*,

No ſooner came the ſound of whip to eare,
But he was at the end of his carreare,
And then withall, in one and ſelfe-ſame trice
He crowned was with laurell for his price.

that ſome one hath at firſt performed an ambaſſage honourably, rode in triumph gloriouſly, or conducted an armie valiantly, neither envious perſons nor ſpightfull ill-willers have like power againſt ſuch as againſt others. Thus came *Aratus* into credit the very firſt day, for that he had defaited and overthrowen the tyrant *Nicocles*. Thus *Alcibiades* woon the ſpurres, when he practiſed and wrought the alliance betweene the Mantimeans and the Athenians againſt the Lacedæmonians. And when *Pompey* the great would have entred the citie of *Rome* in triumph, before he had ſhewed himſelfe unto the Senate, and was withſtood by *Sylla*, who meant to impeach him, he ſtucke not to ſay unto him: More men there be ſir, who worſhip the Sun riſing, than the Sun ſetting; which when *Sylla* heard, he gave place and yeelded unto him without one word replying to the contrary. And when as the people of *Rome* choſe and declared *Cornelius Scipio* Conſull all on a ſudden, and that againſt the ordinary courſe of law, when as himſelfe ſtood onely to be Aedile, it was not upon ſome vulgar beginning and ordinary entrance into affaires of State, but for the great admiration they had of his rare and ſingular proweſſe, in that being but a very youth, he had mainteined ſingle fight and combat hand to hand with his enemy in *Spaine*, and vanquiſhed him; yea, and within a while after, in the necke of it, had atchieved many worthy exploits againſt the Carthaginians, being but a militarie Tribune or Colonel of a thouſand foot: for which brave acts and ſervices of his, *Cato* the elder as he returned out of the campe cried out with a loud voice of him:

Right wiſe and ſage indeed alone is he,
The reſt to him but flitting ſhadowes be.

But now ſir, ſeeing that the cities & States of *Greece* are brought to ſuch tearmes, that they have no more armies to conduct, nor tyrants to be put downe, nor yet alliances to be treated and made, what noble and brave enterpriſe would you have a yoong gentleman performe at his beginning and entrance into government? Mary, there are left for him publike cauſes to plead, ambaſſages to negotiate unto the Emperour or ſome ſovereigne potentate; which occaſions do ordinarily require a man of action, hardy and ardent at the firſt enterpriſe, wiſe and warie in the finall execution. Beſides, there be many good and honeſt cuſtomes of ancient time, either for-let or growen out of kinde by negligence, which may be ſet on foot, renewed and reformed againe: many abuſes alſo by ill cuſtome are crept into cities, where they have taken deepe root, and beene ſetled, to the great diſhonour and damage of the common-wealth: which may be redreſſed by his meanes. It falleth out many times, that a great controverſie judged and decided aright; the triall likewiſe and proofe of faithfull truſt and diligence in a poore mans cauſe mainteined and defended frankly and boldly againſt the oppreſſion of ſome great and mightie adverſarie; alſo a plaine and ſtout ſpeech delivered in the behalfe of right and juſtice, againſt ſome grand Signiour who is unjuſt and injurious, have affoorded honorable entries unto the management of State affaires. And many there be, who have put foorth themſelves, made their parts knowen, and come up, by enterteining quarrels and enmities with thoſe perſonages, whoſe authoritie was odious, envied and terrible to the people: for we alwaies ſee that preſently the puiſſance and power of him that is put downe and overthrowen, doth accrue unto him who had the upper hand, with greater reputation: which I ſpeake not as if I did approve and thought it good for one to oppoſe himſelfe by way of envie unto a man of honour and good reſpect, and who by his vertue holdeth the chiefe place of credit in his countrey, thereby to undermine his eſtate, like as *Simmias* dealt by *Pericles*, *Alcmæon* by *Themiſtocles*, *Clodius* by *Pompeius*, and *Meneclides* the Oratour by *Epaminondas*; for this courſe is neither good nor honourable, and beſides, leſſe gainefull and profitable: for ſay that the people in a ſudden fit of furious choler commit ſome outrage and abuſe upon a man of worth; afterwards, when they repent at leaſure (being coole) that which they did haſtily in their heat of blood, they thinke there is no readier nor juſter means to excuſe themſelves to him, than to deface, yea, and undoe the ſaid partie who firſt moved and induced them to thoſe proceedings. And verily, to ſet upon a wicked perſon, who either by his audacious and inconſiderate raſhneſſe, or by his fine & cautelous devices hath gotten the head over a whole citie, or brought a ſtate to his devotion, ſuch as were in olde time *Cleon* and *Clitophon* at *Athens*; to ſet upon thoſe (I ſay) for to bring them under, yea, and utterly to deſtroy them out of the way, were a notable preamble (as it were) to the Comedy for him that is mounted upon the ſtage of a common-wealth, and newly entred into the government thereof. I am not ignorant likewiſe, that ſome by clipping the wings, or paring the nailes (as a man would ſay) of an imperious Senate and lordly Seignoury, taking upon them too much, and tyrannizing by vertue of their abſolute ſovereigntie, which was the practiſe of one *Ephialtes* at *Athens*; and another in the citie *Elis*, whoſe name was *Phormio*, have acquired honour and reputation in their countrey: but I holde this to be a dangerous beginning for to be enterpriſed by them that would come to the managing of State-affaires. And it ſeemeth that *Solon* made choiſe of a better entrance than ſo, for the citie of *Athens* being divided into three parts or regions; the firſt of thoſe that did inhabit the hill; the ſecond of them who dwelt upon the plaine; and the third of ſuch as kept by the water-ſide; he would not ſeeme to ſide with any one of theſe three parts, but caried himſelfe indifferent unto them all, ſaying & doing what he could to reconcile and reunite them together: by which meanes choſen he was, by the generall conſent of them all, the lord Reformer, to draw new lawes and conditions of pacification among them; and by this practiſe he eſtabliſhed and confirmed the State of *Athens*. Thus you ſee how a man may enter into the government of the common-wealth by honourable and glorious commencements: and this may ſuffice for the former avenne of the twaine aforeſaid unto the affaires of State.

As for the other way, which as it giveth more ſure acceſſe, ſo it is not ſo expedite and ſhort; there have beene many notable men who in old time made choiſe thereof, and loved it better: and by name, *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*, *Pammenes* the Theban, *Lucullus* in *Rome*, *Cato* and *Ageſilaus* at *Lacedæmon*: for like as the ivie windeth about trees ſtronger than it ſelfe, and riſeth up aloft together with them; even ſo each one of theſe before-named, being yet yoong novices and unknowen, joining and coupling themſelves with other ancient perſonages who were already in credit by riſing leaſurely under the wing and ſhadow of others, and growing with them, grounded themſelves and tooke good root againſt the time that they undertooke the government of State. Thus *Cliſthenes* raiſed *Ariſtides*; *Chabrias* advanced *Phocion*; by *Sylla*, *Lucullus* roſe; *Cato* by *Fab. Maximus*; *Epaminondas* came up by *Pammenes*; and *Ageſilaus* by *Lyſander*; but this man named laſt, upon a certeine inordinate ambition and importune jealouſie did wrong unto his owne reputation, by caſting and rejecting behind him a worthy perſonage, who guided and directed him in all his actions: but all the reſt wiſely and honeſtly reverenced, acknowledged, yea, and aided with all their power, even to the very end, the authors of their riſing and advancement; much like unto thoſe bodies which are oppoſed full againſt the Sunne, in returning and ſending backe the light that ſhineth upon them, doe augment and illuſtrate the ſame ſo much the more. Thus when evill tongued perſons, who envied and maligned the glory of *Scipio*, gave out that he was but the plaier and actour onely of thoſe woorthy feats of armes which he executed; for the authour thereof was *Lælius* his familiar friend: yet *Lælius* for all theſe ſpeeches was never mooved nor altered in his purpoſe, but continued ſtill the ſame man to promote and ſecond the glory and vertue of *Scipio*. As for *Afranius* the friend of *Pompeius*, notwithſtanding he was but of baſe and low degree, yet being upon tearmes to be choſen Conſull, when he underſtood that *Pompeius* fauoured others, gave over his ſute, and let fall the poſſibilitie that he had; ſaying withal: That it would not be ſo honourable unto him for to be promoted unto that dignitie of Conſulate, as grievous and troubleſome, to obteine the ſame againſt the good will, and without the favour and aſſiſtance of *Pompeius*; and ſo in deferring and putting off the matter but one yeere longer, he had not the repulſe when the time came, and therewith he kept his friend ſtill, and enjoied his favour. And by this meanes it commeth to paſſe, that thoſe who are thus led by the hand of others, and trained to the way of preferment and glorie, in gratifying one, do gratifie many withall; and beſides, if any inconvenience chance to enſue, the leſſe odious they be and hatefull for it: which was the reaſon that *Philip* king of *Macedonie* earneſtly exhorted and admoniſhed his ſonne *Alexander* that he ſhould provide himſelfe of many friends and ſervitours whiles he might, and had leaſure, even during the reigne of another; namely, by converſing and conferring graciouſly with every one, and by cheerefull behaviour and affabilitie to all, for to winne their love and favour; but when he was once inveſted in the kingdome, to chuſe for his guide and conductour in the managing of State-affaires, not ſimply him who is of moſt credit and greateſt reputation, but rather the man who is ſuch an one by his deſert and vertue: for like as every tree will not admit a vine to wind about the trunke & body thereof; for ſome there be that do choke & utterly marre the growth of it; even ſo in the government of cities & States, thoſe who are not truely honeſt and lovers of vertue, but ambitious and deſirous of honour and ſovereignty onely, affoord not unto yong men the meanes and occaſions of worthy enterpriſes and noble acts, but upon envie and jealouſie holde them under and put them backe as farre as they can, and thus make them to conſume and languiſh, as if they deteined from them their glorie, and cut them ſhort of that which is their onely food and nouriſhment. Thus did *Marius* in *Afrike* firſt, and afterwards in *Galatia* by *Sylla*, by whoſe meanes hee had performed much good ſervice; and in the end would not uſe him at all, but caſt him off; for that in trueth, hee was vexed at the heart to ſee him growe up as hee did, and to winne ſo great reputation under him, howſoever hee would have ſeemed to colour the matter, and make the ſignet in the colet of his ring which he ſealed withall, the pretenſe and cloake thereof. For *Sylla* being treaſurer in *Africke*, vnder *Marius* the lord General, was ſent by him unto king *Bocchus*, and brought with him *Jugurtha* priſoner; and being a yoong gentleman as he was, and beginning to taſte the ſweeteneſſe of glorie, he could not carrie himſelfe modeſtly in this good fortune of his, but muſt needs weare vpon his finger a faire ſeale ring, wherein he cauſed to be engrauen the hiſtorie of this exploit, and namely how *Bocchus* delivered into his hands *Jugurtha* priſoner: heereat *Sylla* tooke exceptions, laid this to his charge, and made it a colourable occaſion of rejecting and putting him out of his place: but he joining himſelfe with *Catulus* and *Metellus*, good men both, and the adverſaries of *Marius*; ſoone after chaſed *Marius* and turned him out of all in a civill war, which was well neere the ruine and overthrow of the Romaine empire. *Sylla* dealt not ſo with *Pompeius*, for he evermore advaunced & graced him from his very youth, he would ariſe out of his chaire, and vaile bonet vnto him when hee came in place: ſemblably hee caried himſelfe toward other yong gentlemen and gallants of *Rome*, imparting unto ſome the meanes of doing the exploits of captaines and commanders: yea quickning and putting others forward who were unwilling of themſelves; and in ſo doing he filled all his armies with zeale, emulation, and deſire of honor, ſtriving who ſhould doe better, and by this meanes became himſelfe ſuperior evermore, and ruled all; at length deſirous to be not the onely man, but the firſt and the greateſt among many that were likewiſe great. Theſe be the men therefore with whom a yoong States-man ought to joine; to theſe he ought to cleave, & in them as it were to be incorporate: not as that cockatrice or Baſilisk in *Aeſops* fables, who being carried aloft on the ſhoulders of the eagle, no ſooner came neere to the ſunne beames, but ſuddenly tooke his flight, and came to the place before the eagle: and after that maner to rob them of their honour, and ſecretly to catch their glorie from them; but contrariwiſe to receiue it of them with their conſent and good favour, and to give them to underſtand that they had never knowne how to rule unleſſe they had learned firſt of them to obey well, as *Plato* ſaith.

Next after this followeth the election and choiſe that they ought to make of their friends: In which point, they are not to take example either by *Themiſtocles* or *Cleon*: As for *Cleon* when he knew that he was to undertake the government upon him, aſſembled all his friends together, and declared unto them that he renounced all their amitie, ſaying; That friendſhip was oftentimes a cauſe that diſabled men, and withdrew them from their right intention in affaires of State; but it had beene farre better done of him to have exiled and chaſed out of his minde all avarice and contentious humors, to have clenſed his heart from envie and malice: for the government of cities hath not need of thoſe who are friendleſſe and deſtitute of familiar companions, but of ſuch as be wiſe and honeſt: but when he had baniſhed and put away his friends, he entertained round about him a ſort of flatterers, who daily ſtroked and licked him, as the comicall poets uſe to ſay. He became rough and ſevere to good and civill men, but in ſtead thereof he debaſed himſelfe to court, flatter, and pleaſe the multitude, doing and ſaying all things to content them, and taking rewards at every mans hand, combining and ſorting himſelfe with the woorſt and moſt leaud people in the whole citie, by their meanes to make head, and ſet againſt the beſt and moſt honorable perſons. *Themiſtocles* yet tooke another courſe, who when one ſaid unto him; You ſhall do the part of a good ruler and magiſtrate, in caſe you make your ſelfe equall unto every one alike; anſwered thus; I pray God I may never ſit in ſuch a throne or ſeate, wherein my friends may not prevaile more with me, than they that are not my friends. But herein he did not well, no more than the other, thus to promiſe any part and authoritie of his government unto thoſe with whom he had amitie, and to ſubmit the publicke affaires unto his private and particular affections: howbeit, for all this, he anſwered very well unto *Simonides*, requeſting ſomewhat at his hand that was not juſt: Neither were he a good muſician or poet, (quoth he) who ſhould ſing againſt meaſures: nor the magiſtrate righteous who in favour of any perſon doth ought againſt the lawes. For in truth a ſhamefull thing it were and a great indignitie; that in a ſhip the maſter or owner thereof ſhould give order to be provided of a good pilot and ſtereſman; that the pilot alſo ſhould chuſe good bote-ſwaines and other mariners,

Who can the helme rule in the ſterne below,
And hoiſe up ſaile above, when windes do blow.

Alſo that an architect or maſter builder, knoweth how to chuſe thoſe workemen and laborers under him, who will in no caſe hurt his worke, but ſet it forward, and take paines with him for his beſt behoofe: and a States-man or governour, who as *Pindarus* ſaith well,

Of juſtice, is the architect,
And policy ought to direct.

not know at the very firſt to chuſe friends of the ſame zeale and affection that he is himſelfe, to ſecond and aſſiſt him in his enterpriſes, and to be as it were the ſpirits to inſpire him with a deſire of well doing; but to ſuffer himſelfe to be bent and made pliable unjuſtly and violentlie; now to gratifie the will of one; and anon, to ſerve the turne and appetite of another: For ſuch a man reſembleth properly a carpenter or maſon, who by error, ignorance, and want of experience, uſeth his ſquires, his plumbs, levels and rules ſo, that they make his worke to riſe crooked and out of ſquare in the end. For certeinly frends be the very lively tooles, and ſenſible inſtruments of governors; and in caſe they doe amiſſe and worke without the right line, the rulers themſelves are not to ſlip and go awry with them for companie, but to have a carefull eie unto this, that unwitting to them they doe not erre and commit a fault. For this it was that wrought *Solon* diſhonor, and cauſed him to be reproched and accuſed by his owne citizens, for that having an intention to eaſe mens greevous debts, and to bring in that which at *Athens* they called *Siſachthia*, as if one would ſay, an aleviation of ſome heavie burden, which was a pleaſing and plauſible name, importing a generall ſtriking out of all debts, and a cancelling of bonds; he imparted this deſſeigne and purpoſe of his to ſome of his friends, who did him a ſhrewd turne, and moſt unjuſtly wrought him much miſchiefe; for upon this inkling given unto them, they made haſte to take up and borrow all the money they could, as farre as their credite would extend: not long after when this edict or proclamation aforeſaid concerning the annulling of all debts was come foorth and brought to light; theſe frends of his were found to have purchaſed goodly houſes, and faire lands, with the monies which they had levied. Thus *Solon* was charged with the imputation of doing this wrong, together with them, when as himſelfe indeede was wronged and abuſed by them. *Ageſilaus* alſo ſhewed himſelfe in the occaſions and ſutes of his frends moſt weake and feeble minded, more iwis than in any thing elſe, reſembling the horſe *Pegaſus* in *Euripides*,

Who ſhrunke full low and yeelded what he could,
His backe to mount, more than the rider would.

and helping his familiar frends in all their diſtreſſes more affectionatly and willingly than was meet and reaſon: for whenſoever they were called into queſtion in juſtice for any tranſgreſſions, he would ſeeme to be privie and partie with them in the ſame. Thus hee ſaved one *Phœbidas*, who was accuſed to have ſurpriſed ſecretly the caſtle of *Thebes* called *Ladmia*, without commiſſion and warrant, alledging in his defence, that ſuch enterpriſes ought to be executed by his owne proper motive, without attending any other commandement. Moreover, he wrought ſo with his countenance and favour, that one *Ephodrias*, who was attaint for an unlawfull and heinous act, and namely, for entring by force and armes with a power into the countrey of *Attica*, what time as the Athenians were allied and confederate in amitie with the Lacedæmonians, eſcaped judgement, and was found unguiltie; which he did, being wrought thereto and mollified (as it were) by tbe amourous praiers of his ſonne. Likewiſe, there is a miſſive of his found, and goeth abroad to be ſeene, which he wrote unto a certaine great lord or potentate in theſe tearmes: If *Nicias* have not treſpaſſed, deliver him for juſtice ſake; if he have tranſgreſſed, deliver him for my ſake; but howſoever it be, deliver him and let him go. But *Phocion* contrariwiſe would not ſo much as aſſiſt in judgement *Charillus* his own ſonne in law, who had married his daughter, when he was called into queſtion and indited for corruption & taking money of *Harpalus*, but left him and departed, ſaying: In all cauſes juſt and reaſonable I have made you my allie, and wil imbrace your affinitie; in other caſes you ſhall pardon me. *Timoleon* alſo the Corinthian, after that he dealt what poſſibly he could with his brother by remonſtrance, by praiers and intreaty to reclaime and diſſwade him from being a tyrant; ſeeing that he could doe no good on him, turned the edge of his ſword againſt him, and joined with thoſe that murdered him in the end: for a magiſtrate ought to friend a man and ſtand with him not onely with this gage, as farre as to the altar, that is to ſay, untill it come to the point of being forſworne for him, according as *Pericles* one day anſwered to a friend of his, but alſo thus farre forth onely, as not to doe for his ſake any thing contrary to the lawes, againſt right, or prejudiciall to the common-weale: which rule being neglected and not preciſely obſerved, is the cauſe that bringeth great loſſe and ruine to a ſtate; as may appeare by the example of *Phœbidas* and *Sphodrias*, who being not puniſhed according to their deſerts, were not the leaſt cauſes that brought upon *Sparta* the unfortunate warre and battell at *Leuctræ*. True it is, that the office of a good ruler and adminiſtratour of the weale-publicke, doth not require preciſely and force us to uſe ſeverity and to puniſh every ſlight and ſmall treſpaſſe of our friends; but it permitteth us after we have looked to the main-chance and ſecured the State, then as it were of a ſurpluſſage to ſuccour our friends, to aſſiſt and helpe them in their affaires, and take part with them. Moreover, there be certeine favours which may be done without envie and offence; as namely, to ſtand with a friend rather than another, for the getting of a good office; to bring into his hand ſome honourable commiſſion, or an eaſie and kinde ambaſſage, as namely, to be ſent unto a prince or potentate in the behalfe of a city or State, onely to ſalute him and doe him honour; or to give intelligence unto another city of important matters, in regard of amity, league and mutual ſocietie; or in caſe there fall out ſome buſineſſe of trouble, difficulty and great importance, when a magiſtrate hath taken upon himſelfe firſt the principall charge thereof, he may chuſe unto him for his adjunct or aſſiſtant in the commiſſion ſome eſpeciall frend, as *Diomedes* did in *Homer*:

To chuſe mine owne companion,
ſince that you will me let,
Ulyſſes *that renowmed knight,*
how can I then forget?

Ulyſſes likewiſe as kindly rendreth unto him the like praiſe againe:

Theſe courſers brave, concerning which
of me you do demand,
O aged ſire, arrived heere
of late, from Thracian land
Are hither come, and there were bred:
their lord them loſt in fight,
Whom valiant Diomedes *ſlew*
by force of armes outright,
And twelve friends more and doughtie knights,
as ever horſe did ride,
Were with him ſlaine for companie,
and lay dead by his ſide.

This modeſt kinde of yeelding and ſubmiſſion to gratifie and pleaſure friends, is no leſſe honourable to the praiſers than to the parties praiſed; whereas contrariwiſe, arrogancie and ſelfe-love (as *Plato* ſaith) dwelleth with ſolitudes, which is as much to ſay, as it is forſaken and abandoned of all the world. Furthermore, in theſe honeſt favors and kinde courteſies which we may beſtow upon ſome frends, we ought to aſſociate other frends beſides, that they may be in ſome ſort intereſſed therein alſo; and to admoniſh thoſe who receive ſuch pleaſures at our hands, for to praiſe and thanke them, yea, and to take themſelves beholden unto them, as having bene the cauſe of their preferment, and thoſe who counſelled and perſwaded thereto: but if peradventure they moove us in any undecent, diſhoneſt and unreaſonable ſutes, we muſt flatly denie them; howbeit, not after a rude, bitter & churliſh ſort, but mildly and gently by way of remonſtrance, and to comfort them withall, ſhewing unto them that ſuch requeſts were not beſeeming their good reputation and the opinion of their vertue. And this could *Epaminondas* do of all men in the world beſt, and ſhift them off after the cleanlieſt maner; for when hee refuſed at the inſtant ſute of *Pelopidas*, to deliver out of priſon a certeine Tavernor, and within a while after, let the ſame partie goe at libertie at the requeſt of his lemmon or harlot whom he loved, he ſaid unto him: *Pelopidas*, ſuch graces and favours as theſe, we are to grant unto our paramours and concubines, and not unto ſuch great captaines as your ſelfe. But *Cato* after a more ſurly and boiſterous ſort in the like caſe anſwered unto *Catulus*, one of his inward and moſt familiar friends. This *Catulus* being Cenſour, mooved *Cato* who then was but Queſtour or Treaſurer, that for his ſake he would diſmiſſe and ſet free one of his clerks of the Finances under him, againſt whom he had commenſed ſute and entred proceſſe in law: That were a great ſhame in deed (quoth he) for you, who are the Cenſour, that is to ſay, the corrector and reformer of our maners, and who ought to ſchoole and inſtruct us that be of the yonger ſort, thus to be put out of your courſe by our under officers and miniſters: for he might well enough have denied to condeſcend unto his requeſt in deed and effect, without ſuch ſharpe and biting words, and namely, by giving him to underſtand that this diſpleaſure that he did him in refuſing to doe the thing, was againſt his will, and that he could neither will nor chuſe, being forced thereto by juſtice and the law.

Over and beſides, a man in government hath good meanes with honeſty and honor to helpe his poore friends, that they may advantage themſelves and reape benefit by him from the common-wealth. Thus did *Themiſtocles* after the battell at *Marathon*: for ſeeing one of them that lay dead in the field to have hanging at his necke chaines, and collars, with other bracelets of gold about his armes, paſſed by, and would not ſeeme for his owne part to meddle with them, but turning backe to a familiar friend of his, one of his folowers; Here (quoth he) off with theſe ornaments and take them to your ſelfe, for you are not yet come to be ſuch an one as *Themiſtocles*. Moreover the affaires and occurrences daily incident in the world, doe preſent vnto a magiſtrate and great ruler ſuch like occaſions, whereby he may be able to benefit and enrich his friends: for all men cannot be wealthy nor like to you ô *Menemachus*. Give then unto one friend a good and juſt cauſe to plead unto and defend, which he may gaine well by and fill his purſe; unto another, recommend the affaires and buſineſſe of ſome great and rich perſonage, who hath neede of a man that knoweth how to manage and order the ſame better than himſelfe; for another, harken out where there is a good bargaine to be made, as namely, in the undertaking of ſome publicke worke, or helpe him to the taking of a good farme at a reaſonable rent, whereby he may be a gainer. *Epaminondas* would do more than thus; for upon a time he ſent one of his friends who was but poore unto a rich burgeſſe of *Thebes*, to demaund a whole talent of money freely to be given unto him, and to ſay, that *Epaminondas* commanded him to deliver ſo much; The burgeſſe woondring at ſuch a meſſage, came unto *Epaminondas*, to know the cauſe why hee ſhould part with a talent of ſilver unto him; mary (quoth he) this is the reaſon; The man whom I ſent is honeſt, but poore, and you by robbing the common-wealth are become rich. And by report of *Xenophon*, *Ageſilaus* tooke no ſmal joy & glory in this, that he had enriched his friends, whiles himſelfe made no account at all of money.

But foraſmuch according to the ſaying of *Simonides*, as all larks ought to have a cap or creſt upon the head; ſo every government of State bringeth with it enmities, envies, and litigious jealouſies; this is a point wherein a man of eſtate and affaires ought to be well enformed and inſtructed. To begin therefore to treat of this argument, many there be who highly praiſe *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, for that whenſoever they were to goe out of the territorie of *Attica*, either in embaſſage or to manage warres together; they had no ſooner their charge and commiſſion, but they preſently laid downe all the quarrels and enmitie betweene even in the very confines and frontiers of their countrey, and afterwards when they were returned, tooke up and enterteined them againe. Some alſo there are who be wonderfull well pleaſed with the practiſe and faſhion of *Cretinas* the Magneſian. This *Cretinas* had for his concurrent an adverſary in the government of State, a noble man of the ſame citie named *Hermias*, who although he were not very rich, yet ambitious he was, and caried a brave and hautie minde: *Cretinas* in the time of the warre that *Mithridates* made for the conqueſt of *Aſia*, ſeeing the citie in danger, went unto the ſaid *Hermias*, and made an offer unto him to take the charge of captaine generall for the defence of the citie, and in the meane while himſelfe would go foorth to retire to ſome other place; or otherwiſe, if he thought better that himſelfe ſhould take upon him the charge of the warre, then he would depart out of the citie into the countrey for the time, for feare leſt if they taried both behinde and hindered one another as they were woont to doe by their ambitious minds, they ſhould vndoo the ſtate of the citie: This motion liked *Hermias* very well, who confeſſing that *Cretinas* was a more expert warrior than himſelfe, departed with his wife and children out of the citie: Now *Cretinas* made meanes to ſend him out before with a convoy, putting into his hands his owne money, as being more profitable to them who were without their houſes and fled abroad, than to ſuch as lay beſieged within the citie, which being at the point to be loſt, was by this meanes preſerved beyond al hope and expectation: for if this be a noble and generous ſpeech proceeding from a magnanimous hart, to ſay thus with a loud voice:

My children well I loue, but of my hart,
My native ſoile by farre hath greater part.

Why ſhould not they have this ſpeech readier in their mouthes, to ſay unto every one? I hate this or that man, and willing I would be to doe him a diſpleaſure; but my native countrey I love ſo much the more? For not to deſire to be at variance and debate ſtill with an enimie, in ſuch cauſes as for which we ought to abandon and caſt off our friend, were the part of a moſt fell, ſavage, and barbarous nature: yet did *Phocion* and *Cato* better in mine opinion, who enterteined not any enmitie with their citizens in regard of difference and variance betweene them about bearing rule and government; but became implacable and irreconcilable onely in publike cauſes, when queſtion was of abandoning or hurting the weale publike; for otherwiſe in private matters, they caried themſelves kindly enough, without any ranckor or malice even toward them, againſt whom they had conteſted in open place, as touching the State; for we ought not to eſteeme or repute any citizen an enimie, unleſſe ſuch an one be bred amongſt them as *Ariſtion*, or *Nabis*, or *Catiline*, who are to be reckoned botches rather, and peſtilent maladies of a citie than citizens; for all others if haply they be at a jarre or diſcord, a good magiſtrate ought to bring them into tune and good accord againe, by gently ſetting up and letting downe, as a ſkilfull Muſician would doe by the ſtrings of his inſtrument; and not in anger to come upon thoſe that are delinquents, roughly and after an outragious maner, even to their detriment and diſgrace; but after a more milde and civill ſort, as *Homer* ſpeaketh in one place:

Certes, faire friend, I would have held,
That others for your wit you had exceld.

As alſo in another:

You know, if that you liſt (iwis)
To tell a better tale than this.

Yea, and when they ſhall either ſay or do that which is good and convenient, not to ſhew himſelfe to grieve and grudge at their credit and reputation which they win thereby, nor to be ſparie in affoording them honourable words to their commendation and advantage: for in ſo doing, thus much will be gained, that the blame which ſhall be laied upon them another time when they deſerve it, will be better taken, and more credit given to it: and beſides, by how much more we ſhall exalt their vertues, ſo much the more we may beat downe and depreſſe their vices when they do amiſſe, by making compariſon of them both, and ſhewing how much the one is more worthy and beſeeming than the other: for mine owne part, I holde it meet and good, that a man of government ſhould give teſtimony in the behalfe of his adverſaries in righteous & juſt cauſes; alſo aſſiſt and helpe them out of troubles, in caſe they be brought into queſtion by ſome leawd ſycophants, yea, and diſcredit and diſable the imputations charged upon them, namely, when he ſeeth that ſuch matters for which they are moleſted, be farre from their intention and meaning. Thus *Nero*, a cruell tyrant though he was, a little before he put *Thraſeas* to death, whom he hated and feared moſt of all men in the world, notwithſtanding one laied to his charge before him that he had given a wrong dome or unjuſt ſentence: I would (quoth he) that I could be aſſured that *Thraſeas* loved me ſo well as I am ſure he a is moſt upright and juſt Judge. Neither

ther were it amiſſe for the aſtoniſhing & daunting of others, who be of a naughty nature, when they doe commit any groſſe faults, to make mention other-whiles of ſome adverſarie of theirs who is of a more modeſt behaviour and civill carriage, by ſaying: Such an one (I warrant you) would never have ſaid or done thus. Moreover, it were not impertinent to put ſome, who doe offend, in minde of their fathers and anceſtours, that have bene good and honeſt, like as *Homer* did:

A ſonne (iwis) ſir Tydeus *left behinde,*
Unlike himſelfe, and much growen out of kinde.

And *Appius Claudius* being the concurrent to *Scipio Africanus*, when they ſtood both for one magiſtracie, ſaid unto him as he met him in the ſtreet: O *Paulus Aemilius*, how deeply wouldeſt thou ſigh for griefe and ſorow, in caſe thou wert advertiſed that one *Philonicus* a Publicane or Banker and no better, accompanied and guarded thy ſonne thorow the city, going downe toward the aſſembly of *Cornices* for to be choſen Cenſour? This maner of reprehenſion, as it admoniſheth the offender, ſo it doth honour unto the admoniſher. *Neſtor* likewiſe in a Tragedie of *Sophocles*, anſwereth as politickly unto *Ajax*, when he reproched him, ſaying:

I blame not you ſir Ajax, *for your ſpeech,*
Naught though it be; your words are nothing liech.

Semblably, *Cato* who had conteſted againſt *Pompey*, for that being combined and in league with *Julius Caeſar*, he aſſaulted and forced the citie of *Rome*, when as afterwards they were growen to open warre one againſt the other, opined and gave his advice to conferre the charge and regiment of the common-weale upon *Pompeius*, ſaying withall: That they who could doe moſt miſchiefe, were the fitteſt men to ſtay the ſame: for thus a blame or reproofe mingled with a praiſe and commendation, eſpeciallly, if the ſame grow to no opprobrious tearmes, but be contained within the compaſſe of a franke and free remonſtrance, working not a ſpightfull ſtomacke, but a remorſe of conſcience and repentance, ſeemeth kinde and dutifull; whereas deſpiteous reproches are never ſeemely and decent in the mouth of a magiſtrate and man of honour. Marke the opprobrious termes and taunts that *Demoſthenes* let flie againſt *Aeſchines*, thoſe alſo that *Aeſchenes* gave him; likewiſe the bitter frumps which *Hyperides* wrote againſt *Demades*; and ſee if *Solon* ever delivered ſuch, or if there came the like out of the mouth of *Pericles*, of *Lycurgus* the Lacedæmonian, or of *Pittacus* the Leſbian; and as for *Demoſthenes*, he forbare ſuch ſharpe and cutting tearmes otherwiſe, and never uſed them but in pleading againſt ſome criminall cauſes; for his orations againſt *Philip* are cleere and voide of all nips, flouts, and ſcoffes whatſoever: and in truth ſuch maner of dealing diffameth the ſpeaker more, than thoſe againſt whom they bee ſpoken; they bring confuſion in all affaires; they trouble aſſemblies both in counſell houſe and alſo in common hall; In which regard, *Phocion* yeelding upon a time to one that was given to raile, brake off his oration, held his peace for a while and came downe; but after, the other with much a doo held his tongue and gave over his foule language, he mounted up into the place of audience againe, and going on in his former ſpeech which was interrupted and diſcontinued, ſaid thus: Now that I have already my maſters ſpoken ſufficiently of horſemen, men of armes, and ſoldiours heavily armed at all peeces, it remaineth to diſcourſe of light footemen, and targuatiers nimbly appointed.

But foraſmuch as this is an hard matter unto many, to beare with ſuch broad language, and to conteine, and oftentimes theſe taunting ſcoffers meete with their matches, and have their mouthes ſtopped, and are put to ſilence by ſome pretie replies; I would wiſh that the ſame were ſhort, pithie, and delivered in very fewe words, not ſhewing any heate of anger and choler, but a kinde of ſweete mildeneſſe, after the maner of a grave laughter, yet withall ſomewhat tart and biting; and ſuch ordinarily be thoſe that are returned fitly in the ſame kinde againſt them that firſt began: for like as thoſe darts which are recharged upon them that flung them firſt, ſeeme to be driven with good will, and ſent backe againe with great force and firme ſtrength of him who was ſtroken with them; even ſo it ſeemeth that a ſharpe and biting ſpeech retorted againſt him who firſt ſpake it, commeth forceable and with a power of wit and underſtanding from the partie who received it; ſuch was the replie of *Epaminondas* unto *Calliſtratus*, who reproched and upbraided the Thebanes and Argives with the parents of *Oedipus* and *Oreſtes*, for that the one being borne in *Thebes* ſlew his owne father, and the other at *Argos* killed his mother: true indeed quoth *Epaminondas*, and therefore we baniſhed them out of our cities, but you receive them into yours. Semblable was the anſwer of *Antalcidas* a Lacedæmonian unto an Athenian, who ſaid unto him after a boaſting and vaunting maner: We have driven you oftentimes from the river *Cephaſus*; but we (quoth he) never yet drave you frō the river *Eurotas:* In like ſort replied *Phocion* pleaſantly upon *Demades* when he cried aloud, The Athenians will put thee to death if they enter once into their raging fits: But they (quoth he) will doe the ſame by thee, if they were in their right wits: and *Craſſus* the oratour whē *Domitius* demanded this queſtion of him; When the lamprey which you kept and fed in your poole was dead, did you never weepe for it, and ſay true? came upon him quickly againe in this wiſe: And you ſir when you had buried three of of your wives one after another, did you ever ſhed teare for the matter, & tell troth? And verilie theſe rules are not onely to be practiſed in matters of State-affairs, but they have their uſe alſo in other parts of mans life.

Moreover, ſome there be who will intrude and thruſt themſelves into all ſorts of publike affaires, as *Cato* did; and theſe are of opinion, that a good citizen ſhould not refuſe any charge or publike adminiſtration ſo farre foorth as his power will extend: who highly commend *Epaminondas*; for that when his adverſaries and evill willers upon envie had cauſed him to be choſen a bailiſe and receiver of the citie revenues, thereby to doe him a ſpight and ſhrewd turne; hee did not deſpiſe & thinke baſely of the ſaid office; but ſaying, that not onely magiſtracie ſheweth what maner of man one is, but alſo a man ſheweth what the magiſtracie is, he brought that office into great dignitie and reputation, which before was in no credite and account at all, as having the charge of nothing els but of keeping the ſtreetes cleane, of gung-farming and carying dung foorth out of the narrow lanes and blinde allies, and turning water-courſes. And even I *Plutarch* my ſelfe doubt not, but I make good ſport and game unto many who paſſe through our citie, when they ſee me in the open ſtreetes otherwhiles buſie and occupied about the like matters; but to meete with ſuch, I might helpe my ſelfe with that which I have found written of *Antiſthenes*; for when ſome there were that meruailed much at him for carrying openly in his hands through the market place a peece of ſalt-fiſh, or ſtock-fiſh which he had bought: It is for mine own ſelfe (quoth he alowd) that I carie it; but cōtrariwiſe mine anſwer is to ſuch, as reprove me when they finde me in proper perſon preſent, at the meaſuring and counting of bricks and tiles, or to ſee the ſtones, ſand, and lime laid downe, which is brought into the citie; it is not for my ſelfe that I builde, but for the city and common-wealth, for many other things there be, which if a man exerciſe or manage in his owne perſon and for himſelfe, hee may bee thought baſe minded and mechanical; but in caſe he do it for the common-wealth and the State, and for the countrey and place where he liveth, it cannot be accounted a vile or ungentleman-like ſervice, but a great credite even to bee ſerviceable, ready and diligent to execute the meaneſt functions that be. Others there are, who thinke the faſhion that *Pericles* uſed to be more ſtately, grave, and decent, and namely *Critelaus* the peripateticke among the reſt, who was of this mind, that as the two great galiaſſes, to wit, *Salaminia* at *Athens*, and *Paralos* were not ſhot or lanched into the ſea for every ſmall matter, but onely upon urgent and neceſſarie occaſions; even ſo a man of government ſhould be emploied in the chieſe & greateſt affaires, like as the ſoveraigne and king of the worlde, according to the poet *Euripides*,

των αγαν θεὸς ἁπτεται.

For God himſelfe doth manage and diſpence
things of moſt weight, by his ſole government.
But matters high and of ſmall conſequence,
he doth referre to fortunes regiment.

For we cannot commend the exceſſive ambition, the aſpiring and contentious ſpirit of *Theagenes*, who contented not himſelfe to have gone through all the ordinary games with victory, and to have wonne the prizes in many other extraordinary maſtries and feats of activity, to wit, not onely in that generall exerciſe *Pancration*, wherein hand and foote both is put to the uttermoſt at once, but alſo at buffets, & at running a courſe in the long race: Finally, being one day at a ſolemne anniverſarie feaſt or yeeres-maund in the memorial of a certaine demi-god (as the manner was) when he was ſet, & the meat ſerved up to the boord, he would needs riſe from the table for to performe another general *Pancratium*: as if forſooth it had belonged to no man in the world to atchieve the victorie in ſuch feats but himſelfe, if hee were preſent in place: by which profeſſion he had gotten together as good as twelve hundred coronets, as prizes at ſuch combats, of which the moſt part were of ſmall or no valew at all; a man would ſay they had beene chaffe or ſuch refuſe and riffe raffe. Like unto him for all the world be thoſe, who are readie (as a man would ſay) at all howers to caſt of all their clothes to their verie ſingle waſtcot or ſhirt, for to undertake all affaires that ſhall be preſented; by which meanes, the people have enough and too much of them; they become odious and yrkeſome unto them; in ſuch ſort that if they chance to do well and proſper, they envie them; if they do otherwiſe than well and miſcarrie, they rejoice and be glad at heart therefore. Againe, that which is admired in them at their firſt entrance into government, turneth in the end to a jeſt and meere mockerie, much after this order, *Metiochus* is the Generall captaine; *Metiochus* looketh to the high waies; *Metiochus* bakes our bread; *Metiochus* grinds our meale; *Metiochus* doth everie thing, and is all in all; finally, *Metiochus* ſhall pay for this one day, and crie woe is me in the end. Now was this *Metiochus* one of *Pericles* his followers and favorites, who making uſe of his authoritie out of meaſure and compaſſe, by the countenance thereof, would employ himſelfe in all publike charges and commiſſions whatſoever, untill at the laſt he became contemptible and deſpiſed. For in truth a man of government ought ſo to carrie himſelfe, as that the people ſhould evermore have a longing appetite unto him, be in love with him, and alwaies deſirous to ſee him againe, if he be abſent. This policie did *Scipio Africanus* wiſely practiſe, who aboad the moſt part of the time in the countrey; by this meanes both eaſing himſelfe of the heavie loade of envie, and alſo giving thoſe the while, good leaſure to take breath, who ſeemed to bee kept downe by his glorie. *Timeſias* the Clazomenian, was otherwiſe a good man and a ſufficient polititian, howbeit little wiſt he, how he was envied in the citie, becauſe he would ſeeme to do everie thing by himſelfe, untill ſuch time as there befell unto him ſuch an accident as this. There chanced to be playing in the mids of a ſtreet as he paſſed by, a companie of boies, and their game was, who could draw with a cudgell a certaine cockall bone out of an hole. Some boies there were who held, that the bone lay ſtill within; but he who had ſmitten it, maintained the contrarie (and ſaid withall) I would I had as well daſhed out *Timeſias* braines out of his head, as I am ſure this bone was ſtrucken out of the hole: *Timeſias* ouerheard this word, and knowing thereby what envie and malice all the people bare unto him, returned home preſently to his houſe, and told his wife the whole matter, commaunding her to truſſe and packe up all both bag and baggage, and to follow after him; who immediately went out of doores, and departed for ever out of the citie *Clazomene*. It ſhould ſeeme alſo that *Themiſtocles* was almoſt in the ſame plight, & wanted but a litle of the like ſhrewd turne from the Atheniās, when he was driven thus to ſay unto them: Ah my good friends and neighbours, why are you wearie and thinke much to receive ſo great good at my hands? But as touching theſe perſons above ſaid, ſome words of theirs were well placed, & others not. For a wiſe States-man, in care, affection & forecaſt, ought not to refuſe any publik charge whatſoever, but to take paines in having an eie to all, & to underſtand and know everie particular; and not to reſerve himſelfe cloſe, as it were, ſome holy anchor or ſacred tackling laid up in ſome ſecret cabin of a ſhip, and not to attend onely upon extremities, and to tarrie untill he be emploied upon occaſions of great neceſſitie and utmoſt danger. But like as good patrons or maſters of a ſhip, lay their own hands to ſome buſineſſe, but others they performe ſitting themſelves a farre off by the meanes of their tooles and inſtruments, and by the hands of other ſervitors, turning about, ſtretching and winding up, or letting downe and ſlacking the ropes as they ſee cauſe, employing the mariners, ſome to row, others to attend and be occupied in the proo and foreſhip; and others againe to crie unto their fellowes to ply their worke; and ſome of them they call many times into the poope, and putting the helme into their hands, ſet them to ſteere and guide the ſterne; even ſo ought a wiſe governor of the common-wealth to yeeld now and then unto others the honor of commaund, and otherwhiles to call them after a gratious and courteous ſort to the pulpit or publike place of audience, to make orations to the people, and not to moove all matters belonging to the State by his owne perſonall ſpeeches nor by his decrees, ſentences, and arts (and as it were) with his owne hands execute everie thing; but to have about him faithfull and truſtie perſons to be his miniſters, who might ſecond and aſſiſt him; and thoſe he ſhould employ, ſome in this charge, and others in that, according as he ſeeth them to be ſufficient meet and fit for employment. After this manner did *Pericles* uſe *Menippus* for his expeditions and conduct of warre affaires: thus by the meanes of *Ephialtes* he tooke downe and abridged the authoritie of the high court *Areiopagus*. *Charinus* he employed in compaſſing and contriving the law or decree that paſſed againſt the Megarians; and *Lampon* he ſent with a colonie for to people the citie of *Thurii*. And in this doing, he not onely diminiſhed the envie of the people againſt himſelfe, in that it ſeemed that his power and authoritie was thus divided and parted among manie; but alſo hee managed the affaires of the State better and more commodiouſly by far. For like as the diviſion of the hand into fingers enfeebleth not the force of the whole hand, but maketh it more fit for uſe, to handle all tooles and inſtruments,or to worke any thing more artificially; even ſo, he that in matters of government doth communicate part of the management of the publike affaires with his friends, cauſeth by this participation all things to be better done, and with more expedition: whereas that man, who upon an unſatiable deſire to ſhew himſelfe, to have credit, and to winne name and authoritie, laieth all the weight of the State upon his owne ſhoulders, and will bee doing of everie thing; undertaking oftentimes that charge, whereunto he is neither framed by nature,nor fitted by exerciſe; as *Cleon* did in leading an armie; *Philopœmenes* in conducting a navie; and *Anniball* in making orations to the people,maketh himſelfe inexcuſable,if happly ought fall out otherwiſe than well. To ſuch an one may well be applied a verſe out of *Euripides*:

You worke not in timber,but in other matter
Being your ſelfe but onely a Carpenter.

even ſo, you not able to deliver an eloquent ſpeech, have undertaken an embaſſage; being idle and given to take your eaſe, you will needs have the charge of a ſteward and governe an houſe: not ſkilfull and readie in caſting accounts,you will needs be a Treaſurer or receiver, being aged and ſickly, you are become a commaunder and generall of an armie. *Pericles* did farre better than ſo; for he parted the government with *Cimon*; and retaining to himſelfe the whole power of ruling within the citie, he left unto *Cimon* full commiſſion and authority to man the *Armado*, and in the meane while to make war upon the Barbarians, becauſe he knew his owne ſelfe more fit for civill regiment at home,& the other more meet for warlike command abroad. In this reſpect *Eubulus* the Anaphlyſtian is highly commended,who, notwithſtanding the people had a great affiance and truſt in him,yea and gave him as much credit as no man more, yet could hee never be brought to deale in the forraine affaires of *Greece*,nor to take upon him the conduct of an armie; but reſolving with himſelfe ever frō the beginning to attend & be emploied in manie matters he mightily encreaſed the revenewes of the citie, and enriched the State exceedingly. But *Iphicrates* for exerciſing & practiſing to make declamations at home in his owne houſe in the preſence of many others made a foole of himſelfe,& was laughed to ſkorne for his labor:for ſay that he had prooved no bad orator, but a moſt excellent ſpeaker; yet ſhould he have ſtood contented with the reputation that he had woon of a good warrior, by feats of armes, and have left the ſchooles of Rhetoricke, for ſophiſters,orators,and ſuch profeſſors.

But foraſmuch as all common people are by nature malignant,eſpecially to thoſe who are in place of authoritie, taking pleaſure to quarrell and finde fault with them; and ſuſpecting ordinarily that many profitable acts and ordinances by them ſet downe, unleſſe they be debated by factions & with ſome contradiction,are contrived by ſecret intelligence under hand,& by way of conſpiracie; even this is the thing that moſt of all bringeth the private amities and ſocieties of States-men and governours into an ill name and obloquie: howbeit, for all this, we are not to admit or grant unto them any true enmitie in deed or diſcord, as did ſometimes a popular man and a governour of *Chios*, named *Onomademus*, who after he had in a certeine ſeditious tumult gotten the upper hand of his adverſaries, would not baniſh out of the citie all thoſe who had taken part againſt him: For feare leſt that (quoth he) we fall out with our friends, when we have no more enemies: for ſurely this were meere follie. But whenſoever the people ſhall ſuſpect any ordinance or act propoſed which is of great conſequence and tending to their good, it behooveth not at ſuch a time,that all (as it were) of one complot ſhould deliver one and the ſame ſentence; but that two or three oppoſing themſelves without violence, ſhould contradict their friend,and afterwards being convinced and overweighed by ſound reaſons, change their minde and raunge themſelves to his opinion; for by this meanes they draw the people with them, namely, when they ſeeme themſelves to be brought thereto in regard of a publike benefit and cōmoditie. And verily in trifling matters & of no great importance, it were not amiſſe to ſuffer our very friends in good earneſt to differ and diſagree from us,and to let every one take his way and follow his owne minde, to the end that when ſome maine points and principall matters of greateſt moment ſhall come in queſtion and be debated,it might not be thought that they have complotted together, and ſo growen to a point and accord about the beſt.

Moreover, we are thus to thinke: That a wiſe man and a politician is by nature alwaies the governour and chiefe magiſtrate of a citie, like as the king among the Bees: and upon this perſwaſion he ought to have evermore the reines in his hand, and to ſway the affaires of State: howbeit he is not very often nor too hotly for to ſeeke after and purſue the offices and dignities which the people doe nominate and chuſe by their free voices: for this office-managing, and deſire to be alwaies in place of authoritie, is neither venerable for his perſon, nor yet plauſible to the people; and yet muſt not he reject the ſame, in caſe the people call him lawfully to it, and conferre the ſame upon him, but to accept thereof, although peradventure they be offices ſomewhat inferiour to the reputation that he hath already, yea, and to employ himſelfe therein willingly and with good affection: for reaſon it is and equitie, that as we our ſelves have bene honoured already by places of great dignitie, ſo reciprocally we ſhould grace and countenance thoſe which be of meaner qualitie; and whenſoever we ſhall be choſen to ſupreame magiſtracies, to wit, unto the eſtate of L. Governour and generall captaine in the citie of *Athens*, or the Prytanſhip in *Rhodes*, or Bœotarchie which is here in *Bœotia*, it may beſeeme us very wel in modeſtie to yeeld and rebate a little of the ſovereigne power in our port, and with moderation to exerciſe the ſame; but contrariwiſe unto meaner roomes to adde more dignity, and ſhew greater countenance, to the end that we be not envied in the one or deſpiſed in the other.

Now for a man that entreth newly into any office whatſoever it be, he ought not onely to call to remembrance, and uſe the ſpeeches that *Pericles* made the firſt time that he tooke upon him the rule of State, and was to ſhew himſelfe in open place: namely, Looke to thy ſelfe *Pericles*, thou ruleſt free men and not bond-ſlaves; thou governeſt Greeks and not Barbarians; nay, thou art the head magiſtrate of the citizens of *Athens*; but alſo he is to reaſon and ſay thus to himſelfe: Thou art a commander and yet a ſubject withall; thou art the ruler of a citie under Romane Proconſuls, or els the Procuratours, Lieutenants and Deputies of *Cæſar*. Here are not the plaines (as he ſaid) of *Lydia*, for to runne with the launce, nor the ancient city *Sardeis*, ne yet the puiſſance of the Lydians which was in times paſt. The robe muſt not be made ſo large, it muſt be worne more ſtraite; your eie muſt be alwaies from the Emperours pavilion unto the tribunall ſeat of juſtice; and you are not to take ſo great pride, nor truſt ſo much unto a crowne ſtanding upon the head, ſeeing how horned ſhoes of the Romane Senators are above the ſame: but herein you ought to imitate the actours and plaiers in Tragedies, who adde ſomewhat of their owne to the roll or written part that they do play, to wit, their paſſionate affection, geſture, accent and countenance which is fit and agreeable to the perſon that they do repreſent; and yet withall, they forget not to have an eie and eare both, to the prompters. This (I ſay) we muſt do, for feare leſt we paſſe thoſe bounds and exceed the meaſures of that libertie which is given us by thoſe who have the power to command us, for I aſſure you, to goe beyond thoſe precincts and limits, bringeth with it danger; I ſay not to be hiſſed from off the ſtage, and to be laughed out of our coats; but many there have bene

Upon whoſe necks for puniſhment,
The edge of trenchant axe and gleave
Hath fallen, to end all their torment,
And head from bodie ſoone did reave.

as it befell to *Pardalus* your countrey-man, with thoſe about him, for ſtepping a little at one ſide without their limits. And ſuch another alſo there was, who being confined into a certaine deſert iſle, became (as *Solon* ſaith)

A Sicinitan or Pholegandrian,
Who borne ſometime was an Athenian.

We laugh hartily at little children, to ſee how otherwhiles they goe about to put their fathers ſhooes upon their owne feete, or to ſet crownes upon their heads in ſport; and governors of cities relating fooliſhly oftentimes unto the people, the woorthie acts of their predeceſſors; their noble courage and brave minds, their notable enterpriſes atchieved, farre different and diſproportioned to the preſent times & proceedings in their daies, and exhorting them to follow the ſame, ſet the multitude aloft: but as they doe ridiculouſly, ſo afterwards (beleeve me) they ſuffer not that which deſerveth to be laughed at, unleſſe haply they be ſo baſe minded, that for their baſeneſſe there is no account made of them. For many other hiſtories there bee of ancient *Greece*, which affoord examples to bee recounted unto men living in this age, for to inſtruct and reforme their manners; as namely, thoſe at *Athens* which put the people in remembrance, not of the proweſſe of their anceſtors in martial affaires, but for example to decree of that generall abolition and oblivion of all quarrels and matters paſt, which ſometimes was concluded there, after that the citie was delivered and freed from their captivitie under the thirtie Tyrants, as alſo another act, by vertue whereof they condemned in a grievous fine the Poet *Phrynichus*, for that he repreſented in a Tragedie the winning and racing of the citie *Miletus*. Likewiſe, how by a publike ordinance, every man woare chaplets of flowers upon their heads, when they heard ſay that *Caſſander* reedified *Thebes*: and how, when intelligence came of the cruell execution and bloody maſſacre committed in *Argos*, wherein the Argives cauſed to be put to death 1500. of their owne citizens, they cauſed in a ſolemne proceſſion and generall aſſembly of the whole citie, an expiatorie ſacrifice to be carried about, that it might pleaſe the gods to avert and turne away ſuch cruell thoughts from the harts of the Athenians; ſemblaby, how at what time as there was a generall ſearch made throughout the citie in everie houſe for thoſe who banded with *Harpalus*, they paſſed by one houſe onely of a man newly married, and would not ſuffer it to be ſearched. For in theſe precedents & ſuch like, they might well enough in theſe daies imitate and reſemble their ancient forefathers. But as for the battell of *Marathon*: the field fought neere the river *Eurynedon*, and the noble fight at *Platea*, with other ſuch examples which doe nothing elſe but blow and puffe up a multitude with vanitie, they ſhould leave ſuch ſtories for the ſchooles of Sophiſters and maſters of Rhetorike.

Well, we ought not in our ſeverall governments to have a due regard onely to mainteine our ſelves and our cities ſo wiſely, that our ſovereignes have no occaſion to complaine; but we muſt take order alſo to have one great Seigniour or other, who hath moſt authoritie at *Rome*, and in the court of the emperour, to be our faſt and ſpeciall frend; who may ſerve us in ſteed of a rampier to backe us, and to defend all our actions and proceedings in the government of our countries: for ſuch lords and great men of *Rome* ſtand ordinarily paſſing well affected to thoſe affaires, which their dependants and favorits doe follow, and the fruit which may be reaped by the amitie and favour of ſuch grand-Seigniours, it were not good and honeſt to convert into the advancement and enriching of our ſelves, and our particular private frends; but to imploy the ſame as *Polybius* did ſometime and *Panætius*, who by the meanes of the good grace of *Scipio* wherein they ſtood, did benefit and advantage their countrey exceeding much: in which number may be ranged *Arius*, for when *Cæſar Auguſtus* had forced the citie *Alexandria*, he entred into it, holding *Arius* by the hand, and deviſing with him alone of all his other friends what was to be done more: afterwards when the Alexandrians looked for no other but ſackage and all extremities, and yet beſought him to pardon them; I pardon you (quoth he) and receive you into my grace and favour, firſt in regard of the nobilitie and beautie of your city; ſecondly for *Alexander* the great his ſake, the founder thereof; and thirdly for the love of this my friend *Arius* your citizen. May a man with any reaſon compare with this gracious favour, the moſt large and gainfull commiſſions of ruling and governing provinces, which many make ſo great ſuit for at the court, and that with ſuch abject ſervitude and baſe ſubjection, that ſome of them have even waxen old in giving attendance thereabout, at other mens gates; leaving in the meane while their owne home affaires at ſixe and ſeven? were it not well to correct and amend a little the ſentence in *Euripides*, ſinging and ſaying it thus? If it bee honeſt and lawfull to watch and make court at the gates of another, and to be ſubject to the ſute of ſome great Seigniour: ſurely moſt commendable and behoovefull it were ſo to doe, for the love and benefit of a mans country, in all other caſes to ſeeke and embrace amities, under juſt and equall conditions.

Moreover, a governour in yeelding and reducing his country unto the obedience of mightie ſovereignes abroad, ought to take good heed that he bring it not into ſervile ſubjection, leſt when it is once tied by the legge, he ſuffer it to be bound alſo by the necke: for ſome there be who reporting all things both little and great unto theſe potentates, make this their ſervitude reprochable; or to ſpeake more truely, they deprive their country of all policie and forme of government, making it ſo fearefull, timorous, and fit for no authoritie and command at all; and like as they who uſe themſelves to live ſo phyſically, that they can neither dine nor ſuppe, nor yet bath without their phyſitian, have not ſo much benefit of health as nature it ſelfe doth affoord them; even ſo thoſe cities and States which for every decree and reſolution of their counſell, for all grace and favour, yea and for the ſmalleſt adminiſtration of publike affaires, muſt needs adjoigne the conſent, judgement, and good liking of thoſe Seigniours and good maſters of theirs, they even compell the ſaid great lords to be more powerfull and abſolute over them than they would themſelves. The cauſes hereof commonly be theſe; to wit, the avarice, jealouſie, and emulation of the chiefe and principall citizens in a State; for that being deſirous otherwhiles to oppreſſe and keepe under thoſe who be their inferiors, they conſtraine them to abandon their owne cities, or elſe being at ſome debate and difference with other citizens their equals, and unwilling to take the foile one at anothers hand in their owne citie; they have recourſe unto other ſuperior lords, and ſo bring in forreiners who are their betters. Heereupon it commeth to paſſe, that Senate, people, Judiciall courts, and all that little authoritie and power which they had is utterly loſt. A good governour therefore ought to remedy this miſchiefe, by appeaſing ſuch burgeſſes as be private and meane citizens, by equalitie, and thoſe who are great and mightie, by reciprocall yeelding one to another; and ſo by this courſe to keepe all affaires within the compaſſe of the citie, to compoſe all quarrels, and determine all controverſies at home, curing and healing ſuch inconveniences as ſecret maladies of a common-wealth; with a civill and politicke medicine; that is to ſay, to chuſe rather for his owne part for to be vanquiſhed and overthrowen among fellow-citizens, than to vanquiſh & win the victorie by forren power, & not to offer wrong unto his natural country, and be a cauſe to overthrow the rights and priviledges thereof; as for all others, he is to beſeech them, yea and to perſwade with them particularly one by another, by good reaſons and demonſtrances, of how manie calamities peeviſh obſtinacie is the cauſe; and now becauſe they would not ech one in his turne & courſe frame and accommodate themſelves at home to their fellow-citizens, who manie times be of one minde and linage to their neighbours and companions in charges and offices, and that with honour and good favour; they are come to this paſſe, as to detect and lay open the ſecret diſſentions and debates of their owne citie, at the gates of their advocates, and to put their cauſes into the hands of pragmaticall lawyers (at *Rome*) with no leſſe ſhame and ignominie, than loſſe and damage.

Phyſicians are wont when they cannot expell and fully exclude out of the bodie inwardlie ſome kinde of maladies, to turne and drive the ſame without forth to the ſuperficiall parts; but contrariwiſe, a man of government, if he be not able to keepe a citie altogether in peace & concord, but that ſome troubles will ariſe, yet at leaſtwiſe he muſt endevour to conteine that within the citie which is the cauſe thereof, and nurceth the ſedition, and in keeping it cloſe to labour for to heale and remedie it; to this end, that if it be poſſible he have no need either of phyſician or phyſicke from forren parts; for the intentions of a man of State and government ought to be theſe, namely, to proceed in his affaires ſurely, and to flie the violent and furious motions of vaine-glorie, as hath beene ſaid alreadie, howbeit in his reſolution,

A courage bold and full of confidence
Undaunted heart, and fearleſſe he muſt have
Which will not quaile for any conſequence,
But ſee the end: much like to ſouldiors brave
In field themſelves who manly do behave,
And hazard lims and life for to defend
Their countrey deere, and enemies to offend.

and not onely to oppoſe himſelfe againſt enemies, but alſo to be armed againſt perilous troubles and dangerous tumults, that he may be readie to reſiſt and make head: for he ought not in any caſe himſelfe to moove tempeſts and raiſe commotions, no nor when he ſeeth boiſterous ſtormes comming, forſake and leave his countrey in time of need. He muſt not (I ſay) drive his citie under his charge upon apparent danger, but ſo ſoone as ever it once begin to be toſſed, and to float in jeopardie, than is it his part to come to ſuccor, by caſting out from himſelfe (as it were) a ſacred Anchor, that is to ſay, to uſe his boldneſſe and libertie of ſpeech, conſidering that now the maine point of all lieth a bleeding, even the ſafetie of his countrey. Such were the dangers that hapned unto *Pergamus* in *Neroes* time, and of late daies to the Rhodians, during the Empire of *Domitian*, as alſo before unto the Theſſalians, while *Auguſtus* was Emperour, by occaſion that they had burned *Petræus* quick. In theſe and ſuch like occurrences, a man of State and government, eſpecially if he be woorthie of that name:

Never ſhall you ſee
Sleepie for to bee.

nor drawing his foote backe for feare, no nor to blame and lay the fault of others, ne yet to make ſhift for one, and put himſelfe out of the medley of danger, but either going in embaſſage, or embarked in ſome ſhip at ſea; or elſe readie to ſpeake firſt, and to ſay not onely thus

We we, Apollo, *have this murder don*
From theſe our coaſts, avert this plague anon.

but although himſelfe be not culpable at all with the multitude, yet will he put his perſon into danger for them. For ſurely this is an act right honeſt, and beſides the honeſtie in it ſelfe, it hapneth divers times, that the vertue and noble courage of ſuch a man hath beene ſo highly admired, that it hath daunted the anger conceived againſt a whole multitude, and diſpatched all the fierceneſſe and furie of a bitter menace: like as it befell unto a King of *Perſia* in regard of *Bulis* and *Sperthis* two gentlemen of *Sparta*: and as it was ſeene in *Pompey* to his hoſt and friend *Sthenon*: for when he was fully determined to chaſtice the Mamertines ſharpely, and to proceede againſt them in all rigor, for that they had rebelled, the ſaid *Sthenon* ſtept unto him, and thus frankly ſpake: That he ſhould do neither well nor juſtly, in caſe he did to death a number of innocents, for one man who alone was faultie; for it is I my ſelfe (quoth he) who cauſed the whole citie to revolt and take armes, inducing my friends for love, and forcing mine enemies for feare. Theſe words of his went ſo neere unto the heart of *Pompey*, that he pardoned the citie, and moſt courteouſly entreated *Sthenon*; ſemblaby, the hoſt of *Sylla*, having ſhewed the like valour and vertue, although it were not to the like perſon, died a noble death: for when *Sylla* had woon the citie *Præneſte* by aſſault, he meant to put all the inhabitants thereof to the ſword, excepting onely one hoſt of his, whom in regard of old hoſpitalite he ſpared and pardoned: but this hoſt & friend ſaid flatly unto him, that he would never remaine alive to ſee that bloudy maſſacre, nor hold his life by the murtherer of his countrey; and ſo caſt himſelfe into the troupe of his fellow-citizens in the heate of execution, and was killed with them. Well, pray unto the gods we ought to preſerve and keepe us that we fall not into ſuch calamities and troubleſome times; to hope alſo and looke for better daies.

Moreover, we are to eſteeme of everie publike magiſtracie, and of him who exerciſeth it, as of a great and ſacred thing, and in that regard to honour the ſame above all. Now the honour which is due unto authoritie, is the mutuall accord and love of thoſe who are ſet in place to exerciſe the ſame together: and verily this honor is much more worth, than either all thoſe crownes and diademes which they beare upon their heads, or their ſtately mantles and roabes of purple, wherewith they be arraied. Howbeit, they that laid the firſt ground and beginning of amitie; their ſervice in warres, when they were fellow-ſouldiors, or the paſſing of their youthfull yeeres together; and contrariwiſe, take this a cauſe now of enmitie, that they either are joined captaines in commiſſion for the conduct of an armie, or have the charge of the Common-weale together, it can ~~not~~ be avoided, but that they muſt incur one of theſe three miſchiefes. For either if they eſteem their fellowes and companions in government to be their equals, they begin themſelves firſt to grow into tearmes of diſſention; or if they take them to be their betters, they fall to be envious; or elſe in caſe they hold them to be inferiour unto them in good parts, they deſpiſe, & contemne them. Whereas they ſhould indeed make court unto the greater, honor and adorne their equals, and advance their inferiors, and in one word to love and embrace all, as having an amitie and love engendred among themſelves, not becauſe they have eaten at one table, drunke of the ſame cup, or met together at one feaſt, but by a certaine common band and publike obligation, as having in ſome ſort a certaine fatherly benevolence, contracted and growen upon the common affection unto their countrey. Certes, one reaſon why *Scipio* was not ſo well thought of at *Rome* was this; that having invited all his friends to a ſolemne feaſt at the dedication of his temple to *Hercules*, he left out *Mummius* his colleague or fellow in office: for ſay that otherwiſe they tooke not one another for ſo good friends; yet ſo it is that at ſuch a time and upon ſuch occaſions, they ought to have honored and made much one of the other, by reaſon of their common magiſtracie. If then *Scipio*, a noble perſonage otherwiſe, and a man of woonderfull regard, incurred the imputation and note of inſolencie and preſumption, becauſe he forgat or omitted ſo ſmall a demonſtration and token of humanitie: how can it be, that he who goeth about to impaire the dignitie and credit of his companions in government, or diſcrediteth and digraceth him in thoſe actions, eſpecially which proceed from honour and bountie, or upon an arrogant humour of his owne, will ſeeme to do all, and attribute the whole to himſelfe alone, how can ſuch an one (I ſay) be reputed, either modeſt or reaſonable? I remember my ſelfe, that when I was but of yoong yeres, I was ſent with another, in embaſſage to the Proconſul; and for that my companion ſtaid about (I wot not what behind) I went alone and did that which we had in commiſſion to do together: after my returne, when I was to give an account unto the State, and to report the effect of my charge & meſſage back againe; my father aroſe, and taking me apart, willed me in no wiſe to ſpeak in the ſingular number, & ſay, I departed or went, but We departed; Item, not I ſaid, or (quoth I) but We ſaid; & in the whole recitall of the reſt to joine alwaies my companion, as if he had been aſſociat & at one hand with me in that which I did alone. And verily this is not onely decent, convenient, and civill, but that which more is, it taketh from glorie that which is offenſive, to wit envie, which is the cauſe that great captaines attribute and aſcribe their noble acts to fortune and their good angell, as did *Timoleon*, even he who overthrew the Tyrannies eſtabliſhed in *Sicilie*; who founded and erected a temple to Good-Fortune. *Python* alſo when he was highly praiſed and commended at *Athens* for having ſlaine king *Cotys* with his owne hand; It was God(quoth he) who for to doe the deed uſed my hand. And *Theopompus* king of the Lacedemonians,when one ſaid unto him that *Sparta* was ſaved and ſtood vpright, for that their kings know how to rule well; Nay rather (quoth he) becauſe the people know how to obey well: and to ſay a truth, both theſe depend one upon the other; howbeit, moſt men are of this opinion,and ſo they give out; that the better part of policie or knowledge belonging to civill government lieth in this, to fit men, and frame them meete to be well ruled and commanded; for in every citie there is alwaies a greater number of ſubjects than rulers,and ech one in his turne(eſpecially in a popular ſtate)is governour but a while, and for it, afterwards continueth governed all the reſt of his life, in ſuch ſort, that it is a moſt honeſt and profitable apprentiſhip(as it were)to learne for to obey thoſe who have authoritie to command, although haply they have meaner parts otherwiſe, and be of leſſe credite and power than our ſelves: for a meer abſurditie it were,that (wheras a principall or excellent actour in a Tragedie,ſuch as *Theodorus* was or *Potus*, for hire waiteth oftentimes upon another mercenarie plaier who hath not above three words in his part to ſay, and ſpeaketh unto him in all humilitie and reverence, becauſe peradventure he hath the roiall band of a diademe about his head, and a ſcepter in his hand) in the true and unfained actions of our life,and in caſe of policie and government, a rich and mightie perſon ſhould deſpiſe and ſet light by a magiſtrate for that he is a ſimple man otherwiſe,and peradventure poore and of meane eſtate, yea and proceede to wrong, violate and impaire the publike dignitie wherein he is placed, yea and to offer violence thereby unto the authoritie of a State; whereas he ought rather with his owne credite and puiſſance,helpe out the defect and weakeneſſe of ſuch a man, and by his greatneſſe, countenance, his authoritie: for thus in the citie of *Lacedemon*, the kings were woont to riſe up out of their thrones before the *Ephori*, and whoſoever els was ſummoned & called by them,came not an ordinary foot-pace,or faire and ſoftly,but running in great haſte, in token of obedience, and to ſhew unto other citizens how obeiſant they were, taking a great joy and glorie in this, that they honour their magiſtrates, not as ſome vaine-glorious and ungracious ſots, voide of all civilitie and manners, wanting judgement and diſcretion, who to ſhewe forſooth their exceeding power upon which they ſtande much and pride themſelves, will not let to offer abuſe unto the judges and wardens of the publike games, combats, and paſtimes, or to give reprochfull termes to thoſe that leade the dance,or ſet out the plaies in the *Bacchanale* feaſt, yea and mocke captaines, and laught at the preſidents & wardens of the publik exerciſes for youth, who have not the wit to know; That to give honour is oftentimes more honorable than to be honored: for ſurely to an honourable perſon who beareth a great ſway,& carieth a mightie port with him in a citie,it is a greater ornament & grace to accompany a magiſtrate,and as it were to guard and ſquire him,than if the ſaid magiſtrate ſhould put him before or ſeeme to waite upon him in his traine; and to ſay a truth, as this were the way to worke him diſpleaſure and procure him envie from the hearts of as manie as ſee it; ſo the other would win him true glorie which proceedeth of love and benevolence: And verily when ſuch a man is ſeene otherwhiles in the magiſtrates houſe, when he ſaluteth or greeteth him firſt, and either giveth him the upper-hand, or the middle place as they walke together,he addeth an ornament to the dignitie of the citie, and looſeth thereby none of his own. Moreover,it is a popular thing,and that which gaineth the hearts of the multitude,if ſuch a perſon can beare patiently the hard tearmes of a magiſtrates whiles he is in place, and endure his cholericke fits; for then he may with *Diomedes* in *Homer* ſay thus to himſelfe:

How ever now I little do ſay,
It will be mine honor another day.

Or as one ſaid of *Demoſthenes*; Well, he is not now *Demoſthenes* onely,but he is a law-giver,he is a preſident of the ſacred plaies and ſolemne games, and a crowne he hath upon his head,&c. and therefore it is good to put up all nowe, and to deferre vengeance untill another time; for either we ſhall come upon him when he is out of his office, or at leaſtwiſe wee ſhall gaine thus much by delay, that choler will be well cooled and allaied by that time.

Moreover,in any government or magiſtracie whatſoever, a good ſubject ought to ſtrive (as it were)a vie with the rulers, eſpecially if they be perſons of good ſort and gracious behaviour, in diligence,care,and fore-caſt for the benefit of the State; namely,in going to them, to give notice and intelligence of whatſoever is meet to be done, in putting into their hands for to be executed that which he hath with mature deliberation rightly reſolved upon,in giving meanes unto them for to win themſelves honour, and that by the benefit of the common-weale: But if ſuch perſons they be,as either for feare & falſe heart,or upon a froward peeviſhneſſe & diſpoſition give no eare to ſuch motions, and are not willing to put that in execution which is preſented unto them; then it is his part himſelfe in perſon to go and declare the ſame in publike place to the body of the people, and in no wiſe to neglect, diſanull, or paſſe with connivence any thing that concerneth the weale-publike, and never to pretend any colourable excuſe, by ſaying, it appertained unto none other but the head magiſtrate,thus to deale curiouſly and be buſie occupied in medling with the affaires of State; for a general law there is which giveth alwaies the firſt and principall place of rule in a common-wealth unto him who dealeth juſtly,practiſeth righteouſneſſe,and knoweth what is expedient and profitable, as we may ſee by the example of *Xenophon,* who in one place writeth thus of himſelfe: There was in the armie (quoth he) one named *Xenophon,*who was neither Lord Generall, nor Lieutenant; but for skill and knowledge of that which was to be done,and for reſolution to enterprize and execute the ſame, put himſelfe forward and gave charge unto others, wherein he ſo behaved himſelfe that he ſaved the Greeks. And the moſt glorious feate of armes that ever *Philopæmen* atchived was this, that when hee heard newes how king *Agis* had ſurprized the citie of *Meſſene*, and that the generall of the Achæans would not go with aide and reſcue, but drew backe for feare; he with a troupe of the moſt forward and reſolute gallants, without warrant or commiſſion from the State, delivered the ſaid citie from out of the hands of *Agis*: which I write not as if I allowed innovations or ſuch newe enterprizes and extraordinary attempts upon every ſmall and light occaſion, but onely either in time of need and extremitie, as *Philopæmen* did then, or for honeſt occaſions, as *Epaminondas,* who continued in his Beotarchie fower moneths longer than was ordinary by the lawes of the countrey, during which time he put on armes, and entred into *Laconia*, reedified *Meſſene,* and peopled it, to the end that if afterwards there ſhould enſue any complaint or imputation,we may anſwer with credit,and either alledge for excuſe,neceſſitie,or ſet againſt it the perill to which we expoſed our ſelves, the braveneſſe of the exploit, and the ſervice ſo well performed,to make amends and recompence.

There is reported a ſentence of *Jaſon* who long ſince was the Tyrant or Monarch of *Sicilie,* which he had often in his mouth, and alwaies repeated ſo often as he did violence or outrages to any of his ſubjects,that they cannot chooſe but commit unjuſtice in ſmal matters,who would do juſtice in great cauſes; as if a man would ſay, that neceſſarie it is for him to offer wrong in detaile who mindeth to do right in the groſſe. But as touching this ſentence, a man may ſoone perceive at the firſt ſight, that it is a ſpeech meet for him that intendeth to make himſelfe an abſolute lord, and to uſurpe tyrannie. Yet is this rule more civill and politike, that a governour to gratifie the peole, is to paſſe by ſmall matters, and to winke at them, that hee may in greater things ſtand againſt them,and ſtay them from breaking out to farre. For he that in everie thing will be peering and looking too narrowly without any yeelding or relaxation, but is alwaies ſevere rigorous and inexorable, doth by his example traine and accuſtome the people likewiſe to be quarrelſome and contentious with him,yea and to be readie upon all occaſions to take offence and diſcontentment:

But ſoftly for to ſtrike the ſaile
Or ſlacke the helme doth much availe
With violence when billowes great
Ariſe and on the ſhip do beat.

and even ſo a governour ought in ſome things to yeeld, and not to bee ſo preciſe and ſtraight laced himſelfe, but to ſport as it were and take his paſtimes graciouſly with his people, as namely to celebrate feſtivall ſacrifices, beholde ſolemne plaies,games, and combats,and to ſit in the theaters with them, partly in making ſemblant as though he neither ſaw nor heard many things, like as we are wont to doe by the faults at home of our little children; to the end that the authoritie of reproving them roundly,and admoniſhing them frankely, like unto the vertue of a medicine not dull and enervate with much uſe, but remaining ſtill in full vigor and ſtrength, may be more effectuall, carie the greater credite, touch the quicke indeed, and ſting in matters of greater conſequence. *Alexander* the great,when he heard that his ſiſter had beene too familiarly acquainted with a luſtie yoong gentleman and a beautifull, was nothing diſpleaſed therewith,but ſaid; We muſt give her alſo a little leave to enjoy ſomewhat the pleaſure and prerogative of a prince; which was neither well done of him to allow ſuch things in her, nor yet with good reſpect of his owne honour and dignitie; for we ought not to thinke this the fruition,but the ruine and diſhonour rather of a princely State. And therefore a wiſe governour will not permit as much as poſſibly lieth in him, that the bodie of the people ſhall doe injurie to any particular inhabitants, as namely in confiſcation of other mens goods, or in diſtribution and parting among themſelves the money of the common ſtocke; but to reſiſt ſuch courſes with all his power, and with remonſtrances, perſwaſions, threats, and menaces withſtand the inordinat deſires of a multitude: contrarie to the practiſe of *Cleon* and his followers at *Athens*, who feeding and foſtering ſuch fooliſh appetites and corrupt humors of the people, cauſed many drone bees (as *Plato* ſaith) to breed in the city, who did no other good but ſting and pricke one or other. But if the people at any time take occaſion by ſolemniſing ſome feſtivall day, according to the cuſtome of the countrey, or by the honour of ſome god or goddeſſe, to ſet out any goodly ſhew, play or ſtately ſpectacle, or to diſtribute ſome ſmall dole, or to exhibit a pleaſant gratuitie, honeſt courteſie, or publicke magnificence; lawfull it is and reaſonable, that they ſhould in ſuch caſes enjoy in ſome ſort the fruit both of their libertie, and alſo of their wealth and proſperitie. For in the governments of *Pericles* and *Demetrius Phalereus*, there bee many examples extant of the like nature; as for *Cimon* he beautified the market place of *Athens* with rowes of palme trees, planted directly, and raunged by him, with pleaſant walkes and faire allies. And *Cato* ſeeing about the time of *Catilines* conſpiracie, that the commons of *Rome* were in a commotion and hurliburly by the faction of *Julius Cæſar*; and growen in manner to theſe tearmes, for to bring in a change and alteration of the whole State; perſwaded the Senate to ordeine, that there ſhould be ſome pety dole of money given among the poore commoners; which comming in ſo good and fit a time, appeaſed the tumult, and repreſſed the ſedition and inſurrection that was like to grow. For like as a learned and expert phyſician, after hee hath taken away a great quantitie of corrupt blood from his patient, giveth him anon ſome little nouriſhment that is good and holſome; even ſo a diſcreet and well adviſed ruler of a popular State, when he hath put the people by ſome great matter which tended to their ſhame and loſſe, will againe by ſome light gratuitie and pleaſure which he is content to graunt, cheere and recomfort them, yea and allay their moode when they bee readie to whine and complaine. And otherwhiles, good pollicie it is, of purpoſe to withdraw them from ſome foolerie, unto which without all ſenſe and reaſon their minde and affection ſtandeth, to draw and leade them unto other things that be good and profitable; like as *Demades* his practiſe was, at what time as he had the receit of all the revenues of the citie under his hands; for when the people of *Athens* were fully bent to ſend foorth certeine gallies, for to ſuccour thoſe who had taken armes and rebelled againſt *Alexander* the great, and to that effect commaunded him to diſburſe money for the charges, hee made this ſpeech unto them; My maſters, there is money ready for you, for I have provided ſo, that I purpoſe to deale among you at this feaſt of *Bacchanales*, that everie one of you may have halfe a Mua of ſilver now if you liſt to employ the ſame money to the ſetting out of a fleet, you may doe what pleaſeth you with your owne, uſe it, or abuſe it at your pleaſure, it is all one to mee: by this cunning device, having turned them from the rigging and manning of the armado which they purpoſed to ſet out, and all for feare they ſhould loſe the benefit of the foreſaid dole or largeſſe which hee promiſed and pretended, he ſtaied them from offending king *Alexander*, that he had no cauſe to finde himſelfe greeved with them. Many ſuch fits and humors are the people given unto, both hurtfull and dammageable unto them; which it were impoſſible to breake them of, going directly to worke; but a man muſt go about with them, & by turnings & windings compaſſe them to his mind: like as *Phocion* did upon a time when the Athenians would have had him in al haſte to make a road & invade the countrey of *Bœotia*; for he cauſed incontinently proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet; That all citizens from fourteene yeeres of age upward unto threeſcore, ſhould ſhew themſelves in armes and follow him; upon which proclamation, when there aroſe a great noiſe and ſtirre among the elder ſort, who began to mutine, for that he woulde force them at thoſe yeeres to the warres: What a ſtrange matter ſirs is this (quoth he) I my ſelfe am foureſcore yeeres of age, and you ſhall have me with you for your captaine. By this meanes a politicke governour may put by and breake the ranke of many unſeaſonable and needleſſe embaſſages; namely, by joining many of them in commiſſion together, and thoſe whom he ſeeth to be unfit altogether for ſuch voiages; thus may he ſtay the enterpriſes of going in hand with many great buildings unneceſſary and to no purpoſe, in commanding them at ſuch times to contribute money thereto out of their owne purſes; alſo hinder the proceſſe of many uncivill and undecent ſutes, namely, by aſſigning one and the ſame time for apparance in court, and for to be emploied in ſolliciting

ting cauſes abroad in forren parts: & for to bring theſe things about, he muſt draw and aſſociate unto him thoſe principall authors who have drawne out in writing any ſuch bils to be propoſed, or have incited the people and put thoſe matters in their heads; and to them he ſhall intimate thoſe croſſe courſes aboveſaid; for either if they ſtart backe and keepe out of the way, they ſhall ſeeme themſelves to breake that which they propoſed; or if they accept thereof and be preſent, they ſhall be ſure to take part of the trouble and paines that is impoſed upon them. Now when there ſhall be queſtion of any exploit to be done of great conſequence, and tending much to the good of the State, which requireth no ſmall travell, induſtrie, and diligence; then have a ſpeciall regard and endevour, I adviſe you, to chuſe thoſe friends of yours who are of moſt ſufficiencie, and of greateſt authoritie, and thoſe among the reſt which are of the mildeſt and beſt nature; for ſuch you may be ſure will croſſe you leaſt, and aſſiſt you moſt; ſo long as they have wit at will, and be withall voide of jealouſie and contention. And heerein it behooveth a man to know wel his owne nature, and finding that whereunto he is leſſe apt than an other, to chuſe for his adjuncts thoſe rather whō he perceiveth to be better able to go through with the buſineſſe in hand, than ſuch as otherwiſe be like unto himſelfe: for ſo *Diomedes* being deputed to go in eſpiall for to view the campe of the enimies, choſe for his cōpanion the warieſt & beſt adviſed perſon of all the Greeks, & let paſſe the moſt valiant ſouldiours. By this meanes all actions ſhall be counterpoiſed beſt, & leſſe jealouſie and emulation will grow betweene them who are deſirous to have their good parts & valor ſeeme indifferent in vertues & qualities. If you have a cauſe to plead, or be to go in embaſſage; chuſe for your companion & aſſiſtant (if you find your ſelfe not meet to ſpeak) ſome man that is eloquent, like as *Pelopidas* in the like caſe choſe *Epaminondas*. If you thinke your ſelfe unmeet to enterteine the common people with courteſie & affability, and of too high and loftie a minde for to debaſe your ſelfe and make court unto them, as *Callicratidas* the captaine of the Lacedemonians was; take one unto you who is gracious, and can ſkill to court it and give enterteinment. If your bodie be weake or feeble, and not able to endure much paines; have one with you who hath a ſtronger bodie, and who can away with travell, as *Nicias* did *Lamachus*. For this is the reaſon that *Geryones* was ſo woonderfull, becauſe that having many legs, many armes, and many eies, yet hee with all them was ruled and governed by one ſoule. But wiſe governors if they accord and agree well, may conferre and lay together not onely their bodies and goods, but alſo their fortunes, their credits and their vertues, and make uſe of them all in one affaire, in ſuch ſort that they ſhall compaſſe and execute fully whatſoever they enterpriſe, much better than any other whatſoever: and not as the Argonautes did, who after they had left *Hercules*, were conſtrained to have recourſe unto the charmes, ſorceries and enchantments of women for to ſave themſelves, and to ſteale away the golden fleece.

Certeine temples there be, into which whoſoever did enter, muſt leave without doores all the gold that they had about them; and as for iron they might not preſume to goe withall into any one whatſoever. Conſidering therefore that the tribunall and judiciall ſeat of juſtice is the temple of *Jupiter*, ſurnamed the Counſellor and Patron of cities, of *Themis* alſo and *Dice*, that is to ſay, equitie and juſtice; before ever thou ſet foote to mount up into it, preſently rid and cleere thy ſoule of all avarice and covetouſneſſe of monie, as if it were iron, and a very maladie full of ruſt, and throw it farre from thee into the merchants hall, into the ſhops of tradeſmen, occupiers, banquers and uſurers:

As for thy ſelfe, flie from ſuch pelfe.

ſhun it I ſay as far off as you can, & make this reckoning, that whoſoever enricheth himſelfe by the managing of the common-weale, is a church-robber, committing ſacrilege in the higheſt degree, robbing temples, ſtealing out of the ſepulchers of the dead, picking the coffers of his friends: making himſelfe rich by treachery, treaſon, & falſe-witnes: thinke him to be an untruſty and faithleſſe counſeller, a perjured judge, a corrupt magiſtrate, and full of briberie; in one word polluted and defiled with all wickedneſſe, and not cleere of any ſinne whatſoever that may be committed; and therefore I ſhall not neede to ſpeake more of this point.

As for ambition, although it carrie with it a fairer ſhewe than avarice, yet nevertheleſſe it bringeth after it a traine of miſchiefes and plagues, no leſſe dangerous and pernitious unto the government of a common-wealth: for accompanied it is ordinarily with audatious raſhneſſe more than it; inaſmuch as it uſeth not to breed in baſe mindes, or in natures feeble and idle, but principally in valiant, active, and vigorous ſpirits; and the voice of the people, who by their praiſes lift it up many times and drive it forward, maketh the violence thereof more hard to be reſtrained, managed, and ruled. Like as therefore *Plato* writeth, that we ought to accuſtom yong boies even from their verie infancie to have this ſentence reſounding in their eares: That it is not lawfull for them neither to carrie gold about their bodies as an outward ornament, nor ſo much as to have it in their purſes, for that they have other golde as a proper coffer of their owne, and the ſame incorporate in their hearts: giving us to underſtand by theſe ænigmaticall and covert ſpeeches (as I take it) the vertue derived from their aunceſtors, by deſcent and continuation of their race; even ſo wee may in ſome ſort cure and remedie this deſire of glorie, by making remonſtrance unto ambitious ſpirits, that they have in themſelves gold, that cannot corrupt, bee waſted or contaminated by envie, no nor by *Momus* himſelfe the reproover of the gods, to wit Honour, the which we alwaies encreaſe and augment, the more we diſcourſe, conſider, meditate, and thinke upon thoſe things which have beene performed & accompliſhed by us in the government of the common-weale: and therefore they have no need of thoſe other honours, which are either caſt in moldes by founders, or cut and graven in braſſe by mans hand, conſidering that all ſuch glorie commeth from without foorth, and is rather in others than in them, for whom they were made. For the ſtatue of a trumpeter which *Polycletus* made, as alſo that other of an halbarder are commended in regard of the maker, and not of thoſe whom they do repreſent, and for whoſe ſake they were made. Certes, *Cato* at what time as the citie of *Rome* began to be well repleniſhed with images and ſtatues, would not ſuffer any one to be made for himſelfe ſaying: That he had rather men would aſke, why there was no image ſet up for him, than why it was? For ſurely ſuch things bring envie, and the common people thinke themſelves indebted ſtil & beholden unto thoſe, upon whom they have not beſtowed ſuch vanities: and contrariwiſe, ſuch as receive them at their hands are odious & troubleſom unto them, as if they had ſought to have the publike affaires of the State in their hands, in hope to receive ſuch a reward and ſalarie from them againe. Like as therefore he that hath ſailed without danger along the gulfe *Syrtis*, if afterwards hee chaunce to bee caſt away and drowned in the mouth of the haven, hath done no ſuch doughty deed, nor performed any ſpeciall matter of praiſe in his voyage and navigation; even ſo, hee that hath eſcaped the comon Treaſurie, and done well enough and ſaved himſelfe, from the publike revenewes, cuſtomes, and commodities of the State; that is to ſay, hath not defiled his hands, either with robbing the citie-money, or dealt underhand with the farmers and undertakers of the cities hands, revenewes, &c. and then ſhall ſuffer himſelfe to be overtaken and ſurpriſed with a deſire to be a preſident and ſit higheſt, or to be the head man and chiefe in counſell of a citie, is runne in deed upon an high rocke that reacheth up a loft, but drenched hee is over the eares, and as like to ſinke as the reſt, neverthelesse. In beſt caſe he is therefore, who neither ſeeketh nor deſireth any of theſe honours, but rejecteth and refuſeth them altogether. Howbeit, if peradventure it bee no eaſie matter to put backe a grace and favour, or ſome token of love, that the people otherwhiles deſire to ſhew unto them who are entred into combat, as it were in the field of government, not in a game and maiſterie for a ſilver prize, or for rich preſents, but in the game in deed which is holy and ſacred, yea and woorthie to be crowned, it may ſuffice and content a man to have ſome honourable inſcription or title, in a tablet, ſome publike act or decree, ſome branch of lawrell or the olive: like as *Epymenides* who received one branch of the ſacred olive, growing in the caſtle of *Athens*, becauſe he had cleanſed and purified the citie: and *Anaxagoras* refuſing all other honours which the people would have ordained for him, demaunded onely, that upon the day of his death the children might have leave to play, and not go to ſchoole all that day long. The ſeven gallant Gentlemen of *Perſia*, who killed the Tyrants, called *Magi*, were honoured onely with this priviledge, that both they and their poſteritie might weare the Perſian pointed Cap or * Turbant, bending forward on their heads: for this was the ſignall which they were agreed upon among themſelves when they went to execute the ſaid enterpriſe. Likewiſe the honor which *Pittacus* received, did ſhew ſome modeſty & civilitie: for when his citizens had permitted & granted unto him to have and enjoy of thoſe lands which he had conquered from the enemie, as much as he would himſelfe; he ſtood contented with ſo much, & no more as lay within one fling or ſhot of the javelin which he launced himſelfe. And *Cocles* the Roman tooke ſo much ground onely as he in his owne perſon could eare with a plow in one day, being as he was a lame and maimed man. For a civill honour ought not to be in the nature of a ſalarie for a vertuous act performed, but a token rather and a memoriall that the remembrance thereof might continue long, as theirs did whom erewhiles we named: whereas in thoſe three hundred ſtatues of *Demetrius Phalereus*, there gathered not ſo much as ruſt, canker, or any ordure or filth whatſoever, but were all of them ere himſelfe died, pulled downe and broken.

* *Tiara.*

And as for the images of *Demades*, melted they were everie one, and of the mettall were made piſpots and baſins for cloſe ſtooles: yea and many ſuch honours have beene defaced, as being diſpleaſant and odious to the world, not in regard onely of the wickedneſſe of the receiver, but alſo of the greatneſſe and richneſſe of the thing given and received: and therefore the goodlieſt and ſureſt ſafegard of honour, that it may endure and laſt longeſt, is, the leaſt coſtlineſſe and price beſtowed thereupon: for ſuch as bee exceſſive maſſie and immeaſurall in greatneſſe, may bee well compared unto huge coloſſes or ſtatues not well ballaiſed and counterpoiſed, nor proportionably made, which ſoone fal downe to the ground of thẽſelves. And here in this place I cal Honors, theſe exterior things which the common people (ſo far forth as beſeemeth them, according to the ſaying of *Empedocles*) ſo call. Howbeit I alſo affirme as wel as others, that a wiſe governor & man of State ought not to deſpiſe true honor which conſiſteth in the benevolence & good affection of thoſe who have in remẽbrance the ſervices and benefits that they have received: neither ought he altogether to contemne glorie, as one who forbare to pleaſe his neighbours among whõ he liveth, as *Democritus* would have him: for neither ought horſe-keepers or eſquierries of the ſtable, reject the affection of their horſes lovingly making toward them; nor hunters the fawning of their hounds & ſpaniels; but rather ſeeke to win & keepe the ſame, for that it is both a profitable, and alſo a pleaſant thing, to be able for to imprint in thoſe creatures who are familiar, & do live & converſe with us ſuch an affectiõ to us as *Lyſimachus* his dog ſhewed toward his maſter; & which the poet *Homer* reporteth that *Achilles* horſes ſhewed to *Patroclus*. For mine own part I am of this mind, that Bees would be better entreated & eſcape better, in caſe they would make much of thoſe, & ſuffer them gẽtly to come toward them, who noriſh them and have the care and charge of them, rather than to ſting and provoke them to anger as they do; whereas now, men are driven to puniſh them and chaſe them away with ſmoake: alſo to breake and tame their frampold and unruly horſes with hard bits and bridles, yea and curſt dogs which are given to run away, they are faine to lead perforce in collars, or tie up and hamper with clogs. But verily there is nothing in the world that maketh one man willingly obeiſant and ſubject to another, more than the affiance that he hath in him for the love which hee beareth, and the opinion conceived of his goodneſſe, honeſtie and juſtice; which is the reaſon that *Demoſthenes* ſaid verie well: That free cities have no better meanes to keepe and preſerve themſelves from tyrants, than to diſtruſt them; for that part of the ſoule whereby we beleeve, is it, which is moſt eaſie to be taken captive. Like as therefore the gift of propheſie which *Caſſandra* had, ſtood her countrey-men and fellow-citizens in no ſteed, becauſe they would never give credit or beleefe unto her: for thus ſhe ſpeaketh of her ſelfe,

God would not have my voice propheticall
When I foretell of things, to take effect,
Nor do my countrey any good at all:
Or why? alwaies they do my words reject,
In their diſtreſſe and woes, they would correct
Their folly paſt, then am I wiſe and ſage:
Before it come, they ſay I do but rage.

even ſo, on the otherſide, the truſt and confidence that the citizens repoſed in *Archytas*, the good will and benevolence which they bare unto *Battus*, ſerved them in right good ſtead: for that they uſed and followed their counſell, by reaſon of the good opinion which they conceived of them.

This is then the firſt and principall good which lieth in the reputation of Stateſ-men, and thoſe who are in government, namely, the truſt and confidence which is in them; for it maketh an overture, and openeth the doore to the enterpriſe and execution of all good actions. The ſecond, is the love and affection of the people, which to good governours is to them a buckler and armor of defence againſt envious and wicked perſons:

Much like unto a mother kind
who keepes away the flies
From tender babe whiles ſweetly it
a ſleepe in cradell lies.

putting backe envie that might ariſe againſt them; and in regard of might and credit, making equall a man meanly borne & of baſe parentage, with thoſe who are nobly deſcended, the poore with the rich, & the private perſon with the magiſtrates: and to be briefe, when vertue & verity are joined together with this popular benevolence, it is as mightie as a ſtrong and ſteedy gale of a forewind at the poope, and driveth men forward to the managing and effecting of all publike affaires whatſoever. Conſider now and ſee what contrarie effects the diſpoſition of peoples hearts, doth produce and bring foorth by theſe examples following. For even they of *Italie* when they had in their hands the wife and children of *Denys* the Tyrant, after they had vilanouſly abuſed, and ſhamefully forced their bodies, did them to death, and when they had burnt them to aſhes, threw and ſcattered the ſame out of a ſhip into the ſea. Whereas one *Menander* who reigned graciouſly over the Bactrians, in the end, when he had loſt his life in the warres was honorably enterred: for the cities under his obeiſance joined altogether, and by a common accord ſolemnized his funerals and obſequies with great mourning and lamentation; but as touching the place where his reliques ſhould be beſtowed, they grew into a great ſtrife and contention one with another, which at the laſt with much adoo was pacified upon this condition and compoſition, that his aſhes ſhould be parted and divided equally among them all, and that everie citie ſhould have one ſepulcher and monument of him by it ſelfe. Againe, the Agrigentines after they were delivered from the Tyrant *Phalaris*, enacted an ordinance: That from thence foorth, it ſhould not be lawfull for any perſon whatſoever to weare a roabe of blew colour, for that the Guard & Penſioners attending about the ſaid Tyrant, had blew caſſockes for their liveries. But the Perſians tooke ſuch a love to their Prince *Cyrus*, that becauſe he was hauke-noſed, they ever after and even to this day, affect thoſe who have ſuch noſes, and take them to be beſt favoured. And verily of all loves, this is the moſt divine, holy and puiſſant, which cities and States do beare unto a man for his vertue: as for other honors ſo falſely called, and bearing no true enſignes in deed to teſtifie love, which the people beſtow upon them, who have builded theaters and ſhew-places, given them largeſſes, congraires and other doles, or exhibited combats of Sword-fenſers at the ſharpe: theſe wrong entituled honors do reſemble the gloſing flatteries of harlots and ſtrumpets, who ſmile upon their lovers, ſo long onely as they give them any thing or gratifie them in any pleaſure; and ſuch a glorie as this laſteth not long, but after a day or two paſſeth away and is gone.

He whoſoever he was, that ſaid firſt: That he who began to give money by way of largeſſe unto the people, taught the verie high way to overthrow a popular ſtate, knew verie well, that the people loſe their authoritie, when they make themſelves ſubject and inferiour by taking ſuch gifts: and even they alſo who are the givers muſt know thus much: That they overthrow themſelves in buying their reputation ſo coſtly & at ſo high a price: & by that means they make the multitude more haughtie and arrogant, becauſe thereby the people do preſume, that it is in their power to give or take away ſo great a thing. I write not this, as though I would have a man of eſtate in his lawfull expenſes and allowable liberalities, to ſhew himſelfe too neere and mechanicall, eſpecially when his State will beare and maintaine the ſame: for that, in truth, the people carrie a greater hatred to a rich man, who will not part with any of his goods among them, than a poore man who robbeth the common cheſt: for they ſuppoſe the one to proceed from pride and contempt of them, and the other from meere need and neceſſitie. I would wiſh therefore that firſt and principally theſe largeſſes ſhould come by way of gratuitie and for nothing, for that in ſuch a ſort, they make the authors thereof better eſteemed and admired, and beſides they binde and oblige the receivers ſo much the more. Secondly, I would that they were done upon a good, honeſt, and laudable occaſion, as namely for the honour of ſome god; a thing that draweth on the people more and more to devotion and religion, becauſe withall, it imprinteth in the hearts of the people a vehement opinion and ſtrong apprehenſion that the majeſtie of the gods, muſt needs be a great and venerable thing, when they ſee thoſe who honor them, and whom they repute for ſo woorthie and noble perſonages, ſo affectionate unto them, as for their ſervice and worſhip to be at ſuch coſt and ſpend ſo liberally. Like as therefore *Plato* forbad yoong men who went to the Muſicke ſchoole, that they ſhould not learne either the Lydian & Phrygian harmony; for that the one ſtirred up in our hearts all lamentable, dolefull, and dumpiſh affections, the other increaſed the inclination to pleaſure, riot, and voluptuous ſenſualitie; even ſo, as touching theſe largeſſes and publike expenſes, baniſh and chaſe out of your citie as much as you can, thoſe which provoke in our hearts beaſtly, barbarous, and bloody affections, or ſuch as feed looſeneſſe and ſcurrilie: or if you be not able to rid them out cleane, yet do your endevour at leaſt wiſe to hold off and conteſt againſt the people, to your uttermoſt power, who cal upon you for ſuch ſpectacles; & order the matter ſo alwaies, that the ſubject matter of your diſpenſe may be honeſt and chaſt, the end and intention good and neceſſarie, or at leaſt wiſe that the pleaſure and mirth be without wrong and hurt to any perſon. But if peradventure your State be but meane, and that the center & circumference of your goods containe and comprehend no more than to ſerve and ſupply neceſſities, know well this: that it argueth neither a baſe mind nor an illiberall & ungentlemanlike heart to be knowen of your poverty, and ſo to give place unto other, who have wherewith to defray ſuch ambitious expenſes & liberalities, and in by endebting & engaging your ſelfe in the uſurers books, to be a ſpectacle both to be pitied & laughed at, for ſuch publike miniſteries: foraſmuch as they whoſoever they be that ſo do, cannot go to worke ſo ſecretly, but it will be thought and knowen how they enterprize above their abilitie, be driven to trouble and make bolde with their friends in borrowing of them, or els to flatter and court uſurers to take up money at intereſt, in ſuch ſort as that they ſhall win no honour and credit, but rather ſhame and contempt by ſuch expenſes; in which regard, good it were in theſe caſes to ſet alwaies before your eies the examples of *Lamachus* and *Phocion*. For *Phocion* one day when the Athenians at a ſolemne ſacrifice called inſtantly upon him to contribute ſome money toward the charges: I would be aſhamed (quoth he) to give you any thing, and in the meane while not be able to keepe my credit, and paie that I owe to this man heere, and withall he pointed unto *Callicles* the uſerer unto whom he was then indebted. As for *Lamachus* in his accounts of charges whiles he was lord generall of an armie under the Athenians in any expedition, put in alwaies, Thus much for a paire of ſhoes or pantofles for himſelfe; Item, ſo much for a garment. The Theſſalians ordeined and allowed unto *Hermon* who refuſed to be their captaine generall, becauſe he was poore, a flagon or little runlet of wine monethly, and a meaſure or buſhell and halfe of meale every fower daies: whereby you ſee it is no ſhame for a man to confeſſe his povertie; neither have poore men leſſe meanes to winne credit and authoritie in the government of cities, than they who lay out and ſpend much in making feaſts or exhibiting publike ſhewes and ſpectacles, for to gaine the good will and favour of the people; provided alwaies, that by their vertue they have gotten reputation and libertie to ſpeake their mindes frankly and freely unto them. And therefore a good governour ought wiſely to maſter and rule himſelfe in theſe caſes; he muſt not (I ſay) enter into the plaine and champion ground on foote for to encounter with horſemen; nor being poore, to be ſeene in the race and ſhew-place for to ſet out games, or upon the ſcaffold & theater to repreſent plaies, or in great hals full ſet with tables to make feaſts, and all to contend with rich men about glorie and magnificence; but he is to ſtudie how to manage the people by vertue, by gentleneſſe, by wit and underſtanding joyned alwaies with wiſe words, wherein there is not onely honeſtie and a venerable port, but alſo a kinde of grace more amiable, attractive, and deſireable,

Than Cræſus *coine of ſilver and gold,*
Or all the money that can be told.

For to a good man it is not neceſſarie to have a ſurly, coy, and preſumptuous looke; neither is it required that a wiſe and ſober perſon ſhould carie a ſterne and rigorous countenance,

Who as he walks along the ſtreets,
in citie or in towne,
Doth caſt a ſharpe and hideous eie,
and on his neighbours frowne.

But contrariwiſe, a good man is firſt and formoſt affable and lightſome of language, of eaſie acceſſe, and readie to be ſpoken withall whoſoever comes, having his houſe open alwaies, (as it were) an haven or harbour of refuge, to as many as have occaſion to uſe him. Neither is this debonairity and care of his, ſeene onely in the buſineſſe and affaires of ſuch as employ him, but alſo in this; that he will as well rejoice with them who have had any fortunate and happie ſucceſſe, as condole & greeve with thoſe unto whom there is befallen any calamitie or misfortune; never will he be knowen to be troubleſome, and looke for double diligence of a number of ſervitors and verlets to waite upon him to the baines or ſtouphes; nor to keepe a ſtir for taking up and keeping of places for him and his traine at the theaters where plaies and paſtimes are to bee ſeene, ne yet deſire to be conſpicuous and of great marke above others in any outward ſignes of exceſſive delights and ſumptuous ſuperfluities; but ſhew himſelfe to be equall, like and ſutable to others in apparell, in his fare and furniture at the table, in the education and nouriture of his children, in the keeping of his wife for her ſtate and array, and in one word, be willing to carrie and demeane himſelfe in all things, as an ordinary and plaine citizen, bearing no greater port and ſhew than others of the common multitude; moreover, at hand to give adviſe and counſell friendly to every man in his affaires, ready to enterteine, defend, & follow their cauſes as an advocate, freely, and without taking fee or any conſideration whatſoever; to reconcile man and

wife

wiſe when they be at ods, to make love-daies and peace betweene friends, not ſpending one little peece of the day for a ſhew at the tribunall ſeat, or in the hall of audience for the commonwealth, and then afterwards all the day & the reſt of his life, drawing unto himſelfe al dealings, all negotiations and affaires from everie ſide for his owne particular behoofe and profit, like unto the north-eaſt winde *Cæcias*, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it; but continually bending his minde and occupying his head in carefull ſtudie for the weale publike, and in effect making it appeere unto the world, that the life of a Stateſ-man and a governor, is not as the common ſort thinke it, eaſie and idle, but a continuall action and publike function: by which faſhions and ſemblable courſes that he taketh, he gaineth and winneth unto him the hearts of the people, who in the end come to know, that all the flattering deviſes and entiſements of others be nothing elſe but falſe baits and baſtard allurements, in compariſon of his prudence and carefull diligence. The flatterers about *Demetrius* vouchſafed not to call any other princes and potentates of his time, Kings, but would have *Seleucus* to be named the Commander of the elephants; *Lyſimachus* the keeper of the treaſurie; *Ptolomeus* the admirall of the ſea; and *Agathocles* the governour of the iſlands. But the people although peradventure at the firſt they reject a good wiſe and ſage perſon among them; yet in the end after they have ſeene his truth, and knowen his diſpoſition and kinde nature, they will repute him onely to bee popular, politike, and woorthie to be a magiſtrate indeed, and as for the reſt, they wil both repute and call one, the warden and ſetter out of the plaies; another the great feaſter; and a third, the preſident of games, combats, and publike exerciſes. Moreover, like as at the feaſts and bankets that *Callias* or *Alcibiades* were at the coſt to make, none but *Socrates* was heard to ſpeake, and all mens eies were caſt upon *Socrates*; even ſo in cities and States governed aright, well may *Iſmenias* deale largeſſes; *Lichas* make feaſts, and *Niceratus* defray the charges of plaies, but *Epaminondas, Ariſtides, Lyſander,* and ſuch as they, are thoſe which beare the magiſtracie, they governe at home, they command and conduct armies abroad. Which being well and duly conſidered, there is no cauſe why you ſhould be diſcouraged or diſmaid at the reputation and credit that they win among the people, who have for them builded theaters, and erected ſhew-places, founded halles of great receit, and purchaſed for them common places of ſepulture, for to burie their dead: all which glorie laſteth but a while, neither hath it any great matter, or venerable ſubſtance in it, but vaniſheth away like ſmoke, and is gone even aſſoone as either the plaies in ſuch theaters, or games in ſhew-places are done and ended.

They that have skill and experience of keeping and feeding bees, doe hold opinion and ſaie, that thoſe hives wherein the bees yeeld the biggeſt ſound, make moſt humming and greateſt ſtir within, like beſt, are moſt ſound, healthfull, and yeeld moſt ſtore of honie: but he upon whom God hath laid the charge and care of the reaſonable ſwarme (as I may ſay) and civill ſocietie of men, will judge the happineſſe and bleſſed ſtate thereof moſt of all by the quietneſſe and peace therein, and in all other things he will approove the ordinances and ſtatutes of *Solon,* endevoring to follow and obſerve the ſame to his full power; but doubt hee will and marvell what hee ſhould meane by this, when he writeth, that he who in a civill ſedition would not range himſelfe to a ſide, and take part with one or other faction, was to bee noted with infamie: for in a naturall bodie that is ſicke, the beginning of change toward the recoverie of health, commeth not from the diſeaſed parts, but rather, when the temperature of the ſound and healthie members is ſo puiſſant, that it chaſeth and expelleth that which in the reſt of the bodie was unkind & contrary to nature; even ſo in a citie or State where the people are up in a tumult & ſedition, ſo it be not dangerous and mortall, but ſuch as is like to be appeaſed and ended, there had need to be a farre greater part of thoſe who are ſound and not infected, for to remaine and cohabit ſtill; for to it there commeth and hath recourſe that which is natural and familiar, from the wiſe and diſcreet within, and the ſame entreth into the other infected part and cureth it: but ſuch cities as be in an univerſall uprore and hurly-burly, utterly periſh and come to confuſion, if they have not ſome conſtreint from without, and a chaſtiſement which may force them to be wiſe and agree among themſelves. Neither is my meaning, that I would have you a politike perſon and Stateſ-man in ſuch a ſedition and civill diſcord to ſit ſtill, inſenſible and without any paſſion or feeling of the publike calamitie, to ſing and chaunt your owne repoſe and tranquillitie of bleſſed and happie life, and whiles others be together by the eares, rejoice at their follie; for at ſuch a time eſpecially you are to put on the buskin of *Theramenes,* which ſerved as well the one legge as the other; then are you to parley and common with both parties, without joyning your ſelfe to one more than to the other; by which meanes, neither you ſhall be thought an adverſarie,

rie, becauſe you are not ready to offend either part, but indifferent to both, in aiding as well the one as the other, and envie ſhall you incur none, as bearing part in their miſerie, in caſe you ſeeme to have a fellow-feeling and compaſſion equally with them all: but the beſt way were to provide and forecaſt, that they never breake out to tearmes of open ſedition; and this you are to thinke for to be the principall point, and the height of all pollicie and civill government; for evident it is, and you may eaſily ſee, that (of thoſe greateſt bleſſings which cities can deſire, to wit, peace, libertie, and freedome, plentie and fertilitie, multitude of people, and unitie and concord) as touching peace, cities have no great need in theſe daies of wiſe governors, for to procure or mainteine the ſame, for that all wars both againſt the Greekes and alſo the Barbarians are chaſed away and gone out of ſight; as for libertie, the people hath as much as it pleaſeth their ſovereignes and princes to give them, and peradventure if they had more it would be woorſe for them; for the fertility of the earth, and the abundance of all fruits, the kind diſpoſition and temperature of all ſeaſons of the yeere,

That mothers in due time their babes
into the world may beare,
Reſembling in all points their ſires,
to wit, their fathers deare.

and that children ſo borne may live and be live-like, every good and wiſe men, wil crave at Gods hands in the behalfe of his owne fellow citizens. Now there remaineth for a States-man and politike governour, of all thoſe works propoſed one onely, and that is nothing inferiour to the reſt of the bleſſings above-named, to wit, the unitie and concord of citizens that alwaies dwell together, and the baniſhing out of a citie of all quarrels, all jarres and malice, as the maner is in compoſing the differences and debates of friends; namely, by dealing firſt with thoſe parties which ſeeme to be moſt offended, and to have taken the greateſt wrong, in ſeeming to be injuried as well as they, and to have no leſſe cauſe of diſpleaſure and diſcontent than they; afterwards by little and little to ſeeke for to pacifie and appeaſe them, by declaring and giving them to underſtand, that they who can be content to ſtrike ſaile a little, do ordinarily go beyond thoſe who thinke to gaine all by force; ſurmount them I ſay not onely in mildeneſſe and good nature, but alſo in courage and magnanimitie, who in yeelding and giving place a little in ſmall matters, are maſters in the end and conquerors in the beſt and greateſt; which done, his part is to make remonſtrance both particularly to every one, and generally to them all, declaring unto them the feeble and weake eſtate of *Greece*, and that it is very expedient for men of ſound and good judgment to enjoy the fruit and benefit which they may have in this weakeneſſe and imbecilitie of theirs, living in peace and concord one with another as they doe; conſidering that fortune hath not left them in the midſt any prize to winne or to ſtrive for. For what glorie, what authoritie, what power or preeminence will remaine unto them that haply ſhould have the better hand in the end, & be maſters over their adverſaries, but a proconſull with one commandement of his will be able to overthrow it, and tranſport it unto the other ſide, as often and whenſoever it pleaſeth him; but ſay that it ſhould continue ſtil, yet is it not woorth all this labour and travell about it. But like as ſcare-fires many times begin not at ſtately temples and publike edifices, but they may come by ſome candle in a private and little houſe, which was neglected or not well looked unto, and ſo fell downe and tooke hold thereof, or haply ſtraw or ruſhes and ſuch like ſtuffe might catch fire and ſuddenly flame, and ſo thereupon might enſue much loſſe, and a publike waſting of many faire buildings; even ſo it is not alwaies by meanes of contention and variance about affaires of State, that ſeditions in cities be kindled, but many times braules and riots ariſing upon particular cauſes, and ſo proceeding to a publike tumult and quarrell, have beene the overthrow and utter ſubverſion of a whole citie. In regard whereof, it perteineth unto a politike man, as much as any one thing els, to foreſee and prevent, or elſe to remedy the ſame, to ſee (I ſay) that ſuch diſſentions do not ariſe at al, or if they be on foot to keep them down from growing farther and taking head, or at leaſtwiſe that they touch not the State, but reſt ſtill among whom it began: conſidering this with himſelfe & giving others to underſtand, that private debates are in the end cauſes of publike, and, ſmall of great, when they be neglected at firſt, and no convenient remedies uſed at the verie beginining. Like as by report the greateſt civill diſſention that ever hapned in the citie of *Delphos*, aroſe by the meanes of one *Crates*, whoſe daughter *Orgilaus* the ſonne of *Phalis* was at the point to wed: now it hapned by meere chance that the cup, out of which they were to make an eſſay or effuſion of wine in the honour of the gods firſt, and then afterwards to drinke one to another, according to the nuptiall ceremonies of that place, broke into peeces of it ſelfe, which *Orgilaus* taking to be an evill preſage, forſooke his eſpouſed bride, and went away with his father, without finiſhing the complements of marriage. Some few daies after, when they were ſacrificing to the gods; *Crates* conveied covertly or underhand a certaine veſſell of gold, one of thoſe which were ſacred and dedicated to the temple, unto them, and ſo made no more adoo, but cauſed *Orgilaus* and his brother, as manifeſt church-robbers, to be pitched downe headlong from the top of the rocke at *Delphos*, without any judgement or forme and proceſſe of law: yea and more than that, killed ſome of their kinſfolke and friends, notwithſtanding they entreated hard, and pleaded the liberties and immunitie of *Minervaes* temple, ſurnamed *Provident*, into which they were fled and there tooke ſanctuarie. And thus after divers ſuch murders committed, the Delphians in the end put *Crates* to death and thoſe his complices, who were the authors of this ſedition, and of the money and goods of theſe excommunicate perſons (for ſo they were called) ſeazed upon by way of confiſcation, they built thoſe chapples which ſtand beneath the citie. At *Syracuſæ* alſo, of two yoong men who were verie familiarly acquainted together, the one being to travell abroad out of his countrey, left in the cuſtodie of the other a concubine that he had, to keepe untill his returne home againe; but he in the abſence of his friend abuſed her bodie: but when his companion upon his returne home knew thereof, he wrought ſo, that for to crie quittance with him he lay with his wife and made him cuckold: this matter came to hearing at the counſell table of the citie, and one of the ancient Senatours mooved the reſt, that both twaine ſhould be baniſhed out of the citie, before there aroſe further miſchiefe, and leſt the citie by occaſion of their deadly fewd ſhould be filled with parts taking of both ſides, and ſo be in danger of utter deſtruction; which when he could not perſwade and bring to paſſe, the people grew into an open ſedition, and after many miſerable calamities, ruinated and overthrew a moſt excellent State & government. You haue heard I am ſure of domeſticall examples, and namely the enmitie of *Pardalus* and *Tyrrhenus*, who went within a verie little of overthrowing the citie of *Sardis*, and upon ſmall and private cauſes, had brought the ſame into civill war and open rebellion by their factions and particular quarrels. And therefore a man of government ought alwaies to be watchfull and vigilant, and not to neglect, no more than in a bodie naturall the beginnings of maladies, all little heart-burnings and offences that quickly paſſe from one to another, but to ſtay their courſe, and remedie the ſame with all convenient ſpeed. For by a heedfull eie and carefull prevention, as *Cato* ſaith, that which was at firſt great, becommeth ſmall, and that which was ſmall commeth to nothing. Now to induce and perſwade other men ſo to doe, there is not a more artificiall device, nor a better meanes, than for a man of government to ſhew himſelfe exorable, inclined to pardon, & eaſie to be reconciled in like caſes; in principal matters of weight & greateſt importance reſolute and conſtant without any rankor or malice, and in none at all ſeeme to be ſelfe-willed, peeviſh, contentious, cholerike, or ſubject to any other paſſion which may breed a ſharpneſſe and bitterneſſe in neceſſarie controverſies, and doubtfull caſes which can not be avoided. For in thoſe combats at buffets which champions performe for pleaſure in manner of foiles; the manner is to binde about their fiſts certaine round muffles like bals, to the end that when they come to coping and to let drive one at another, they might take no harme, conſidering the knocks and thumps that they give are ſo ſoft, and can not put them to any paine to ſpeake of; even ſo in the ſutes, proceſſes and trials of law which paſſe betweene citizens of the ſame citie, the beſt way is to argue and plead by laying downe their allegations and reaſons, ſimply and purely, and not to ſharpen or envenime their matters like darts and arrowes, with poiſoned taunts, railing tearmes, opprobrious ſpeeches and ſpightfull threats, and ſo to make deepe wounds, and the ſame feſtured with venim, whereby the controverſies may grow incurable, and augment ſtill in ſuch ſort, that in the end they touch the State. He that can ſo cary himſelfe in his owne affaires, as to avoid theſe foreſaid miſchiefs and dangers, ſhalbe able to compaſſe others in the like, and make them willing to be ruled by reaſon: ſo that afterwards, when once the particular occaſions of priuie grudges be taken away, the quarrels and diſcords which touch a common-wealth, are ſooner pacified and compoſed, neither doe they ever bring any inconveniences hard to be cured or remedileſſe.

WHETHER AN AGED MAN OUGHT TO MANAGE PUBLICKE AFFAIRES.

The Summarie.

THe title of this diſcourſe diſcovereth ſufficiently the intention of the Author: but, for that they who manage affaires of State, and namely men in yeeres, fall oftentimes into one of theſe two extremities as touching their duetie, namely, that they be either too ſlacke and remiſſe, or elſe more ſtiffe and ſevere than they ought; theſe precepts of Plutarch, *a man well converſed in high places and offices, and who (as we may gather by his words) was well ſtriken in age when he wrote this Treatiſe, ought to be diligently read, conſidered and practiſed by men of authoritie. And albeit this booke containeth ſome advertiſements in that behalfe, which ſort not wholy with the order of government put in practiſe in theſe our daies: yet ſo it is, that the fundamentall reaſons are ſo well laid, that any politician or States-man building therupon, may aſſure himſelfe that he ſhall raiſe & edifie ſome good piece of worke. Now he beginneth with the refutation of one common objection of certaine men, who enjoine & command elder folke to ſit ſtill and remaine quiet, and he prooveth the contrarie, namely, that then it is meet that they ſhould put themſelves foorth more than ever before; but he addeth this correction and caveat withall, that they have beene a long time alreadie broken (as it were) to the world, and beaten in publike affaires, to the end that they be not taxed and noted for their ſlender carriage or light vanitie, nor proove the cauſe of ſome great miſchiefe, medling as they do in that which they had not wel comprehended before. After this he propoſeth and laieth abroad the examples of men well qualified, who have given good proofe of their ſufficiencie in old age: whereupon he inferreth, that thoſe be the perſons indeed unto whom government doth appertaine, and that to go about for to make ſuch idle now in their latter daies, were as abſurde and as much injurie offered unto them, as to confine a prudent Prince and wiſe King to ſome houſe in the countrey: and this he inforceth and verifieth by eloquent compariſons, and by the example of* Pompeius. *Which done he ſetteth downe the cauſes which ought to put forward, and moove a man well ſtept in yeeres to the government of a common-weale, confuting thoſe who are of the contrarie opinion, and prooving that elderly perſons are more fit therefore than yoonger, becauſe of the experience and authoritie that age doth affoord them, as alſo in regard of many other reaſons: then he returneth the objection upon them, and ſheweth that yoong folke are unmeet for publike charges, unleſſe they have beene the diſciples of the aged, or be directed and guided by them: he refuteth thoſe alſo who eſteeme that ſuch a vocation reſembleth ſome particular trafficke or negotiation: and when he hath ſo done, he taketh in hand againe his principall point, detecting and laying open the folly of thoſe who would bereave old men of all adminiſtration of publike matters: and then he exhorteth them to take heart and ſhunne idleneſſe (which he doth diffame wonderfully) and ſetteth before their eies their duetie, which he alſo conſidereth in particular: then he adviſeth them not to take ſo much upon them; not to accept any charge unworthie, or not beſeeming that gravitie which time and age hath given them, but to occupie and buſie themſelves with that which is honorable and of great conſequence; to endevour and ſtrive for to ſerve their countrey, and above all in matters of importance; to uſe good diſcretion as well in the refuſall as the acceptation of dignities and offices, carying themſelves with ſuch dexterity among yoong men that they may induct & ſet them into the way of vertue. And for a concluſion, he teacheth all perſons who deale in State affaires what reſolution they ſhould put on and carry thither; that they have an aſſured teſtimonie in themſelves; that they be affectionat ſervitours of the common-weale.*

WHETHER AN AGED MAN ought to manage publike affaires.

WE are not ignorant ô *Euphanes* that you are woont highly to praiſe the poet *Pindarus*, and how you have oftentimes in your mouth theſe words of his, as being in your conceit well placed and pithily ſpoken to the point,

When games of price and combats once are ſet,
Who ſhrinketh back and doth pretend ſome let,
In darkneſſe hides and deepe obſcuritie
His fame of vertue and activitie.

But foraſmuch as men ordinarily alledge many cauſes and pretenſes, for to colour and cover their ſloth & want of courage to undertake the buſineſſe and affaires of State, & among others, as the very laſt, and as one would ſay, that which is of the ſacred line & race, they tender unto us old age, & ſuppoſe they have found now one ſufficient argument to dull or turne backe the edge, and to coole the heat of ſeeking honor thereby, in bearing us in hand & ſaying: That there is a certein convenient & meet end limited, not only to the revolution of yeeres, proper for combats and games of proofe, but alſo for publike affaires and dealings in State. I thought it would not be impertinent nor beſides the purpoſe, if I ſhould ſend and communicate unto you a diſcourſe which ſometimes I made privately for mine owne uſe, as touching the government of common-weale managed by men of yeeres; to the end that neither of us twaine ſhould abandon that long pilgrimage in this world which we have continued in travelling together, even to this preſent day, nor reject that civill life of ours, which hither to we have led in ſwaying of the common-weale, no more than a man would caſt off an old companion of his owne age, or change an ancient familiar friend, for another with whom he hath had no acquaintance, & who hath not time ſufficient to converſe & be made familiar with him. But let us in Gods name remaine firme & conſtant in that courſe of life which we have choſen from the beginning, & make the end of life & of well living all one and the ſame, if we will not (for that ſmall while which we have to live) diſcredit, & diffame that longer time which we have alreadie led, as if it had bin ſpent fooliſhly and in vaine, without any good & laudable intention. For tyrannicall dominiō, is not a faire monument to be enterred in, as one ſaid ſomtime to *Denys* the tyrant: for unto him this monarchicall & abſolute ſovereigntie gotten & held by ſo unjuſt & wicked meanes, the longer that it had continued before it failed, the greater & more perfect calamitie it would have brought; according as *Diogenes* afterwards ſeeing the ſaid *Dionyſius* his ſon become a poore privat man, & depoſed frō the princely & tyrannicall dignity which he had: O *Dionyſius* (quoth he) how unworthy art thou of this eſtate, & how unfitting is it for thee! for thou oughteſt not to live here in liberty, & without any feare or doubt of any thing with us, but remaine there ſtil as thy father did, immured up & confined (as it were) within a fortreſſe all thy life time, untill extreme old age came. But in truth, a popular government which is juſt and lawfull, wherein a man hath beene converſant and ſhewed himſelfe alwaies no leſſe profitable to the common-wealth, in obeying than in commaunding, is a faire ſepulcher for him, to be buried honorably therein, and to beſtow in his death the glorie of his life: for this is the laſt thing (as *Simonides* ſaid) that deſcendeth and goeth under the earth; unleſſe we ſpeake of them whoſe honour, bountie and vertue dieth firſt, and in whom the zeale of performing their duetie doth faile and ceaſe before that the covetous deſire of things neceſſarie to this life giveth over: as if the divine parts of our ſoule, & thoſe which direct our actions were more fraile, & died ſooner than the ſenſual & corporal; which neither were honeſtie to ſay, nor good to beleeve, no more than to give credit unto thoſe who affirme that in getting and gaining onely, we are never weary: but rather we are to bring that ſaying of *Thucydides* to a better purpoſe, & not to beleeve him who was of minde that not ambition alone and deſire of glorie, aged in a man but alſo (and that much rather) ſociality or willingnes to live & converſe with company, & civility or affection to policy & managing of publik affaires; a thing that doth perſevere & cōtinue alwaies to the very end, even in ants and bees: for never was it knowen that a bee with age became a drone; as ſome there be who would have thoſe who all their life time were employed in the State, after the vigor & ſtrength of their age is paſt to ſit ſtil & keepe the houſe, doing nothing els but eat & feed as if they were mued up, ſuffering their active vertue, through eaſe and idleneſſe to be quenched & marred, even like as iron is eaten and conſumed with ruſt & canker, for want of occupying. For *Cato* ſaid verie wiſely: That ſince old age had of it ſelf miſeries ynough of the one, they ought not to adde moreover thereunto the ſhame that proceedeth from vice, for to mend the matter. Now among many vices that be, there is not one that more ſhameth and defameth an old man than reſtiveneſſe, ſloth, delicacie and voluptuouſneſſe: namely when he is ſeene to come downe from the hall and courts of Juſtice, or out of the counſell chamber and ſuch publike places, for to goe and keepe himſelfe cloſe in a corner of his houſe like a woman, or to retire into ſome farme in the countrey to overſee onely his mowers, reapers, and harveſt-folke, of whom it may be well ſaid, as we reade in *Sophocles*:

> *What is become of wiſe* Oedipus,
> *In riddles a-reeding who was ſo famous?*

For to begin to meddle in affaires of State in olde age, and not before (as it is reported that one *Epimenides* laied him downe to ſleepe when he was very yoong, and wakened an olde man fiftie yeeres after) and ere he have ſhaken off and laied aſide ſo long repoſe and reſt that hath ſtucke ſo cloſe unto him by uſe and cuſtome, to goe and put himſelfe all at once upon a ſudden into ſuch travels and laborious negotiations, being nothing trained nor inured therein, not framed nor exerciſed thereto in any meaſure, without converſing at all beforehand with men experienced in matters of Eſtate, nor having practiſed worldly affaires, might peradventure give good occaſion to one that were diſpoſed to reproove and finde fault, for to ſay that which the propheteſſe *Pythias* anſwered once to one who conſulted with the oracle of *Apollo* about the like caſe:

> *For government and rule of citie ſtate,*
> *Who ever thou be, thou commeſt too late:*
> *An houre this is undecent and paſt date,*
> *Thus for to knocke at Court or Pallace-gate,*

like an unmanerly gueſt, who commeth to a feaſt; or a rude traveller, who ſeeketh for lodging when it is darke night; for even ſo thou wouldeſt remoove not to a place, nor to a region, but to a life whereof thou haſt no proofe and triall. As for this ſentence and verſe of *Simonides*,

> *The city can inſtruct a man.*

true it is, if it be meant of them who have ſufficient time to be taught and to learne any ſcience which is not gotten but hardly and with much ado after great ſtudie, long travell, continuall exerciſe and practiſe; provided alſo, that it meet with a nature painfull and laborious, patient and able to undergo all adverſities of fortune. Theſe reaſons a man may ſeeme very well and to the purpoſe to alledge againſt thoſe who begin when they be well ſtricken in yeeres to deale in publike affaires of the State. And yet we ſee the contrary, how men of great wiſedome and judgement divert children and yoong men from the government of common-weale, who alſo have the teſtimonie of the lawes on their ſide, by ordinance whereof, at *Athens* the publicke Crier or Bedle calleth and ſummoneth to the pulpit or place of audience, not ſuch as yoong *Alcibiades* or *Pytheas*, for to ſtand up firſt and ſpeake before the aſſemblie of the people, but thoſe that be above fiftie yeeres of age; and ſuch they exhort both to make orations, and alſo to deliver their minds, and counſell what is moſt expedient to be done.*

* There is a defect or fault at leaſtwiſe in the Greeke originall.

And *Cato* being accuſed when he was fourеſcore yeeres olde and upward, in pleading of his own cauſe, thus anſwered for himſelfe: It is an harder matter my maſters (quoth he) for a man to render an accoũt of his life, and to juſtifie the ſame before other men, than thoſe with whom he hath lived. And no man there is, but he will confeſſe that the acts which *Cæſar Auguſtus* atchieved a little before his death in defaiting *Antonius*, were much more roiall and profitable to the weale-publicke, than any others that ever hee performed all his life-time before: and himſelfe in reſtraining and reforming ſecretly by good cuſtomes and ordinances, the diſſolute riots of yoong men, and namely, when they mutined, ſaid no more but thus unto them: Liſten yoong men, and heare an olde man ſpeake, whom olde men gave eare unto when he was but yoong. The government alſo of *Pericles* was at the height and of greateſt power and authoritie in his olde age, at what time as he perſwaded the Athenians to enter upon the Peloponeſiacke warre: but when they would needs in all haſte and out of ſeaſon, ſet forward with their power to encounter with threeſcore thouſand men all armed and well appointed, who forraied and waſted their territorie, he withſtood them and hindered their deſſigned enterpriſe, and that in maner by holding ſure the armour of the people out of their hands, and (as one would ſay) by keeping the gates of the citie faſt locked and ſealed up. But as touching that which *Xenophon* hath written of *Ageſilaus*, it is worthy to be delivered word for word, as he ſetteth it downe in theſe tearmes: What youth (quoth he) was ever ſo gallant, but his age ſurpaſſed it? what man was there ever in the flower and very beſt of all his time, more dread and terrible to his enemies, than *Ageſilaus* was in the very latter end of his daies? whoſe death at any time was more joyfull to enemies than that of *Ageſilaus*, although he was very olde when he died? what was he that emboldened allies and confederates, making them aſſured and confident, if *Ageſilaus* did not, notwithſtanding he was now at the very pits brincke, and had in maner one foot already in his grave? what yoong man was ever more miſſed among his friends, and lamented more bitterly when he was dead, than *Ageſilaus*, how olde ſo ever he was when he departed this life? The long time that theſe noble perſonages lived, was no impediment unto them in atchieving ſuch noble and honourable ſervices; but we in theſe daies play the delicate wantons in government of cities, where there is neither tyrannie to ſuppreſſe, nor warre to conduct, nor ſiege to be raiſed; and being ſecured from troubles of warre, we ſit ſtill with one hand in another, being troubled onely with civill debates among citizens, and ſome emulations, which for the moſt part are voided and brought to an end by vertue of the lawes and juſtice onely with words. Wee forbeare (I ſay) and draw backe from dealing in theſe publicke affaires for feare, confeſſing our ſelves herein to be more cowardly and falſe-hearted (I will not ſay) than the ancient captaines and governours of the people in olde time, but even worſe than Poets, Sophiſters and Plaiers in Tragedies and Comedies of thoſe daies. If it be true, as it is, that *Simonides* in his olde age wan the prize for enditing ditties and ſetting ſongs in quires and dances, according to the epigram made of him, which teſtifieth no leſſe in the laſt verſes thereof, running in this maner:

Foureſcore yeeres olde was Simonides
The Poet, and ſonne of Treoprepes,
Whom for his carrols and muſicall vaine,
The prize he won and honour did gaine.

It is reported alſo of *Sophocles*, that when he was accuſed judicially for dotage by his owne children, who laied to his charge that he was become a childe againe, unfitting for governing his houſe, and had need therefore of a guardian; being convented before the judges, he rehearſed in open court the entrance of the *chorus*, belonging to the Tragedie of his, entituled *Oedipus in Colono*, which beginneth in this wiſe:

Wel-come ſtranger at thy entrie,
To villages beſt of this countrie,
Renowmed for good ſteeds in fight,
The tribe of faire Colonus *hight;*
Where nightingale doth oft reſort,
Her dolefull moanes for to report:
Amid greene bowers which ſhe doth haunt,
Her ſundrie notes and laies to chaunt,
With voice ſo ſhrill as in no ground,
Elſwhere her ſongs ſo much reſound, &c.

And for that this canticle or ſonet wonderfully pleaſed the judges and the reſt of the company, they all aroſe from the bench, went out of the Court, and accompanied him home to his houſe with great acclamations for joy, and clapping of hands in his honour, as they would have done in their departure from the Theater where the Tragedie had bene lively acted indeed. Alſo it is confeſſed for certeine, that an epigram alſo was made of *Sophocles*, to this effect:

When Sophocles *this ſonnet wrote*
To grace and honour Herodote,
His daies of life by juſt account,
To fiftie five yeeres did amount.

Philemon and *Alexis*, both comicall Poets, chanced to be arreſted and ſurpriſed with death even as they plaied their Comedie upon the ſtage for the prize, and were about to be crowned with garlands for the victorie. As for *Paulus* [or *Polus*] the actour of Tragedies, *Eratoſthenes* and *Philochorus* do report, That when he was threeſcore yeeres olde and ten, he acted eight Tragedies within the ſpace of foure daies, a little before his death. Is it not then a right great ſhame, that olde men who have made profeſſion either to ſpeake unto the people from the tribunall ſeat, or to ſit upon the bench for to miniſter juſtice, ſhould ſhew leſſe generoſitie and magnanimitie than thoſe who play their parts upon a ſcaffold or ſtage? and namely, in giving over thoſe ſacred games and combats indeed, to caſt off the perſon of a politician and man of honour, and to put on another (I wot not what) in ſtead thereof: for I aſſure you, to lay downe the roiall dignitie of a king, for to take up the perſonage of an husbandman, were very baſe and mechanicall: and conſidering that *Demoſthenes* ſaid how the ſacred galley *Paralus* was unworthily and ſhamefully miſuſed, when it was put and emploied to bring home for *Meidias*, wood and timber, ſlates and tiles, fed muttons or ſuch like fatlings: if a man of honour and eſtate ſhould at any time give up and reſigne his dignitie of ſuperintendencie over the publicke feaſts of *Bœotarchie*, or government over *Bœotia*, of preſidentſhip in that great counſell or aſſemblie of eſtates called *Amphyctiones*, and then afterwards be ſeene occupied in meaſuring and ſelling meale, or the refuſe & cakes either of grapes and olives after they be preſſed, or to weigh fleeces of wooll, or to make merchandiſe of their felles; were not this as much altogether, as (according to the olde proverbe) to put on the age of an olde horſe without conſtraint of any perſon? Moreover, to go to any baſe and vile occupation or handicraft, or to trafficke in merchandiſe, after one hath borne office of government in the common-weale, were all one as to turne a gentlewoman well deſcended, or a ſober matron, out of all her faire and decent apparell, for to give her an apron onely and a ſingle peticoat to cover her ſhame, and ſo to ſet her for to keepe in ſome taverne or victualling houſe; for even ſo, all the dignitie, majeſtie and continuance of vertue politike is quite loſt, when it is debaſed to any ſuch vile miniſteries and trades, ſmelling onely of lucre and gaine. But in caſe (which is the onely point remaining behinde) they call this a ſweet and healthfull life, and the true enjoying and uſe of goods, to be given over to delicacies and pleaſures, and doe invite and exhort a politician or man of State, in aging therein, and ſpending his olde yeeres ſo, to waſte and conſume by little and little to nothing: I wot not well unto which of theſe two pictures, diſhoneſt and ſhamefull both twaine, this life of his were better to be likened; whether to that of the mariners, who would ſolemnize the feaſt of *Venus* all their life time, being not yet arrived with their ſhip into the haven or harbour, but leaving it ſtill under ſaile in the open ſea; or to the painted table of *Hercules*, whom ſome painters merily and in ſport, but not ſeemely and with reverence, depaint how he was in the roiall Palace and Court of the Lydian queene *Omphale*, in a yelow coat like a wench, making winde with a fanne, and ſetting his minde with other Lydian damoſels and waiting-maids, to broid his haire and tricke up himſelfe: even ſo we deſpoiling a man of eſtate of his lions skin, that is to ſay, of his magnanimous courage and a minde to be alwaies profiting the common-wealth, and ſetting him to take his eaſe at the table, will make him good cheere continually, and delight his eares with pleaſant ſongs, with ſound of flutes and other muſicall inſtruments; being nothing at all aſhamed to heare that ſpeech which ſometime *Pompeius Magnus* gave unto *Lucullus*, who (after his warres and conducts of armies, giving over all regiment of State, wholly was addicted to banes and ſtouphes, to feaſting, to wantonneſſe and company with women in the day time, to all diſſolute life and ſuperfluous delights, even ſo much, as to build ſumptuous edifices, beſeeming rather men of yoonger yeeres) reproved *Pompeius* for his ambition and deſire of government above that which became his age; for *Pompeius* anſwered unto him, and ſaid: It is more unſeaſonable for an aged man to live looſely and in ſuperfluitie, than to governe and beare rule. Againe, the ſame *Pompey* being one day fallen ſicke, when his Phyſician had preſcribed him a blacke-bird for to eat, which was at that time out of ſeaſon, and could not be had in the market for any money, and one made anſwere that *Lucullus* had good ſtore of them, for he kept and fed them in mue all the yeere long; hee would neither ſend to him for one, nor receive any from him, ſaying withall: What? unleſſe *Lucullus* be a belly-god and glutton, can not *Pompey* tell how to recover and live? For ſay that nature ſeeketh by all meanes poſſible to take her pleaſure and delight, yet ſurely ſhe diſableth the bodie of old folke, and denieth it the fruition of all pleaſures, unleſſe it be in ſome few neceſſities of this life;

For why? not Venus *onely is*
Offended with old folke ywis.

as *Eurypides* the Poet ſaith, but alſo their appetite to eate and drinke is for the moſt part dull and overthrowen with moſſe, and as one would ſay toothleſſe, in ſuch ſort as they do but mumble, touch their victuals a little aloft, and hardly and with much adoo enter and pierce inwardly into the ſame. In which regard they ought to be furniſhed and provided of pleaſures of the mind, not ſuch as are baſe, illiberall, and vile as *Simonides* ſaide unto thoſe who reproched him for his avarice: for being bereft of all other fleſhly and corporall pleaſures by reaſon of his yeeres, he entertained one ſtill which fed and maintained his old age, and that was the delight which he tooke in getting money & gathering good: but the life politike of thoſe who manage affaires, hath many pleaſures, and thoſe right great and honeſt, in which onely or principally it ſhould ſeeme that the gods themſelves take joy and contentment; and theſe be they that proceed from beneficence, or doing good unto many, and the glorie of ſome worthie and noble act. For if the painter *Nicias* pleaſed his owne mind ſo well in his workemanſhip, and was ſo affectionate to the operation of his art, that oftentimes he forgat himſelfe, and would aske his ſervants whether he had waſhed, and whether he had dined or no: If *Archimedes* alſo was ſo bent & intentive unto the table before him, in which he drew his figures geometricall, that his ſervitours were faine to plucke him from it by force, for to waſh and annoint him, and yet in the meane time that they were annointing of him, he would be drawing and deſcribing of new figures upon his owne bodie: If *Canus* likewiſe the plaier of the fluit (a man whom you know well enough) was woont to ſay: That men wiſt not how much more mirth he made unto himſelfe in his playing, than he did unto thoſe that heard him ſound; and that they that came to heare his muſicke, ought rather to receive a reward of him, than beſtow any money upon him. Do wee not conceive and imagine in our ſelves, what great pleaſures vertues do yeeld unto thoſe who effect any commendable action tending to the good of their countrey, & turning to the profit of the common-weale? they tickle not, they itch not, neither do they after a ſtroking manner give contentment, as do theſe ſweete motions, and gentle prickes of the fleſh; for ſuch bring with them a certaine impatient itch, an unconſtant tickling mingled with a furious heat and inflammation; but thoſe pleaſures which come from notable and praiſe-woorthie deeds, ſuch as they be, whereof the ordinarie workman and author is he, who governeth a common-weale aright, and as it appertaineth unto him for to doe, lift up and raiſe the ſoule to a greatneſſe and haughtineſſe of courage accompanied with joy, not with gilded plumes (as *Euripides* ſaith) but with celeſtiall wings (as *Plato* was woont to ſay) And that the truth hereof may the better appeere; call to remembrance your ſelfe, that which oftentimes you have heard concerning *Epaminondas*, who being asked upon a time what was the greateſt pleaſure that ever he felt in all his life? anſwered thus: Marie even this (quoth he) that it was my fortune to win the field at the battell of *Leuctres*, my father and mother both being yet living. And *Sylla*, the firſt time that he came to *Rome* after he had cleered *Italy* from civill and domeſticall warres, could not ſleepe one winke, nor lay his eies together a whole night, for exceeding great joy and contentment wherewith his ſpirit was raviſhed, as if it had beene with a mightie and violent wind: and thus much he wrote of himſelfe in his owne Commentaries. I can therefore hold well with *Xenophon* in that hee ſaith: That there is no ſound or ſpeech more delectable to a mans eare, than the hearing of his owne praiſes; and even ſo it muſt bee confeſſed: That there is no ſpectacle no ſight, no report and memoriall, no cogitation, nor thought in the world, that bringeth ſo great pleaſure & delectation to the mind, as doth the contemplation and beholding of thoſe good and laudable deeds, which a man hath performed whiles he was employed in the adminiſtration of State and in bearing offices, as being conſpicuous, eminent, and publike places to be ſeene afarre off. True it is moreover, that the amiable grace and favour thereby gotten, accompanying alwaies vertuous acts and bearing witneſſe therto; the commendation alſo of the people who ſtrive a vie and contend who can give out greateſt praiſe and ſpeake moſt good (the verie guide which leadeth the way of juſt and due benevolence) doth adde a gloſſe and luſtre (as it were) unto the joy proceeding from vertue, for to poliſh and beautifie the ſame. Neither ought a man by negligence to ſuffer for to fade and wither in old age, the glorie of his good deeds, like unto a coronet or garland of greene leaves which was woon at ſome games of prize; but evermore to bring foorth ſome freſh and new demerites, to ſtir up and awaken (as a man would ſay) the grace of the old deeds precedent, and thereby to make the ſame both greater, and alſo more permanent and durable. For like as the carpenters and ſhipwrights who had the charge to maintaine the ſhip called the *Gallion* of *Delos* evermore made ſupply of new pieces of timber, as anie of the olde began to decaie, keeping it in continuall reparation by putting in one ribbe and planke for another, and ſo preſerved it alwaies entire and whole, as it was the verie firſt daie when it was built; even ſo a man is to doe by his reputation and credit. And no harder matter is it for to maintaine glorie once up and on foote, than to keepe a fire continually flaming which is once kindled, by putting eftſoones freſh fewell under (bee it never ſo little) for to feede the ſame: but if they bee once out and throughly quenched indeede, then it is no ſmall matter to ſet either the one or the other a burning againe.

againe. And like as *Lampas* the rich merchant, and ſhipmaſter, being demaunded how he got his goods: Marie (quoth he) my greateſt wealth I gained ſoone and with eaſe, but my ſmaller eſtate with exceeding much paine and ſlowly; even ſo it is no eaſie matter at the beginning to acquire reputation,or to win credit and authoritie in the managing of civill affaires, but to augment it after the foundation is laid,or to preſerve and uphold the ſame, when it is once come to greatnes,is not ſo hard,for every litle thing,& the ſmalleſt meanes wil do it. And ſo we ſee that a friend when he is once had, requireth not many great pleaſures & offices of kindneſſe & friendſhip for to be kept and continued a friend ſtil,but petie tokens & ſmal ſignes of curteſie, paſſing continually from time to time betweene,are ſufficient to preſerve mutuall love and amity.Semblablie,the good will and affection of the people, their truſt & confidence which they have conceived towards a man, although he be not able evermore to give largeſſes among them, although he doe not alwaies defend and mainteine their cauſes, nor ſit continually in place of magiſtracie and office, yet nevertheleſſe it holdeth ſtill, if he doe but ſhew himſelfe onely to carie a good heart unto them, & not to ceaſe for to take paines & care for the common good,nor refuſe any ſervice in that behalfe: for even the very expeditions and voiages in warre, have not alwaies battailes araunged, nor fields fought and bloudie skirmiſhes, ne yet beſieging and beleaguing of cities; but they affoord betweene whiles, feſtivall ſacrifices, parlies & enterviewes, ſome leaſure alſo and time of reſt,to follow games,diſports,and paſtimes. How then commeth it, that an old man ſhould be afraid to meddle in State affaires, as if it were a charge unſupportable, full of infinite and innumerable travels, without any comfort and conſolation at all? conſidering that there be allowed at times, varietie of plaies and games, goodly ſights and ſhewes, ſolemne preceſſions, and ſtately pompes, publike doles and largeſſes, daunces, muſicke and feaſts, and ever and anon the honorable ſervice and worſhip of one god or other,which are able to unknit the frownes and unbend the browes, to diſpatch and diſſipate the cloudy cares and auſteritie of the judges in court hall, and of ſenatours alſo in counſell chamber, yeelding unto them much more pleaſure & contentment in proportion to their travels and paines belonging to their place. As for the greateſt miſchief which is moſt to be feared in ſuch adminiſtrations of the common-weale,to wit,envy,it ſetleth & taketh leaſt hold upon old age of any other; for like as *Heraclitus* was wont to ſay: That dogs do baie & barke at thoſe whom they know not; even ſo envie aſſaileth him who beginneth to governe, juſt at the dore as it were, and the entrie of the tribunall and throne of eſtate,ſeeking to impeach his acceſſe and paſſage thither; but after it is accuſtomed and acquainted once with the glorie of a man, and when it hath beene nouriſhed and fed therewith, it is not ſo troubleſome and churliſh, but becommeth more kinde and gentle; and this is the reaſon that ſome have likened envie unto a ſmoke, which at the firſt when the fire beginneth to kindle, ariſeth groſſe and thicke, but after that it burneth light and cleere, vaniſheth away and is gone. In all other preeminences and ſuperiorities, men are wont ordinarily to debate and quarrell, namely,about vertue,nobilitie of bloud and honour,as being of opinion, that the more they yeeld unto others, the more they doe abridge from themſelves; but the prerogative or precedence of time,which properly is called *Presbeion*,as if a man would ſay; the Honor of age, or Time-right, is voide of all jealouſie and emulation, and there is no man but will willingly yeeld it to his companion; neither is there any kinde of honour whereunto ſo well ſorteth this qualitie,namely to grace him more who giveth the honour,than the party who is honoured,as to the prerogative which is given to old men. Moreover, all men doe not hope nor expect to have credit one time or other by their riches, by their eloquence or wiſedome; whereas you ſhall not ſee ſo much as one of thoſe that rule in common-wealth, to deſpaire of comming one day to that authoritie and reverence which old age bringeth men unto.He therefore who after he hath wreſtled long againſt envie, retireth in the end from the adminiſtration of the common-weale, at what time as it is well appeaſed and at the point to be extinguiſhed or laid along, ſhould doe like unto that pilot who in a tempeſt having winde and waves contrarie,ſpreadeth ſaile and roweth in great danger, but afterwards when the weather is faire, and a gentle gale of forewinde ſerveth,doth goe about to ſtrike ſaile and ride at anchor in the pleaſant ſunne-ſhine; he ſhould I ſay in ſo doing, abandon together with his publike affaires, the ſocietie, felowſhip,alliance and intelligences which he had with his good friends;for the more time that he had, the more friends by good reaſon he ought to have gotten, for to ſtand with him and take his part, whom he neither cannot all at once leade foorth with him,like as a maſter of carols his whole quire of ſinging men; nor meete it is and reaſon that he ſhould leave and forſake them all: but as it is not an eaſie peece of worke to ſtocke up by the root olde trees, no more is it a thing ſoone done to extirpe a long government in the common-weale, as having manie great rootes, and thoſe enterlaced & enwrapped one within another, by reaſon of ſundrie and weightie affaires, the which no doubt muſt needs worke more trouble and vexation to thoſe that retire and depart from it, than to thoſe that tarrie ſtill by it; and ſay there remained yet behind for old men ſome reliques of envie, emulation, and contention, which grew in the time of their government; it were farre better to extinguiſh and quench the ſame by power and authoritie, than to turne both ſide and backe unto them, all naked and diſarmed: for envious perſons and evill willers never doe aſſaile them ſo much with deſpight, who make head againe and ſtand their ground, as they doe by contempt thoſe who yeeld backe and retire: and to this accordeth well that which in times paſt that great *Epaminondas* ſaid unto the Thebans. For when the Arcadians had made offer unto them, yea and requeſted them to enter in their cities, during the winter ſeaſon, and there to lodge and abide under covert; he would not permit them ſo to doe, nor to accept of their courteſie: For now (quoth he) all while that they behold you exerciſing and wreſtling in your armour, they have you in great admiration, as valiant and hardy men; but if they ſhould ſee you once by the fire ſide punning and ſtamping beanes, they would take you to be no better than themſelves; even ſo I would make my application, and inferre heereupon; that it is a venerable and goodly ſight to behold a grave and ancient perſonage ſpeaking to the people, diſpatching affaires of State, and generally to be honored of every man; but he who all the day long ſtirres not out of his warme bed, or if he be up, ſitteth ſtill in ſome corner of a gallerie, prating and talking vainely, or elſe reaching, hawking, ſpitting, or wiping his noſe that drops for cold; ſuch an one I ſay, is expoſed to contempt. *Homer* verily himſelfe hath taught us this leſſon, if we will marke and give good eare to that which he hath written. For old *Neſtor* being at the warre before *Troie*, was had in honour and reputation; whereas contrariwiſe *Peleus* and *Laertes* who taried behinde at home were ſet little by and deſpiſed. For the habitude of wiſedome doth not continue the ſame, nor is any thing like it ſelfe, in thoſe who give themſelves to eaſe, and doe not practiſe the ſame; but through idleneſſe and negligence it diminiſheth, and is diſſolved by little and little, as having need alwaies of ſome exerciſe of the cogitation and thought which may waken the ſpirit, cleere the diſcourſe of reaſon, and lighten the operative part of the minde to the dealing in affaires,

Like as both iron and braſſe is bright and cleere,
All while mans hand the ſame doth uſe and weare:
Whereas the houſe wherein none dwels at all,
In tract of time muſt needs decay and fall.

Neither is the infirmitie and feebleneſſe of the bodie ſo great an hinderance unto the government of State, in thoſe who above the ſtrength of their age ſeeme either to mount into the tribunall, or to the bench, or to the generals pavilion and place of audience within the campe, as otherwiſe their yeeres bring good with them, to wit, conſiderate circumſpection & ſtaied wiſedom: as alſo not to be troubled or driven to a *non plus* in the managing of any buſines, or to commit an abſurditie & error, partly for want of experience, in part upon vaine-glorie, & ſo to draw the multitude therewith and doe miſchiefe to the common-wealth all at once; like unto a ſea toſſed with windes; but to treat and negotiat gently, mildly, and with a ſetled judgement, with thoſe who come unto them for advice, or have any affaires or to doe with them. And heereupon it is, that cities after they have ſuſteined ſome great ſhake or adverſe calamitie, or when they have beene affrighted, deſire ſtreight waies to be ruled by auncient men, and thoſe well experienced; in which caſes they have many times drawen perforce an old man out of his houſe in the countrey, for to governe them, who thought or deſired nothing leſſe; they have compelled him to lay his hand upon the helme, for to ſet all ſtreight and upright againe in ſecuritie, rejecting in the meane while greene headed generals of armies, eloquent oratours alſo, who knew well enough how to ſpeake aloud, and to pronounce long clauſes and periods with one breath, and never fetching their winde; yea and beleeve me brave warriors and woorthie captaines indeede, who had beene able and ſufficient to have affronted their enimies, and fought valiantly in the field. Like as upon a time at *Athens*, the oratours there ſhewing before *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who were farre ſtept in yeeres, one named *Chares* the ſonne of *Theochares*, who was a luſtie yoong man, in the flowre of his age, and mightie of bodie, ſtripped out of his apparell, deſired that, hee who was to be captaine generall of the Athenians, were ſuch an one as he for yeeres and for perſon: God forbid (quoth *Timotheus*) but rather I could wiſh the generals varlet to be ſuch an one, who is to carie after him his bed and the furniture thereto belonging. As for the commander and leader of an armie, he ought to be a man that knoweth how to ſee into the State, both before and behinde, and who will not ſuffer his counſels and reſolutions for the weale publike, to be troubled and diſordered by any paſſion whatſoever: for *Sophocles* when he was now become aged: I am well appaid (quoth he) that I am now eſcaped from wanton love and the delights of *Venus*; as being delivered from the ſubjection of a furious lord and raging maſter. But in the adminiſtration of the common-wealth, a man is not to avoid and flie one ſort of maſters, to wit, the love of boies and wenches, but many others which be more outragious than it, and namely emulation and a contentious ſpirit, deſire of vaine-glory, and a longing to be alwaies and in every thing the firſt and the greateſt; a vice that engendreth moſt of any other, envie, jealouſies, conſpiracies, and factions; of which old age doth let ſlacke ſome, and dull their edge, others it cooleth and extinguiſheth cleane, neither diminiſheth and impaireth it the inclination and affection to well doing ſo much, as it repreſſeth and cutteth off the paſſions which are too violent and over-hot, to the end that it may applie unto the care and ſtudie about affaires, the diſcourſe of reaſon, ſober, ſtaied, and well ſetled: howbeit in very truth, and in the judgement of the readers, let this ſpeech of the poet

Lie ſtill poore weretch, and keepe thy bed
Stirre not from thence, and have no dred.

be alledged and ſpoken for to diſſwade and diſtract him, who would with his griſled beard and graie head begin now to be yoong and plaie the youth, as alſo to taxe and reproove an old grand-ſire, who after long repoſe in his houſe, out of which he hath not ſtirred, no more than in the time of a languiſhing diſeaſe, will needs ſtart up now on a ſudden, and all at once beſtirre his old bones to be a captaine forſooth in all haſte, to leade an armie, or els to take upon him the charge of governing a citie. But he that would call away and reclaime one, who hath beene trained and employed all the daies of his life in politike affaires, and throughly-beaten to the world, and the adminiſtration of the common-weale, not ſuffering him to runne forward in that courſe of life untill he have atteined the goale, nor untill he have gained the prize of his victory, but will ſeeme to turne him out of his long journey for to take another way; he (I ſay) is altogether ſenſeleſſe and unreaſonable, and nothing reſembleth the man we ſpeake of. Like as he who to divert an old man being ſet out like a youth, with a chaplet of freſh flowers on his head, perfumed with ſweet odors, and already to be married, would alledge thoſe verſes which in a Tragædie were ſometime ſaid unto *Philoctetes*,

What maiden yoong, what freſh and luſtie bride
Will marry thee, to lie cloſe by thy ſide?
Alas poore man for pitie, at this age
Thus for to venture upon marriage?

were nothing abſurd nor out of the way, and beſide the purpoſe; for even old folke themſelves when they are diſpoſed to be merrie, have manie ſuch jeſts as theſe paſſe currant among them:

I marrie old, how faire I am beſted?
Well wot I, for my neighbour I do wed.

But he that would perſwade a man alreadie married, to leave his wife with whom he hath lived ſo long in wedlocke, and dwelt together in one houſe without quarrels and complaints, ſuppoſing that becauſe he is now growen in yeeres with her, he ſhould forſake her, and live either a ſingle life apart by himſelfe, or elſe keepe a lemon or concubine in ſtead of his lawfull wedded wife, in my conceit were a verie abſurd ſot in the higheſt degree; even ſo, it ſtandeth to good reaſon, for to deale with an old man who having one foot already in his grave, or with one *Clidon* who had beene an husbandman all his life time; or with on *Lampon* the merchant venturer, who hath done nothing all his daies, but uſed ſhipping & trafficke beyond ſea; or with ſome of theſe Philoſophers out of *Epicurus* his orchard, who love a life to ſit ſtill and doe nothing, to admoniſh and diſſwade them from approching unto the publike affaires of the people, and to counſell them to hold them ſtill to their former accuſtomed courſe of life, farre from troubles and buſie dealings in common-weale: marie, he that tooke ſuch an one as *Phocion*, *Cato* or *Pericles* by the hand, and ſaid: My friend of *Athens* or *Rome*, whoever you are, now that you be arrived to withered olde age, make a divorce with the common weale, quit from this day forward all publike adminiſtration, all cares and affaires, aſwell of counſell as of warre; abandon both the tribunall ſeat in the citie and alſo the prætorie or pavilion of State in the campe, retire your ſelfe into an houſe in the countrey, and live the reſt of your life there with one maid-ſervant to attend upon you; follow your husbandrie, or els imploy your ſelfe in your private houſholde, to take accounts

counts and reckonings of your receivers and factours; ſurely he ſhould perſwade him to unjuſt things, and exact of a Stateſ-man and politician that which neither pleaſeth nor yet beſeemeth him. How then? will ſome man ſay unto me, never heard we the olde ſouldiour, how he ſpeaketh thus in the Comedie?

> *My hoarie haires from warfare ſet me free,*
> *That from henceforth enroll'd I ſhall not be.*

Yes forſooth good ſir, it is very true; for requiſit it is, and fit, that the ſquires and ſervitours of *Mars* ſhould be in the flower and full ſtrength of their age, as thoſe who make profeſſion of warre and the painfull ſervices belonging thereto, whoſe gray haires, although the head-piece and morion do hide and cover, yet inwardly their limmes are heavie and decaied by yeeres, and their ſtrength is not to their good will, nor their hand anſwerable to their heart. But of the miniſters of *Jupiter* ſurnamed Counſeller, Oratour, and Patron of cities, we require not the works of feet nor of hands, but of counſel, forecaſt & eloquence; and yet not ſuch eloquence I meane, as ſhould make a ſtirre, or raiſe a noiſe, out-crie and ſhout among the people, but that which is full of ripe underſtanding, of conſiderate wiſedome, and of good directions and plots well and ſurely laied. In which perſons, the white head and gray beard (which ſome laugh and make good game at) the crow-foot about the eies, the furrowes in the forehead, the rivels and wrinckles in the face beſides appearing, beare witneſſe of long experience, and adde unto them a reputation and authoritie, which helpe much to perſwade and to draw the minds of the hearers unto their will and purpoſe. For to ſpeake truely, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that citie or State is preſerved, wherein the ſage counſels of the elders and the martiall proweſſe of the yonger, beare ſway together. And for this cauſe highly and woonderfully are theſe verſes following praiſed in *Homer*, and namely in the firſt place:

> *Then to begin, a goodly ſort*
>   *of ancient captaines bold*
> *Aſſembled he in* Neſtors *ſhip,*
>   *a counſell there to hold.*

upon the ſame reaſon alſo, that counſel of the wiſeſt and principall men aſſiſtant unto the kings of *Lacedæmon*, for the better government of the State, the oracle of *Apollo Pythius* firſt called Πρεσβυγένεας i. Elders: and *Lycurgus* afterwards directly and plainly tearmed Γέροντας. i. Old men; and even at this very day, the counſell of Eſtate in *Rome* is named a Senate, that is to ſay, an aſſembly of ancient perſons. And like as the law and cuſtome, time out of minde, hath allowed unto Kings and Princes the diademe, that is to ſay, a roiall band or frontlet, the crowne alſo to ſtand upon their heads, as honourable mots & enſignes of their regall dignitie and ſovereigne authoritie; even ſo hath nature given unto olde men the white head and hoarie beard as honourable tokens of their right to command, and of their preeminence above others. And for mine owne part, I verily thinke that this nowne in Greeke, γέρας, which ſignifieth a prize or reward of honour, as alſo the verbe γεραίρειν, which is as much to ſay, as to honour, continue ſtill in uſe, as reſpective to the honour due unto olde men (who in Greeke are called γέροντες) not for that they bathe in hot waters, or ſleepe in ſofter beds; but becauſe in cities well and wiſely governed, they be ranged with kings for their prudence, the proper and perfect goodneſſe whereof, as of ſome tree which yeeldeth winter fruit which is not ripe before the latter end of the yeere, nature bringeth forth late and hardly in olde age: and therefore there was not one of thoſe martiall and brave couragious captaines of the Greeks, who found fault with that great king of kings *Agamemnon* for making ſuch a praier as this unto the gods:

> *That of the Grecian hoſt which ſtood*
>   *of many woorthie men,*
> *Such counſellers as* Neſtor *was,*
>   *they would vouchſafe him ten.*

but they all agreed with him, and by their ſilence confeſſed, That not onely in policie and civill government, but alſo in warre, olde age carrieth a mightie great ſtroke: for according as the ancient proverbe beareth witneſſe:

> *One head that knowes full wiſely for to reed,*
> *Outgoes ten hands, and maketh better ſpeed.*

One advice likewiſe, and ſentence grounded upon reaſon, and delivered with perſwaſive grace, effecteth the greateſt and braveſt exploits in a whole State. Well, ſay that olde age hath many difficulties and diſcommodities attending upon it, yet is not the ſame therefore to be rejected: for the abſolute rule of a king, being the greateſt and moſt perfect eſtate of all governments in the world, hath exceeding many cares, travels and troubles; inſomuch, as it is written of king *Seleucus* that he would often-times ſay, if the people wiſt how laborious and painfull it were to reade and write onely ſo many letters as he did, they would not deine to take up his diademe, if they found it throwen in their very way as they goe. And *Philip* being at the point to pitch his campe in a faire ground, when he was advertiſed that the place would not affoord forage for his labouring beaſts: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a life is this of ours, that we muſt live (forſooth) and care to ſerve the neceſſitie of our aſſes? Why, then belike it were high time to perſwade a king when he is aged, for to lay downe his diademe, to caſt off his robes of purple, to clad himſelfe in ſimple array, to take a crooked ſtaffe in hand, and ſo to go and live in the countrey, for feare leſt if he with his gray haires raigned ſtil, he ſhould ſeeme to do many ſuperfluous and impertinent things, and to direct matters out of ſeaſon? Now if it were unſeemely and a meere indignitie, to deale with *Ageſilaus,* with *Numa* and *Darius,* all kings and monarchs, after this ſort; unmeet likewiſe it is, that we ſhould remove and diſplace *Solon* out of the counſell of *Areopagus,* or depoſe *Cato* from his place in the Romane Senate, becauſe of their olde age. Why ſhould we then goe about to perſwade ſuch an one as *Pericles* to give over and reſigne his government in a popular State? for over & beſides, there were no ſenſe at all, that if one have leapt and mounted into the tribunall ſeat or chaire of eſtate in his yoong yeeres, and afterwards diſcharged upon the people & common-wealth thoſe his violent paſſions of ambition and other furious fits, when ripe age is now come, which is woont to bring with it diſcretion and much wiſdome gathered by experience, to abandon and put away (as it were) his lawfull wife, the government which hee hath ſo long time abuſed. The foxe in *Aeſops* fables would not ſuffer the urchin to take off the tiques that were ſetled upon her bodie: For if (quoth ſhe) thou take away theſe that be already full, there will come other hungry ones in their place; and even ſo, if a State rejected evermore from adminiſtration of the common-wealth thoſe governours that begin once to be olde, it muſt needs be quickly full of a ſort of yoong rulers, that be hungrie and thirſtie both after glory, but altogether void of politike wit and reaſon to governe: for how can it otherwiſe be? and where ſhould they get knowledge, if they have not bene diſciples to learne, nor ſpectatours to follow and imitate ſome ancient magiſtrate that manageth ſtate affaires? The Cards at ſea which ſhew the feat of ſailing and ruling ſhips, can not make good ſea-men or skilfull pilots, if they have not beene themſelves many times at the ſtearne in the poope, to ſee the maner of it, and the conflicts againſt the waves, the winds, the blacke ſtormes and darke tempeſts,

What time in great perplexitie,
The mariner doth wiſh to ſee
Caſtor *and* Pollux, *twins full bright,*
Preſaging ſafetie with their light.

How then poſſibly can a yoong man governe and direct a citie well, perſwade the people aright, & deliver wiſe counſel in the Senate, having but read one little booke treating of pollicy, or haply written an exerciſe or declamation in the Schoole *Lyceum* touching that argument? unleſſe beſides, he have ſtood cloſe unto the reines, or hard by the helme many a time, & by marking both citie rulers and martiall captaines, how they have but beene put to their trial, and according to the ſundry experiences and accidents of fortunes, enclining now to the one ſide and then to the other, after many dangers and great affaires, have gotten ſufficient knowledge and inſtruction before hand? I can not ſee how it can be: but if there were no other thing at all beſides; yet ſurely an ancient man is to manage ſtill the affaires of State, and it were but to traine and teach the yoonger, that be to come up after him: for like as they who teach children muſick, or to reade, do themſelves *Sol, fa,* & ſing the note, they finger & ſtrike the key or ſtring, they reade & ſpell the letters before them, & all to ſhew how they ſhould do; even ſo the ancient politician doth frame and direct a yoong man, not onely by reading unto him, by diſcourſing and advertiſing him without foorth; but alſo in the very managing and adminiſtration of affaires, faſhioning, forming and caſting him (as it were) lively in a mold, as well by operation and example, as by words and precepts. For he that is ſchooled and exerciſed herein, not in the ſchooles of the Sophiſters that can ſpeake in number & meaſure, as in the wreſtling hall where the body is annointed with a cõpoſition of oyle & waxe together, againſt exerciſes performed without any danger at all: but (as it were) at the verie publike games indeed, in the view of the whole world, ſuch as the Olympicks and Pythicks were: he (I ſay) followeth the tracts and footſteps of his maſter and teacher, as ſaith *Simonides*:

As ſuckling foale, that keepes juſt pace,
And runnes with dam in everie place.

Thus did *Ariſtides* under *Caliſthenes*, *Cimon* under *Ariſtides*, *Phocion* under *Chabrias*, *Cato* under *Fabius Maximus*, *Pompeius* under *Sylla*, and *Polybius* under *Philopæmen*. For all theſe perſonages when they were yoong, drew neere and joined themſelves with others that were ancient, and having taken root cloſe by them, grew up together with them in their actions and adminiſtrations, whereby they got experience and were inured to the managing of the State with honour and reputation. *Aeſchines* the Academique Philoſopher, when certaine envious ſophiſters of his time charged him and ſaid: That he made a ſemblance and ſhew, that he had beene the diſciple and hearer of *Carneades*, whereas he never was. I ſay unto you (quoth he) that I heard the man, when as his ſpeech abandoning the bruit applauſe and tumultuous noiſe of the people, by reaſon of his old age was ſhut up cloſe and houſed (as it were) for to do good more familiarly in private conference. And even ſo it is with the government of an aged perſon, when as not onely his words, but alſo his deeds be farre remote from affected pompe in outward ſhewes, and all vaine glorie. Much like as is reported of the blacke Storke, called *Ibis*, who by that time that ſhe is become old, hath exhaled and breathed foorth all that ſtrong and ſtinking ſavour which ſhe had, and beginneth to yeeld a ſweet and arromaticall ſmel; even ſo, there is no counſell nor opinion in old men, vaine, turbulent, or inconſtant, but all grave, quiet, and ſetled. And therefore in any wiſe (as I ſaid before) if it were but for yoong mens ſake onely and no more; elder perſons are to weld the affaires of State: to the end that as *Plato* ſpeaking of wine mingled with water, ſaid that it was to make the furious god wiſe, by chaſtiſing him with another that was ſober and temperate: the ſtaid wiſedome of old age tempered with youth, ſwelling and boiling before the people, and tranſported with the greedy deſire of honour, and with ambition, might cut off that which is furious, raging and over violent.

But over and beſides all that hath beene ſaid before, they who thinke, that to be employed in the managing of publike affaires, is all one as to ſaile for trafficke, or to go foorth to warre in ſome expedition, are much deceived: for both navigation & alſo war, men undertake for a certaine end, and no ſooner have they attained thereto but they ceaſe: but the managing of State affaires is not a commiſſion or office pretending or intending any profit and commoditie for the ſcope that it ſhooteth at; but it is the life and profeſſion of a living creature, which is gentle, tame, civill, and ſociable, borne to live ſo long as it pleaſeth nature, civilly, honeſtly, and for the publike good of humane ſocietie. This is the reaſon, that of a man it ſhould be ſaid, that he ſtill is occupied in ſuch affaires of common-weale, and not that he hath beene ſo employed: like as to be true, and not to have beene true; to be juſt and not to have beene juſt; to love his countrey and citizens, and not to have loved them, is his dutie and profeſſion. For even nature her ſelfe directeth us hereto, and ſingeth this leſſon in our eares (I ſpeake to thoſe who are not altogether corrupted and marred with ſloth and idleneſſe)

Thy father thee, a man hath once begat:
To profit men alwaies, in thus or that.
Againe:
Let us not ceaſe nor any end finde
To do all good unto mankinde.

As touching them who pretend and alledge for excuſe, feebleneſſe or impotencie, they do accuſe ſickneſſe & the maimed indiſpoſition of the bodie rather than age. For you ſhall ſee many yoong men ſicke & feeble, and as many old folke luſty & ſtrong; ſo we are not to remoove aged perſons ſimply from the adminſtration of the common-weale, but the impotent onely and unſufficient; nor to call unto that vocation yong men, but ſuch as be able to undergo the charge: for *Aridæus* was yong enough, and *Antigonus* in yeeres; and yet this man as olde as he was, went within a little of conquering all *Aſia*; but the other had never but the bare name onely of a King, like as in a dumbe-ſhew upon a ſtage, making a countenance onely with a guard of partizans and halberds about him, without ſpeaking one word; and ſo he was a ridiculous pageant and laughing ſtocke among his nobles and peeres, who were alwaies his rulers, and led him as they liſt. And even as he who would perſwade *Prodicus* the Sophiſter, or *Philetas* the poet (yong men both, howbeit leane, feeble, ſickly, and for the moſt part of their time bed-ridden) for to meddle with government of State, were a very foole and ſenſeleſſe aſſe; ſo hee were no whit better, who ſhould debarre ſuch old men as *Phocion*, as *Maſaniſſa* the African, or *Cato* the Romane, from exerciſing publike magiſtracie in citie, or taking the charge of a Lord Generall in the field: for *Phocion* one day when the Athenians all in the haſte, would needs have gone forth to warre at an unſeaſonable time, commaunded by proclamation that as many as were not above threeſcore yeeres of age, ſhould arme and follow him now when they were offended and wroth hereat: Why? my maſters (quoth he) what cauſe have you to complaine? I will go with you my ſelfe and be your captaine, who carie already above fourſcore yeeres on my backe. And of *Maſaniſſa*, *Polybius* writeth in his ſtorie, that he died when he was fourſcore and ten yeeres old, and left behind him at his death a ſonne of his owne bodie begotten, but fower yeeres old: alſo that a little before his dying day, he overthrew the Carthaginians in a raunged battell, and the morrow after was ſeene eating ſavourly at his verie tent doore a piece of browne bread: and when ſome marvelled at him why he ſo did, he anſwered thus out of the Poet *Sophocles*:

For iron and braſſe, be bright and cleare
All while mans hand the ſame doth weare,
But the houſe wherein none dwels at all
In time muſt needs decay and fall.

and even as much may be ſaid, of the the luſtre, gloſſe and reſplendent light of the minde, by which we diſcourſe, we remember, conceive and underſtand. And therefore it is generally held and ſaid, that kings become much better in wars and militarie expeditions, than they be all the whiles they ſit ſtill quietly at home. In ſuch ſort, that it is reported of King *Attalus*, the brother of *Eumenes*, how being enervate by long peace and reſt, *Philopœmen* one of his favourites led him up and downe as he liſt by the noſe, and indeed being fed as fat as a beaſt, he might do with him what he would; ſo as the Romans were wont to aſke by way of mockerie ever and anon, as any ſailed out of *Aſia*, whether the king were in grace and favour with *Philopœmen*, and might do any thing with him? There could not eaſily be found many Romane captaines more ſufficient warriours in all kinde of ſervice than was *Lucullus*, ſo long as he was in action, and mainteined his wit and underſtanding entier; but after that he gave himſelfe over once to an idle life, and ſat mued up (as it were) like an houſe-bird at home, and medled no more in the affaires of the common-weale, he became very dull, blockiſh and benummed, much like to ſea-ſpunges after a long calme, when the ſalt water doth not daſh and drench them; ſo that afterwards hee committed his olde age to be dieted, cured and ordered unto one of his affranchiſed bondſlaves, named *Calliſthenes*, by whom it was thought he was medicined with amatorious drinks, and bewitched with other charmes and ſorceries, untill ſuch time as his brother *Marcus* diſplaced this ſervitour from about him, and would needs have the government and diſpoſition of his perſon the reſt of his life, which was not very long. But *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* was wont to ſay: That in perillous times and dangerous troubles, he became the better and much wiſer than himſelfe.* *Aeleas* a King of *Scythia* ſaid, that he thought himſelfe no better than his horſe-keeper, when he was idle. *Dionyſius* the elder being demaunded upon a time, whether he were at leiſure and had nought to do? God defend (quoth he) that ever it ſhould be ſo with me: for a bow (as they ſay) if it be over-bent will breake, but the mind if it be over-ſlacke. For the verie muſicians themſelves, if they diſcontinue overlong the hearing of their accords; the Geometricians likewiſe, to proove & reſolve their concluſions, the Arithmeticians alſo to exerciſe continually their accounts and reckonings, together with the verie actions do impaire by long time and age the habitudes that they had gotten before in their ſeverall arts, albeit they be not ſo much practike as ſpeculative ſciences: but the politike habitude, which is Prudence, Diſcretion, Sage, adviſe, and Juſtice, and beſides all theſe, Experience which can ſkill in all occurrences how to make choiſe of opportunities and the verie point of occaſions, as alſo a ſufficiencie to be able with good words to perſwade that which is meet; this habitude (I ſay) and knowledge can not be preſerved & maintained, but by ſpeaking often in publike place, by doing affaires, by diſcourſing and by judgement: and a hard caſe (it were) if by diſcontinuing and leaving off theſe goodly exerciſes, it ſhould neglect and ſuffer to voide out of the mind ſo many faire and laudable vertues: for verie like it is, that in ſo doing all humanitie, ſociable courteſie, and gratitude in time, for want of uſe and practiſe would decay and fade away, which in deed ſhould never ceaſe nor have an end. Now if you had *Tithonus* for your father, who indeed was immortall, howbeit by reaſon of extreme age ſtanding in need continually of great helpe and carefull attendance, would you avoide all good meanes? would you denie or be weary of doing

* *Atteas.*

him dutifull ſervice, namely, to wait upon him, to ſpeake unto him, to find talke with him, and to ſuccour him everie way, under a colour and pretenſe that you had miniſtred unto him long enough? I trow you would not. Our countrey then, reſembling our father, or our mother rather according to the tearme Μήτρις, which the Candiots give it, which is more aged, and hath many more rights over us, and ſtraighter obligations of us, than hath either father or mother, how durable and long lived ſo ever it be, yet notwithſtanding ſubject it is to age, and is not ſufficent of it ſelfe, but hath alwaies need of ſome carefull eie and good regard over it, and requireth much ſuccour and vigilance; ſhe (I ſay) plucketh unto her a man of honour and policie, ſhe takes ſure hold and will not let him go,

She catcheth him by skirt of roabe behind,
And holds him faſt, leaſt that he from her wind.

you know well that there be many Pythiades, that is to ſay, five yeeres terames gone over my head, ſince I began firſt to miniſter as Prieſt unto *Apollo Pythius*: but yet (I ſuppoſe) you would not ſay thus unto me: *Plutarch*, you have ſacrificed enough now; you have gone in proceſſion often enough, already, or you have lead a ſufficient number of dances in the honour and worſhip of your god; now you are growen in yeeres and become aged; it were time now, that you laid off the coronet which you weare on your head in token of your prieſthood, and give over the oracle by reaſon of your old age. Neither would I have you thinke that it is lawfull for you, notwithſtanding you be farre ſtept in yeeres, to relinquiſh and reſigne up your holy ſervice of *Jupiter* the tutor and patron of cities, the preſident of civill aſſemblies and counſels; you (I ſay) who are the ſovereigne high prieſt, and the great prophet of the ſacred ceremonies of religion politike wherein you thus long time have bene entred and profeſſed.

But laying aſide if you thinke good, theſe arguments that may diſtract and pull an old man from the adminiſtration of the State; let us diſcourſe philoſophically, and conſider a little upon this point: namely, that we doe not impoſe upon old age any enterpriſe and travel, which is either too greevous or unbeſeeming, conſidering that in the univerſall government of the common-weale, there be many parts beſitting well enough and agreeable to that age whereunto both you and I at this preſent be arrived. For like as if of dutie we were commanded to continue ſinging all our life long, we are not bound after that we be growen to great age for to reach unto the higheſt, lowdeſt, and moſt ſhrill notes, conſidering that there be in muſicke many divers tunes and different intenſions of the voice, which the muſicians call harmonies; but reaſon would that we make choiſe of that which is eaſieſt for our yeeres, and moſt ſutable to our nature and diſpoſition; even ſo ſince that to ſpeake and manage affaires is to men more naturall during their whole life, than ſinging to ſwannes even unto their houre of death, we muſt not abandon that affection of ſaying and doing, as if we ſhould fling away an harpe too high ſet, but we ought to let the ſame downe by little and little, taking in hand thoſe charges and offices which be leſſe painfull, more moderate, and better according with the ſtrength and manners of old folke: for even our verie bodies, we that are aged doe not ſuffer to reſt ſtill without all exerciſe, and allow them no motion at all, becauſe we can no more handle the ſpade to dig the ground, nor weld the plummets of leade in the exerciſe of dauncing, nor pitch the barre, fling the hammer, caſt the coit, or throw a ſtone farre from us, or fight and skirmiſh in our armour, or handle ſword and buckler as we could have done in thoſe daies; yet we can abide to ſwing and hang at a rope for to ſtretch our limmes, we can away with ſhaking of our bodies moderately in a pendant ſhip, coach, or eaſie horſe-litter; we like well enough of walking gently, and deviſing one with another upon the way, and mainteining pleaſant diſcourſes, wakening and reviving our vitall ſpirits, and blowing as it were the coles to kindle our naturall heat: and therefore let us not ſuffer our ſelves to grow over colde, nor ſtiffe and ſtarke as if we were frozen and congealed through our ſloth and idleneſſe; neither on the other ſide overcharge our ſelves with all offices, nor be readie to lay our hand to all miniſteries and functions, nor enforce our old age convinced of impotencie to come at length to theſe or ſuch like words,

Ah good right hand, how gladly wouldſt thou take
The launce to couch, and pike in skirmiſh ſhake:
But now alas, this forward will to fight,
Thy feebleneſſe doth checke, and worke thee ſpight.

For neither is the man himſelfe, who is able enough and in the floure of his yeres, commended, if he ſhould undergo and lay upon his ſhoulders all the affaires of the common-weale, and not ſuffer any man elſe with him to take ſome part (like as the Stoicks affirme that *Jupiter* is content to do)but engaging himſelfe in all things, and medling in every matter,either upon an unſatiable deſire of glorie, or for envie that he beareth to thoſe, who in ſome meaſure would have their part of honour and authoritie in the common-weale. But unto an auncient perſon I aſſure you, (although you ſhould eaſe him of infamie in this behalfe) yet it were a painfull ambition, and a moſt laborious deſire of rule to be preſent perſonally at all elections of magiſtrates; yea and a miſerable curioſitie to wait and attend every houre of judgement in court, and all meetings and aſſemblies in counſell; alſo an intollerable humour of vaine-glorie to ſtand at receit and catch every occaſion of embaſſage, or know every verduict of our grand-jurie, or undertake the patronage of all publike cauſes whatſoever; and ſay that all this might be performed with the favour and love of every man, yet greevous it is, and above the ordinarie ſtrength of that age. But what will you ſay if they meet with the cleane contrarie? for to yoong men they be odious, becauſe they let nothing paſſe their owne hands, but intercept from them all occaſion and meanes of action,not giving them leave to ariſe and put themſelves foorth; as for their equals, this covetous deſire of theirs to hold the higheſt place in all things, and to have the ſole authoritie every where, is no leſſe hated of them, & accounted infamous,than either avarice or looſe life, and voluptuouſneſſe in other old folke. And therefore like as(by report) king *Alexander* the great, not willing to overcharge his horſe *Bucephalus* when he grew in age, uſed to mount other courſers before the fight began, for to ride up and downe to review his armie and all the quarters and regiments thereof,but after he had ranged it in array,& ſet his ſquadrons and companies in ordinance of battell, and given the ſignall, he would alight and get upon his backe againe as he was woont, and preſently march directly affront his enemies, give the charge, and hazard the fortune of the field: even ſo a politike man of State,if he be wiſe and of ſound judgement, will favour his ſtrength a little, when he feeleth himſelfe aged, as he holdeth the reines in his owne hand, he will forbeare to deale in thoſe charges which are not altogether ſo neceſſarie,and ſuffer younger men to manage matters of leſſe importance; but in weightie affaires of great conſequence, he will lay to both his owne hands in good earneſt, contrary unto the practiſe of the champions in publike games and combats of priſe, who carefully looke unto their bodies without touching at all any neceſſary works, and all to employ and uſe them in needleſſe, unprofitable, and ſuperfluous feats: but we contrariwiſe letting paſſe by the petie and ſleight charges,are to reſerve our ſelves whole and entire unto thoſe that be ſerious and of moment indeed: for a yoong man as *Homer* ſaith, all things beſeeme indifferently & alike,all the world ſmileth on him, every body loveth him; if he enterpriſe ſmall matters,and many in number, they ſay he is a good common-wealths man, he is popular,he is laborious; if he undertake great works and honorable actions,he hath the name of generous,noble & magnanimous:yea, and divers occurrences there be, wherein raſhneſſe it ſelfe and a contentious humour of emulation have a kinde of grace, and become gaily well ſuch as be freſh and gallant youthes; but for a man of yeeres, who during the adminiſtration of the common-weale, undertaketh theſe and ſuch like miniſteries and commiſſions;namely,the letting to ferme the cuſtomes & revenues of the citie, the charge of mainteining an haven,or keeping of the market place and common hall in order and reparation; over and beſides, the embaſſies and voiages in forren parts to princes and potentates, or the riding in poſte thither, to treat about no matter of neceſſitie nor weighty affaires of any importance, but onely to ſalute them or make court unto them, or performe ſome offices of courſe and courteſie: In my conceit,and be it ſpoken unto you my good friend, he is to be pitied for it,and his caſe is rather lamentable than commendable. To others haply it may ſeeme an odious trouble & a burdenſome matter for him ſo to be emploid; for ſurely this is not an age wherein a man ſhould be encumbred with any offices, but ſuch as wherein there is dignitie,grandence & reputation,ſuch as that is,which your ſelfe at this time do execute in *Athens*,to wit, the preſidence of the counſell or ſenate called *Ariopagus*, and verily of that kinde alſo is that dignitie of being one of that honorable counſell and aſſemblie of the States, called *Amphyctiones*, which your countrey hath conferred upon you by patent to hold all your life time, the labour belonging whereto is pleaſant, the paines eaſie, and the travell tolerable. Howbeit I would not have an auncient perſon to range and hunt after theſe offices, nor to accept them,as demaunding the ſame, but to receive them by way of refuſall, ſo as he may ſeeme to take them *volens nolens*, not as meanes for to be himſelfe in honor, but as one that meant by his acception to grace and honour them.For it is no ſhame as *Tiberius Cæſar* was woont to ſay, for men above three-ſcore yeres of age to reach forth their hand to a phyſician for to have their pulſe felt; but rather to ſtretch out their hands to the people, in praying them to give their voices or ſuffrages with them at the election of magiſtrates; for this is a very vile and baſe thing: as contrariwiſe there is in this a certeine venerable majeſtie, and a dignitie right honorable; that when the countrey hath elected one to bee a magiſtrate, when they call upon him and give attendance at his doore, hee ſhould then come downe unto them out of his houſe, with a kinde of reciprocall honour of his part, a cheerefull countenaunce and courteous behaviour to the people againe, to ſalute, embrace, wel-come, and accept this their preſent, woorthy indeed and beſeeming honourable old age. Semblablie alſo in ſome ſort an auncient man ought to uſe his ſpeech in the congregation and aſſemblie of the people, not running ever and anon and leaping up into the pulpit or place of audience to make an oration unto the people, nor readie alwaies like as a cocke croweth againe when hee heareth others, to counterchaunt (as it were) to all thoſe that make any ſpeech, nor in faſtning upon them, and ſtriving to take hold and vantage of their words, to unbridle the reverence that yoong men beare toward him, nor to breed in them by that meanes matter to exerciſe and accuſtome themſelves in diſobedience and unwillingneſſe to heare him: but hee muſt otherwhiles ſeeme to paſſe by, and make ſemblance as though hee ſaw and heard nothing, and give them leave a little to brave it, to fling out, and caſt up the head like a wanton yoong horſe, neither to bee preſent, among or to ſearch curiouſlie into everie thing that is done or ſaide, eſpecially when the daunger is not great, nor a matter touching the ſafetie of common weale, nor any honour and reputation; for there in ſuch caſes he ought not to ſtay untill he be called, but to put foorth himſelfe and to runne even above the ordinarie ſtrength of his age, or elſe if he be not able, to yeeld his bodie to be led by hand and ſuſteined up by folkes armes, yea and to be caried in a chaire; as the hiſtorie doth report of *Appius Claudius*, who having heard that the Senate of *Rome* after a great foughten field which king *Pyrrhus* had woon of the Romaines, inclined to accept of articles and capitulations tending to a compoſition and to peace, could not endure that indignitie, nor conteine himſelfe, (blinde though he were of both his eies) but would needs be caried through the common place even to the ſenat houſe; and being entred in upon his feet, he ſtood in the mids of them all and ſaid: My maſters, hitherto I have beene grieved for the loſſe of mine eie-ſight, in that I could not ſee; but now I wiſh that I had loſt the uſe alſo of mine eares, and that I might not heare the ſhamefull counſels & courſes that you take, beſides the lewd exploits that you performe: then partly by reprooving them ſharply, and in part by his effectuall reaſons and remonſtrations exciting them, he wrought ſo, that perſwaded they were preſently to reſume armes for to fight with *Pyrrhus*, for the ſeignorie and empire of *Italy*. And *Solon* at what time as the flatterers of *Piſiſtratus* wherewith he abuſed the people of *Athens*, were openly detected and diſcovered, and that it appeered once that he aimed at nothing elſe but to uſurpe tyrannie over them, and when no man durſt make head againſt him and empeach or croſſe his deſſignes, himſelfe alone bringing foorth armour out of his houſe, and laying the ſame in the ſtreet before his very doores; cried with a loud voice unto the citizens for to aide him; which when *Piſiſtratus* heard, hee ſent unto him for to demaund & know upon what aſſurance that he had, he durſt be ſo bold as thus to do? Mary (quoth he) I preſume upon mine old age. Such occurrences as theſe ſo neceſſarie, doe rekindle and ſet on fire againe old men, who were in maner extinct and cleane dead before, provided, that there remained in them any ſparke or breath at all: but in other ſmaller occaſions, an auncient perſonage ſhall do well and wiſely to excuſe himſelfe otherwhiles, and refuſe baſe or vile miniſteries, wherein greater toile and paines groweth unto them that be emploied therein, than profit and commoditie doth accrue unto the parties for whoſe ſake they be undertaken. It falleth out alſo ſomtimes, that if he ſtay untill he be called and ſought unto, until he be deſired, & that they ſend to ſeeke for him at his houſe, he ſhall win more credit and authoritie among his citizens by comming among them in the end at their requeſt: and ſay that he be preſent in place, he ſhall be ſilent himſelfe for the moſt part & ſuffer yoonger men to ſpeake, as being the judge of civill contention and emulation among them, provided alwaies that the ſame exceed not a certaine meane; for then he ſhal reproove them mildly, after a kind & loving ſort cut off all opinionative debates, all head-ſtrong opinions, all opprobrious tearmes and heat of choler. Now the advices and opinions delivered of any matter in queſtion, his part is to comfort and encourage him that commeth ſhort of the point, not reprooving and blaming him at all, but rather teaching him how to do better againſt another time, yea and to praiſe him boldly, who hath done well, and ſuffer his owne ſelfe willingly to take the woorſe and be overcome, giving the place to ſome many times, and not diſdaine to bee overmatched and perſwaded by reaſon: to the end that they may take the better heart and be more bold, and ready to helpe out and ſupplie others in their defects, and that with good words and faire language, like as that old *Neſtor* did in *Homer*:

> *Of all the Greeks there is no man,*
> *Who blame theſe words or gainſay can:*
> *But yet forſooth you ſay not all,*
> *Nor come are to the finiall.*
> *For why? you ſeeme but yoong by your viſage,*
> *And well my ſonne you may be for your age.*

Moreover, this were more civilly done, not to reprove and checke them openly nor in publicke place, although it be without any great biting and nipping, which is enough to abate and caſt downe the courage of yoong men; but rather apart and privatly, eſpecially ſuch as be well framed and diſpoſed by nature to government of State another day; inſtructing and leading them gently into the right way, ſetting before their eies ſome excellent ſayings, examples and inventions tending to policie, and inciting them alwaies to good and honeſt enterpriſes, heartening and imboldning them by that meanes, that they may ſhew a lively and lightſome ſpirit, and even at the beginning, making the people caſt a liking and love unto them, and be more gentle and tractable afterwards: like as it is the maner of thoſe, who when they teach yong men to ſit and ride an horſe, bring them firſt one that is gentle and eaſie to be mounted upon; now if peradventure one of them at his firſt entrance do faile and catch a fall, he muſt not let him lie along, and ſo breake the heart of a youth for ever, but lift him up and ſet him on his feet againe, yea, and give him comfortable and gracious words. Thus did *Ariſtides* in times paſt by *Cimon*, and *Mneſiphilus* by *Themiſtocles*, whom the people at the firſt could not abide and brooke, as having but a bad name in the citie for their audaciouſneſſe and looſe life; and yet theſe good men ſtood their friends, brought them into credit, and mightily encouraged them. It is reported alſo even of *Demoſthenes* himſelfe, that the firſt time he came to the barre, he ſuffered a diſgrace, and was rejected by the people, which he tooke to heart & was wondrouſly diſmaied, untill ſuch time as an ancient and fatherly citizen, one who had ſometime heard *Pericles* making orations to the people, tooke him by the hand & ſaid unto him: That he reſembled *Pericles* for all the world in ſpeech and geſture, and that he did himſelfe great wrong upon ſuch an occaſion to be faint-hearted and caſt downe. Semblably, *Euripides* after the ſame maner imboldned *Timotheus* the Muſician, who at his firſt comming upon the ſtage was hiſſed out by the people, as one that by his novelties which he brought up, ſeemed to violate and breake the lawes of Muſicke; but he willed him to be of good cheere for all that, ſaying: It would not be long after, but he ſhould be able to draw and leade the whole Theater after him as he would, and have the people at his devotion. To be briefe, like as the terme of time limited and appointed for the veſtall virgins or nunnes votaries at *Rome*, was divided into three parts: The firſt, to learne that which perteined to their religion; the ſecond, to practiſe; and the third, to teach the yonger. And likewiſe, as in the citie of *Epheſus* every one of thoſe maidens vowed to the ſervice of *Diana*, was at the beginning called *Melliere*, which is as much to ſay, as a Novice to be a prieſtreſſe hereafter; then *Hiere*, that is to ſay, a full prieſtreſſe in deed; and laſt of all, *Pariere*, which ſignifieth one that had power to imitate and profeſſe others in the ſame orders; even ſo, he that is a perfect polititian and States-man, at the firſt is but a learner and a queſtioniſt (as it were) to doe his acts, and ſo to commence in that profeſſion; but in the end, he teacheth others, he is a regent over novices, and ſheweth them the ſecrets of policie. For to be a preſident and overſeer of others that trie maſteries or combats, is not to be a fencer or champion himſelfe; but he that inſtituteth and traineth a yoong man to publike affaires and matters of State, framing and fitting him for his countrey another day, in ſhewing him how

> *To frame his words with comely grace,*
> *And deeds performe meet for his place.*

is a good and profitable member of the common-wealth, not in a ſmall and baſe kinde of ſervice, but in a miniſterie of great conſequence; and to which eſpecially and principally, *Lycurgus* having given himſelfe and aimed at, accuſtomed yong men even from their infancie to obey and doe reverence to every elder, no leſſe than to a ruler and law-giver. For in what regard els, and to what other purpoſe ſaid *Lyſander*? That there was no place in the world, where it was ſo honourable for to be old, as in *Lacedæmon*. Was it becauſe it was permitted and lawfull there for elder perſons more than for any other, to till the ground, to put out money to uſurie, to play at dice, being ſet together, and to keepe good fellowſhip, drinke merily as they are cloſe at their game, and playing hard at hazzard? I ſuppoſe neither you nor any man els will ſo ſay. But it was becauſe all ſuch, being after a ſort in place of rulers, of fatherly governours and tutours over youth, have not a vigilant eie ouer the publicke affaires onely, but a particular regard alſo alwaies to every action of yong men, enquiring and learning not ſleightly, and as it were paſſing-by their whole demeanour, namely, how they exerciſe their bodies in publicke place; how they play and diſport themſelves; what their diet is, and how they converſe and live together, ſhewing themſelves dread and terrible to thoſe that do ill, but venerable and deſireable to the good; for in trueth yoong folke alwaies obſerve & looke after them, and to ſuch they make court; for that ancient perſons do labour for to make them better, & augment the generoſity of their mind, without all envie. For this paſſion, as it beſeemeth no time of mans age, howſoever in yong men it be entituled with a number of faire and honeſt names, to wit, emulation, zeale, and deſire of honour; ſo in olde men it is altogether unſeaſonable, abſurd, rude, ſavage, unmanly and baſe. And therefore a man of yeeres, who is a polititian, muſt be very farre off from this humour of envie, and not like unto old runt-trees or dodils, which repining as it were at others, doe manifeſtly hinder and take away the ſpring and growth of yoong poles and plants which come up under them, or grow neere about them: but contrariwiſe, he ought to admit and receive them kindly, yea, and to offer himſelfe lovingly unto thoſe that make toward him and be glad to ſort and converſe with him; ſuch he ought to enforme, to direct, to dade and leade by the hand, yea, and to cheriſh and nouriſh them, not onely with good inſtructions, ſage counſels and wiſe admonitions, but alſo in yeelding unto them the place and meanes to exerciſe ſome functions of government, whereby there may grow unto them ſome honour and glorie, in preferring them to thoſe charges and commiſſions which be not hurtfull to the State, but pleaſing and acceptable to the common people. As for others, which at the firſt entrie be untoward and ſhew ſome reſiſtance, be difficult, dangerous and hard to be atchieved (like unto ſome medicines and potions which preſently doe gnaw and wring the bellie, or make the ſtomacke ſicke) and whereof the honour and profit enſueth long after; it is not good to put ſuch into yong mens hands, nor to helpe them to ſuch hard bargaines, ne yet to expoſe them raw as they be and unacquainted, to the mutinous exclamations and obloquies of the rude multitude, which is hard to be pleaſed; but rather he himſelfe is to undergoe the diſpleaſure and ill-will of the people for the weale publicke; for this will cauſe the yoonger ſort to be more affectionate unto him, and better willing a great deale to enterpriſe all other ſervices. But over and beſides all that hath beene delivered already, this would be well remembred, that to adminiſter and governe the common-wealth, lieth not onely in bearing an office, or going in ambaſſage, or in crying with a loud voice to an aſſembly, or in the pulpit or tribunall for publicke orations, to fare as if he were mad and out of his wits, in vehement preaching to the multitude, or in penning a number of decrees, acts and edicts, wherein the common ſort ſuppoſe that all policie and government doth conſiſt, like as they imagine alſo; that to be a Philoſopher, is nothing els, but to diſcourſe and diſpute in the ſchooles at certeine times of philoſophicall points aloft in a chaire, and reade lecture at their houres out of their books, and in the meane while be ignorant of that civill adminiſtration and philoſophie which is continually ſeene in works and daily actions. For this were all one, according to *Dicæarchus*, as if one ſhould ſay, that they only walked, who fetched many turnes up and downe in galleries, and not they, who went into the countrey on foot, or viſited their friends. But wee muſt thinke, that to governe a common-wealth, is very like unto the profeſſion of Philoſophy: for *Socrates* was not to be thought a Philoſopher onely, when he cauſed ſtooles and formes for to be made readie to ſit upon, againſt a conference, or when he ſat him downe himſelfe in a chaire, or when he obſerved preciſely the houres of lecture, of diſputation, or of walking in the ſchooles, which were appointed for his diſciples and familiar followers; but alſo otherwhiles, when he was at his game and play, as it fell out, when he dranke and eat, when he was in warfare or in the campe with ſome, bargaining, buying and ſelling with others; and finally, when he was in priſon, and even then, when as he drunke that cup of hemlocke for his poiſon; having taught and prooved plainly before, that mans life at all times, in all parts, in every occaſion and accident, and generally in all affaires admitteth the uſe of Philoſophie. And even ſo, we are to make account of civill government; namely, to thinke that fooles or leud perſons doe not adminiſter the common-weale, either when they be Generals of armies, or L. L. Chancellors, or when they ſeeme to leade the people after them with their eloquent tongue; but rather raiſe tumult and ſedition among them, or flatter and inſinuate into their favour, or declare for oſtentation, or els execute ſome charge and office, and do that which they do compelled by force. Whereas contrariwiſe, a good and true politician in deed, who affecteth his citizens, loveth his countrey, hath a care and heedfull regard of the weale-publicke, although he never be clad in his rich coat of armes, nor have the roiall mantle of eſtate upon him, yet he is daily and hourely emploied in the adminiſtration of publicke affaires, inciting and exhorting to action thoſe that are ſufficient, inſtructing ſuch as be unskilfull and wanting, aſſiſting as many as come to him for counſell, reclaiming them who are ill given and about to practiſe miſchiefe, confirming and encouraging thoſe who be well minded, and ſhewing evidently in effect, and not for forme and faſhion, that he is amuſed and wholly bent upon the good of the State: not becauſe there is to grow thereby any intereſt to him or his, or in regard that he is called by name to go firſt into the Theater, or to be the principall and firſt man in the aſſemblie of counſell, or otherwiſe by way of recreation, as if he came thither to ſee plaies & games, or to heare ſome pleaſant muſicke when he is there; but contrariwiſe, when he cannot be preſent perſonally, yet to be there in ſpirit and advice; and after he hath intelligence of the proceedings there, to approve ſome things well done, and to ſhew himſelfe diſpleaſed in other things. For neither *Ariſtides* the Athenian, nor *Cato* the Romane, were in place many times of chiefe government, yet they ceaſed not for all that, during their whole life, to be in action for the good and ſervice of their countries. And *Epaminondas* atchieved (I muſt needs ſay) many noble acts and valiant exploits, whiles he was captaine generall for *Bœotia*; howbeit, one act there is reported of his, when he was neither generall nor in any office at all, which he exploited in *Theſſalie*, not inferiour to any one of his other worthy deeds: for at what time as the captaines of *Thebes* had engaged a batailon or regiment ſo farre into a difficult place and a ground of much diſadvantage, whereby the enemies charged ſore upon them ſo violently, that they were in great affright, and ready to be defaited, he being in the forefront among the footmen heavily armed, was called backe, and at his firſt comming appeaſed all the trouble & affright of the army, and put them in aſſured hope with his very preſence: afterwards he ſet in order and arranged in battel-ray, that ſquadron which had broken their ranks and were in confuſion, delivered them eaſily out of this ſtreight and difficult paſſage, and made head againe upon the enemies, who hereupon were ſo daunted, that they changed their minds and retired. Alſo when *Agis* the king of the Lacedæmonians led his armie in ordinance of battell ready to fight with his enemies in *Arcadia*, there was one ancient Spartane cried aloud unto him, and ſaid: My lord, you thinke to remedie one miſchiefe by another: (giving him thereby to underſtand, that his meaning was by this preſent and unſeaſonable forwardneſſe of his, in giving battell unto the enemie, for to ſalve and cure (as it were) his former ſpeedy retreat and departure from the ſiege before the citie *Argos*, according as *Thucydides* reporteth in his ſtorie) which when *Agis* heard, he gave credit unto the man, retired preſently, but afterwards he had the victorie. This *Agis* cauſed his chaire of eſtate to be ſet every day before his palace gate, and many times the *Ephori* would riſe from their Conſiſtorie, and repaire unto him thither, for to aske his advice, and conſult with him about the affaires of greateſt importance; for he ſeemed to be a man of great reach, and is renowmed in the hiſtories for a moſt wiſe and ſage prince. And therefore upon a time, after that the ſtrength of his bodie was utterly decayed, in ſuch ſort as for the moſt part of the day he kept his bed and ſtirred not forth; when the *Ephori* ſent unto him and requeſted that he would give them meeting in the common hall of the citie, he aroſe out of his bed, and ſtrained himſelfe to walke thither; but when he was gone a pretie way with much paine and difficultie, he chanced to meet with certeine little boies in the ſtreet, and demanded of them, whether they knew any thing more powerfull than the neceſſitie to obey their maſter; and when they anſwered No, he made this account, that his impotencie ought to be the end and limit of his obeiſance, and ſo returned backe immediatly to his owne houſe. For ſurely, ones good will ought not to ſhrinke before his power; but when might faileth, the good will would not be forced further. Certes, it is reported that *Scipio* both in war abroad & alſo in civill affaires at home, uſed the counſell of *Caius Lælius*, inſomuch as ſome there were, who gave out and ſaid, that of all thoſe noble exploits *Scipio* was the actour, but *Lælius* the authour. And *Cicero* himſelfe confeſſeth, that in the braveſt & moſt honourable counſels which he exploited during his conſulſhip, by the meanes whereof he ſaved his countrey, he conſulted with *Publius Nigidius* the Philoſopher. So that we may conclude, that in many kindes of government and publicke functions, there is nothing that impeacheth and hindereth olde men, but that they may well enough ſhew their ſervice to the common-wealth, if not in the beſt ſimply, yet in good words, ſage counſell, libertie and authoritie of franke ſpeech and carefull regard, according as the Poets ſay: for they be not our feet, nor our hands, nor yet our whole bodie and the ſtrength thereof, which are the members and goods onely of the common-weale; but firſt and principally, the ſoule and the beauties thereof, to wit, juſtice, temperance and prudence; which if they come ſlowly and late to their perfection, it were abſurd and to no purpoſe, that men ſhould enjoy houſe, land and all other goods and heritages, and ſhould not themſelves procure ſome profit and commoditie to their common countrey, by reaſon of their long time which bereaveth them not ſo much of ſtrength able for to execute outward miniſteries, as it addeth ſufficiencie of thoſe faculties which are requiſit for rule and command. Loe, what the reaſon was that they portraied thoſe *Hermes*, that is to ſay, the ſtatues of *Mercurie*, in yeeres, without either hands or feet; howbeit, having their naturall parts plumpe and ſtiffe; giving us thereby covertly to underſtand, that we have leaſt need of olde mens labour and corporall travell, ſo that their words be active, and their ſpeeches full of ſeed and fruitfull, as it is meet and convenient.

THE APOPHTHEGMES OR NOTABLE SAYINGS OF KINGS, PRINCES AND GREAT CAPTAINS.

The Summarie.

IF ſpeech be the ſigne and lively picture of the minde, as it is indeed, a man may judge by theſe Apophthegmes or notable Sayings, and collected heere together, how excellent in feats of armes, in politike government, or otherwiſe particularly theſe perſonages were, who are heere repreſented unto us; like as ſome ſpeciall acts enterlaced among their ſayings doe alſo ſhew. Two ſorts of people there be who abuſe the fruit that good men might draw out of the conſideration & reading of theſe diſcourſes. The one be certeine glorious perſons, who upon a vaine deſire of outward ſhew, and to be ſeene, and for no other intent, following Aeſops *crow, trim themſelves with the plumes and feathers of others: theſe have gotten together a heape and ſtore-houſe as it were of wiſe ſayings from auncients in old time, whereby they might be conſpicuous, and ſeeme to be of ſome valour and reputation among thoſe who have not wit enough to ſee into them, and know what they are. The other are hypocrites; who having a lothſome ſtinke and bitter gall in the heart, pretend ſweetneſſe and honie at the end of their toong, and all to ſeduce their neighbours, or rather to deceive their owne ſelves, for that they have never any regard of their owne dutie.*

But heere in this diſcourſe there is to be ſeene nothing affected, nothing borrowed from others, nor farre fet, but there is repreſented unto us a certeine open, ſimple & admirable nature in this diverſitie of grave, pleaſant & learned ſpeeches, wherein ſweetneſſe is mingled with profit, for to fit all perſons, and to be aptly applied unto their maners and behaviour, of what calling and degree ſoever they be in the world. Item, heerein are repreſented acts proceeding from great wit, deepe reach, and high conceit, of valour, of equitie, modeſtie, good diſpoſition, and ſingular cariage in the whole courſe and management of mans life: the which are propoſed and manifeſted unto us to this end, that the wiſedome and bountie of the almightie might ſo much the better appeere, in that he hath vouchſafed ſuch ornaments to publike States, for to maintaine and uphold mans life amid thoſe confuſions which were brought into the world by occaſion of ſin. Moreover, this firſt collection may well be devided into five principall parts, whereof. The firſt conteineth the notable ſayings & deeds of the kings of Perſia, *and other ſtrange nations. The ſecond of the governors and potentates of* Sicilie. *The third of the* Macedonian *kings, and namely of* Alexander *the great and his ſucceſſors. The fourth of the great* *lords and captaines of* Greece, *to wit, Athenians, Lacedemonians, and Thebans. The fiſt and laſt of the auncient captaines and conſuls, together with the two firſt emperours of* Rome.

As touching the profit that all ſorts of perſons may gather heereout, it is ineſtimable, by reaſon of the goodly inſtructions that theſe acts and words ſo ſententious, and for their brevitie ſo eaſie to be remembred doe affoord: the ſubſtance whereof is to reclaime us from vice, and to bring us into the way of vertue; the which we ought ſo much the more to love and eſteeme, in this great light that is preſented to us in theſe laſt daies, when as we doe ſee that thoſe perſons who were overwhelmed in ſuch ignorance of the ſoveraigne good in deed, have neverthe leſſe, done ſo well and ſpoken to the purpoſe amid that darkeneſſe and at random. I doe not denie but there be ſome taſtes ſavouring of ambition and other paſſions, as extravagant as it, ſowed heere and there among theſe gatherings: but an eaſie matter it will be to diſcerne them, yea, and to make uſe of them alſo, as well as of the reſt, referring all to their right uſage; namely, to be furniſhed with ſuch ſpeeches without vaine oſtentation, for the good of our neighbour, and to follow that which is therein commendable in divers ſorts, and all to frame and faſhion us more and more to every good dutie. I have entred in the margine ſome part of the artificiall framing of ſuch ſentences, not generally throughout; for words there be that many times have divers ſenſes; but endevoured I have to ſet the words in a certeine courſe and traine, that hee may be able to ſound the matter to the verie bottom, and in this collection to apply that fitly to his own uſe and purpoſe which he findeth meet for his owne inſtruction.

THE APOPHTHEGMES OR notable ſayings of Kings, Princes, and great Captaines.

A*rtaxerxes* King of *Perſia* (ô moſt mighty Emperor *Cæſar Trajanus*) eſteemed it an act of no leſſe magnanimitie and royall bountie to take in good woorth, and to receive with gracious countenance, ſmall preſents, than to give great rewards: and therefore upon a time as he paſſed by the way in progreſſe, when a poore and ſimple man who gat his living by the ſweat of his browes, and his handlabour, having nothing elſe to give, offered him water which he had laden out of the running river with both his hands, he courteouſly accepted it with a lightſome and ſmiling countenance, meaſuring the grace of the gift, not according to the valour and woorth of the thing, but the good will of the giver. And to the like purpoſe *Lycurgus* ordeined in the citie of *Sparta*, ſacrifices of the leaſt coſt that might be: To the end (quoth he) that the citizens might have meanes at all times and in everie place to honour the gods readily and at eaſe, with ſuch things as they had at hand. And therefore ſince (that moſt gracious Prince with the like minde and intention) I tender unto your Highneſſe theſe ſmal preſents and tokens, even the moſt common firſt fruits (as I may ſo ſay) gathered from philoſophie; I beſeech you to receive together with my good affection the profit and uſe of theſe worthy and memorable ſayings which I have collected for your ſake: for that they may ſerve you in good ſtead, to know the nature, diſpoſition and manners of great perſonages who lived in times paſt, conſidering that oftentimes they appeere better and are diſcovered more cleerely by their words than by their deeds. True it is that in another worke I have compiled the lives of the moſt noble and famous perſonages, as well for feats of armes, as for counſell, to wit, Captaines, Law-givers, Kings and Emperours, that ever were among the Romains and the Greeks: but in the greater parts of their acts, Fortune is intermingled among and hath her place; whereas in the ſpeeches and ſentences which they have delivered, and the anſwers by them made at the verie time of their acts, their paſſions, their accidents and occurrences of Fortune, a man may perceive moſt purely (as it were) in ſo many mirrours, what their thoughts were, and how the hearts of every one ſtood affected. And verily one *Siramines* a gentleman of *Perſia*, when ſome marvelled at him that his enterpriſes ſped no better, and had no more fortunate ſucceſſe, conſidering that his ſpeeches were ſo wiſe, anſwered unto them in this manner: Becauſe (quoth hee) I am my ſelfe maſter of my words, but of my actions, Fortune, and the King together. Now in that other volume of Lives aforeſaid, the excellent ſayings of thoſe renowmed perſons be joined with the narration of their deeds written at large, ſo that they require a man of great leaſure, and one that will take pleaſure in reading and hearing the ſame: but as for this booke, wherein their words are gathered and comprehended together by themſelves, as the verie ſcantillons (as I may ſo ſay) and ſeeds extracted a part from their lives, and yet teſtifying of the ſame; the reading thereof, in my conceit, will not hinder the reſt of your affaires, nor take up any time due thereto, conſidering that in few wordes you ſhall there ſee the nature of manie memorable perſons lively deſcribed and depainted.

The Perſians love them moſt who are hauke-noſed, and eſteeme them to be beſt favoured; and why ſo? becauſe *Cyrus*, one of their Kings whom they affected moſt, had a noſe of that faſhion. This noble King CYRVS was wont to ſay: [a] That they who would not do good unto themſelves, were conſtrained to benefit others. It was a ſpeech of his alſo: [b] That it appertained to none by right for to command and rule, unleſſe they were better than thoſe whom they ruled. Againe, when the Perſians were minded to change their countrey, being hard, rough, and hilly, and to inhabite another that was milde, plaine and champaine, he would not permit them ſo to do [c] ſaying: That like as the ſeeds of plants; ſo the lives of men became ſutable to the places and regions, where the one were ſowed, and the other lived.

Notable ſayings of the Kings and other great Lords of Perſia.

[a] Men ſhould not thinke baſely of themſelves.

[b] The quality of a good prince.

[c] People are marred with delights and in proſperitie.

DARIVS the father of *Xerxes* in praiſe of himſelfe, uſed to ſay: [d] That in battels and perils of warre he became evermore wiſer. And one yeere having taxed and ſet downe certaine paiments and ſubſidies which he would have to be levied of his ſubjects, he ſent for the principall men of everie Province under his dominions, and demaunded of them, if thoſe tributes which he impoſed, were any thing grievous unto the people or no? and when they anſwered, that they bare the ſame but indifferently; [e] he gave order that none ſhould be charged but with the one halfe of the foreſaid exactions. One day when he had opened a pome-granate, which was (in truth) a very faire & goodly great apple; one of thoſe who were about him asked him: What thing it was whereof he deſired to have as many, as were kernels in the ſaid pome-granate? [f] Mary (quoth he) of ſuch men as *Zopyrus*. Now this *Zopyrus* was a brave man of warre and a faithfull friend, who having himſelfe whipped his owne body and mangled it with many ſtripes, and beſides cut-off his owne noſe and cropt his owne eares; by this device and ſtratageme ſo beguiled and overwrought the Babylonians, that they committed unto him the government of their citie, which afterwards he betraied and delivered into the hands of *Darius*: whereupon many a time aftewards he gave out & ſaid: That he would chooſe rather to have *Zopyrus* whole and ſound of all his limmes, than winne a hundred ſuch cities as *Babylon*. Queene SEMIRAMIS having cauſed her owne ſepulcher to be made, gave order that this inſcription ſhould be engraven upon it. *What king ſoever hath neede of money, let him demoliſh this monument, and hee ſhall finde within it treaſure as much as hee deſireth.* Now this *Darius* having opened the ſaid ſepulcher, could meet neither with ſilver nor gold there; but in ſtead therof he light upon other letters written to this effect: [g] *If thou haddeſt not beene a wicked man and of inſaciable avarice, thou wouldeſt never have ſtirred and diſquieted the graves and monuments of the dead.*

[d] What uſe wiſe men make of dangers.

[e] A good prince is no great exactor.

[f] The goodlieſt treaſure of a prince are his faithfull friends and truſtie ſervitors.

[g] A wiſe ſentence taxing the unſaciable avarice of great perſons.

ARIMENES brother of *Xerxes* the ſonne of *Darius*, making claime to the kingdome of *Perſia* againſt his brother, came downe out of the province *Bactriana*, where he had kept his reſiance; and unto him his brother ſent before, certeine preſents to meet him upon the way, willing the meſſengers who ſhould tender them unto him to deliver theſe words withall: [h] Thy brother *Xerxes* honoureth thee for this time with theſe preſents; but he aſſureth thee that if he be once declared and proclaimed king, thou ſhalt be the greateſt man in the whole realme next under him. And in very truth when as *Xerxes* was adjudged to be king, *Arimenes* was the firſt who did homage unto him, and put the roiall diademe about his head; and ſemblably the king his brother made him the ſecond perſon in honour and authoritie, and next unto him in the realme. This prince *Xerxes* before named, taking great diſpleaſure and indignation againſt the Babylonians, for that they were revolted and did rebell; after he had ſubdued them againe, and brought them under his obedience, [i] forbad them expreſly to beare armes any more; but he commanded them to daunce, to ſing, to play upon the flute and hautboies, to keepe harlots, to haunt taverns, and to weare their garments looſe, ſitting full, and ſpreading large. When there were brought him certaine dried figges out of the countrey of *Attica* to be ſold, he ſaid: [k] That he would not eate any of them untill he had conquered the land which bare them. Having ſurpriſed and apprehended certeine ſpies of the Greeke nation within his campe, hee did them no [l] hurt or diſpleaſure at all; but after he had cauſed them to ſee in what ſecuritie his armie and campe ſtood, he permitted them to returne and goe their waies in peace.

[h] Brotherly love and kindneſſe.

[i] The meanes to keepe down and repreſſe mutinous people.

[k] Small matters whet mens appetite to greater.

[l] Humanitie ſhewed to enemies.

ARTAXERXES the ſonne of *Xerxes,* hee who was ſurnamed LONG-HAND, becauſe hee had one hand longer than the other, uſed to ſay: That it was a more princely [m] and royall propertie to put to, than to take away: he was the firſt that gave thoſe leave who hunted with him, to ſtrike a wilde beaſt [n] firſt, if they could and were ſo diſpoſed; he it was alſo who ordeined for thoſe his nobles and lords who had offended and broken their allegeance this puniſhment: that (whereas before time the maner was to ſcourge their bodies) now they ſhould be ſtripped indeed out of their apparell, [o] and their clothes be beaten and whipped for them; and whereas before they were wont to have the haires of their heads plucked up by the rootes, now their turbants or copped caps onely which they wore ſhould be taken from them, and ſo to ſtand bareheaded for a time. A chamberlaine he had, named *Satibarzanes,* who ſued unto him for a thing which was neither juſt nor reaſonable to be graunted; and being advertiſed that he followed this ſute in the behalfe and favour of another, who had promiſed him 30000. Perſian crownes, called *Dariques,* he commanded his treaſurer to bring him thirtie thouſand *Dariks,* and when he gave them unto the ſaid chamberlaine: [p] Heere (quoth he) *Satibarzanes,* take this money at my hand, for the departure from ſo much treaſure will not make me poorer, but if I granted thy requeſt I ſhould be more unjuſt.

[m] A roiall vertue.

[n] It beſeemeth not a prince to be ſuperiour in all things.

[o] Ignominie and ſhame is a great puniſhment.

[p] Leſſe danger it is for a prince to loſe his owne private treaſure, than to breake the lawes and hurt the State.

CYRUS the yoonger, for to moove and ſollicite the Lacedemonians to enter into a league and make alliance with him, ſaid of himſelfe: [q] That he had an heart more weightie and ſubſtantiall than his brother king *Artaxerexes;* that he drunke more ſtrong wine pure without water, & bare it better than he: as for him when he rode a hunting, he could hardly hold himſelfe upon his horſe-backe, and in time of danger could not well ſit upon his very throne; and to draw them on, for to ſend unto him auxiliarie ſouldiers; he promiſed to as many as came on foote for to beſtow horſes upon them, and to thoſe who had horſes, for to mount them upon chariots, to thoſe who were poſſeſſed of lands and tenements, he promiſed to give villages; and them who had villages of their owne, he would make lords of cities; and as for gold and ſilver they ſhould have it at his hands by weight and meaſure, and not by tale and number.

[q] The hope of greatneſſe maketh men to ſpeake and promiſe wonders of themſelves.

ARTAXERXES the brother of this yoonger *Cyrus,* and who for his ſingular memorie was ſurnamed *Mnemon,* not onely gave free acceſſe and audience to all ſuters and thoſe who had any thing to doe with him, but [r] that (which is more) commaunded his lawfull wedded wife to take away the rich hangings and curtaines that covered hir chariot, to the end that whoſoever would, might have the full ſight both of him and hir, and ſpeake with them upon the way. When a poore peaſant of the countrey preſented unto him a faire apple or coſtard of exceeding bigneſſe, he received it with a cheerefull countenance and ſaid: [ſ] By *Mithra,* i. the ſunne that ſhineth, (and that was the Perſians oth) this man (I ſuppoſe verily) if he might be put in truſt, were able to make a great citie of a ſmall. Upon a time when he was put to flight and all his baggage ranſacked, and proviſion loſt, inſomuch as for want of other viands, he was faine to eate a few drie figges and barley bread: [t] Oh what a deale of pleaſure have I miſſed heretofore, and never ſo much as once taſted.

[r] An affable prince eaſily winneth the hearts of his ſubjects.

[ſ] A good will & ready mind ought to be conſidered: and great men are not to deſpiſe inferiour perſons.

[t] It is not plentie but neceſſitie and appetite that giveth taſte unto viands.

PARYSATIS the mother of *Cyrus* the yoonger, and *Artaxerxes,* uſed commonly to ſay: That whoſoever would ſpeake freely and make remonſtrances unto a king, [u] ought to uſe ſilken words, that is to ſay, the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant that could be found.

[u] The nature of great perſons is to love rather to be flattered than rebuked.

ORONTES ſonne in lawe to king *Artaxerxes,* by mariage with his daughter, being upon the kings wrathfull diſpleaſure condemned, and deprived of his eſtate, ſaid: That the [x] minions of kings and princes, reſembled very properly the fingers of thoſe that counted by Arithmetick; for like as they make a finger ſometime to ſtand for one, and another while for ten thouſand; even ſo thoſe who be about princes at one time can doe all at once, and another time againe as little or rather juſt nothing.

[x] The miſerable and uncerteine ſtate of thoſe who depend upon princes.

MEMNON a certaine great captaine, who under *Darius,* warred againſt *Alexander* the great, when one of his mercenarie ſouldiers came into his preſence and ſpake all the vilanous and opprobrious words that he could deviſe, in moſt reviling maner againſt king *Alexander;* ſmot him on the head with his launce and ſaid; [y] Sirrha, I pay thee thy wages for to fight againſt *Alexander* and not to revile and miſcall him.

[y] Military diſcipline repreſſeth villanous detractions & backbitings.

Kings of AEgypt and other countries.

The kings of AEGYPT according to an auncient law and ordinance of their countrey, cauſed the judges to be ſworne when they were enſtalled in their offices; [z] that, howſoever the king commaunded them to doe injuſtice, yet they ſhould not doe it for all their commandement.

[z] Good kings eſteeme more of juſtice than their owne authoritie.

During the time of the Trojan warre, there was a king of *Thrace* named POLTYS, unto whom as well the Greeks as the Trojans ſent embaſſadors to have aide from him: [a] unto whom he anſwered, that his advice was: That *Paris* ſhould render and deliver *Helena*, and that in ſtead of hir alone, they ſhould have of him two faire ladies.

Teres the father of *Sitalces* uſed to ſay: That whenſoever hee was at reſt and made no warres, he thought himſelfe to differ nothing at all from his horſe-keepers and eſquieries of the ſtable.

Cotys unto one who had preſented him with a libard, gave a lion for it. This prince being by nature haſtie and angrie, and readie to puniſh his houſhold ſervants extremely, if they did amiſſe and faulted in their ſervice: when a friend of his in whoſe houſe he lodged, had beſtowed a preſent upon him of many earthen veſſels exceeding fine, thin, and eaſie to be burſt, but ſingularly well and artifically made, with divers prints emboſſed and wrought upon them moſt daintily, he gave againe unto this hoaſt of his, other rich gifts of great prize, [c] but all the ſaid earthen plate he brake everie piece into ſhivers preſently, for feare leſt upon ſudden fits of choler he ſhould chaſtice his ſervitours too ſore whenſoever it happened that they brake any of them.

Idathyrsus a King of the Tartarians, againſt whom King *Darius* lead his armie, perſwaded with the Lords & Potentates of the Pœonians, to break downe that bridge which *Darius* had cauſed to be made over the river *Donow* for to paſſe into their countrey, to the end that by ſo doing they might be delivered from all ſervitude; which when they would not doe in regard of their fealtie unto *Darius* which they reſolved to obſerve and keepe, [d] he called them, kind and good ſlaves, who had not the mind and heart to be delivered and ſet free from bondage.

Ateas a King of the Scythians wrote thus unto *Philip* King of *Macedonie*: Thou ruleſt over the Macedonians who can skil onely to fight and conquer men: [e] but I command the Scythians who know how to vanquiſh both hunger and thirſt. And as he was [f] rubbing and currying his horſe with his owne hands, hee asked the embaſſadors of King *Philip* whether their Lord and maſter did ſo at home? having in a certaine skirmiſh taken priſoner *Iſmenias* that excellent minſtrel, he commanded him to play on the flute before him: now when all that were preſent woondered at his ſingular muſicke, he ſware a great oath that he tooke more pleaſure to heare an horſe neigh, than him play.

Scilurus leaving fourſcore children all males behinde him; when he was at the point of death, cauſed a bundle of javelins or ſheafe of darts to be brought unto him, and to everie one of his children one after another preſented it, commaunding them to do their beſt for to breake it: now when each of them had put his ſtrength to it in vaine and could not doe the deed, himſelfe tooke every dart or javelin apart one by one, and ſo burſt them with facilitie; [g] teaching them by this ſimilitude, that in holding jointly together they ſhould continue ſtrong and invincible; but if they were divided and entred into quarrels one againſt another, they ſhould find themſelves feeble and eaſie to be overcome

THE TYRANTS OF SICILIE.

Gelon the Tyrant, after he had defeated the Carthaginians neere to the citie *Himera*, when he made peace with them, capitulated among other articles of treaty: That they ſhould no more ſacrifice any infants to *Saturne*. He lead the Syracuſians oftentimes into the fields, as wel for to [h] eare the ground, ſow, and plant, as to warfare, to the end that their lands being tilled, ſhould be of more value, and they themſelves for want of worke and travell might not grow worſe and worſe. upon a time he exacted certaine ſummes of money of the citizens, and when they began to mutine about the paiment of it, he ſaid unto them, that his intent was to repay it backe againe; and ſo in truth after the warre was ended [i] he ſatisfied everie pennie thereof. At a certaine feaſt there was an harpe brought and given to all the gueſts one after another as they ſat at the table, for to play thereupon and ſing unto it according to the cuſtome of the place: now when everie one beſides had taken it in hand, as it came round about, and had framed themſelves to play and ſing in their turne, hee alone commaunded [k] that his horſe ſhould bee brought unto him, and then hee mounted and vaulted upon him eaſily, and with nimbleneſſe.

Hiero who was the Tyrant or Soveraigne ruler of *Sarocoſo* next after *Gelon*, commonly ſaid: That thoſe who ſpake unto him their minds [l] frankly and freely, troubled and importuned him never a whit; but whoſoever revealed any ſpeech of his that he had delivered unto them in ſecret, did wrong not to him onely, [m] but to thoſe alſo unto whom they uttered the ſame: for that ordinarily we hate both the reporters, as alſo the hearers of that which we would not have to be knowen. There was one who upon a time reproched him for his ſtinking breath, whereupon he

[a] The folly of the Greeks and Trojanes wiſely reprooved.

[b] Warriours eſteeme nothing but their armes and authoritie of command,

[c] A prince ought to avoid all occaſions of wrath.

[d] Thoſe that chooſe to be ſlaves rather than free, deſerve to be mocked.

[e] Sober and temperate people be invincible.

[f] Cuſtome covereth the ſhame of doing vile and baſe offices.

[g] Unitie is invincible.

[h] War ought to maintaine husbandry and baniſh idleneſſe.

[i] A good prince wil not oppreſſe his ſubjects, but rather loſe ſomewhat of his owne prerogative, than undo them.

[k] Warlike feats preferred before peaceable recreations.

[l] Princes are to embrace franke ſpeech,

[m] Princes ſecrets are not to be revealed.

he chid his wife, becauſe ſhe had never told him of that infirmitie: but ſhe anſwered the matter thus and ſaid: [m] I had thought that all mens breath had ſo ſented. *Xenophanes* a Colophonian borne, complained once unto him of his povertie ſaying: That his ſtate was ſo meane that he was not able to maintaine and find two houſhold ſervitors under him: why (quoth he?) *Homer* whom you reproove and find ſuch fault withall, dead as he is, nouriſheth more than ten thouſand. He ſet a round fine upon [n] *Epicharmus* the comicall Poets head, for that in the preſence of his wife, he had ſpoken certaine unſeemely and diſhoneſt words.

DIONYSIUS the elder, when as he with other oratours were to make orations unto the people, caſt lots for certaine letters, to know in what order they ſhould ſpeake, and the letter which fell to him was M: one that ſtood by ſaid; This letter *Dionyſius* ſtandeth for μωρολογεῖς, which ſignifieth as much as: Thou ſhalt prate and talke like a foole; Nay rather (quoth hee) it importeth [o] μοναρχήσω, I ſhal be a Monarch: and verily he had no ſooner made his ſpeech, but the people of *Syracuſa* choſe him for the Captain General. Now when at the beginning of his Tyranny or dominion the Syracuſians in an inſurrection, held him beſieged within his caſtle, his friends perſwaded with him that voluntarily, he would reſigne up and give over this violent and lordly rule over the people, unleſſe he minded to be taken captive, & ſo die afterwards an ignominious & ſhamfull death: but he ſeeing by chance a bieſe knocked downe by a butcher, & obſerving, that at the firſt blow the beaſt fell preſently ſtarke dead: [p] Now ſurely (quoth he) were it not a great diſpleaſure, that for the feare of death which is ſo quickely done and diſpatched, I ſhould forgoe ſo goodly and ſo great a ſegniorie? Being advertiſed that his owne ſonne, unto whom hee was to leave his dominion, had forced and abuſed a certeine burgeſſes wife of that citie, he demaunded of him in great choler and ſaid: What act haſt thou ever ſeene me do like unto it? The yoong man anſwered: Sir, may it pleaſe you to conſider, that you never had a tyrant to your father: [q] No more (quoth he) againe redily unto him, ſhalt thou ever have a ſonne to be tyrant after thee, if you mend not theſe maners, and give not over ſuch lewd courſes. Another time being gone to viſit his ſonne at his houſe, and ſeeing there faire cupbords of plate richly furniſhed with many cups and boles both of golde and ſilver, he ſaid aloud unto him: There is no jot in thee of an abſolute lord or prince, [r] who of ſo great a quantitie of ſilver and golden peeces which thou haſt received of me, haſt not yet made one ſure friend to thy ſelfe. He required of the Syracuſians upon a time a certeine ſumme of money, whereat they murmured & complained, beſeeching him to ſpare them, & hold them excuſed, ſaying moreover that they had it not: whereupon he exacted of them as much more againe, and ſo proceeded unto a third levie, and this he practiſed twiſe or thriſe one after another: now when he had continued thus laying more taxes ſtil upon them, he might underſtand and heare, that they made no more reckoning of him any longer, but laughed and ſcoffed at him openly as they walked up and downe in the market place; then he gave commandement to his officers and receivers to preſſe them no further with new impoſitions: [s] For it is a ſigne (quoth he) that now they have nothing indeed, when they make no more account of us. His mother being now far ſtept in yeeres and paſt the ordinarie time of mariage, would nevertheleſſe in all the haſte be wedded to a certeine proper and well-favoured yoong man; whereupon *Dionyſius* came unto her and ſaid: [t] Well may it be in our power mother, to violate the lawes of the citie *Syracuſa*, but to breake the lawes of nature we may not. Whereas al other malefactors & tranſgreſſors he uſed to puniſh with ſeveritie and rigor, he would evermore [u] ſpare and pardon theſe night-walkers, and who uſed to rifle folke and ſtrip them out of their apparell whom they light upon in the ſtreets; which he did to this end; that the Syracuſians by this meanes ſhould give over feaſting, reſorting one to another, and keeping companie by night-time. There was once a ſtranger who promiſed unto him with a loud voice; that he would teach him apart and in ſecret how he might come before hand to the knowledge of thoſe who meant to conſpire or plot and practiſe againſt him: *Dionyſius* was very earneſt with the man, and deſired him to tell him how? the other comming toward him ſpake ſoftly and ſaid: Give me one talent of ſilver, to the end that it may appeere unto thoſe of *Syracuſa*, that you have learned of me the marks and ſignes whereby to diſvover thoſe who ſhall heereafter conſpire againſt you; the which he did indeed, and [x] gave him ſo much money, making ſemblance unto the people that he was ſufficiently taught and inſtructed by him in the meanes of detecting traytours; but withall, he commended the fellow highly for his ſubtill device that he had invented to draw money ſo cleanly from him. Another asked him one day, if he were not otherwhiles at leiſure and idle? [y] God forbid (quoth he) that ever it ſhould befall unto me. Being given to underſtand that two yoong men of the

citie

[m] Simplicity and modeſtie beſeemeth women.

[n] Laſcivious poets are to be chaſtiſed.

[o] The turning of an oſſe. Ambition buildeth caſtles in the aire

[p] A ſmal matter doth confirme an ambitious perſon in his reſolution.

[q] The higheſt ſtates are overthrowne by adulteries, rapes, and ſuch like outrages.

[r] Nigardiſe & ſparing beſitteth not princes, who have need of truſtie friends and ſervitors.

[s] When ſubjects have no more to leeſe, tyrants ſuffer them to be quiet.

[t] The lawes of nature are, or ought to be inviolable.

[u] Tyrants approove of miſrule and diſorders, ſo it ſerve to mainteine their eſtate.

[x] Tyrants paſſe not what they give or take, ſo they may uphold their uſurped power.

[y] Idleneſſe is deteſtable.

citie drinking together, had given out in their cups many vilanous and opprobrious ſlanders againſt him and his tyrannicall rule, he invited them both to ſuppe with him; and ſeing that the one of them when the wine had a little fumed up into his head, began both to ſpeake and doe fooliſhly, and contrariwiſe that the other held his owne and drunke warily: he pardoned and let go the one, who [z] ſeemed by nature given to drunkenneſſe and inſolencie, as if he had ſpoken ill of him when he was cup-ſhotten; but the other he put to death, as one who was maliciouſly bent unto him in his heart, and his verie enimie of deliberate purpoſe. Some of his familiar friends reprooved him, for that he honoured and advanced a naughtie perſon, and one who was generally hated of the Syracuſians: but he anſwered unto them; [a] I would it were come to that paſſe, that there were in all *Syracuſa* any one more odious than my ſelfe. Upon a time he ſent preſents to certeine embaſſadors of *Corinth* who were come unto him; but they refuſed the ſame by reaſon of a law of theirs which expreſly forbad all embaſſadors to receive gifts from any prince or potentate whatſoever: heereat he was mal-content and much offended, ſaying unto them: That they did very ill to take away the onely good thing that is in tyrannie; namely, to give rewards, and ſo to teach men, that even [b] to receive a benefit from tyrants, is a thing to be feared. Being advertiſed that one of the inhabitants of *Syracuſa* had hidden certeine treaſure within his houſe under the ground, he commaunded him for to bring the ſaid treaſure foorth before him, which the man did in part, but not all; for he deteined and reſerved to himſelfe ſome ſmall portion, with which he went and remooved into another citie, where he bought himſelfe a peece of land with it; which when *Dionyſius* underſtood, he ſent for him, and gave him againe all his golde and ſilver aforeſaid: [c] For now (quoth he) thou knoweſt what to doe with thy riches, and makeſt not that to lie dead and unprofitable, which is given for the uſe and benefit of man. Thus much of *Denys* the father.

[z] Malicious by nature are more to be deteſted than thoſe who breake out upon ſome infirmitie.

[a] Tyrants would gladlie be ſhrowded and covered under the ſhadow of thoſe who are worſe than themſelves.

[b] Gifts of tyrants be dangerous and pernicious.

[c] Thoſe that know how to uſe their riches are to be commended.

His ſonne who was called DIONYSIUS the yoonger, uſed to ſay: That he kept and mainteined many learned men, not becauſe he did eſteeme them ſo much, but for that he deſired to be eſteemed for their ſake. Among which clerks, one *Polyxenus* a Logician being in hot diſputation with him ſaid: [d] Now ſir I have caught you and hold you convinced: Yea mary (quoth he) againe, in words onely; but I convince and overcome thee in deed; for thou leaving thy houſe and all that thou haſt, art come to ſerve me in my court. After he was depoſed from his royall dignitie and baniſhed, when one demaunded of him and ſaid: Now what good hath *Plato* done you and all his philoſophie: Mary (quoth he) [e] this benefit I have thereby, that I beare with patience this change & alteration of my fortune. There was one asked him; How it came about that his father being but a meane private perſon and poore, could atteine unto the rule and ſeignorie of *Syracuſa*; and he himſelfe unto whom his father had left it wholy gotten to his hands, being the ſonne of ſo mightie a tyrant, ſhould be turned out of his eſtate and loſe all? [f] Becauſe (quoth he) my father came then to manage the affaires of the common-weale, when as the popular government was hated, and I ſucceeded him at ſuch a time when tyrannie was envied. At another time, to another that demaunded the ſame queſtion he anſwered thus: [g] My father might well leave unto me the inheritance of his tyrannie, but not of his fortune.

[d] Courting philoſophers are found to be ignorant ſots.

[e] Philoſophie ſuſteineth men in adverſitie.

[f] By what meanes great ſtates are overturned.

[g] Without dexteritie and a fortunate hand, the greatneſſe of man is dangerous.

AGATHOCLES had bene the ſonne of a cley-potter, and being made lord of *Sicilie*, and declared king thereof; his maner was to be ſerved at the table with earthen veſſels among other rich plate of golde, which he would uſe to ſhew unto yong men, and ſay: Loe, [h] what pots and cups I made at firſt, pointing unto thoſe of earth and cley; but now I am a maker of theſe (ſhewing the other of golde) through mine underſtanſtanding, travell and valiance. As he lay at the ſiege before a certeine citie, certeine of the inhabitants there were, who from the wall in opprobrious and taunting wiſe cried unto him: Ho (ſir potter) where will you have to pay your ſouldiers wages? who ſeeming not to be moved therewith at all, ſmiled, and mildly anſwered: Mary out of the pillage of this citie, when I have once woon it. And in very trueth, after he had forced it by aſſault, and was maſter of it, he ſolde all the inhabitants whom he tooke priſoners in port-ſale as ſlaves, and ſaid moreover unto them: [i] If ever from henceforth I take you abuſing your tongues and railing againe at me, I will tell your maſters of you. When the iſlanders of *Ithaca* came unto him with open mouth, complaining: That his mariners or men at ſea made rodes into their iſland, and had taken from them a certeine bootie of fat muttons; he anſwered them in this wiſe: And why then did your king before-time enter into *Sicilie*, and not onely drive away our ſheepe, but alſo (which was woorſe) put out the eies of the ſhepheard himſelfe, and departed when he had ſo done?

[h] Diligence and valour can make of earth gold.

[i] Scorns and mocks are unbeſeeming thoſe who have to deale with enemies that be wiſe and witty.

DION, who deprived *Dionyſius* of his tyrannicall dignitie, and drave him out of his kingdome,

dome, being tolde that *Calippus* (in whom he repoſed more truſt and confidence than in any other friend or hoſt of his) laied wait for to take away his life, had never the heart to charge him therewith, nor would abide to call him in queſtion for it, ſaying: That it were better for him to die than to live in ſuch paine, as to ſtand in feare, and to beware not onely of his enemies, but alſo of his friends.

Macedonian Kings.

ARCHELAUS king of *Macedonie*, as he ſat one day at the table drinking, a certaine familiar friend of his, one that knew little good maners, requeſted him to beſtow upon him a golden cup which was upon the boord: but the king gave order to one of his ſervitours for to give it freely unto the Poet *Euripides*; the other man marvelled thereat; but *Archelaus*: Never thinke it ſo ſtrange (quoth he) [k] for thou deſerveſt to aske and goe without; but he is worthy to have, although he craved not. When his barber (a pratling and talkative fellow, comming to trim him) would needs know in what maner he ſhould cut his haire: Marie (ſaith he) by holding thy peace, and ſaying never a word. And as *Euripides* upon a time ſitting at a banket, was ſeene openly of all the companie to embrace and kiſſe faire *Agathon*, when as now hee was paſt the prime of his youth, and ready to have a beard: Never [l] marvel at the man (quoth he to his friends about him) for they that be faire, keepe their beautie ſtill, even after autumne and the latter ſeaſon of the yeere. When *Timotheus* the harper, who hoped that the king would have beſtowed a good reward upon him, received farre leſſe from him than he expected, and ſhewing himſelfe diſcontented therewith, ſung to his harpe a piece of a dittie, going in theſe words:

Silver bred within the earth,
Thou praiſeſt as a thing much worth.

making ſigne with his head, that he meant the king: He came upon him againe preſently in this wiſe:

And thou would'ſt faine that ſilver have,
I ſee full well, and doeſt it crave.

As he went along the ſtreet upon a time, one chanced to daſh and caſt water upon him; whereupon thoſe that were about him, ſaid: That he ſhould doe very well to puniſh him that did it: And [m] why ſo? (quoth he) for hee hath not wet and daſht me with water, but him whom hee tooke me for.

[k] Shameleſſe cravers deſerve a ſhamefull deniall.

[l] An excuſe as unſeemly as the act: bewraying the corruption of thoſe times.

[m] Patience a vertue beſeeming great perſons.

PHILIP king of *Macedonie*, and father of *Alexander* the great (as *Theophraſtus* beareth witneſſe) was the worthieſt prince of all the Macedonian kings before him, not onely for majeſtie and proſperitie of fortune, but alſo in regard of his good carriage and moderation: he ſeemed to repute the Athenians very happie in this eſpecially, that they could finde the meanes every yeere to chuſe tenne brave captaines in their citie; for he in many yeeres could meet but with one, [n] and that was *Parmenon*. When tidings came unto him of many woorthy exploits and proſperous, atchieved all together in one and the ſame day, he cried out: O fortune, worke me but ſome ſmall [o] diſpleaſure, I beſeech thee, for theſe ſo many and bleſſed good turnes. After that he had vanquiſhed the Greekes, ſome gave him counſell to plant ſtrong garriſons in their cities for more ſuretie, to curbe and bridle them; but he anſwered: [p] I had rather be called a long time a debonaire and gracious prince, than a little while a ſovereigne lord. And when his familiar friends perſwaded him to drive out of his court, a leawd and foule-mouth'd fellow, who did nothing but abuſe his tongue in ſlandering and backbiting him: No (quoth he) in any wiſe, [q] for feare he goe into many other places, and there raile againſt me. There was one *Smicythus* who often times accuſed *Nicanor* unto him, ſaying, that he ceaſed not continually to ſpeake ill of him; inſomuch as ſome of his familiars were of advice, that he ſhould convent him peremptorily, and chaſtiſe him ſeverely according to his deſerts: What (quoth he) *Nicanor*! why! he is of himſelfe one of the beſt men in all *Macedonie*; looke rather, if there be not ſome fault in us, that ſhould make him to breake out into theſe tearmes? and in trueth, when the matter was diligently ſearched into, & namely, from whence this diſcōtentment of *Nicanor* aroſe, it was found that he was not regarded by him, but ſuffered to fall into extreame povertie, ſo as he had not meanes to live and ſupply his very neceſſities: whereupon he commanded incontinently, that there ſhould be caried unto him a good gift and preſent from him: after this, when the ſaid *Smicythus* made report unto the king, that *Nicanor* ſpake all the good that might be of him, and highly extolled him in every place: Loe (quoth *Philip* then) how it lieth much in our owne power that men ſpeake well or ill of us. He was wont likewiſe to ſay, that he tooke himſelfe much beholden and bound unto the Athenian oratours; for that by whetting their tongues and giving out opprobrious words againſt him, they were the meanes to make him

[n] A brave captaine and commander is hard to be found.

[o] Great proſperitie is to be ſuſpected and feared.

[p] Clemencie becommeth princes more than ſeveritie.

[q] The way to ſtay ſlanderous tongues is patiently to endure them.

a better man both in word and deed: [r] For I ſtraine my ſelfe (quoth he) and do my beſt everie day as well in my ſayings as doings to proove them liers. He diſmiſſed and ſet at large without paying of any ranſom all the Athenians who had beene taken priſoners in the battell before *Cheronea*: but they required over and above to have their bedding, apparell, and other baggage, and beſides made grievous complaints of the Macedonians; which when *Philip* heard, he tooke up a great laughter and ſaid to thoſe about him: How ſay you, doth it not ſeeme in your conceits that the Athenians thinke, they have but loſt unto us a game at the Cockall-game? It fortuned that in a certaine battell his cannell bone was broken which knitteth the two ſhoulders together in the forepart, and is called in the Greeke tongue κλεις, that is, the Key; now when the chirurgian who had him in cure, demaunded every day ſome money for his fees; *Phillip* ſaid unto him pleaſantly: Take what you will, and be your owne carver; for you have the key in your owne hands and may goe to the money at your pleaſure. There were in his court two brethren, one named *Hecateros*, that is, one of the twaine; and the other *Amphoteros*, that is, both twaine; he ſeeing *Hecateros* to be an induſtrious, wiſe and conſiderat man: and contrariwiſe *Amphoteros* to bee an idle retchleſſe foole: I perceive (quoth hee) that *Hecateros* is become *Amphoteros*, that is, being but one, he may goe for two: and *Amphoteros* is prooved to be *Oudeteros*, that is, neither one nor other, and indeed good for nothing. Semblably, he uſed to ſay: That thoſe who adviſed him to uſe the Athenians hardly, & to carrie an heavie hand againſt them, were men of a bad and abſurd judgement and of no diſcretion, thus for to perſwade a prince, who did and ſuffered all for glorie, to deſtroy the theater of his glorie, [q] ſuch as the citie of *Athens* was, in regard of the learning therein profeſſed. Sitting upon a time as judge betweene two wicked and naughtie perſons, he awarded, that the one ſhould flie out of *Macedon*, and the other follow after him in chaſe as faſt as he could runne. He was minded one day to pitch his campe, and lodge in a very faire and pleaſant ground, but hearing that there was no forage neere at hand for his beaſts, he was forced to remove and diſlodge, ſaying: VVhat a life is this of ours, ſince we are forced to live according as our very aſſes will give us leave, and not otherwiſe? Being very deſirous to force and win a certeine caſtle, before which he meant to lie in ſiege, he ſent certeine avantcurriours to view the place how it was ſeated: theſe who were ſent, brought word backe unto him, that there was unto it as difficult acceſſe on all ſides, as poſſibly there could be none more, inſomuch as they ſaid it was impregnable: then he demanded of them if it were ſo unacceſſible as that a little [r] aſſe laden with golde might not approch and come unto the walles. *Laſthenes* the Olynthian & thoſe of his crew, who aſſiſted *Philip* in ſurpriſing the citie *Olynthus*, complained unto him and ſaid: That there were ſome of his minions about his perſon who called them traitours: Be content (quoth *Philip*) you muſt beare with the Macedonians, for they are men by nature rude, plaine and ruſticall, they [ſ] uſe to call a ſpade a ſpade. He was woont to give counſell unto *Alexander* his ſonne, that he ſhould ſpeake graciouſly and courteouſly unto the Macedonians, to win the good will of the people betimes, and ſo to make himſelfe ſtrong, namely, whiles he might be affable and gracious, that is to ſay, during the reigne of another: as if he would give him thus much to underſtand: That when he was once a king, he ought to carrie the gravitie and majeſtie of a lord, and do juſtice uprightly. He adviſed him alſo to endevour for to purchaſe the love and amity of thoſe who were of credit and authoritie in great townes and cities, even the bad aſwell as the good, that he might afterward uſe the one and abuſe the other. *Philo* a Thebane gentleman had done him many pleaſures during the time that he remained as hoſtage within the citie of *Thebes*; for he was lodged in his houſe: neither would the ſaid *Philo* ever at any time afterwards receive gifts or preſents from him; whereupon *Philip* tooke ocaſion to ſay thus unto him: Take not from me this title in my ſtile, of *Invincible*, in ſuffering my ſelfe thus to be vanquiſhed and overcome by you, in courteſie and liberalitie. He had in one battell taken a mightie number of priſoners, and was himſelfe in perſon to ſee them ſolde in port-ſale, ſitting in a chaire, with his clothes turned or tuckt up higher than was ſeemely & decent: now one of the priſoners among the reſt, when he ſhould be ſold cried unto him with a loud voice: Good my lord, I beſeech you pardon me, & let me not be ſold in any caſe, for I a am friend of yours, & ſo was I your fathers before you: Why good fellow (quoth *Philip*) whence grew this great friendſhip between us? and how is it come about? Sir (quoth the priſoner againe) I would gladly tell it you cloſe in your eare: then *Philip* commanded that he ſhould be brought unto him; being come neere unto his perſon, he ſpake ſoftly unto him, and rounded him in the eare: Sir, I pray you let downe your mantle a little lower before, for ſitting thus as you do, you ſhew that which were more meet to be unſeene: here-

[r] The ſlanderous calumniations of our enemies, ſhould ſerve to make us better.

[q] Ill counſellers they are, to princes deſirous of honor, who perſwade them to demoliſh & pull downe the places where learning is profeſſed.

[r] Gold & ſilver will force ſtrong forts otherwiſe unexpugnable.

[ſ] Traitours deſerve to be called by their right names.

at *Philip* ſpake aloud unto his officers: [t] Let him goe (quoth he) at libertie, for in trueth he is one of our good friends, and wiſheth us well, but I wiſt not ſo much before, or had forgotten it. A friend and hoſt of his had invited him to his houſe upon a time to ſupper, and thither hee went, but by the way he met with divers of his acquaintance, whom he drew with him along to the place; whereat he perceived well that his foreſaid hoſt was exceedingly troubled, and could not tell how to doe, becauſe he was not ſufficiently provided for to enterteine ſo many gueſts: *Philip* (I ſay) being ware hereof, ſent ſecretly unto every one of them as they ſat at the boord, and cauſed them to be tolde in their eare that they ſhould keepe their ſtomacks and reſerve one corner in it for a daintie tart or marchpaine; who thinking that he meant in good earneſt, did ſo, and looking for the ſaid tart, made ſpare and did forbeare to eat of many other diſhes before them: by which meanes he pleaſed all parts, and ſo there was ſufficient. When he heard of the death of *Hipparchus* an Eubæan borne, it appeared well that he tooke it heavily; and to one about him, who ſaid that the man had lived long enough, and died in a good time: Yea marie (quoth he) in regard of himſelfe, but for me he died too ſoone; for dead he is before he hath received at my hands any condigne recompenſe for the love which he bare unto me. Being advertiſed that his ſonne *Alexander* was mal-content, and complained of him for having children by many wives, he ſaid unto him: Seeing that you ſhall have after my death many occurrents and competitours for the kingdome, endevour you to be a good and honeſt man every way, to the end that you may atteine to the crowne not ſo much by me in right of inheritance, as by your ſelfe for your owne worthineſſe. He admoniſhed him to give eare unto *Ariſtotle*, and to ſtudie Philoſophie under him: And why ſo? Becauſe (quoth hee) you may forbeare to doe many things which I have done, and for the which I doe now repent. Hee had beſtowed the dignitie of a judge upon one who was recommended unto him by *Antipater*, but after he heard once that hee uſed to colour or die his beard and haires of his head, hee diſplaced him, ſaying: He that will be falſe unto his owne haires, is not woorthie to be truſted in weightie affaires. There was one *Machetas* pleaded his cauſe before him when he was verie ſleepie, in ſuch ſort that for default of well conceiving and underſtanding the matter, he condemned him wrongfully: whereupon *Machetas* cried aloud; I appeale: *Philip* mooved heereat and taking great indignation, demaunded preſently of him unto whom he would appeale? even unto your ſelfe (quoth he) my good Lord, when you are throughly awake, and will give better attention unto my cauſe: *Philip* touched with theſe words, aroſe up on his feet, and comming better to himſelfe, knew verie wel that he had done *Machetas* manifeſt injurie by giving ſentence againſt him: howbeit, revoke he would not, nor reverſe the judgement once paſſed; marie he was [x] content to pay out of his own purſe, as much as the coſts & dammages came to of the ſuit in which he was caſt. *Harpalus* had a kinſman and friend named *Crates*, attaint and convict of great crimes, who beſought King *Philip* that the man might make paiment of the fine and penaltie; but in no wiſe that the ſentence of condemnation ſhould be pronounced againſt him, for avoiding of ſhame and diſcredit belonging thereto; but *Philip* anſwered againe: It were better for himſelfe to beare the diſhonour for his owne fault and treſpaſſe, than that I ſhould runne into obloquie and ill name for him. His familar friends were highly offended and angrie, that the Peloponeſians who had received ſo many benefits at his hands, hiſſed ſo at him, as they did at their feſtivall Olympian games: What would they do then (quoth he) if we ſhould offer to do them any diſpleaſure? Lying in the camp upon a time, he ſlept one morning lõger then his accuſtomed manner was; and being awakened in the end, he gat up and ſaid: I might ſleepe well enough in ſecuritie, ſo long as *Antipater* is awake. Another time when he ſlept in the day time, in ſo much as the Greekes who thronged about his pavilion doores, and gave long attendance, were diſpleaſed and complained of him for it; *Parmenio* ſpake unto them in his behalfe ſaying: Marvel not my maſters if he now take his reſt; for many times when you are faſt a ſleepe, he lieth broad-wake. A certain minſtrell or muſitian had plaied before him on a time as he ſate at ſupper, & the King would ſeeme to correct him in ſome points, yea & begin to reaſon & enter into ſad diſputation with him about the ſtroke and true fingering of certaine inſtruments: Now [y] God forbid (quoth he) ô King, that you ſhould come to ſo low an ebbe and hard fortune, as to bee more ſkilfull in theſe matters than I am. He was fallen out upon a time with his wife *Olympias*, and his ſon *Alexander*, during which jarre & difference, *Demaratus* a noble man of *Corinth* came to viſite him: and *Philip* asked him in what tearmes the Greeks ſtood one with another? You do verie well indeed ô *Philip* (quoth *Demaratus*) to take care of the union and concord of the Greeks, when thoſe perſons which touch you neereſt, and whom you ought to hold moſt deere

can

[t] A wiſe prince will not ſuffer a ſmall courteſie to be unrewarded.

[u] Effeminate and delicate perſons are unmeet for affaires of State.

[x] A good prince will retract in effect, his unjuſt ſentence of judgement.

[y] Great perſonages are not to be ſeene in ſmall matters.

can agree no better with you. Theſe words of his wrought ſo with him, that he began to thinke better of the matter, appeaſed his wrath, and was reconciled unto them. A poore old woman, there was who beſought him to heare her cauſe and bee her judge; and ſhee importuned him ſo long, that at length he anſwered her ſhort and ſaid: He had no leaſure nor could not have while to intend it: whereupon the old woman cried out aloud unto him: Why [z] then ſir be no longer a King; at which ſpeech of hers he being touched to the quicke and aſtonied; gave eare not onely to her, but to other ſuters alſo at their firſt comming.

ALEXANDER [the Great] being yet a child, was nothing well pleaſed and glad, when he heard the report that went of his father how he woon and conquered all, whereſoever he came: but ſaid unto thoſe noble mens children who were his play-feres and brought up with him. My father I ſee well will leave me nothing to do, nor to winne: What need you care for that? ſaid they againe, conſidering that it is for you that he maketh theſe conqueſts: What will it do me good (quoth he) [a] to have much, and do nothing for it? He was wonderfully nimble and deliver of bodie, but in footmanſhip eſpecially he excelled; inſomuch as his father was in hand with him one time to runne a courſe in the race, for the prize in the Olympick games. I could be verie wel content and willing (quoth *Alexander*) ſo to do, in caſe I might have Kings to be my concurrents, and to run with me. One evening when it was verie late, there was brought unto him a yong wench for to be his bedfellow: & when he demanded of her the cauſe why ſhe came ſo late? ſhe anſwered, that ſhe tarryied untill her husband was in bed: whereupon he chid and rebuked the pages & groomes of his chamber ſaying: [b] I went within a verie little of committing adulterie, and all by your meanes. When he ſacrificed on a time to the gods, he ſpared for no ſweet perfumes & odors, but would run oftentimes to the frankenſence, & take whole handfuls thereof to caſt into the fire; which his governour and ſchoole-maſter *Leonidas* being preſent, marked well enough and reprooved him for it, ſaying: When you have conquered that province which yeeldeth this incenſe, then you may burne as much as you will of it. And therefore afterwards when he had made conqueſt of *Arabia*, he wrote unto *Antipater* a letter to this effect: I ſend unto you 500. quintals or talents weight of frankincenſe and of caſia; to the end that you may no more hereafter be a niggard in offering ſweete odors unto the gods: for I do you underſtand that now we are Lords of that province which bringeth forth theſe aromaticall ſpices. The day before that he fought the famous field before *Granicum*, he willed the Macedonians to make good cheere and bee merrie at ſupper over-night; yea and to ſpend all the proviſion of victuals which they had; for that the next morrow they ſhould ſup at their enemies charges. One named *Perrillus* a friend of his, asked money of him for to give with his daughters in mariage: and he cauſed to be delivered unto him fiftie talents; but the other ſaid that ten only would content him; whereupon *Alexander* replied again & ſaid: If ſo much be enough for thee to receive, yet it is not enough for me to give. He cōmanded likewiſe his treaſurers to give unto *Anaxarchus* the philoſopher whatſoever he demaunded: his treaſurers brought him word that he craved an exceſſive ſumme, to wit, 100. talents; unto whom he anſwered thus: The man doth verie well, knowing as he doth that he hath ſuch a friend of me, as both can and will beſtow ſo much upon him. In the citie of *Miletus* he beheld many goodly great ſtatues of worthie champions, who in old time had woon their prizes at the ſolemne games, as wel Olympicke as Pythicke. But where were theſe ſtout champions (quoth hee) to the Mileſians when the Barbarians beſieged, aſſaulted and woon your citie? The Queene of *Caria*, named *Ada*, was evermore ſending unto him manie daintie cates, and exquiſite marchpanes & junkets curiouſly wrought by moſt excellent cooks, confectioners, & workmen in paſtry, which ſhe did of a brave mind, & to ſhew her magnificence: But *Alexander* ſent word againe unto hir, that he had far better cooks & paſte-makers more ſingular then ſhe had any; to wit, for to dreſſe his dinner, early riſing in a morning, & travelling in the night before day light, & to prepare his ſupper, a ſparie dinner. When his army ſtood arranged & ready to give *Darius* battel, his captaines came unto him to know his pleaſure, and what he had elſe to command them? Nothing (quoth he) but to ſhave the Macedonians beards; and when *Parmenio* among the reſt mervailed at this cōmandement; Why? (quoth *Alexander*) knoweſt not thou that in the conflict and medley, there is no better hold than by the beard to catch an enemie faſt. When *Darius* made offer unto him of ten thouſand talents, and beſides to part all *Aſia* equally with him, inſomuch as *Parmenio* ſaid; Sir I, would accept of this offer if I were *Alexander*: And ſo would I too (quoth *Alexander*) if I were *Parmenio*; but unto *Darius* hee made this anſwer: [d] That neither the earth could abide two ſunnes, nor *Aſia* endure two kings: when he was at the verie point to ſtrike that laſt battel with

[z] Princes ought to do juſtice as well to poore as to the rich.

[a] A great hart & high minde will not be hidden.

[b] Rare continency in princes.

[c] He that is able may be liberall as it pleaſeth him.

[d] Lordſhip loves no fellowſhip. Ambition will have all or none.

him,which was to trie the fortune of the maine chance, & which was to trie the iſſue,and decide all, neere unto the village *Arbela*,and to fight againſt the Perſians,being ten hundred thouſand men ſtrong,and well armed, there came unto him certeine of his minions with tales and accuſations of his ſouldiours; for that they were heard in their tents to whiſper and conſpire together, yea, and to give out, that they would bring no part of the pillage into the kings pavillion, but keepe all for themſelves: *Alexander* heereat laughed a good and ſaid unto them: I heare of no harme; [e] theſe are verie good tidings that you report unto me; for ſurely they be the ſpeeches of reſolute men, who are determined to win the day, and not to runne away. Many of the ſouldiours themſelves reſorted unto him and ſaid: Sir be of good cheere and feare not the exceeding number of our enemies,for they will never be able to abide ſo much as the ſent or ſtinking ſmell of our arme-pits. But as he was ſetting his armie in order of battel, he perceived one ſouldiour above the reſt buſie in mending the loup of his iauelin or dart, by which he was to fling it from him; him he caſſiered preſently and [f] chaſed from among the other bands,as being a naughtie ſouldiour, and not worthy to have place in any companie, who would be frobiſhing and trimming his weapons at the very inſtant when there was more need to uſe them. One time as he was reading certeine letters miſſive from his mother *Olympias*, conteining divers ſecrets, and namely many imputations wherewith ſhe charged *Antipater*; *Hephæſtian* his familiar friend drew neer and joined with him to reade the ſaid letters,as his accuſtomed manner was to doe; *Alexander* debarred him not: but after that *Hephæſtian* had peruſed the letter and read it out to the very end: he tooke the ſignet from his owne finger and ſet it [g] cloſe to his lips. Being in the temple of god *Hammon*, he was entituled and ſtiled by the high prieſt of that place, *Jupiters* ſonne: whereto he anſwered: This is no marvell nor ſtrange thing, for *Jupiter* by nature is the father of all, but he adopteth and avoweth thoſe particularly for his ſonnes indeed, who are the beſt and moſt valiant men. In a certeine skirmiſh he chaunced to be ſhot into the legge with an arrow,and no ſooner was he hurt, but there came quickly running and flocking about him a number of thoſe who in flatterie were wont to call him God: unto whom with a ſmiling countenance he ſaid as he ſhewed unto them his wound bleeding; Behold [h] this is very bloud indeed,as yee may plainly ſee,

And not that humour, ſay all what you will,
Which from the gods moſt bleſſed doth diſtill.

When ſome there were who much praiſed unto him the plaineneſſe and homely ſimplicitie of *Antipater*, ſaying that he lived an auſtere and hard life, without all ſuperfluities and delicious pleaſures whatſoever: Well (quoth he) *Antipater* weares [i] in outward ſhew his apparell with a plaine white welt or guard, but he is within all purple(I warrant you)and as red as ſcarlet. A certeine friend of his feaſted him upon a time at his houſe in the mids of winter, when the weather was extreame cold, and brought into the dining roome a little fire pan, with a ſmall deale of fire(god wot)in it, which when *Alexander* ſaw: Either bring (quoth he) good ſtore of wood,or elſe ſome frankinſence. *Antipatrides* cauſed to be brought into the place where he was feaſted a proper faire yoong wench who could both plaie and ſing exceeding well, inſomuch as *Alexander* at the firſt ſight, ſeemed to caſt a fancie and affection toward her, but before he ſet his minde fully upon her, he asked *Antipatrides* whether he was not himſelfe in love with her, and when he confeſſed that he was: Thou curſed vilaine that thou art (quoth he) [k] away with her, and that quickly out of my ſight I adviſe thee. Another time [l] *Caſſander* forced him even againſt his will to kiſſe a yoong baggage or Calamite named *Python*, upon whom *Enius* the excellent muſician was enamoured; and *Alexander* perceiving that *Enius* was offended thereat, roſe up in great anger, and flew upon *Caſſander*, crying out and ſaying,what: Shall none love where they liſt,for us and our pride. As he diſcharged his campe of thoſe who were ſicke, impotent,and maimed,and ſent them backe to the ſea for to be conveighed & conducted home to their owne houſes,word came unto him that one named *Antigenes* cauſed himſelfe to be written in the bill or roule of the diſeaſed and impotent perſons, wheras he was neither the one,nor the other; whereupon he ſent for the ſaid *Antigenes* to come before him; the ſouldiour was no ſooner charged herewith, but he confeſſed at the firſt that he feigned himſelfe ſicke, and was not, which he did by reaſon of the love that he bare unto a yong woman named *Teleſtippa*, who was about to returne toward the ſea ſide: then *Alexander* demanded of him,to whom he would have him to ſpeake, for to cauſe her to ſtaie behinde; but when he heard that ſhe was no mans ſlave,but a woman of free condition: [m] Why then (quoth he unto him) let us aſſay by all good and gentle meanes to winne her,that ſhe may be content to tarie with us ſtil; for to deteine perforce

[e] A wiſe cheiftain will beare with his ſoldiers, ſo they be reſolute.

[f] Hee that thinks not of his duetie, but at the verie pinch & time of neceſſitie, is worthy to be rejected.

[g] Secreſie and is commendable in free mindes.

[h] Infirmities of the body bewray that men are mortall.

[i] A man is not to be judged by his exteriour habit and ſhew.

[k] The rare continencie of *Alexander*, a mightie monarch.

[l] This action of *Caſſander* diſcovereth the unnaturall filthines of the Greekes in thoſe daies.

[m] A commander ought to beare out his ſoldiers no further than in honeſt and juſt cauſes.

force a free borne woman, I will never yeeld nor graunt. After a battel which hee had woon againſt king *Darius,* when divers Greeks were come into his hands and his priſoners, who had ſerved his enemie and received pay; as many as were Athenians he commaunded to be kept in irons, for that having good meanes to live and be mainteined in the ſtate wherein they lived, yet they would needs take wages of Barbarians; the Theſſalians [n] likewiſe hee ſo ſerved, becauſe they having a rich ſoile and fertile countrey of their owne, would not ſtay at home to till and husband it, but chuſe rather to ſerve a barbarous nation; but as for the *Thebans* he commanded that they ſhould be ſet free, and have libertie to go whither they would; and why ſo? becauſe (quoth he) we have left them neither citie to inhabite, nor ground to occupie and labour in. Having taken priſoner a certeine Indian, who had the name of an excellent archer, and was no leſſe indeed, for that he would never faile but ſhoot an arrow within the compaſſe of a little hoope or ſmall ring, he commanded him to ſhoot in his preſence, that he might ſee a proofe of his skill; the Indian refuſed ſo to do; whereat *Alexander* in great indignation gave order preſently, that he ſhould be put to death: but as he was going to execution, he ſaid unto thoſe who had the leading of him: That he had not for many daies paſt practiſed nor exerciſed his hand, and in that regard he was afraid that he ſhould faile, and therefore denied to ſhoot: which when the king underſtood, he woondered at the man, charged expreſly that he ſhould be let go, yea, and ſent unto him a reward, for that he had ſhewed herein his [o] magnanimitie, and choſe rather to ſuffer death, than to be diſgraced and found unworthy of the fame that went of him. *Taxiles,* one of the Indian kings, met *Alexander* upon the way as hee marched, and praied him that they might not warre one againſt another: But let us grow (quoth he) to this compoſition: If you be inferiour unto mee, receive favours and good turnes at my hand; but if you be greater than my ſelfe, I will take the like of you. To this motion of his, *Alexander* made anſwere thus: Be it ſo (quoth he:) yet we muſt fight firſt, even about this point, to know whether of us be the ſuperiour, and able to doe more good to the other? Being advertiſed of a certeine fort ſituat upon a rocke in *India,* called *Aorne,* and namely, that it was impregnable in it ſelfe, howbeit, the captaine who had the keeping of it, was but a coward: [p] Why then (quoth he) the place is eaſie to be woon. Another who held a caſtle which was likewiſe thought inexpugnable, rendered up the ſame unto him, and yeelded both his owne perſon and the peece alſo into his hands. Then *Alexander* put him againe into that fort, and willed him to holde it as he did before: hee laied unto it alſo more lands, which he beſtowed likewiſe freely upon him, ſaying withall: This man hath done well and wiſely, to repoſe more truſt in the vertue of a prince, than in a place of ſtrength. After the winning of the ſtrong holde *Aorne* aforeſaid, one of his flattering favourites and minions came unto him, ſaying, that he had ſurmounted *Hercules* in glorious deeds: unto whom he anſwered: You may ſay your pleaſure, and ſo foorth; but for mine owne part, I do not eſteeme all mine acts with my whole empire and dominion, to be compared unto one word or ſaying of *Hercules.* Having intelligence that ſome of his familiar friends uſed to play at dice not moderatly for ſport and paſtime, but exceſſively, even to the utter undoing of themſelves; hee ſet a good round fine upon their heads. Of all thoſe that came about him and neereſt unto his perſon, he honoured *Craterus* moſt, but he affected *Hephæſtian* beſt: For *Craterus* (quoth he) loveth the king, and *Hephæſtian* loveth *Alexander*; meaning, that *Craterus* a wiſe and valiant man, loved the greatneſſe of his lord and maſter, but *Hephæſtian,* a good and kinde companion, embraced rather the perſon of his prince. He ſent upon a time fiftie talents as a gift unto the Philoſopher *Xenocrates,* who refuſed the ſame, and would take nothing at all; ſaying: That he had no need thereof. This was reported unto *Alexander,* who demanded againe: What! had *Xenocrates* never a friend to beſtow that money upon, if he ſtood himſelfe in no need thereof; I aſſure you, for mine owne part, all the chievance and revenues of king *Darius* hardly ſerved my turne for to deale among my friends. *Porus,* one of the kings of *India,* was taken priſoner by him in a battell; and afterwards *Alexander* came unto him, and ſaid: How would you have me to entreat you? Mary (quoth *Porus*) roially: and being asked the ſecond time: If he would nothing els: No (quoth he) for in this one word, Roially, is compriſed all. *Alexander* admiring aſwell the wit as the valour of the man, not onely gave unto him his kingdome againe, but alſo adjoined thereto more lands and territories. Word was brought unto him one day, that there was a certeine fellow at a feaſt, who did nothing els but miſcall and revile him; he made anſwere againe: That it was a roiall and kingly act, patiently to ſuffer blame for well doing. When he lay at the point of death, looking upon his familiar friends about him, he ſaid: I ſee well that my Epitaph and funerals will be very great; meaning, the troubles that would enſue upon the death

[n] Mercenarie ſouldiours taking pay in the warres wherein they have nothing to do, are to be hardly intreated.

[o] Honour is more deere than life, to men of hautie minds; & ſuch ought to be of good reſpect with princes.

[p] A ſtrong hold kept by a coward, is pregnable.

of ſo mighty a prince. After he was departed this life, *Demades* an oratour of *Athens* ſeeing the armie of the Macedonians left without an head that ſhould rule and command it, ſaid: That in his conceit it reſembled the giant *Polyphemus* or *Cyclops*, after that *Ulyſſes* had put out that onely eie which he had.

PTOLEMEUS the ſonne of *Lagus* [king of *Aegypt*] both ſupped and alſo tooke his bed for the moſt part in his friends houſes; and if at any time he bad them to ſupper, he uſed their furniture: for he would ſend unto them to borow their veſſell, their boords, carpets and tableclothes, for that he had never about him any more than was ſufficient for the ſervice of his owne perſon: and he was woont to ſay: That to enrich others, ſeemed more regall than to enrich himſelfe.

The ſucceſſours of Alexander.

ANTIGONUS levied great ſummes of money of his ſubjects, and exacted the ſame with no leſſe rigour; by occaſion whereof, one ſaid unto him: King *Alexander* the great never did ſo by us: And no marvell (quoth he againe) for he had the reaping of *Aſia*, whereas I doe but come after & gleane, or rather rake the ſtubble. He eſpied upon a time within his campe certein common ſouldiours playing at the ball and bowling, having their corſlets on their backs, and their morions upon their heads, he tooke a great pleaſure therein, and called for their captaines, intending for to praiſe them for it: but when he underſtood that they were in a tipling-houſe or taverne a drinking, he [q] caſhiered them and diſcharged them of their companies, giving their places unto the foreſaid ſouldiours. Being growen aged, he began to ſhew himſelfe more mild and gracious to every one, than he was wont to be, yea, and caried himſelfe with greater courteſie and humanitie in all matters, whereof all men wondered, and deſired to know the cauſe; unto whom he aunſwered thus: Heretofore (quoth he) I ſought to make my ſelfe great, and had need of might and puiſſance; but now that I have atteined thereto, I ſtand more in need of glorie and benevolence. A ſonne of his, named *Philip*, asked of him one day in the preſence and hearing of many: When ſhall we breake up the campe and diſlodge? unto whom he anſwered: [r] Why? art thou afraid that thou alone ſhalt not heare the trumpet ſound the remoove? The ſelfe ſame ſonne had (being a very youthfull gentleman) one time procured, that hee ſhould have his lodging within an auncient widowes houſe, who had three faire maidens to her daughters: the king his father being tolde thereof, ſent for the marſhall or chiefe harbenger for providing of lodgings, and ſaid unto him: [ſ] Will you not remoove my ſonne out of that ſtraight lodging? He lay ſicke a long time of a lingering diſeaſe; and afterwards, when he was recovered, and well againe: We have gotten no harme (quoth he) by this long ſickeneſſe, for this hath taught me not to be ſo proud, by putting me in mind that I am but mortall. *Hermodotus* the poet in certeine poemes which he wrote called him the ſonne of the Sunne: but he to checke that ſpeech of his: He that uſeth (quoth he) to emptie my cloſe ſtoole, knoweth as well as I that it is nothing ſo. There was one who in his preſence ſaid: That all things were honeſt and juſt with kings; True indeed (quoth he) it is ſo with kings of barbarous nations, but unto us, that is onely honeſt and juſt, which is ſo by nature and in it ſelfe. *Marſias* his brother had a cauſe or controverſie that came before him, and he deſired inſtantly that it might be pleaded, debated, and judged privately within his houſe: Nay mary (quoth he) but it ſhal be heard and tried in the open face of the court, and in the ſight of the whole world, [t] if we meane to doe no man wrong. He was once in winter time driven to encampe in a place deſtitute of all commodities neceſſarie for the life of man; by occaſion whereof, certeine ſoldiours not knowing that he was ſo nigh unto them, ſpake very badly of him, and reviled him; but he opening the cloth or curteine of his pavilion with his walking ſtaffe: If you goe not farther off (quoth he) to raile upon me, I will make you to repent it. It was ſuppoſed that *Ariſtodemus* one of his familiars, was the ſonne of a cooke or clarke of a kitchen, in regard whereof, when he dealt with the king to cut off ſome expences of his ordinarie, and not to be ſo free of gift: Thy words (quoth he) ô *Ariſtodemus* ſmell ſtrongly of a cooks apron. The Athenians had enfranchized and endued with the Bourgeioſi of their citie a ſlave of his, ſuppoſing him to bee a free man, and all to doe him honour; but he ſaid unto them: I would not that any one Athenian ſhould be ſcourged by me. A certeine yoong man there was, one of *Anaximenes* the Rhetoricians ſcholers, who pronounced by heart before him an oration compoſed long before with great premeditation; after he had made an end, the king asked him a queſtion, as being deſirous to learne ſomewhat of him; the yoong man who knew not what anſwer to make, ſtoode ſtill and had not a word to ſay, whereupon the king: What ſaieſt thou (quoth he) is there nothing in thee, but all in thoſe writing tables there? Another Rhetorician like unto the ſame, made an oration

[q] An example of marſhall juſtice.

[r] Againſt curioſitie.

[ſ] The occaſion of ſinne is to be removed.

[t] Hee that meaneth ill, hateth the light.

oration before him, and when he came to theſe words: The ſnowy ſpring hath cauſed the graſſe in the fields to be very ſhort: he could no longer hold but breake off his ſpeech and ſay: What ſirrha can you make no end, but ſpeake unto me as you would doe to the ignorant multitude? *Thraſylus* the Cynick Philſopher craved one day that he would give him a ſingle drachme: A drachme (quoth) *Antigonus* that is not a gift for a king to give: Why then (quoth the Philoſopher) beſtow upon me a whole talent of ſilver: Neither is that (quoth the king) a reward for a dogge or Cynick to receive. When he ſent *Demetrius* his ſonne into *Greece* with a puiſſant armada, and a great power of men for to deliver the Greeks from ſervitude, he made a reaſon thereof and ſaid: That his glorie would from *Greece* ſhine out into al continents and habitable parts of the earth, no leſſe than a burning light from ſome high watch-tower. The Poet *Antagoras* being in his campe upon a time, was ſeething of a conger, and himſelfe with his owne hand ſtirred the kettle or pan wherein it boiled; *Antigonus* behinde his backe, ſeeing him ſo to doe: What *Antigonas* doeſt thou thinke that *Homer* thy maſter when he deſcribed the noble acts of king *Agamemnon*, was amuzed upon ſeething a conger? *Antagoras* returned this upon him againe, ſaying; And thinke you ſir that king *Agamemnon* when he atchieved thoſe worthy exploits which *Homer* did deſcribe, [u] buſied himſelfe thus, and went up and downe his campe peering and ſpying whether any one were ſeething of a conger? [x] He dreamt one night that he ſaw *Mithridates* reaping corne that bare golden eares, whereupon he reſolved to put the ſaide *Mithridates* to death; but he did communicate this deſſeigne of his unto *Demetrius* his ſonne, forcing him to ſweare that he would keepe counſell and ſay nothing: howbeit *Demetrius* drawing *Mithridates* a part, and training him along the ſea ſide with him, as hee walked upon the ſhore wrote with the end of his javelin within the ſand theſe words; *Flie Mithridates*. *Mithridates* conceiving preſently what his meaning was, fled incontinently over ſea, into the realme of *Pontus*, where afterwards he reigned king all the daies of his life.

[u] Needleſſe curioſitie in trifling matters beſeemeth not a prince.

[x] Great potentates can not abide ſo much as to dreame of any equall unto them.

Demetrius whiles he laid ſiege unto the citie of *Rhodes*, found in one of the villages or ſuburbes neere that citie, the table of the famous painter *Protogenes*, wherein he painted *Lalyſus*. The Rhodians ſent unto him an herald of armes, & beſought him to ſpare that excellent picture, & not to deface it: who returned this anſwer unto them: That he would ſooner deſtroy the portraits & images of his own father, than that picture. After he had cõpounded with the Rhodians & was growen to agreement, he left behind him unto them that mightie fabrick of batterie called *Helepolis*, that is as much to ſay, as an engin to force cities, which he did, to teſtifie unto poſteritie the grandence of his works, & the valour of his courage. When the Athenians rebelled againſt him, he woon by aſſault their city, which before was much diſtreſſed for default of corne: but being maſter of the towne, he cauſed immediately the whole bodie of the citie to be aſſembled before him, unto whom he declared that he beſtowed upon them freely and in gift a great quantitie of graine: but in this ſpeech of his unto the people, he chaunced to commit an incongruitie in grammer; then preſently one of the citizens who was ſet there by to heare him, roſe up with an audible & loud voice, pronounced that word aright, which he ſhould have don: For the correction of this one ſolæciſme (quoth he then) I give unto you over and above my former gift, 5000. medimnes more of corne.

Antigonus, the ſecond of that name, when *Demetrius* his father being taken priſoner, had ſent him word by one of his truſty and familiar friends, that whatſoever he wrote unto him, he ſhould take no heed thereof, and neither give credit thereto, nor doe any thing that was conteined in his letters, if haply he ſhould be forced to it by *Seleucus* who held him priſoner, and in no wiſe to render any cities which he then was ſeized of, into his hands, any thing in his letters to the contrarie notwithſtanding; but he contrariwiſe [y] wrote unto *Seleucus* to this effect: That he would yeeld unto him all the lords under his obeiſance, yea, and deliver his owne perſon as hoſtage for ſecuritie, upon condition that he would diſmiſſe his father in ſafetie. At the verie point when he was ready to give battel at ſea, unto the lieutenants and captaines of *Ptolemæus*, the pilot of his owne gally came unto him and ſaid; That their enemies had a greater number of ſhips by farre then they: But being heere in proper perſon (quoth he) [z] as I am, for how many ſhips doeſt thou reckon me. As he retired upon a time before his enemies who advaunced forward to charge upon him, he ſaid: That he fled not, but purſued and followed after the utilitie and vantage which was behinde him. When a certeine yoong man who had to his father a valiant warriour, but otherwiſe himſelfe was taken for no great good ſoldiour, made earneſt ſute and beſought him that he might have his fathers pay: Know you (quoth he) good yoong man, that my maner is to give wages and liberall gifts to ſuch as are themſelves valiant, and

[y] Notable pietie and kindneſſe of a ſonne to his father.

[z] The preſence of a wiſe captain availeth more than a number of ſouldiours.

and not to thoſe [a] who are but the ſonnes of valiant men. When *Zeno* the *Citieian*, whom of al other philoſophers he eſteemed beſt, was departed this life; he ſaid: That the theater of his noble acts was taken away; [b] as the onely man whom for his owne glories ſake he deſired to be the ſpectatour and approover of his deeds above any other.

[a] Vertue ennobleth a man and not parentage.
[b] The death of learned men is a great loſſe to princes.

LYSIMACHUS being ſurprized in the countrey of *Thracia* by king *Dromichetes*, within a certeine ſtraight, where for very extreame thirſt he was driven to yeeld himſelfe and all his armie to the mercy of his enemie; after he had drunke, being now a priſoner: ô God (quoth he) [c] for how little pleaſure am I become a ſlave, who ere-whiles was a king? As he deviſed and talked upon a time with *Philippides* the comicall poet, a friend and familiar of his, he ſaid unto him: What wouldeſt thou have me to impart unto thee of all that mine is? Even what it ſhall pleaſe you ſir, (anſwered the poet,) [d] ſo it be none of your ſecrets.

[c] One pleaſure hath a traine of many ſorrowes.
[d] The ſecrets of princes ought not to be ſearched into.

ANTIPATER having heard the newes of *Parmenio*, how *Alexander* the king had put him to death, woondered thereat and ſaid: If *Parmenio* laide wait to take away the life of *Alexander*, whom may a prince truſt? if not, what ſhould a man doe? Of *Demades* the oratour being now growen in yeeres, he was wont to ſay? That he was like unto a ſacrifice burnt and conſumed upon the altar; for that he had nothing left but the belly and the toong.

ANTIGONUS the third, wrote unto all the cities and ſtates under his obeiſance to this effect: That if peradventure he ſhould commaund them by his letters to doe any thing contrarie to the lawes, they ſhould not obey his commandement; but take ſuch letters diſpatched, as if he wrote he wiſt not what, or ſent without his privitie and knowledge. Seeing one day a religious votary or prieſtreſſe of *Diana*, exceeding faire and beautifull; he preſently diſlodged and depatted from *Epheſus* [e] for feare leaſt he might be overtaken with wanton love, and ſo forced to commit againſt his will ſome unlawfull and ungodly act.

[e] Occaſions of evill are to be avoided.

ANTIOCHUS ſurnamed *Hierax*, that is, a * Sacre, warred upon his brother *Seleucus*, even for the title of the crowne, and to trie who ſhould be king: and yet after that *Seleucus* was vanquiſhed in a battel by the Galatians, and ſuppoſed to be himſelfe hewed in peeces in the heat of execution, (for that he was not to be found nor ſeene): *Antiochus* [f] laid off his roial robes of purple, and put on blacke: but within a while after when tidings came that his brother was alive and ſafe, he ſacrificed unto the gods in token of thankſgiving for this good tidings; and commanded all the cities under his dominion to keepe holiday, and weare chaplets of flowers upon their heads for joy.

* A kinde of hauke.
[f] Variance betweene brethren ought not to anull the laws of nature.

EUMENES hapned to be entrapped in an ambuſh which king *Perſeus* had laid for him, whereupon there ran a rumor incontinently, that he was dead; in ſuch ſort, that upon the newes thereof, being reported in the citie of *Pargamus*; *Attalus* his brother foorthwith tooke the roiall frontall called a diademe, and did it about his owne head, yea and more than ſo, eſpouſed his brothers wife, and reigned as king in his ſtead: but not long after, having more certeine intelligence that *Eumenes* was living in ſafetie, and upon his returne home, he [g] went foorth to meet him upon the way, with other of the ſquires & guard of the kings bodie, bearing himſelfe a partiſan or javelin in his hand, as he was wont to doe before: and *Eumenes* for his part ſaluted and embraced him very amiably, howbeit rounding him in his eare and ſaying thus:

Make haſte no more my wife to wed,
Before you know that I am dead.

and never after unto his dying day, either did or ſaid ought unto him that might argue ſuſpicion of diſtruſt; but when he died he recommended unto his ſaid brother both his wife and alſo the kingdome. And he againe for his part in recompence of that kindneſſe, would never nouriſh and bring up any of his owne children for to inherit the kingdome, although hee had many by her, but during his life made over the realme unto his brother *Eumenes* ſonne, ſo ſoone as he was come to full age and able to governe.

[g] Extraordinarie amitie of brethren.

PYRRHUS king of the *Epirotes*, had many ſons; who being yet very children, asked of their father upon a time, unto which of them he would leave the crowne after his deceaſe: Mary unto him (quoth he) who ſhall have the ſharpeſt ſword. He was demaunded the queſtion one daie, which was in his opinion the better minſtrell of the twaine to plaie upon the flute, *Python* or *Cephiſus*? [h] *Polyſperchon* (quoth he) the general is the beſt captain. Having defaited the Romains in two battels, but with great loſſe of his beſt leaders and moſt [i] truſtie friends and ſervitors: One ſuch another victorie over the Romaines as theſe were (quoth he) will undoo us for ever. When he tooke ſea and was embarked for to depart out of *Sicilie*, becauſe he was paſt hope ever to win and keepe it, he turned backe to his friends behind and ſaid: Oh what a goodly wreſtling place

have

[h] A man is to judge of that wherein he hath ſkill.
[i] A deere victory which coſteth the life of the beſt ſoldiors.

have wee left for the Romaines and the Carthaginians, to skuffle in and cope together! His ſoldiers ſurnamed him the Aegle, unto whom he would ſay: And why not! conſidering that your armes and weapons are the verie flight wing, and by which [k] I mount up toward heaven? Being let to underſtand that certaine yoong men as they ſate drinking together at a table, gave out vile and opprobrious ſpeeches againſt him, hee commaunded them all to bee convented before him the next morrow: when they were all come into his preſence, hee demaunded of the foremoſt of them, whether it was true that they had ſuch unſeemely talke of him, or no? True it is my liege Lord (quoth he) but we had ſaid a great deale more than we did, if the [l] wine would have held out longer.

ANTIOCHUS [the Great] he who made two expeditions againſt the Parthians, having in a certaine chaſe or purſuite after his game as he was a hunting, engaged himſelfe ſo farre in the wild forreſt that he had loſt himſelfe, and the companie of all his friends and ſervitours, was driven to take up his lodging for one night in a cottage of a certaine poore peaſant, unto whom he was altogether unknowen: whereas he ſate at ſupper he mooved ſome talke as touching the king, to know what was the common voice and opinion of the people concerning him: and they gave out: That the King was held to be a good prince in many reſpects, onely in this hee came ſhort of his kingly dutie, that he would not himſelfe in perſon take paines to manage the affaires of State, but referre moſt matters to his minions and courtiers who were men of no worth, and ſo paſſed them over in great negligence; ſo much given he was unto his hunting. To theſe reports he anſwered not a word for the preſent; but the next morrow by breake of day, when his guard and penſioners were come to this cottage where he had beene lodged; hee diſcovered himſelfe and would be knowen, by putting on his royall habit of purple, and ſetting the regall frontall or diademe to his head; and then [m] he uſed this ſpeech unto them: From the verie firſt day that I entertained you into my ſervice, I never heard untill yeſter night ſo much as one true word and report that went of me. During the time that he lay in ſiege before the citie of *Hieruſalem*, the Jewes requeſted a truce and ſurceaſe from armes for a ſevenight ſpace, that they might without trouble ſolemniſe their greateſt feaſt: which he not onely granted, but alſo provided a great number of buls with guilt hornes, and a mightie quantitie of ſweet odors and aromaticall ſpices for incenſe, the which he conducted himſelfe in perſon with a goodly pompe and proceſſion to the verie gate of the citie, and delivered them for a ſacrifice into the hands of their prieſts, and returned againe into his campe. The Jewes wondering at his bountie, [n] preſently after the ſaid feaſt was ended, yeelded themſelves to his devotion.

Atheniens.

THEMISTOCLES in his youthfull daies did nothing but follow drunkenneſſe and whooredome: but after that *Miltiades* the captaine Generall of the Athenians had vanquiſhed the Barbarians upon the plaine of *Marathon*, he was never knowen to commit any riot or diſorder. And when ſome marvelled to ſee in him ſo great a change he ſaid: [o] That the Trophee or monument of *Miltiades* his victorie, would not give him leave to ſleepe or take repoſe. The queſtion was put unto him upon a time, whether he would chooſe rather to be *Achilles* or *Homer*? Tell me firſt (quoth he) unto the partie that mooved the queſtion, whether thy ſelfe hadſt leifer be the champion who woon the prize in [p] the Olympicke games, or the crier who with ſound of trumpet proclaimeth the victors? When King *Xerxes* arrived in *Greece*, with ſo puiſſant an armada: *Themiſtocles* fearing leaſt *Epicides* the orator, who was in great account with the people for his eloquence, but otherwiſe a coward in the field, and noted for avarice, ſhould ſo farre prevaile as by their voices to be choſen generall in this warre for *Athens*, and ſo hazard the loſſe of the citie and State: [q] he ſo wrought with money, that hee was put beſides that honor and had the repulſe. *Adimantus* the generall of the Athenian armie, had not the heart to joine battell at ſea; and *Themiſtocles* did what he could to moove the Greeks thereto, inſomuch as the other ſaid unto him in open counſell: ô *Themiſtocles*, they who ariſe before their turne, commeth to enter into combat in the publike games, are evermore wont to be whipped for it: True (quoth *Themiſtocls*) and even ſo, they that tarrie laſt and lagg behinde, are never crowned. *Eurybiades* thereat lift up the baſton or ſtaffe that he had in his hand, offering to ſtrike him: Strike hardly *Eurybiades* (quoth he): if thou wilt, ſo thou heare me. But when he could not perſwade *Eurybiades* the Generall to give battell within the chanell or ſtraights of *Salamis*; he ſent ſecretly and under hand unto the king of the Barbarians, exhorting him in any wiſe not to [r] be affraid of the Greeks, nor to let them eſcape, for that they were minded to flie: unto which intelligence of his, the king giving eare, bad them battell, in which he had the overthrow, for that he fought in a long and narrow arme of the ſea, which was greatly for the Greeks

advantage:

[k] Valiant men lift up their princes aloft.

[l] Wine is a dangerous counſellor.

[m] Princes herein bee more unfortunate than others.

[n] Liberalitie and kindneſſe oftentimes availeth more than fine force

[o] Of what power emulation is.

[p] To do well is better than to ſay well.

[q] Spare for no coſt to preſerve thy countrey.

[r] All meanes are to be attempted to the ſafety of the countrey.

advantage whereupon he ſent a courrier again unto the king, and willed him to flie in al haſte to the ſtraights of *Helleſpont*, for that the Greekes were fully minded to breake the bridge which he had made for paſſage over that arme of the ſea. Thus in ſaving the Greeks he made ſemblãt that he did all for his ſafety. An inhabitant of the little iſle *Seriphos* ſaid upon a time unto him by way of ſcorne and reproch, that he was ſo famous, not for himſelfe, but in regard of the citie of *Athens*, whereof he was a citizen: Thou ſaieſt even true indeed (quoth) *Themiſtocles* to him; for neither I if I were a Seriphian, nor thou if thou wert an Athenian could ever be renowmed. *Antiphates* that faire boy, at the firſt diſdained and avoided *Themiſtocles*, being enamoured upon him; but afterwards when he perceived that he grew to great credit and reputation, he came to ſeeke him out, he flattered and fawned upon him; unto whom *Themiſtocles* ſaid: [q] My good youth, we have now more wit and are become wiſer both of us I trow, although it be late firſt. *Simonides* the poet requeſted him to give judgement of his ſide in an unlawfull & unjuſt cauſe; unto whom he made this anſwer: Neither were you ô *Simonides* a good poet or muſician, in caſe you ſing againſt the rules of Meaſures: nor I a good magiſtrate if I ſhould judge againſt the lawes. He was wont to ſay unto a ſonne that he had, who could make his mother doe what him liſt, and whom ſhe made a wanton; that hee was the mightieſt perſon of all the Greekes: For why? (quoth he) the Athenians command all *Greece* beſides; I commaund the Athenians; thy mother me; and thou thy mother. Two ſuters there were who woed his daughter by way of mariage, and made meanes unto him for his good will; but hee preferred the more honeſt man before the richer; for he ſaid: Give me a man that wanteth goods, rather then goods that want a man. He was to ſell a piece a land that he had, and gave order to the crier who proclaimed the ſale, to put in this and crie: That it had beſides good [r] neighbours neere unto it. When the Athenians being full of him, tooke pleaſure to raiſe ſlanders and contumelious reproches of him, he ſaid unto them: Why are you weary of receiving ſo many good turnes and ſervices of the ſame perſons. He was wont to ſay unto them: That he was like unto theſe great and broad plane-trees, under the boughes whereof men are wont to runne and ſhroud themſelves, when they are overtaken with a ſhowre of raine or a tempeſt; but if the weather be faire, they uſe to crop and ſhrig the braunches thereof, yea and revile it. He ſaid unto the Eretrians in mockage, that they reſembled the ſword-fiſhes; for howſoever they had blades and weapons enough; yet hearts they had none. Being baniſhed out of *Athens* firſt, and afterwards out of all *Greece*; he retired himſelf to the great king of *Perſia*, where having audience given him to ſpeak, he ſaid: That a mans ſpeech might verie well be likened unto clothes of tapeſtrie, wrought with imagerie and ſtorie-worke, for both the one and the other if they be diſplaied and unfolded at length, diſcover plainly and openly the figures drawen within; but if they be folded or rolled up, all the portractures be hidden, and to no purpoſe: he requeſted therefore the tearme of a certeine time, in which ſpace hee might learne the *Perſian* language, to the end that from thence forward he might be able to declare and deliver his owne minde unto the king by himſelf, & not by a truch-man or interpreter. The king moſt honorably had beſtowed upon him many rich preſents; whereupon he quickly became exceeding welthy, inſomuch as he would ſay unto his ſervitors about him: [ſ] My ſonnes, we had been utterly undone for ever, if we had not beene undone.

MYRONIDES a captaine generall of the Athenians, put himſelfe into the field, purpoſing to make warre upon the Bæotians, having given commandement to thoſe of *Athens* for to follow him with their armies: but at the very point when they were ready to joine battell, certeine Centineirs came and brought him word that their men were not yet all come: Tuſh (quoth he) all thoſe that are minded to fight are come already, and ſo leading thoſe onely who were forward and reſolute to ſerve, he encountred his enemies and woon the honor of the day.

ARISTIDES, ſurnamed the *Juſt*, came to bear office & alwaies managed the affaires of policy and State by himſelfe, who of ſet purpoſe avoided all banding, ſiding, & parts-taking of friends, as being of opinion that authority [t] and credit gotten ſo, by the jugling practiſes and packing of friends, did incite and moove men in place of government to many bad courſes and unjuſt proceedings. When the Athenians were aſſembled together in the generall counſell, and hotly ſet to proceed unto that baniſhment which they called *Oſtraciſme*: there was a certeine rude and ruſticall peſant, one that knew never a letter of the booke, and could neither write nor reade, came with a ſhell in his hand (as the maner was) unto *Ariſtides*, and deſired him to write within it the name of *Ariſtides*: Why (quoth he) knoweſt thou *Ariſtides*? Nay in good feath (quoth the clowniſh ſot, I ken him not, but ich am greeved to heare him called Juſt: *Ariſtides*

[q] Better late than never to learne wiſedome.

[r] A good neighbour is a great treaſure.

[ſ] An ill winde that bloweth nothing to good. And adverſitie turneth to the good of ſome.

[t] He that entreth into publike government by unlawfull and indirect meanes is like to do more hurt than good.

anſwered him never a word, but wrote his owne name within the ſhell, and gave it him againe. Being an enemie unto *Themiſtocles*, and ſent by the State together with him in embaſſage under the commiſſion: when they were gone as farre on their way, as to the uttermoſt confines of *Attica*: Now (quoth he): to *Themiſtocles*, are you content that even hereupon the verie limits of our countrey we lay downe and leave all our enmitie; [u] and when we have performed our embaſſage and returned hither, we will take it up againe, if you thinke ſo good? After he had ſet downe a certaine taxe to be levied out of all *Greece*, and impoſed upon everie citie what they ſhould pay, he [x] returned home poorer than he went, by how much the charges came to by the way in his journey. *Aeſchylus* the poet had before time written theſe verſes in a certaine Tragædie as touching *Amphiaraus*:

He ſeeketh not to ſeeme the verie beſt,
But for to be the beſt in word and deed,
He ſowed hath within his woorthy breſt
In furrow deepe all good and vertuous ſeed,
Which yeeld both leafe and fruit in ſeaſon due,
I meane ſage counſell joined with honor true.

which when they were rehearſed and pronounced in the open theater, all the aſſiſtance and audience, caſt their eies upon *Ariſtides*.

PERICLES whenſoever he was choſen captaine generall, ſo often as he put on his rich coat of armes, was woont to ſay unto himſelfe: *Pericles* take heed and looke well about thee; thou goeſt forth now to command men of free condition, and thoſe Greekes; yea, and that which is more, Atheniens. A friend of his requeſted him, for his ſake to beare falſe witneſſe, where he was to bind the ſame alſo with an oath: You ſhall pardon me (quoth *Pericles*) I am your friend indeed; but ſo [y] far onely as the Altar, that is to ſay, ſaving my conſcience, and that I doe not offend the gods. He perſwaded the Atheniens to take away the iſle *Aegina*, which was a verie eie-ſore that troubled their port or haven *Piræum*. Lying at the point of death and ready to yeeld up the ghoſt, he was heard to ſay theſe laſt words: That he reputed himſelfe happie, in that by his meanes there was never any one Athenian ware blacke or morning weeds.

ALCIBIADES being yet a yoong boy, chaunced in wreſtling to give another the vantage, to take ſuch ſure hold of him that he could not well ſhift from him and make the party leave his hold, inſomuch as he made no more adoe, but ſet his teeth in his hand that held him: whereat the other cried: This is foule play *Alcibiades*; biteſt thou indeed as women do? No ſaid he, but rather as lions do. Having a moſt beautifull and faire dog everie way, which coſt him ſeven hundred [*] drachmes, he cut off his taile quite: To the end (quoth he) that the Athenians may have matter to talke of me for my curtailed dog, and not otherwiſe buſie themſelves to ſearch curiouſly into my doings any further. He entred upon a time into a Grammar-ſchoole, and called unto the ſchoole-maſter for the *Iliads* of *Homer*: Who ſaid unto him that he had none of *Homers* works; with that he gave him a boxe of the eare, and ſo paſſed by him and went his way. One day he knocked at *Pericles* his dore, and when anſwer was made him that he was not at leiſure to be ſpoken with, for that he ſtudied and was amuſed how to render up his accounts to the Athenians of their money: And were it not better for him (quoth he) to occupie his wits and caſt about, not to yeeld them any account at all? Being called out of *Sicilie* by the Athenians, and cited peremptorily to appeere and make his anſwer judicially in a criminall matter, as much as his life was woorth, he hid himſelfe and kept out of the way, ſaying: That he was a ſimple foole that would ſeeke to quit himſelfe of a capitall crime, if he could otherwiſe avoid the triall. And when one ſaid unto him, what, and will you not truſt your owne countrey, and put your ſelfe upon them, to be judged by them: No (quoth he) nor my owne mother, for feare leaſt ere ſhe be aware ſhe ſhould upon an error caſt in a blacke beane for a white, & chance to ſaie guiltie, for unguiltie. Being advertiſed that himſelfe together with his complices and adherents were condemned by the Athenians to die: Let us ſhew our ſelves (quoth he) unto them that we be yet alive; and ſo he ſided and banded with the Lacedemonians, and raiſed that war againſt the Athenians, which was called the Decelick warre.

LAMACHUS, rebuked and checked a certeine captaine of footemen, for ſome fault committed in his charge; and when the other ſaid for himſelfe; That he would doe no more ſo; he replied againe: Yea, but you muſt not [z] fault twiſe in warre.

IPHICRATES, became deſpiſed, for that he was taken to be a ſhooe-makers or curriars ſon: but the firſt reputation that he wonne for valour and proweſſe, was upon this, that when he was himſelfe

[u] He muſt renounce and lay downe particular and private quarrels, who would be in the traine of doing good to the common-weale.

[x] Good magiſtrates wil not be inriched by the publike weale.

[y] How farre foorth friendſhip may extend.

[*] Or Minæ.

[z] Errors committed in war be irreparable.

himſelfe wounded in fight, he ſeized upon his enemies body, & brought him perforce armed as he was alive, out of his galley into his owne. Being encamped in the land of his friends and confederates, yet nevertheleſſe he fortified his campe with a deepe trench and high rampar round about verie carefully; and when one ſaid unto him, what needs all this? and whom are wee to feare? The woorſt ſpeech (quoth he) that can come out of a captaines mouth is this; Had I wiſt, or I never looked for ſuch a thing. As he was putting his armie in array, for to give battell unto the Barbarians; he ſaid that he feared nothing at all, but that they ſhould not take knowledge of *Iphicrates*, whoſe verie name and preſence was enough to affright all their enemies. Being accuſed of a capitall crime, he ſaid unto the Sycophant who had enformed and drawen a bill of enditement againſt him: Canſt thou tell what thou doeſt good fellow? when the citie is environed with warre on everie ſide, thou perſwadeſt the people to conſult about me, and not to take counſell with me. *Harmodius* (who was deſcended from the race of that ancient and noble *Harmodius*) reproched him one day for his meane parentage, as being come from an houſe of baſe degree: The nobleneſſe (quoth he) of my line beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. An oratour making a ſolemne ſpeech in the aſſembly of the people, grew to theſe tearmes with him before them all: And what are you ſir, if we may be ſo bold as to know, that you beare your ſelfe ſo bigge, and thinke ſo well of your ſelfe, are you a man at armes, are you an archer, a pike man, or a footman or what are you? I am not indeed (quoth he) any of theſe; but he I am, who knowes how to command and direct all theſe?

TIMOTHEUS had the name to be a fortunate captaine, rather than otherwiſe a ſpeciall warriour; and ſome who envied his good eſtate, ſhewed him a picture, wherein certaine cities were entrapped, and of themſelves fallen into the compaſſe of net and toile, whiles hee lay aſleepe; whereupon he ſaid unto them: Conſider now, if I can catch and take ſuch cities lying aſleepe, what ſhall I be able to doe when I am awake? When one of theſe venturous and too forward captaines, ſhewed upon a glorious braverie unto the Athenians, what a wound he had received upon his bodie: But I (quoth he) my ſelfe was [a] greatly abaſhed and aſhamed one day, being your captaine generall before the citie of *Samos*, that a ſhot diſcharged from the walles, light but neere unto me. When the oratours highly praiſed and recommended captaine *Chares*, ſaying: Lo what a brave man is here to make the generall of the Athenians, ſhewing his goodly perſonage. *Timotheus* anſwered againe with a loud voice: Never ſay Generall, but rather a good ſtout groome to carrie the truſſe of a captaines bedding after him.

CHABRIAS was woont to ſay, that they were the beſt captaines who had moſt intelligences of their enemies deſſeignes & proceedings. Being accuſed together with *Iphicrates* of treaſon, he gave not over for all that, to frequent the publicke place of exerciſes, and to take his dinner at his accuſtomed howers: and when *Iphicrates* rebuked him for being ſo rechleſſe, ſtanding in ſuch danger as he did; hee anſwered him in this manner: In caſe the Athenians proceede againſt us otherwiſe than well, they ſhall put you to death, all foule and faſting, but me full and faire cleane waſhed, anointed, and having well dined. This was his ordinarie ſpeech: That an armie of ſtags and hindes having a lion for their leader, was better than an armie of lions led by a ſtag.

HEGESIPPUS ſurnamed *Crobylus*, ſolicited and incited the Athenians to take armes againſt King *Philip*: and when one ſpake unto him alowd from out of the aſſembly: What Sir, will you that we draw upon us war: Yea verily (quoth he) and bring in [b] among us blacke mourning roabes, ſolemne and publicke obſequies, yea and funerall orations too, if we deſire to live free ſtill, and not to be ſervile and ſubject to the Athenians.

PYTHEAS being but yet verie yoong, preſented himſelfe one day in open place to croſſe and contradict the publike decrees which had paſſed by the peoples voices, in the honour of King *Alexander*; what ſaith one unto him: Dare you preſume, ſo yoong as you are to ſpeake of theſe ſo weightie matters? And why not (quoth he) ſeeing that *Alexander* whom you will needs make a god by your ſuffrages, is yoonger than my ſelfe?

PHOCION the Athenian was a man of ſo ſtaied and conſtant behaviour, that he was never ſeene of any perſon, either to laugh or weepe. Upon a time in a great aſſembly of the citie, one ſaid unto him: You are verie ſad and penſive *Phocion*, it ſeemeth you are in a deepe ſtudie. Gueſſe againe (quoth he) and gueſſe not ſo; for I am indeed ſtudying and deviſing with my ſelfe how I may cut-off ſomewhat of that which I have to ſpeake unto the Athenians. The Athenians underſtood by an oracle that they had one man among them in the citie, who was thwart & contrary to the opinion & advice of all others: Now when they cauſed diligent ſearch & enquirie

[a] It is no commendable part in a captaine to expoſe himſelfe wilfully unto great hazard.

[b] Love of libertie caſteth no doubts and careth not for dangers.

quirie to be made for this fellow, and cried out upon him in great furie whoſoever he was; *Phocion* ſtood up, and with a loud voice: I am the very man (quoth he) ſeeke no further; for I am he [c] alone, who am nothing at al pleaſed with whatſoever the people either doth or ſaith. One day, when he had delivered his advice in a frequent aſſembly of the people, he pleaſed the whole audience very well, and ſeeing that they all with one accord approoved his ſpeech, he was abaſhed thereat, and turning toward his friends: What? (quoth hee) have I let fall and eſcaped ſome words that are not good, and otherwiſe than I meant? The Athenians were minded upon a time to ſolemnize a great and feſtivall ſacrifice; and for the better furniſhing of this ſolemnitie, they demanded of every man a contribution of money toward it: all others gave liberally, only *Phocion* after he had bene called upon by name ſundry times to do the like, in the end ſaid thus unto them: [d] I would be abaſhed to give any thing (I trow) unto you, and not be able to pay him there, pointing with his finger to an uſurer, unto whom he was indebted. When *Demades* ſaid unto him: The Athenians will one of theſe daies kill thee, if they fall once into their furious fits: True indeed (quoth he) they will kill me in their mad mood, but thee they will put to death when they be come againe into their right wits. *Ariſtogiton* the ſycophant or falſe promotor, being condemned to death for troubling men with wrongfull imputations, and at the point to be executed within the priſon, ſent unto *Phocion,* requeſting him to come and ſpeake with him; but *Phocions* friends would not let him goe to talke with ſuch a leaud and wicked wretch: Why (quoth he unto them) in what place may honeſt men more willingly and better ſpeake with *Ariſtogiton?* When the Athenians were highly offended and angrie with the Bizantines, for that they would not receive into their citie captaine *Chares*, whom they had ſent with a power for to aid them againſt king *Philip*, *Phocion* came among them, and ſaid: That they were not to be diſpleaſed with their confederates for being miſtruſtfull, but rather with ſuch captaines as they miſtruſted: upon which remonſtrance of his, hee was immediatly himſelfe choſen captaine; who being admitted and well truſted by the Bizantines, defended them ſo valiantly againſt king *Philip*, that he forced him to raiſe his ſiege, and retire from thence without effect. King *Alexander* the great ſent unto him a preſent of one hundred talents; but he demanded of the meſſengers that brought it, why the king their maſter ſent unto him alone, cōſidering there were ſo many Athenians beſides himſelfe; they anſwered: It was becauſe he eſteemed him to be the onely honeſt and vertuous man among them all: Why then (quoth he) could not hee let me both to ſeeme and alſo to be a good man ſtill? *Alexander* upon a time demanded of the Athenians certeine gallies; whereupon the people called unto *Phocion* by name, for to give his advice, and to counſell them what was beſt to be done in this caſe: then he ſtood up and ſaid: My counſell unto you is this; That you make meanes either to be your ſelves the [e] ſtronger in armes, or els at the leaſt-wiſe friended by them who are mightier than you. When a brute was blazed abroad, without any certeine authour, that king *Alexander* the Great was deceaſed, the oratours at *Athens* mounted the pulpits by-and-by, and ſtrave avie who could perſwade the people moſt, even in all haſte to put themſelves in armes and rebell; [f] but *Phocion* was of a contrarie minde to them all; and his opinion was; That they ſhould ſtay and reſt quiet, until more aſſured newes came of his death: For (ſaith he) if he be dead to day, he will be ſo to morow, yea and afterwards alſo. When *Leoſthenes* had ſet the citie all upon warre, feeding the peoples hearts with great hopes of recovering their freedome and the ſoveraigntie of all *Greece*, *Phocion* compared theſe projects of theirs [g] unto the *Cypres* trees: For they (quoth hee) be faire, ſtreight and tall, but not a whit of fruit do they beare: howbeit, when the Athenians at the firſt ſped well in ſundrie battels and wan the field, whereupon the citie made ſacrifices unto the gods for the good newes thereof, ſome would come unto him, and ſay: How now *Phocion,* are you not pleaſed heerewith? and would you wiſh all undone againe? I am [h] contented very well (quoth he) that it hath ſo fallen out, but yet I repent never a whit of my former counſell. The Macedonians, immediatly after this, made rodes into the countrey of *Attica,* and beganne to overun, harrie and ſpoile all the ſea coaſts: for remedie whereof, he cauſed all the luſtie men of the citie, who were of age to beare armes, to enter into the field; and when many of them came running unto him, ſome calling upon him to ſeize ſuch an hill, others as inſtant with him to put his men in battell-ray in ſuch a place: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of captaines doe I ſee, and how few good ſouldiers? howbeit, he gave the enemies battell, wan the victorie, and ſlew *Nicion* the captaine generall of the Macedonians in the place. Not long after, the Athenians being vanquiſhed in warre, were conſtreined to receive a garriſon from *Antipater,* and *Menillus* captaine of the ſaid garriſon ſent unto him in free gift certeine money; wherewith he

[c] Wiſe men and fooles hardly ſort together.

[d] Povertie is no ſhame to a vertuous man.

[e] In warre we muſt lay to be ſtrongeſt, or friended by the ſtrongeſt.

[f] To make haſte in matters of great conſequence, and wherein there is no loſſe by delay, is dangerous.

[g] Frivolous orations be like to fruitleſſe trees.

[h] A wiſe man wil not repent of his good counſell, although the iſſue and event be not anſwerable thereto.

being offended, ſaid: That neither *Menillus* was better than *Alexander*, nor the cauſe ſo good, for which he ſhould take any gift at his hand at this preſent, conſidering that he refuſed the like from *Alexander*. Moreover, *Antipater* was wont to ſay: That he had two friends at *Athens*, the one of whom, to wit, *Phocion*, he could never perſwade to take any thing; and the other, who was *Demades*, he could not ſatisfie whatſoever he gave him. When *Antipater* was in hand with him to do a thing which was not juſt: [i] You cannot (quoth he) ô *Antipater*, have me to be your friend and a flatterer to. After the death of *Antipater*, when the Athenians had recovered their libertie and free ſtate or popular government, concluded it was and pronounced in a generall aſſembly and councell of the people, that *Phocion* together with his friends and aſſociats, muſt ſuffer death: as for the reſt, they went weeping and lamenting as they were led to execution, but *Phocion* marched gravely, and gave not a word: now as he was going upon the way, one of his enemies met him and ſpet upon his face; whereupon he turned backe to the magiſtrates, and ſaid: Is there no man here to repreſſe the inſolencie and villanie of this wretched varlet? one of them who were to ſuffer with him, tooke on and tormented himſelfe exceedingly: What (quoth he to him) ô *Euippus*, [k] doth it not thee good that thou goeſt to take thy death with *Phocion*? And when the deadly cup was preſented to him to drinke his laſt draught of hemlocke, he was asked the queſtion, whether he had any more to ſay or no: then addreſſing his ſpeech unto his ſonne: I charge thee (quoth he) and beſeech thee, not to cary any ranckor and malice in thy heart to the Athenians for my death.

[i] True friendſhip & flattery will not ſute well together.

[k] It is an honour to die with good men.

PISISTRATUS, a tyrant of the Athaniens, being advertiſed that ſome of his friends having revolted and conſpired againſt him, had ſeiſed upon the fort called *Phyle*, went towards them, carying himſelfe about at his backe a fardell of his bedding, and the furniture thereto belonging: whereupon they demaunded of him what he would? I come (quoth he) with an intent either to perſwade you to returne with me, or elſe with a reſolution to tarrie heere with you my ſelfe; and therefore have I brought my baggage with me. He was advertiſed that his mother loved a yoong man, who ſecretly kept her and uſed to lie with her; howbeit in great feare, and refuſing her company many times; whereupon he invited the man to ſupper, and after ſupper, he asked him how he did, and how he liked his enterteinment? Gaily well (quoth he: Thou ſhalt (quoth *Piſiſtratus*) finde no woorſe every day ſo thou content and pleaſe my mother. *Thraſibulus* caſt a good liking and fancie to his daughter; and as he met her on a time upon the way, beſtowed a kiſſe upon her; whereat her mother was offended, ſo as ſhe exaſperated her husband againſt him for it: but he mildely anſwered her in this wiſe: Why woman, if we ſet our ſelves againſt them that love us and grow to malice them, what ſhall we doe to thoſe who hate us? and ſo he gave the maiden in mariage to *Thraſibulus*. Certeine luſtie yoonkers after they had taken their cups well, went in a maske and plaid the fooles through the citie, and chauncing to meete with his wife, abuſed her both in worde and deed very unſeemely and diſhoneſtly; but the morrow after they came weeping before *Piſiſtratus*, acknowledging their fault, and craving pardon; who made them this anſwer: As for you, endevour to be more wiſe and ſober from hence foorth: [m] but I aſſure you, my wife yeſterday went no whither abroad, nor ſtirred out of her dores. When hee was about to marrie a ſecond wife; the children whom he had by the former, demanded of him, whether he were in any reſpect diſcontented with them, that he ſhould in deſpight of them eſpouſe another: No, (quoth he) that is the leaſt of my thought; but cleane contrary it is, becauſe I like and love you ſo well, I would willingly have more children to reſemble you.

[l] A ſpeech unbeſeeming *Piſiſtratus*.

[m] A wiſe man will ſave the honour and credit of his wiſe what he may.

Of Lacedæmonians.

DEMETRIUS, ſurnamed *Phalereus*, counſelled king *Ptolomæus* to buy and reade thoſe books which treated of pollicie and government of kingdomes and ſeigneories; for that which courtiours and minions durſt not ſay unto their princes, was written within thoſe books.

LYCURGUS, who did ſet downe and eſtabliſhe the lawes of the Lacedæmonians, accuſtomed his citizens to weare their haire long: For that (ſaith he) ſide haire, maketh thoſe who are faire, ſeeme more faire and amiable; but thoſe who were foule more hideous and terrible. In the reformation of the Lacedæmonian State, ſome one there was who perſwaded him to erect the popular government called Democraty, wherein everie one in his courſe hath as much authoritie as another: unto whom hee anſwered: Begin thou firſt to ſet up this government in thine owne houſe. He ordeined that in building of houſes there ſhould be uſed nothing but the ſawe & the axe: For that (quoth he) it were a ſhame to bring into houſes ſo ſimplie builded, any plate of ſilver and gold, rich hangings, carpets and furniture of beds, or coſtly and ſumptuous tables. He forbad his citizens to fight at buffets, or to enter combat in that generall exerciſe of hand, foot, teeth and all together, called *Pancratium*, to the end that they ſhould not accuſtome themſelves ſo much as in ſport and game to faint, give over, or yeeld themſelves overcome. Likewiſe he debarred them from encountring often with their very enemies; for feare they ſhould make them more warlike and better ſoldiers: Whereupon afterwards when king *Ageſilaus* was brought out of the battell very greevouſly wounded; one *Antalcidas* ſaid unto him: You have met with a faire reward at the Thebans hand, and no leſſe than you well deſerve, for ſchooling and teaching them to fight whether they will or no.

CHARILLUS the king, being asked the queſtion why *Lycurgus* made ſo few lawes? anſwered thus: That they who uſed few words, had no need of many lawes. One of thoſe ſlaves whom they call Elotes, had behaved himſelfe ſomewhat too inſolently and knaviſhly againſt him: Now I ſweare by the two twins (quoth he) *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, were I not angrie, I would doe thee to death out of hand. Unto one who demaunded the reaſon why the Lacedæmonians ware long haire: It is (quoth he) becauſe of all trimming and ornaments of the bodie, it coſteth leaſt.

TELECHUS king of *Lacedæmon* anſwered unto a brother of his, who complained unto him of the citizens of *Sparta*, ſaying: They uſe me more uncivilly and uncurteouſly, than they doe you: It is for nothing elſe (quoth he) but becauſe you know not how to endure and put up any wrongs.

THEOPOMPUS, being in a certeine citie, was ſhewed by one of the inhabitants the wals, and demaunded whether he thought them not to be faire and high: Faire, (quoth he?) no in verie truth, kept though they be by none but women.

ARCHIDAMUS during the time of the Peloponneſian warre, when as the allies and confederates of *Lacedæmon* requeſted him to ſet them downe a certeine taxe and rate which they were to contribute toward the charges thereof; anſwered them in this manner: Warre knoweth not how to be gaged and feed within the teddar.

BRASIDAS chaunced to finde a mouſe among certeine dried figs, which bit him ſo, as he was glad to let her goe; and thereupon ſaid to thoſe about him: See, how there is nothing ſo little, but it is able to make ſhift and ſave the owne life, if it have but the heart to defend it ſelfe againſt thoſe who aſſaile it. In a certaine skirmiſh his hap was to be hurt with the head of a partiſane, or javelin, which went through his ſhield; and when he had drawne it out of his wound, with the very ſtaffe and ſteile of it, he ſlew his enemie: now when one asked him how it came to paſſe that he was thus wounded? Forſooth becauſe my ſhield deceived and betraied me. His fortune was afterwards to die in the countrey of *Thrace*, whither he had beene ſent to deliver and ſet free the Greeks who inhabited thoſe marches: and the embaſſadours who were ſent from the ſaid parts to *Lacedæmon*, went to viſit his mother: who at the firſt asked them whether *Braſidas* her ſonne did valiantly and like a man? the embaſſadors highly praiſed him, inſomuch as they ſaid; That there would never be his like againe: Oh, you are mightily deceived (quoth ſhe:) true it is that *Braſidas* was a brave and valiant man, but *Lacedæmon* hath many farre better men than he by farre.

King AGIS was wont to ſay, that the Lacedæmonians uſed not to aske how many their enemies were, but in what place they were. At *Mantua* he was forbidden to ſtrike a battell, becauſe the enemies were many in number to one: It muſt needs be (quoth he) that whoſoever would rule and commaund many, ſhould likewiſe fight with many. Unto them who greatly commended the Eliens for obſerving ſuch good order and formality at the Olympick games: What great maruell is it (quoth he) if the Eliens in foure yeeres ſpace uſe juſtice one day? but when they continued ſtill in their praiſe and commendations: What woonder is it (quoth he) if the Eliens uſe a good thing well, to wit juſtice. A naughtie fellow there was and a troubleſome, who importuned him exceeding much, by asking him oftentimes, who was the beſt man of all the Spartans? Mary even he (quoth he) that is moſt unlike to thee. To another who queſtioned with him and would needs know how many the Lacedæmonians were in number: Enough (quoth he) to drive out all leud and wicked perſons: And when another asked him the ſame queſtion, he anſwered: Thou wouldeſt ſay they were a great number if thou ſaweſt them fight.

LYSANDER would not accept of the rich and ſumptuous roabes, which *Dionyſius* the Tyrant ſent unto his daughters, ſaying: I am affraid that theſe garments will make them looke the fouler. Some there were who reprooved and blamed him, for that he exploited the moſt part of his acts by craft and ſubtiltie, as if it were an unwoorthie thing for one who vaunted himſelfe to be of the race of *Hercules:* unto whom he anſwered: That where the lions skin would not ſerve, it were good to ſow thereto a little piece of a foxes caſe. There was ſome difference and debate betweene the Argives and Lacedæmonians about their confines; and it ſeemed that the Argives alleaged better reaſons, and brought foorth more pregnant evidences for the land in queſtion; but he drawing out his ſword: They (quoth he) who are the better men at handling this, are thoſe who plead the better for the bonds of their territorie. The Lacedæmonians found much difficultie in aſſaulting the walles of *Corinth*; and when he ſawe them draw backe and go unwillingly about that ſervice, he chanced to eſpie at the very ſame time an hare to ſtart from within the trench and towne ditch; whereupon he tooke occaſion thus to ſay: why make you doubt to give the aſſault unto the walles of thoſe men, who are ſo idle as to ſuffer hares to ſleepe within the verie precinct of their walles? There was a certaine Megarian, who in the generall aſſembly of all the Sates of *Greece*, ſpake unto him his minde freely and boldly; unto whom he anſwered thus: Thy [n] words have need of a citie, that is to ſay, that *Megara*, whereof he was a citizen, was not able to make good and maintaine his words.

[n] Brave words without meanes to effect matters, are woorth naught.

AGESILAUS uſed to ſay: That the inhabitants of *Aſia*, (to ſpeake of free men) were but bad, & namely ſo long as they enjoyed libertie; marie they be paſſing good ſlaves (quoth he.) Theſe Aſians had a cuſtom to call the King of *Perſia* the Great King: And why (quoth *Ageſilaus*) is he a greater king than I, if he be not more juſt and temperat? Being demaunded his opinion as touching Fortitude & Juſtice, whether of them was the better vertue: We have no need or uſe (quoth he) of Fortitude if we were all juſt. Being enforced to breake up his campe, and diſlodge one night in great haſte out of his enemies countrey, and ſeeing a boy whom hee loved well, weeping and all blubbered with teares, for that he was left behind, & could not follow by reaſon of weaknes: It is (quoth he) an hard matter to be pitifull and wiſe both at once. *Menecrates* the phyſician who would entitle himſelfe with the name of *Jupiter*, wrote a letter unto him with this ſuperſcription; *Menecrates Iupiter* unto King *Ageſilaus* long life, &c. Unto whom hee returned this anſwere: King *Ageſilaus* unto *Menecrates* better health: meaning in deed that he was braine-ſicke. The Lacedæmonians having defaited thoſe of *Athens* with their allies and confederates neere unto the citie of *Corinth*: when he heard what a number of enemies lay dead in the field: O unhappie and unfortunate *Greece* (quoth he) that hath deſtroied ſo many men of her owne, as had beene able to have ſubdued all the Barbarians in the world. Having received an anſwer from the oracle of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, according to his minde; the great Lords controllers, called *Ephori*, willed him alſo to conſult with the oracle of *Apollo* as touching the ſame: when he was therefore at *Delphos*, he demaunded of the ſaid god, whether he were not of the ſame minde as his father was? When he ſued for the deliverance of a friend of his who was taken priſoner, and in the hands of * *Idrieus* a prince of *Caria*, he wrote unto him about it in this manner: If *Nicias* have not treſpaſſed, deliver him for juſtice ſake; if he have tranſgreſſed, deliver him for my ſake; but howſoever it be, in any wiſe deliver him. He was requeſted one day to heare a man ſing, who could maruellous lively and naturally counterfeit the voice of a nightingale: I have heard (quoth he) the nightingale her ſelfe many a time. After the overthrow at the battell of *Leuctres*, the lawe ordained that as many as ſaved themſelves by their good footmanſhip, ſhould be noted with infamy: but the *Ephori* fore-ſeeing, that in ſo doing the citie would be diſpeopled and emptie, were willing to abrogat & diſanul this ignominie, and for this purpoſe declared *Ageſilaus* for law-giver: who going into the market place, and mounting up into the pulpit, ordained that from the next morrow forward, the lawes ſhould remaine in their ancient force and vertue. Sent he was upon a time to aide the King of *AEgyt*, where he together with the King was beſieged by the enemies who were many more in number than they, & had begun to caſt a great trēch about their camp, & ſo beleaguered them that they could not eſcape: Now when the king commaunded him to make a ſally upon them, and to keepe them battell: I will not (quoth he) empeach our enemies, but that they may (as I ſee them go about it) willingly fight with us ſo many to ſo many: and finding that their trench wanted but a little of both ends meeting and joining together; in that verie diſtance and ſpace betweene, he ſet his ſouldiers in battell array, and ſo comming to encounter on even hand he defaited his enemies. When he died, he charged his friends to make no image nor ſtatue of him: For if I have (quoth he) [o] done any thing in my life worthy of remembrance, that will be a ſufficient monument and memoriall for me after my death: if not, all the ſtatues and images in the world ſhall never be able to perpetuate my memorie.

* or *Scariens.*

[o] Vertue immortalizeth a man and not works in ſtone, wood or braſſe.

ARCHIDAMUS the firſt time that ever he ſaw the ſhot diſcharged out of an engin or battering peece which had beene newly brought out of *Sicilie*, cried out aloud: [p] O *Hercules* the proweſſe and valour of man I ſee well is now gone for ever.

[p] The invention of warlike engins burieth valor.

When *Demades* mocking at the Lacedæmonian courtilaſſes, ſaid merrily; That they were ſo little and ſhort, as that the juglers and plaiers at leger-demain, were able to ſwallow them downe whole as they be. AGIS the yoonger anſwered verie fitly and ſaid: Yet as ſhort as they be, the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies verie well with them. The *Ephori* charged him upon a time to deliver vp his ſouldiers into the hands of a traitour: I will beware I trow (quoth he) to commit another mans ſouldiers to him who betraied his owne.

CLEOMENES when one promiſed to give him certaine cocks of the game, ſo couragious, that they would with fighting die in the place and never give over: Give me not (quoth he) thoſe that will die themſelves, but ſuch rather as in fight will make others to die.

PAEDARETUS miſſing the place to be choſen one of the great councell conſiſting of three hundred, returned from the aſſembly very jocond merrie and ſmiling: I am well appaied (quoth he) that in the citie of *Sparta* there be found three hundred better men and more ſufficient than my ſelfe.

DAMONIDAS being by the maſter of the Revels ſet in the laſt place of the dance: Well fare thy heart (quoth he) thou haſt deviſed a good meanes to make this place honourable.

NICOSTRATUS captaine of the Argives, being ſollicited by *Archidamus* to take a good round ſumme of money for to deliver up unto him by treaſon, a place whereof he had the keeping, with a promiſe alſo, that he ſhould eſpouſe and wed what damoſell he would himſelfe chooſe in all *Sparta*, excepting thoſe of the blood-roiall, made him this anſwer: You are not (quoth he) of the race of *Hercules*; for that *Hercules* went thorow the world, puniſhing and putting to death in all places, malefactors and wicked perſons: but you go about to make thoſe naught and leaud who are good and honeſt.

*EYDAMONIDAS ſeeing in the great ſchoole Academie, *Xenocrates* an auncient man among other yoong ſcholers, ſtudents in Philoſophie, and underſtanding that he ſought for vertue: And when will he uſe vertue (quoth he) if he have not yet found it? Another time hearing a philoſopher to mainteine this paradox: That a learned Sage was onely a good captaine: Brave words (quoth he) and a marvelous poſition; but the beſt is, he that holdeth it, never in his life heard [q] the ſound of a trumpet in the campe.

* Or *Eudamidas* rather.

[q] It becommeth not a clerke to ſpeak of armes.

ANTIOCHUS, one of thoſe controllers in *Sparta*, named *Ephori*, being advertized that king *Philip* had given unto the Meſſenians their territorie: But hath hee withall (quoth he) given them the meanes to vanquiſh in battell when they ſhall be put to it, for to defend the ſame?

ANTALCIDAS anſwered unto an Athenian who termed the Lacedemonians ignorant perſons: Indeed (quoth he) it may well be ſo, for wee are the onely men who have learned of you no evill. Another Athenian conteſted with him and ſaid; we have driven you manie a time from the river *Cephiſus*, which is in *Attica*: but he replied againe and ſaid: And we never yet chaſed you from the river *Eurotas* which is neere *Lacedemon*. There was a certeine Rhetorician would needs rehearſe an oration which he had made concerning the praiſe of *Hercules*: Why (quoth he) was there ever any man that blamed or deſpiſed him?

So long as EPAMINONDAS was captaine general of the Thebans, there was never ſeene in his campe any of theſe ſudden fooliſh frights, without any certeine cauſe, which they call *Panique Terrores*. He was wont to ſay, that no death was ſo honourable as to die in the warres: Alſo that a man of armes or warriour ought to keepe his bodie not exerciſed after the maner of champions, for to be faire and full; but rather hardned with travel, and made lanke as becommeth good ſoldiours. He loved therefore to fight with thoſe enemies who were corpulent; and ſuch ſoldiours as he found in his owne bands groſſe & fat, he would be ſure to caſſier & diſplace them, if it were for nothing elſe: For he was wont to ſay of them, that three or foure bucklers would hardly cover their grand-panch, which bare out ſo bigge that they could not ſee for it their privy parts. Moreover, ſo ſtrict and preciſe he was in his living, and hated ſo much all exceſſe & ſuperfluity, that one time above the reſt being biddē to ſupper by one of his neighbors, when he ſaw in the houſe great proviſion of viands, cates, junquets, comfutures and ſweet perfumes, he ſaid unto him: I had thought you made a ſacrifice, and not an expenſe of ſuperfluitie, and ſo went his way & would not ſtay ſupper. When the head cooke or clerke of the kitchin gave up his account unto him and other his companions in government, of their ordinary charges for certeine daies; he miſliked nothing in his bill but the great quantitie of oyle that was ſpent: and when his collegues wondered that he ſhould fare ſo at that; he ſaid unto them: That it was not the coſt and expence that hee ſtood upon, but onely this; that ſo much oyle ſhould goe down mens throats. The city of *Thebes* upon a time made a great publike feaſt, and beſides, privately they were all in their bankets, inviting one another, and meeting in companies to make merrie together: he contrariwiſe all this while, without being either annointed with oile and ſweete perfumes, or clad in his beſt clothes, all penſive and ſad, walked alone thorow the citie; and when one of his familiar friends who met him, woondered thereat, and woulds needs know why he went ſo alone and out of order and formalitie: Mary (quoth he) that you all might in ſecuritie follow your drinking and good cheere, and not bee troubled with thinking of any other cares. He had cauſed a meane man and of baſe condition to be put in priſon for ſome light treſpaſſe that he had committed, and *Pelopidas* requeſted him for to ſet him at large, but he denied him flatly; howbeit afterwards a woman whom he loved, intreated him, and at her ſute he granted his libertie, ſaying: That in ſuch pettie favours and curteſies as theſe it became him to gratifie concubines and harlots; but not generals and great warriours. When the Lacedemonians came with a puiſſant power to make cruell war upon the Thebans, there were brought oracles unto the Thebans from ſundrie parts, ſome promiſing the victory, others menaſing an overthrow: he went up therefore into the tribunall ſeat and commanded, that the oracles of victorie ſhould be ſet upon the right hand, and thoſe of diſcomfiture on the left: when they were thus diſpoſed and beſtowed, he ſtood up, and in this wiſe ſpake unto the Thebans: If you will be directed by your captaines, ſhew obedience unto them, and withall, put on a reſolution and good heart to encounter your enemies; theſe heere, (ſhewing the good oracles on the right hand) be yours; but if for want of courage you caſt doubts and ſtart backe for feare of perils, thoſe there, (pointing to the bad oracles on the left hand) are for you. Afterwards as he led the armie into the field, for to meet with the Lacedemonians, it began to thunder; whereat they that were neereſt unto him asked, what he thought this might preſage and ſignifie: Surely (quoth he) it betokeneth thus much; That God hath aſtoniſhed our enemies, and put their braines out of temper, who having ſuch commodious places neere unto them for to encampe in, have pitched here where they are. Of all the honorable and happie fortunes that ever befell unto him, he ſaid; This was moſt to his hearts joy and contentment; that he had defeited the Lacedemonians in the battell at *Leuctres*, whiles his owne father that begat him, and mother who bare him were both alive. Being a man who otherwiſe all his life time uſed to be ſeene abroad, fine, neat, & wel anointed, with a cheerfull and merrie countenance alſo; the morrow after the ſaid battell, he came foorth into the publicke place, all foule, ſullied, heavy and penſive; whereupon, his friends by and by were in hand with him to know, whether any ſiniſter accident was come unto him: None (quoth he,) but I perceived yeſterday that for the joy of my victorie, my heart was lifted up more than it ought, and therefore to day I doe [r] abate and correct that which was the day before too exceſſive and out of order: knowing full well that the Spartans uſed to cover and hide as much as they could ſuch misfortunes, and being deſirous to make them ſee and acknowledge the great loſſe and overthrow which they had ſuſteined, hee woulde not in any wiſe permit them to gather their dead all together, and pile them up in one entire heape; but to every citie he gave leave one after another to enterre them; by which it appeered, that there were more of the Lacedemonians ſlaine by a thouſand. *Iaſon* a prince and monarch of *Theſſalia*, being allied and confederate with the Thebans, came one day into the citie of *Tales*, and ſent unto *Epaminondas* a preſent of two thouſand pieces of gold, knowing that indeed he was exceeding poore: this gold would not he receive at his hands; but the firſt time after that he ſaw *Iaſon*, he came unto him and ſaid: You begun twiſe to offer me injurie; and in the meane while he borrowed of a certeine burgeſſe of the citie fiftie drams of ſilver, for to defray the charges of a journey or expedition which he entended; and therewith entred in armes and invaded *Peloponeſus*. After this, when the great king of *Perſia* ſent him thirtie thouſand pieces of gold called *Dariques*, he was diſpleaſed highly with *Diomedes*, and ſharpely checked him, asking him if he had undertaken ſo great a voiage, thinking to bribe and corrupt *Epaminondas*; and with that commaunded him to deliver this meſſage backe unto the king his maſter; That ſo farre foorth as he entended and procured good unto the Thebans, hee ſhould make reckoning of him to be his friend without any pennie coſt; but if he wrought or practiſed any loſſe or diſpleaſure unto them, he would be his enemie. When the Argives were entred into league and amitie with the Thebans, thoſe of *Athens* ſent their ambaſſadours into *Arcadie*, to aſſay if they could draw the Arcadians to ſide with them: So

[r] Exceſſive joy in proſperitie ought to be abated.

So theſe ambaſſadours began to charge and accuſe unto them , aſwell the Argives as the Thebans,inſomuch,as *Calliſtratus* the oratour,who was their ſpeaker, upbraided both cities, and hit them in the teeth with *Oreſtes* and *Oedipus* : then *Epaminondas* who ſat in this aſſembly of councell,roſe up and ſaid : We confeſſe indeed (my maſters) that in times paſt there was in our citie one parricide who killed his owne father,like as another in *Argos* who murdered his owne mother ; but when we had chaſed and baniſhed them for committing theſe facts, the Athenians received them both. And when the Spartans had charged the Thebans with many great and grievous imputations : Why my maſters of *Sparta* (quoth *Epaminondas*) theſe Thebans, if they have done nothing els , yet thus much they have effected , that you have forgotten your maner of ſhort ſpeech and uſing few words. The Athenians had contracted alliance and amitie with *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres* in *Theſſalie*,a mortall enemie of the Thebans,and who promiſed to the Athenians for to ſerve them fleſh in the market at halfe an *obolus* a pound weight : And wee (quoth *Epaminondas*) will furniſh the Athenians with wood enough for nothing , to roaſt and ſeethe the ſaid fleſh ; for if they begin buſily to intermeddle more than we like of, we will fell and cut downe all the trees growing in that countrey. Knowing well enough that the Bœotians were loſt for idleneſſe,he determined and adviſed to keepe them continually in exerciſe of armes : now when the time approched for the election of governors, and that they were minded to chuſe him their *Bœotarches* , that is to ſay, the ruler of *Bœotia* : Be well adviſed my maſters (quoth he) what ye do, whiles it lieth in your hands ; for if you elect me your captaine generall,make this reckoning,that to warre you ſhall. He was wont to call the countrey of *Bœotia*, becauſe it lieth plaine and open, the ſtage and ſcaffold of warre, ſaying that it was impoſſible for the inhabitants to keepe and hold it, ſo long as they had not one hand within their ſhield and the other on their ſword. *Chabrias* the captaine of the Athenians having put to foile and defaited ſome few Thebans about *Corinth* (who for heat of fight had run disbanded and out of aray) made a bravado : for which exploit,as if he had won ſome great field,he cauſed a tropheæ to be erected in memoriall of this victorie : whereas *Epaminondas* ſcoffed and ſaid : That hee ſhould not have ſet up a *trophæum* there,but rather an *hecateſium*, that is to ſay,the ſtatue of *Proſerpina*,for that in times paſt,it was an ordinary thing to ſet up the image of *Proſerpina* in maner of a croſſe, at the firſt carrefour or meeting of croſſe waies which was found nere unto the gate of a city. When one brought him word that the Athenians had ſent an armie into *Peloponeſus* bravely ſet out and appointed with new armour : Now ſurely (quoth he) *Antigenidas* wil weepe and ſigh when he knoweth once that *Tellis* hath gotten him new flutes and pipes to play upon : now this *Tellis* was a bad minſtrell, and *Antigenidas* an excellent muſician. He perceived upon a time that his eſquire or ſhield-bearer had received a good piece of money for the ranſome of a priſoner,which was in his hands ; whereupon he ſaid unto him : Give me my ſhield , but goe thou thy waies and buy thee a taverne or victualling houſe , wherein thou maieſt leade the reſt of thy life, for I ſee well, that thou wilt no more expoſe thy ſelfe to the dangers of warre as before-time , ſince thou art now become one of theſe rich and happie men of the world. He was once demanded the queſtion, whom he reputed to be the beſt captaine, himſelfe, *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates* , his anſwere was : It is hard to judge, ſo long as we all [r] be alive. At his returne out of the countrey of *Laconia*, hee was judicially accuſed for a capitall crime , together with other captaines joined in commiſſion with him , for holding their charge longer by foure moneths than the lawes allowed : as for his companions and collegues above-ſaid , hee willed them to derive all the fault from themſelves,and lay it upon him,as if he had forced them ſo to doe ; but in his owne defence he pleaded thus : [t] Albeit I can not deliver better words than I have performed deeds , yet if I be compelled (as I ſee I am) to ſay ſomewhat for my ſelfe before the judges , I requeſt thus much at their handes , that if they be determined to put me to death , they would cōmand to be engraven upon the ſquare columne or pillar of my ſepulchre, my condēnation and the cauſe therof, to the end that all the Greekes might know how *Epaminondas* was condemned to die ; for that hee had forced the Thebans againſt their willes to waſte and burne the countrey of *Laconia* , which in five hundred yeeres before had never bene forraied nor ſpoiled ; alſo that hee had repeopled the citie of *Meſſene* two hundred and thirtie yeeres after it had bene deſtroied and left deſert by the Lacedemonians : Item, that he had reunited,concorporated and brought into one league all the States and cities of *Arcadie* ; and laſt of all, that he had recovered and reſtored unto the Greeks their libertie : for all theſe acts have bene atchieved by us in this voiage : the judges when they heard this ſpeech of his, roſe from the bench, and went out of the court laughing heartily ; neither would they ſo much as receive the voices or verdicts

[r] The end crowneth mens works.

[t] A good cōſcience is a braſen wall.

dicts to be given up againſt him. After the laſt battell that ever he fought, wherin he was wounded to death; being brought into his tent, he called firſt for *Diophantis,* and after him for *Iolidas,* but when he heard that they were both ſlaine, hee adviſed the Thebans to compound and grow to an [a] agreement with their enemies, as if they had not one captaine more that knew how to leade them to the warres; and in trueth, the event did verifie his words, and bare witneſſe with him that he knew his citizens beſt of any man.

[a] They that are not able to mainteine warre muſt ſue for peace.

PELOPIDAS joint captaine with *Epaminondas* in the charge of *Bœotia*, when his friends found fault with his neglect in one thing right neceſſary, to wit, the gathering of a maſſe of money together: Money indeed (quoth he) is neceſſary, but for ſuch an one as this *Nicomedes* here, ſhewing a poore cripple, maimed, lame and impotent in hand and foot. When he departed from *Thebes* upon a time to a battell, his wife praied him to have a regard unto his owne ſafetie: This is (quoth he) an advertiſement fit for others; as for a captaine who hath the place of command, he is to be put in minde for to ſave thoſe under his charge, and not himſelfe. To one of his ſouldiers, who ſaid unto him: We are fallen among our enemies: And why (quoth he) are we fallen among them more than they among us. Moreover, being trecherouſly held priſoner, and kept in yrons during a truce, againſt the law of armes, by *Alexander* tyrant of the Phereans, he grew to heat and gave him ſome hard words, calling him perjured traitour: whereupon the tyrant asked him if he made ſo great haſte to die: Yea (quoth hee) to the end that the Thebans may be more provoked againſt thee, and that ſo much the ſooner thou maieſt be puniſhed for thy diſloialtie. *Thebe* the tyrants wife came to viſit him in priſon, and ſeeing him, ſaid that ſhee marvelled how hee could be ſo jocund, being as hee was, a priſoner and bound with chaines: Yea, but I rather woonder at you, that being as you are, at libertie and not bound, you can endure ſuch a wicked wretch as *Alexander*. When *Epaminondas* had delivered him out of priſon, he ſaid that he tooke himſelfe much beholden to *Alexander*: For now (quoth hee) by his meanes I have made a triall of my ſelfe and my reſolution, more than ever before, and namely, how my heart is ſetled not againſt the feare of warre onely but alſo of death.

Romans.

MANIUS CURIUS, when one of his ſouldiers complained, that of the lands conquered from the enemies, he had given to every ſouldier very little, but had incorporated in the common weale the greateſt part of the ſaid demeanes: I would it were Gods will (quoth he) that there were not a Romane who thought that land but little, which is ſufficient to nouriſh and mainteine one man. The Samnites, after that hee had vanquiſhed them in a battell, ſent unto him as a preſent, a good ſumme of gold: him they found ſitting by the fire ſide, tending the pot, wherein he boiled certaine rape-roots: and when the Samnite embaſſadors tendered unto him the ſaid preſent, he made them this anſwer: That hee who could content himſelfe with ſuch a ſupper, had no need at all of gold: alſo that he thought it more honorable to commaund them who had the gold, than to have gold himſelfe.

C. FABRICIUS hearing of the overthrow that King *Pyrrhus* had given the Romaines, *ſaid: That *Pyrrhus* had overcome *Lævinus* & not the Epirotes vanquiſhed the Romaines. Being ſent unto *Pyrrhus* to treat for the deliverance of certaine Romaines taken priſoners, the king offered him a great ſumme of gold, but he would not receive it: the next morrow *Pyrrhus* commanded that the greateſt Elephant which he had, ſhould be brought and ſet juſt behind *Fabricius* without his knowledge, and that ſuddenly he ſhould be forced to bray, which was done accordingly: whereat *Fabricius* turning him about, and looking behind him, began to ſmile and ſay: Neither thy gold yeſterday, nor this beaſt thy Elephant to day, hath once aſtonied me. *Pyrrhus* thought to have perſwaded him to take his part and to ſtay with him, with promiſe that he ſhould have all the authoritie in managing of the affaires next unto himſelfe; but he anſwered him in this ſort: This would not be good and expedient for you: and why? when the Epirotes ſhall know us both well, they will rather have me than you to be their king. When *Fabricius* was created Conſull of *Rome*, King *Pyrrhus* his phyſician wrote unto him a letter, wherein he made promiſe unto him for to kill the king his maſter with poyſon if he would. *Fabricius* ſent the verie ſame letter incontinently unto King *Pyrrhus*, willing him to ſee by that, how his judgement ſerved not him well to diſcerne and to make choiſe of his enemies and his friends. When this ambuſh was diſcovered and directed thus unto *Pyrrhus*, which was laid for his life, he cauſed the ſaid phyſician to be apprehended, and ſent backe thoſe Romaines whom he had priſoners, unto *Fabricius* without any ranſom paid: howbeit *Fabricius* would not receive them from him as in free gift; for he returned likewiſe as many of his men who remained priſoners with him: which he did, for that he would not be thought to

take

* Some reade thus: ſaid unto *Lævinus*, that *Pyrrhus*, and not the Epirotes had overcome the Romaines.

take any thing at his hands by way of a reward or recompenſe for diſcloſing the foreſaid treaſon: for hee did it not ſo much to gratifie King *Pyrrhus* and do him a pleaſure, as for feare it ſhould be thought that the Romaines practiſed his death by treacherie, whom they could not vanquiſh by vertue.

FABIUS MAXIMUS not willing to fight a ſet battell with *Annibal*, but by tract of time to ſpend his armie; which by that meanes grew to a great default of victuals and money: went alwaies as though he dogged and followed him, keeping the rough places and hilly grounds, coaſting him otherwhiles, but evermore having him in his eie: for which manner of ſervice many mocked him and called him the Pædagogue of *Annibal*: but he nothing at all regarding ſuch words, perſiſted ſtill continually in his deſeignes & counſels particular to himſelfe, ſaying thus to his friends: That he who could not abide a ſcoffe, but feared frumps and reviling words, was a greater coward than he who fled before his enemie. When his collegue or brother in office *Minutius*, had diſcomfited certaine of his enemies, in ſuch ſort, as there was no talke of him any more, but every man gave out of *Minutius*, that he indeed was a man woorthy of *Rome*: he ſaid: That he feared more the proſperitie than the adverſitie of *Minutius*: and within a while after, when *Minutius* was fallen into the danger of an ambuſh that *Annibal* had ſet for him, ſo as he and all his men had like to have left their bodies dead behinde them, *Fabius* came ſpeedily to his reſcue, and not onely delivered him out of this perill, but alſo ſlew a number of his enemies; whereupon *Anniball* ſaid then unto his familiars about him: Did not I foretell you many times, ſeeing as I did this cloud louring upon the tops of the mountaines, how it would one time or other powre downe a good ſhowre upon our heads? After the overthrow at *Canna*, when he was choſen conſull of *Rome* together with *Claudius Marcellus* a valiant and couragious man, who deſired nothing more than ever to be fighting with *Anniball*; he was of a contrary minde, and hoped, that if he were not fought with, his army within a while by delaies onely and holding off, would of it ſelfe come to nothing; ſo as *Anniball* would oftentimes ſay: That he feared more *Fabius* that fought not, than he did *Marcellus* who was ever fighting. It was tolde him that he had in his campe a Lucane, who was wont to ſteale out by night, forth of the campe, for the love of a woman whom he uſed to viſit, but otherwiſe he heard ſay, that the man was a right good ſouldier and woonderfull hardie in armes; whereupon he gave commandement that the woman upon whom this ſouldier was ſo enamoured, ſhould be ſecretly and without the mans knowledge attached and brought unto him: now when ſhe was come, he ſent for the ſouldier aforeſaid: I am advertiſed (quoth he) that thou againſt the lawes of military diſcipline, uſeſt many times to lie out of the campe; and I underſtand likewiſe ful well, that ſetting that fault aſide, thou art a ſouldier good enough: well, in regard of thy good ſervices, I am content to pardon all that is paſt, but from hencefoorth thou ſhalt abide and tarie with me, for I have a good pawne and ſuretie within that thou ſhalt not ſtart; and with that he cauſed the woman to come forth and appeare, and ſo he gave her into his hands to be his wedded wife. *Anniball* held all the citie of *Tarentum* with a ſtrong garriſon, ſaving onely the caſtle, but *Marcellus* by a wile and ſubtile ſtrategeme, trained him as farre as he could from thence, and then returning with all expedition, was maſter of the whole towne, and ſacked it: in the execution of which ſervice his ſcribe or chancellour asked him what ſhould be done with the ſacred images of the gods among the reſt of the pillage: Mary let us leave (quoth he) unto the Tarentines their gods, being thus angred as they are with them. When *M. Livius*, who had the keeping of the caſtle, vanted and boaſted that by his meanes the citie was woonne, all the reſt who heard him, laughed and mocked him; but *Fabius* anſwered: Thou ſaieſt trueth indeed, for if thou hadſt not loſt it once, I had never recovered it againe. After he was ſtepped farre in yeeres, his ſonne was choſen conſull, and as he was giving audience in open place and diſpatching certaine publike affaires in the preſence of many, *Fabius* his father being mounted on horſebacke, came toward him; but the ſonne ſent one of his lictors or huſhers before, to command him to alight from his horſe: whereat all the reſt there preſent were abaſhed, and thought it a great ſhame and unſeemly ſight; but the olde man diſmounting quickely from his horſe, came toward his ſonne as faſt as his yeeres would give him leave, imbraced him and ſaid: Thou haſt well done my ſonne, to know whom thou doeſt governe, and to ſhew that thou art not ignorant what the greatneſſe is of that charge which thou haſt undertaken.

SCIPIO the elder, whenſoever he was at any leaſure and repoſe either from military affaires or politike government, emploied all that time in his private ſtudy at his booke; whereupon he was woont to ſay: That when he was alone, he had moſt companie; and when hee was at leaſure

ſure, he had greateſt buſineſſe. After hee had woonne by aſſault the city of *New Carthage* in *Spaine*, ſome of his ſouldiers brought a moſt beautifull damoſell taken priſoner, and her they offered unto him: I would receive her willingly (quoth he) if I were a private perſon, but being as I am, a captaine generall, I will none of her. Lying at ſiege before a certeine citie * ſituated in a low place, and over which might be ſeene the temple of *Venus*, he gave order unto them that by vertue of writs were to make appearance in court, that they ſhould come and plead before him within the ſaid temple, where they ſhould have audience the third day after; which hee made good, for before that day hee had forced the citie. When one demaunded of him being in *Sicilie*, ready to embarke and paſſe over to *Africke*, upon what confidence hee preſumed ſo much to croſſe the ſeas with his armada againſt *Carthage*: See you not heere (quoth he) 300. men how they diſport and exerciſe them ſelves armed all in militarie feats of armes, along an high tower ſituate upon the ſea ſide? I tell you, there is not one of all this number, but if I bidde him, will runne up to the top of this tower, and caſt himſelfe downe from thence with the head forward. Being paſſed over ſea, and ſoone after maſter of the field; when hee had burnt the campes of his enimies, the Carthaginians ſent immediately unto him an embaſſage to treat of peace; in which treatie it was concluded, that they ſhould quit all their veſſels at ſea, abandon their elephants, and beſides pay a good groſſe ſumme of money: But ſo ſoone as *Annibal* was retired out of *Italy* into *Africke*, they repented themſelves of theſe capitulations and conditions, for the truſt which they had in the forces and perſon of *Anniball*: whereof *Scipio* being advertiſed, ſaid unto them: That although they would performe the articles of the foreſaid agreement, yet the accord ſhould not ſtand for good, unleſſe over and above they paid 5000. talents, becauſe they had ſent for *Anniball* to come over. Now after that the Carthaginians had beene vanquiſhed by him in open battell, they ſent new embaſſadors for to treat of peace againe; but hee commaunded them preſently to depart, for that he would never give them audience, unleſſe they brought backe unto him lord *Terentius*, a knight of *Rome*, and a man of woorth and honor, who by the fortune of warre was taken priſoner, and fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians: now when they had brought *Terentius*, he cauſed him to ſit cloſe by his ſide in the counſell, and then gave he audience to the foreſaide embaſſadors, and graunted them peace. Afterwards when he entred *Rome* in triumph for this victorie; the ſaid *Terentius* followed hard after his triumphant chariot, wearing a cap of libertie on his head, like an affranchiſed ſlave, and avowing that he held his freedome by him: and when *Scipio* was dead, unto all thoſe who accompanied his corps when it was caried foorth to ſepulture, *Terentius* allowed to drinke a certeine kinde of meede, made of wine and honie; and for all other complements belonging to an honorable funerall, he tooke order with great diligence; but this was performed afterwards. Moreover, when king *Antiochus* ſaw that the Romanes were paſſed over into *Aſia*, with a puiſſant armie to make warre upon him, he ſent his embaſſadors to *Scipio*, for to enter into a treatie of peace: unto whom he anſwered: This you ſhould have done before, and not at this preſent, now that your king and maſter hath already received the bit of the bridle in his mouth, and the ſaddle with the rider upon his backe. The Senat had graunted out a commiſſion unto him that he ſhould take foorth certeine money out of the publick cheſt and chamber of the citie; but when the treaſurers would not ſuffer him that day to open the treaſury, for to be furniſhed from thence; he ſaid: He would be ſo bold as open it himſelfe; Which (quoth he) I may well doe, conſidering that by my meanes it was kept faſt ſhut and locked firſt, for the great quantitie of gold and ſilver which I have cauſed to be brought into it. *Petilius* and *Quintus*, two Tribunes of the commons, accuſed him before the people, and laid many grievous matters to his charge; but he in ſtead of pleading his owne cauſe, and juſtifying himſelfe, ſaid thus: My maſters of *Rome*, upon ſuch a day as this, I defaited in battell the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and therefore will I goe my ſelfe directly from hence with a chaplet of flowers upon my head, up into the Capitoll to ſacrifice and give thoſe unto *Jupiter* for my victorie; meane while, whoſoever will give his voice either for or againſt me, let him doe as he thinketh good: and having thus ſaid, he went out of the court, and all the people followed after him, leaving his accuſers to plead there their fill to the bare wals.

* Or named *Batheia*, as ſome reade, *Badia* a town in *Spaine*.

T. QUINTIUS, immediately upon his comming to the management of State affaires, grew to ſuch reputation and renowme, that before he had beene Aedile, Prætour, or Tribune of the common-weale, he was choſen Conſull of *Rome*, who being ſent as captaine and lieutenant generall for the people of *Rome*, to warre againſt *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, was counſelled and perſwaded to a parle and perſonall conference firſt with him: *Philip* for the better ſecuritie of his owne perſon, demaunded of him hoſtages: Becauſe (quoth he) the Romanes have heere many captaines beſides you, but the Macedonians have none but my ſelfe: No marvel indeed (quoth *Quintius*) that you are heere by your ſelfe alone, for you have done to death all your kinsfolk and friends. After that he had vanquiſhed in battell king *Philip*, he cauſed proclamation to be made in the ſolemnitie of the Iſthmian games; That he reſtored all the Greeks to their auncient liberties and full freedome, to live from that day forward according to their owne lawes: and thereupon, the Greeks cauſed all the Romanes to be ſought out throughout all *Greece*, who had beene ſold thither for ſlaves during the warres with *Annibal*, and having redeemed & bought them againe out of their maſters hands for 500. drams a poll, they preſented them unto him as a free gift: theſe followed him in his triumph, with caps upon their heads, as the cuſtome was of ſuch ſlaves as were newly affranchiſed & endued with liberty. The Acheans were minded and fully purpoſed to enterpriſe the conqueſt of the iſle *Zacinthus*: But he admoniſhed them not to goe forth of *Peloponneſus*, unleſſe they would put themſelves into evident danger, like unto the Tortoiſes, when they ſtretch foorth their heads out of their ſhels. When the brute was blowen over all *Greece* that king *Antiochus* came with a mightie power, inſomuch as all men wondered & were affraid to heare what numbers there were of ſoldiors and fighting men, and what diverſitie of armors they brought with them; he made ſuch a ſpeech as this in the generall counſell of the Acheans: It was my chance (quoth he) upon a time to be lodged in the houſe of an old hoſt and friends of mine within the citie of *Chalcies*, and as I ſat with him at ſupper, I marvelled how poſſiblie he could come by ſo many ſorts of veniſon which I ſaw ſerved up to the boord before me; at laſt mine hoſt anſwered that all was but ſwines fleſh, and the ſame altered by ſundry kinds of ſauces and varietie of dreſſing: Semblably (quoth he) be you not diſmaid and troubled at this great armie of king *Antiochus* whom you heare named, his men at armes and horſemen armed at all pieces, his light horſe, his petronels and archers on horſebacke, and his footemen, for all theſe be no more but poore Syrians, men borne to ſervitude and ſlaverie, and no better, differing one from another onely in diverſitie of harneis and weapons. *Philopæmon* was at that time captaine generall of the Acheans, who had a number ſufficient both of horſe and foot, but he wanted money for their pay: whereat *Quintius* merily ſcoffing; *Philopæmon* (quoth he) hath hands and feet enough, but he wants a bellie; which jeſt was indeed the more pleaſant, for that *Philopæmons* body was in truth naturally ſo ſhapen and made ſo flat, as if he had no belly at all.

C. DOMITIVS, he whom *Scipio* the great left in his place, next after his brother *L. Scipio* in the warre againſt king *Antiochus*; when he had viewed the armie of his enemies ſtanding in battel-array, the Romane captaines who were about him, counſelled him with all expedition to give them battell, but hee anſwered them thus: That they had not day enough to maſſacre and hew in peeces ſo many millions of men; to ſpoile alſo and make pillage of their tents and baggage, and then to returne when all was done into the campe for to refreſh and looke to themſelves; ſo the morrow after he charged upon them and ſlue fiftie thouſand enemies.

P. LICINIVS, a Conſull of *Rome*, in one battell of horſemen was vanquiſhed by king *Perſeus*, and loſt about two thouſand and eight hundred men, partly ſlaine, and partly taken priſoners in the field: after which victorie, *Perſeus* ſent unto the ſaid Conſull, embaſſadours to treat of peace and attonement; in which treatie the condition which the vanquiſhed propoſed to the Conquerour was: That he ſhould ſubmit himſelfe wholy and his whole eſtate, unto the Romans for to doe with them according to their will and diſcretion.

PAVLVS ÆMILIVS making ſute for his ſecond Conſulſhip, was rejected and tooke repulſe: but afterwards when it was ſeene that the warre againſt King *Perſeus* was drawen out in length, and like to hold long, through the ignorance, ſloth and idleneſſe of thoſe captaines which were ſent with the armie: the Romaines choſe him conſull for the ſecond time; but he ſaid unto thẽ I con you no thank at al now, for that you have not elected me for to gratifie my ſelfe (becauſe I ſought for no office at this time) but in regard that your ſelves ſtand in need of a captaine. Being returned from the common-place into his owne houſe, hee found a little daughter that he had, named *Tertia*, weeping and all blubbered with teares: What is the matter (quoth he) that my pretie girle crieth and weepeth thus: with that the childe: O father (quoth ſhe) our *Perſeus* is dead: (now a little puppie ſhe had of that name:) In good houre be it ſpoken my ſweet daughter (quoth he) I take it for a good oſſe and preſage of happie fortune. When he was arrived and come into the campe, hee found much bibble-babble there, and vaunting braverie on everie hand of thoſe ſouldiors, who would buſily intermeddle in the affaires properly pertaining to the captaine, and in more matters than concerned them: hee willed [x] them to be quiet and ſtill, not to be dealing in ſuch things, but onely to looke well to their ſwords, whether they were ſharpe edged and wel pointed: As for the reſt (quoth he) I will provide therefore. Thoſe that kept the night ſentinels, he commanded neither to beare launce nor weare ſword, to the end that knowing they had no meanes to fight, in caſe they ſhould be ſurpriſed by the enemie, they ſhould be the more vigilant and carefull to withſtand ſleepe. After that he had paſſed over the mountaines in *Macedonie*, and was newly entred into the campe, hee found his enemies readie ranged in battell-array before him: whereupon *Scipio Naſica* adviſed him to charge out of hand: If I were (quoth he) as yoong as you, I ſhould be of the ſame mind that you are; but now long experience forbiddeth me to advance forward, all weary as I am, upon any journey againſt mine enemies, being ſet ſtrongly in ordinance of battell. After he had fully defaited *Perſeus* in making feaſts to his allies & confederates, for joy of victorie, he ſaid: That it belonged to one and the ſame ſkill and experience, to know how to raunge a terrible battell againſt enemies, and to ſet out an acceptable feaſt for friends. *Perſeus* being his priſoner, made earneſt ſute & humble ſupplication unto him, that he might not be lead in his triumph: That lies (quoth he) in your owne power ô *Perſeus*: by which words he gave him good leave to make himſelfe away. Among the treaſures of this king, there was found an infinit maſſe of gold and ſilver, whereof he touched not one jot for his owne proper uſe; onely to *Tubero* his ſonne-in-law, who had married his daughter, in honor of his vertue he gave one ſilver boul, weighing fiue [*] lytres: where (by the way) this is to be noted, that (by report) this was the firſt piece of ſilver plate that ever came into the houſe of the *Æmilii*. Of foure children-males that he had, two of the eldeſt he had given away before from himſelfe to be adopted into other noble families of *Rome*, and of the two yoongeſt which remained behinde in his owne houſe and name; the one (being fourteene yeeres of age) died five daies before his triumph; the other (twelve yeeres old) changed his life five daies after: whereat the people ſorrowed, and tooke it verie heavily, bewailing & pittying his deſolate eſtate: but he himſelfe went into the common place to comfort them, ſaying: That now from hence foorth, he thought to be out of all feare and danger in the behalfe of the common-wealth, hoping that no infortunitie would befall unto it: for that himſelfe for them all, bare the heavie load of the envie attending upon ſo great proſperities which he had atchieved for the weale publike, [y] in that fortune had derived and caſt all deſpite upon his familie alone.

[x] Captaines are to direct, Souldiers to obey and execute.

[*] or pounds.

[y] Great proſperitie is to be ſuſpected: to abate our pride, therefore God doth delay it with ſome croſſes.

CATO the elder, in a ſolemne ſpeech before the people of *Rome*, reprooving ſharply their intemperance, riot and ſuperfluous delicacies: I know full well (quoth he) that it is an hard matter to ſpeake unto the belly which hath no eares. He ſaid alſo, that he woondered how ſuch a citie could long ſtand, wherein a fiſh was ſold deerer than an oxe. Alſo inveighing againſt the over-much libertie and power which generally was given to women: All other men (quoth hee) doe rule their wives, wee rule all men, and our wives rule us. It was a ſpeech likewiſe of his: That hee had rather receive no favour and grace when hee had done any good ſervice, than not be puniſhed when he had committed a fault: I pardon moreover (quoth he) all thoſe, who upon error or ignorance have treſpaſſed, [z] but I except my ſelfe. Furthermore, in ſolliciting and mooving the magiſtrates to chaſtice thoſe who offended the lawes, he plainely ſaid: That whoſoever had rule and authoritie ſufficient to repreſſe malefactors, if they did not execute the ſame, were themſelves the authors and commaunders of evill. He delivered theſe words moreover: That yoong men who bluſhed when they were rerprooved, pleaſed him better than thoſe that looked pale: and that he could not abide that ſouldier, who in his way as he walked, waggeth his hands; in fight ſtirreth his feet; and when he ſleepeth ſnorteth lowder than he holloweth as he encountreth his enemie. Item, that he was a bad ruler, who knew not how to rule himſelfe. He was of opinion, that everie one ought to have more reverence of himſelfe, than of any other perſon whatſoever; for no man was ever from himſelfe. Perceiving that many there were who made ſute that their ſtatues might be erected: I had rather (quoth he) that men ſhould aske another daie, why there was no image ſet up for *Cato*, than why he had any. He counſelled them who had power to do what they would, to ſpare and make much thereof, to the end that their libertie might laſt with them for ever. They who deprive vertue [a] of honour, take away vertue (quoth he) from youth. He was of advice that no man ought to entreat a magiſtrate or judge in good and juſt cauſes to maintaine them, nor ſue unto them in bad and unright, as matters to paſſe-by or winke at them. His ſaying was: That

[z] No man chaſtiſeth wiſe men ſo much as themſelves.

[a] Honour attends upon vertue, and is the reward thereof.

injuſtice and wrong doing, if it brought no perill to him that committed it, yet it was dangerous to all others. He admoniſhed old folke not to adde unto their age the foulneſſe of vice: for that they had deformities enough beſides. His opinion was, that anger and fury differed in nothing, but that the one endured longer than the other. He was woont to ſay that they were not lightly envied, who knew how to uſe their fortune wiſely and with moderation: For that (quoth he) it is not our perſon that is envied, but that which is about us. Alſo they who are earneſt in ridiculous matters, make themſelves laughing ſtocks in ſerious affaires. Over and beſides, this was one of his ſage ſawes: That faire and commendable actions ought to meet with faire and laudable words to ſet them foorth, to the end that they never be without the glory to them belonging. He reprehended the citizens of *Rome*, for giving alwaies their voices to one & the ſame perſon, at the elections of their magiſtrates: For it ſhould ſeeme (quoth he) in ſo doing, that either you do not much eſteem the honour of magiſtracies, or els that in your judgement you have not men ſufficient enough & worthy to beare them. He made ſemblant upon a time, that he had in great admiration the ſtrength of one who ſold and made away his lands that lay along by the ſea-coaſt, as being a man more mightie and puiſſant than the verie ſea: For (quoth he) that which the ſea undermineth, eateth & waſteth by litle & litle this good felow hath ſwallowed & devoured all at once. When he ſtood to be choſen Cenſor, & ſaw that other of his competitors & concurrents trudged up & downe, glavering, gloſing and flattering to the people for to inſinuate themſelves into their good favour & grace: he contrariwiſe went crying out: That the State & people had need of a rigorous & hard hearted phyſician, both to diſmember & cut off ſome part, and alſo to give them a ſtrong purgation: and therefore they were not to chooſe one who was moſt gracious, but him that was moſt ſevere; thus whiles he made theſe remonſtrances, he was himſelfe choſen before all the reſt. In teaching yong men for to fight valiantlie and with reſolution, hee ſaid: That a word often-times frighted the enemie more than the ſword, the tongue alſo more than the hand, and cauſed him to take his heeles and runne away. Whiles hee warred in *Spaine* againſt thoſe who inhabit along the river *Bætis*, hee was in great danger, by reaſon of a great multitude of enemies who were in armes againſt him; neither could he be provided of aids upon a ſudden, but from the Celtiberians, who for to ſuccour him demaunded two hundred talents: now the other Romane captaines would not yeeld that hee ſhould make promiſe unto thoſe barbarous nations of this money for their hire and ſallarie; but *Cato* ſaid: They were much deceived and out of the way; for if we winne (quoth he) we ſhall be able to pay them, not of our owne, but of our enemies goods; if we loſe the day, there will be none left either to be paied or to call for pay. Having woon more townes in *Spaine*, than he had beene daies there (according as he ſaid himſelfe) he reſerved of all that ſpoile and pillage for his owne uſe, no more than he did eat and drinke; but hee divided and dealt to every one of his ſouldiers a pound weight of ſilver, ſaying: That it were better that many ſhould returne home out of warre with ſilver in their purſes, than a few with golde; for that rulers and captaines ought not to grow rich themſelves by their provinces and places of government in any thing but in honour and glorie. In that expedition or voiage of his, hee had with him in his traine five of his owne ſervitours; of whom, one there was who bought three priſoners taken in warre; but when he knew that his maſter had intelligence thereof, before that ever he came in his ſight he hung and ſtrangled himſelfe. *Scipio* ſurnamed *Africanus*, praied him to favour the cauſes of the baniſhed and fugitive Achœans, and to be good unto them, namely, that they might be recalled and reſtored againe to their owne countrey; but he made ſemblance as though hee tooke no great heed and regard to ſuch affaires; and when hee ſaw that the matter was followed hotly in the Senate, and that there grew much ſpeech and debate about it, he ſtood up and ſaid: Here is a great ſtirre indeed; and as though we had nothing els to do, we ſit here & ſpend all the long day diſputing about theſe old gray-beard Greeks, and all forſooth, to know whether they ſhalbe caried forth to their buriall by our porters and corſe-bearers heere, or by thoſe there. *Poſthumius Albius* wrote certeine hiſtories in Greeke, in the Preface and Proeme whereof, he praied the readers and hearers to pardon him, if he had committed any ſolœciſme or incongruitie in that language; but *Cato* by way of a mocke, ſcoffed at him, and ſaid: That he deſerved indeed to be pardoned for writing falſe Greeke, in caſe that by the [b] ordinance and commandement of the high commiſſion of the Amphyctiones, who were the chiefe Eſtates of all *Greece*, he had bene compelled againſt his will, to enterpriſe and goe in hand with the ſaid hiſtories.

SCIPIO the yoonger, in foure and fiftie yeeres (for ſo long he lived) neither bought nor

[b] Selfe doe, ſelfe have.

ſolde, nor yet built: and it is for certaine reported, that in ſo great an houſe and ſubſtance as his might ſeeme to be, there was never found but three and thirtie pound weight of ſilver plate, and two of golde, notwithſtanding the city of *Great Carthage* was in his hand, and he had enriched his ſouldiers more than ever any captaine did before him. Obſerving well the precept which *Polybius* gave, he hardly & without much ado would not returne out of the market place, before he had aſſaied to make in ſome ſort one new friend and familiar or other, of thoſe whom he met withall. Being but yet yoong, he was of ſuch reputation for his valour and wiſedome, that *Cato* the elder being demanded his opinion as touching others that were in the campe before *Carthage,* among whom he was one, delivered this commendation of him:

Right wiſe and ſage indeed alone is he,
The reſt to him but flitting ſhadowes be.

whereupon after his returne to *Rome* from the campe, they that remained behinde, called for him againe, not ſo much by way of gratification and to do him a pleaſure, but becauſe they hoped by his meanes more ſpeedily and with greater facilitie to win *Carthage*: now when he was entred to the very walles, and yet the Carthaginians fought from the caſtle, *Polybius* gave coũſel to ſcatter in the ſea betweene (which was not very deepe betweene his campe and the ſaid caſtle) certeine colthrops of yron, or els planks beſet with naile points, to overcaſt and ſpread the ſhallow ſhelves with ſticking upon them, for feare leſt that the enemies paſſing that arme or firth of the ſea, might come to aſſaile their rampars; but he ſaid: It was a meere mockery, conſidering that they had already gained the walles, and were within the citie of their enemies, to make meanes not to fight with them. Finding the citie full of ſtatues and painted tables which were brought out of *Sicilie*, he made proclamation, that the Sicilians from all their cities ſhould come for to owne and cary away whatſoever had bene theirs; but of all the pillage he would not allow any one, either ſlave or newly affranchiſed of his owne traine, to ſeize upon, nor ſo much as buy ought, notwithſtanding that there was driving and carying away otherwiſe on all hands. The greateſt and moſt familiar friend that he had, *Lælius,* ſued to be conſull of *Rome*; him he favoured and ſet forward his ſute in all that hee could: by which occaſion hee demanded of one *Pompeius,* who was thought to make labour for the ſame dignitie, whether it were true that hee was a competitor or no? now it was ſuppoſed that this *Pompeius* was a minſtrels ſonne that uſed to play on the flute; who made anſwere againe, that he ſtood not for the conſulſhip; and that which was more, hee promiſed to aſſiſt *Lælius,* and to get all the voices that hee could for him: thus while they beleeved his words, and expected his helping hand, they were deceived in the end; for they were given to underſtand for certeine, that this *Pompieus* was in the common hall labouring hard for himſelfe, going about unto every citizen one after another, requeſting their voices in his owne behalfe; whereat, when all others tooke ſtomacke and were offended, *Scipio* laughed apace, and ſaid: We are even well enough ſerved for our great follie, thus to ſtay and wait all this whiles upon a fluter and piper, as if we had bene to pray and invocate not men, but the gods. *Appius Claudius* was in election and concurrence againſt him for the office of cenſourſhip, ſaying in a braverie: That he uſed to ſalute all the Romans by name and by ſurname upon his owne knowledge of them, without the helpe of a prompter, whereas *Scipio* ſcarſe knew one of them all: Thou ſaieſt trueth (quoth *Scipio*) for I have alwaies beene carefull not to know many, but rather not to be unknowen of any. He gave counſell unto the Romane citizens, at what time as they warred againſt the Celtiberians, for to ſend both him and his competitour together into the campe, in qualitie either of lieutenants or of colonels over a thouſand foot, to the end that they might have the teſtimonie of other captaines and expert warriours indeed, whether of them twaine performed his ſervice and devoir better. Being created cenſour, he deprived a yoong gallant of his horſe, for that being given exceſſively to feaſt and make good cheere, whiles the citie of *Carthage* was beſieged, he had cauſed a certeine marchpaine to be made by paſtry-worke in forme of a citie, and called it *Carthage*, and when he had ſo done, ſet it upon the boord to be ſpoiled and ſacked (forſooth) by his companions; and when this youth would needs know of him why he was thus diſgraced and degraded, as to loſe his horſe of ſervice, which was allowed him from the State: Becauſe (quoth he) you will needs rifle and pill *Carthage* before me. During the time that he was cenſour, he ſeeing one day *C. Licinius* as he paſſed by: Now ſurely I knew this man (quoth he) for a perjured perſon, but for that there is none to accuſe him, I will not be both his judge and a witneſſe alſo to give evidence againſt him. Being ſent by the Senate a third commiſſioner with other Triumvirs, according as *Clitomachus* ſaid:

Mens manners to obſerve and overſee,
Where they doe well and where they faultie bee.

to viſit alſo and looke into the States of cities, nations, and kings: When he was arrived at *Alexandria*, and disbarked, as he came firſt to land, he went hooded as it were with his robe caſt over his head; but the *Alexandrians* running from all parts of the citie to ſee him, requeſted him to diſcover his head, that his face might be the better ſeene; and he had no ſooner uncovered his viſage, but they all cried out with great acclamations, applauding and clapping their hands in ſigne of joy. And when the king himſelfe of *Alexandria* ſtreined and ſtrived with great paine, ſo groſſe (ſo idle, and delicate he was otherwiſe) to keepe pace with him and the other commiſſioners, as they walked, *Scipio* rounded *Panætius* ſoftly in the eare and ſaid: The Alexandrians have reaped already the frute, and enjoied the benefit of my voyage, for that by our meanes they have ſeene their king to walke and go afoot. There accompanied him in this voiage a friend of his and a Philoſopher named *Panætius*, and five ſervitors beſides to wait upon him, and when one of theſe five hapned to die in this journey, he would not buy another in a foreine countrey for to ſupply his place, but ſent for one to *Rome*, to ſerve in his turne. It ſeemed to the people of *Rome* that the Numantines were invincible and inexpugnable, for that they had vanquiſhed and defeated ſo many captaines and leaders of the Romans: whereupon they choſe this *Scipio* Conſull the ſecond time for to manage this warre; now when many a luſtie yoong gallant made meanes and prepared to follow him in this ſervice, the Senat empeached them, alleaging colourably, that *Italy* thereby ſhould be left deſtitute of men for the defence of the countrey, what need ſoever ſhould be: ſo they would not ſuffer him to take that money out of the treaſurie which was preſt and ready for him, but aſſigned and ordeined certaine monies from the Publicanes and fermers of the cities cuſtomes and revenues to furniſh him, whoſe daies of paiment were not yet come: As for money (quoth *Scipio*) I ſtand not in ſuch need thereof, that I ſhould ſtay therefore, for out of mine owne and my friends purſes I ſhall have ſufficient to defray my charges, but I complaine rather that I may not be allowed to levie & leade forth my ſoldiors ſuch as I would, and be willing to ſerve, conſidering that it is a dangerous warre which we are to wage; for if it be in regard of our enemies valour, that our people have ſo often beene beaten and foiled by them, then we ſhall finde it a hot peece of ſervice and a hard, to encounter ſuch; but if it be long of our owne mens cowardize, no leſſe difficult will it be, becauſe we are to fight with the ſlender helpe of ſuch. When he was newly arrived at the campe, he found there great diſorder, much looſeneſſe, ſuperſtition, and waſtfull ſuperfluity in all things; ſo he baniſhed preſently all diviners, prophets, and tellers of fortune; he rid out of the way all ſacrificing prieſts, all bauds likewiſe that kept brothel-houſes he chaſed foorth: and he gave ſtreight charge that every man ſhould ſend away all maner of veſſels and utenſils, ſave onely a pot or kettle to ſeeth his meat in, a ſpit to roaſt, and a drinking jugge of earth; & as for ſilver plate, he allowed no man more in all than weighed two pounds: he put downe all baines and ſtouphes, but if any were diſpoſed to be annointed, he gave order that every man ſhould take paine to rubbe himſelfe; for he ſaid that beaſts who had no hands of their owne, needed another for to rub and currie them: he ordeined that his ſoldiers ſhould take their dinner ſtanding, and eate their meat not hot and without fire, but at ſupper, they might ſit downe who that liſt, and feed upon bread or ſingle grewell and plaine pottage, together with one ſimple diſh of fleſh either boiled or roſt: as for himſelfe he wore a caſſocke or ſoldiors coat all blacke, buttoned cloſe or buckled before, ſaying; That he mourned for the ſhame of his armie. He met with certaine garrons and labouring beaſts belonging to one *Memmius*, a collonel of a thouſand men, carying drinking cups and other plate enriched with precious ſtones, and wrought curiouſly by the hands of *Thericles*; whereupon he ſaid unto him: Thou haſt made thy ſelfe unfit to ſerve me and thy countrey for theſe thirtie daies, being ſuch an one as thou art, and ſurely being given to theſe ſuperfluities, thou art diſabled for doing thy ſelfe good all the daies of thy life. Another there was, who ſhewed him what a trim ſhield or target he had, finely made and richly adorned; Here is a faire & goodly ſhield indeed (quoth he) my yoong man, but I tell thee, a Romane ſoldior ought to truſt his right hand better than his left. There was one who carying upon his ſhoulder a bunch of pales, or burden of ſtakes for to pitch in the rampar, complained that he was over-laden: Thou art but well enough ſerved (quoth he,) in that thou repoſeſt more confidence in theſe ſtakes than in thy ſword. Seeing his enemies the Numantines how they [c] grew raſh, deſperate, and fooliſhly bent, he would not in that fit charge upon them and give battell, but held off ſtill, ſaying: That with tract of time he would buy the

[c] It is good to lie off and temporize, when enemies are deſperate.

ſurety and ſecuritie of his affaires: For a good captaine (quoth he) ought to doe like a wiſe phyſician, who will never proceed to the cutting or diſmembring of a part, but upon extremitie, namely, when all other means of phyſicke doe faile: howbeit when he eſpied a good occaſion and fit opportunitie, he aſſaulted the Numantines and overthrew them: which when the old beaten ſoldiers or elders of the Numantines ſaw, they rebuked and railed upon their owne men thus defaited, asking them, why they ran away and ſuffered themſelves to be beaten by thoſe who had foiled them ſo often before? but one of the Numantines anſwered; Becauſe the ſheep be the verie ſame that they were in times paſt; mary they have changed their ſhepheard. After he had forced the citie of *Numance* by aſſault, and entred now the ſecond time with triumph into *Rome*, he fell into ſome variance and debate with *C. Gracchus*, in the behalfe of the Senate and certaine allies or confederates: whereupon the common-people taking a ſpleene and diſpleaſure againſt him, made ſuch clamours at him upon the Roſtra, when he was purpoſed to ſpeake and give remonſtrances unto them, that thereupon he raiſed this ſpeech: There was never yet any outcries and alarmes of whole campes, nor ſhouts of armed men ready to give battell, that could aſtoniſh and daunt me; no more ſhall the rude crie of a confuſed multitude trouble me, who know aſſuredly that *Italy* is not their mother, but their ſtepdame. And when *Gracchus* with his conſorts and adherents cried out aloud: Kill the tyrant there, kill him: Great reaſon (quoth he) have they to take away my life, who warre againſt their owne countrie; for they know that ſo long as *Scipio* is on foot, *Rome* cannot fall, nor *Scipio* ſtand when *Rome* is laid along.

CAECILIUS METELLUS, deviſing and caſting about how to make ſure his approches and avenues for to aſſault a ſtrong fort, when a Centurion came unto him and ſaide: With the loſſe but of ten men you may be maſter of the piece: Wilt thou then (quoth he) be one of thoſe tenne? And when another who was a colonell and a yoong man, demaunded of him what ſervice he intended to do? If I wiſt (quoth he) that my waſtcoat or ſhirt were privie to my minde, I would put it off preſently and caſt it into the fire. He was a great enemie to *Scipio*, ſo long as *Scipio* lived; but when he was once dead he [d] tooke it very heavily, and commanded his owne ſonnes to goe under the beare, and carrie him upon their owne ſhoulders to buriall, ſaying withall: That he gave the gods heartie thankes that *Scipio* was borne at *Rome* and in no place elſe.

[d] Enmities ought not to be immortall.

C. MARIUS being riſen from a baſe degree by birth unto the government of State, and all by the meanes of armes, ſued for the greater Aedileſhip, called Curule; but perceiving that he could not compaſſe it, made ſute the verie ſame day for the leſſe: and notwithſtanding that he went beſides both the one and the other, yet he ſaid: That he doubted not one day to be the greateſt man of all the Romanes. Being troubled with the ſwelling of the veines, called *Varices*, in both his legges: he ſuffered the chirurgian to cut thoſe of the one legge, without being bound or tied for the matter, enduring the operation of his hand, and never gave one grone, or ſo much as bent his browes all the whiles; but when the chirurgian would have gone to the other legge; Nay ſtaie there (quoth he) for the cure of ſuch a maladie as this, is not woorth the greevous paines that belongeth thereto. He had a nephew or ſiſters ſonne named *Luſius*, who in the time that his uncle was ſecond time Conſull, would have forced and abuſed a youth in the prime of his yeeres, named *Trebonius*, who began but then, under his charge to beare armes: this yoong ſpringall made no more adoe but ſlew him outright; and when many there were who charged and accuſed him for this murder, he denied not the fact, but confeſſed plainly that he had killed his captaine, and withall declared the cauſe publikely: *Marius* himſelfe being advertiſed heereof, cauſed to be brought unto him a coronet, ſuch as uſually was given unto thoſe who had performed in warre ſome woorthie exploit, and [e] with his owne hand ſet it upon the head of this youth *Trebonius*. Being encamped very neere to the campe of the Tentones, in a plot of ground where there was but little water; when his ſoldiers complained that they were loſt for water, and ready to die for very thirſt, he ſhewed them a river not far off, running along the enemies campe: Yonder (quoth he) there is water enough for to be bought with the price of your blood: Then leade us to it quickly, anſwered his ſouldiers whiles our blood is liquid and will runne, and never let us ſtay ſo long till it be cluttered and dried up quite with drought. During the time of the Cimbrians warre he endued at once with the right of free Burgeouſie of *Rome*, a thouſand men all * Camerines, in conſideration of their good ſervice in that warre; a thing that was contrarie to lawe: now when ſome blamed him for tranſgreſſing the lawes, he anſwered and ſaid: That he could not heare what the lawes ſaid, for the great

[e] An example of ſingular juſtice.

* or Camertes

great ruſtling and clattering that harneis and armor made. In this time of the civill warre, ſeeing himſelfe en cloſed round about with trenches and rampars, and ſtreight beleaguered he endured all and waited his beſt opportunitie, and when *Popedius* * *Silo* captaine generall of the enemies ſaide unto him: *Marius* if thou be ſo great a warrior as the name goeth of thee, come foorth of the campe, and combat with me hand to hand: Nay ſaith he, and if thou art ſo brave a captaine as thou wouldeſt be taken, force me to combat if thou canſt.

* The ſonne of *Silo*.

CATULUS LUCTATIUS in the foreſaid Cimbrian warre, lay encamped along the river *Atheſis*, and when the Romans ſaw that the Barbarians were about to paſſe over the water, and to ſet upon them, retired and diſlodged preſently, what reaſons and perſwaſions ſoever their captaine could uſe to the contrary: but when he ſaw he could doe no good, nor cauſe them to ſtay, himſelfe ranne away with the formoſt, to the end that it ſhould not ſeeme that they fled cowardly before their enemies, but dutifully followed their captaine.

SYLLA, ſurnamed *Fœlix*, i. Happie, among other proſperities, counted theſe two for the greateſt: the one, that he lived in love and amitie with *Metellus Pius*; the other, that he had not deſtroied the citie of *Athens*, but ſaved it from being raced.

C. POPILIUS, was ſent unto king *Antiochus* with a letter from the Senate of *Rome*, the tenor whereof was this: That they commanded him to withdraw his forces out of *Aegypt*, and not to uſurpe the kingdome which apperteined to the children of *Ptolomæus*, being orphans. The king ſeeing *Popilius* comming toward him through his campe, ſaluted him a farre off very curteouſly: but *Popilius* without any reſalutations or greeting againe, delivered him the letter; which *Antiochus* read, and after he had read it, anſwered him that he would thinke upon the matter that the Senate willed him to doe, and then give him his diſpatch: whereupon *Popilius* drew a circle round about the king, with a vine rod that he had in his hand, ſaying: Reſolve I adviſe you ſir, before you paſſe foorth of this compaſſe, and give me my anſwer: all that were preſent woondered and were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſſe and reſolution of this man: but *Antiochus* preſently anſwered him: That he would doe whatſoever pleaſed the Romans: then *Popilius* ſaluted him moſt lovingly and embraced him.

LUCULLUS in *Armenia* went with ten thouſand footmen and one thouſand horſe, to meet with king *Tigranes*, who was an hundred and fiftie thouſand ſtrong, for to give him battell: the ſixt day it was of October, and the very day of the moneth upon which before time the Romane armie under the conduct of one of the *Scipioes* had beene defeated by the Cimbrians: and when one ſaid unto him: That the Romans feare that day exceedingly, as being diſmal and infortunate: VVhy (quoth he) even therefore ought we this very day to fight couragiouſly and valiantly, to the end that we may make this day to be joyfull and happie, which the Romans hold as curſed and unhappie: Now when the Romans did moſt dread the men at armes of *Armenia*, ſeeing them in their complet harneis, armed at al pieces, & mounted on bard horſes, he bad them be of good cheere and not to feare. (For ſaith he) you ſhall finde more adoe to diſpoile and diſarme them, than you ſhall have in killing them: himſelfe mounting firſt up to the top of a certaine little hill, after he had well viewed and conſidered the Barbarians how they moved and waved too and fro; he cried out with a loud voice unto his ſoldiers: My good friends and companions, the day is ours: and in very truth, they were put to flight all at once of their owne ſelves, without any onſet or charge given them; and in ſuch ſort *Lucullus* followed the chaſe, that he killed in the verie rout, aboue one hundred thouſand, and loſt not of his owne but five men onely.

CNEUS POMPEIUS, ſurnamed *Magnus* i. the Great, was as well beloved of the Romans as his father before him was hated; who being yet very yoong, he ſided to the faction of *Sylla*: and notwithſtanding that he had no office of State, nor was ſo much as one of the Senate; yet he levied a mightie power of armed men from all parts of *Italy*: now when *Sylla* called him unto him, he ſaid: That he would not make ſhew of his ſoldiers unto his ſoveraigne and generall, before they had made ſome ſpoile and drawne bloud of their enemies; and in very deed he came not unto him with his power, before that hee had defaited in manie battels ſundrie captaines of his enemies. Afterwards, being ſent by *Sylla* with commiſſion of a commander into *Sicilie*, underſtanding that his ſouldiours as they marched brake out of order and ranke, and would goe foorth to rob and ſpoile, and commit many riots by the way, he put to death all ſuch as without licence departed from their colours, and went running up & downe the countrey: and as for ſuch as he ſent abroad with warrant about any commiſſion or buſineſſe of his, he ſealed up their ſwords within the ſcabberds with his owne ſignet. He was at the verie point to have put all the Mamertines to the ſword, for that they banded againſt *Sylla*; but *Sthenis* one of the inhabitants, an oratour, and a man that could doe much with the people, and leade them with his perſwaſive orations, ſaid unto him: That it were not well, that for one mans fault he ſhould cauſe ſo many innocents to die; for I (quoth he) am the onely man culpable, and the cauſe of all this miſchiefe, having by my perſwaſions induced my friends, & with threats forced mine enemies to take part with *Marius* and follow his ſtanderd: *Pompeius* woondering at this reſolute remonſtrance of his, ſaid: That he was content to pardon the Mamertines, who ſuffered themſelves to be ledde and perſwaded by ſuch a perſonage, as held the ſafetie of his owne countrey more deare than his owne life; and ſo he forgave the whole city and *Sthenis* himſelfe. After this, being paſſed over ſea into *Africa* againſt *Domitius*, and having woonne the field, in a great battell, when his ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Emperour or Sovereigne captaine generall, he ſaid unto them: That he would not accept of that honourable title, ſo long as the rampar about his enemies campe ſtood; he had no ſooner ſaid the word, but they ranne all at once to this ſervice, notwithſtanding it was a great ſhowre of raine, plucked downe the pallaiſada, mounted over the rampar, entred the campe and ſacked it. At his returne home, *Sylla* made exceeding much of him otherwiſe, and did him great honour, but among many other, he was the firſt man that ſtiled him with the ſurname of *Magnus*: howbeit, when he minded to enter triumphant into *Rome*, *Sylla* would have hindered him, alledging for his reaſon: That he was not as yet admitted and ſworne a Senatour: whereat *Pompeius* turning to thoſe that were preſent: It ſeemeth (quoth he) that *Sylla* is ignorant how there be more men that worſhip the ſun riſing than ſetting: which words when *Sylla* heard, he cried out with a loud voice: Let him triumph a Gods name, for I ſee well he wil have it: and yet for all that, *Servilius* a man of the ſenators degree, withſtood his triumph, & tooke great indignation againſt him; yea, & many of his own ſouldiers ſet themſelves againſt him and daſht it quite, if they might not have certeine gifts and rewards, which they pretended were due unto them: but *Pompey* ſaid with a clere & audible voice: That he would ſooner leave triumph and all, than to be ſo baſe minded as to flatter and make court unto his ſouldiers: at which words *Servilius* ſaid unto him: By this now I ſee well (ô *Pompeius*) that thou art truely named *Magnus*, *i.* Great, & worthy indeed to triumph. There was a cuſtome at *Rome*, that the knights or gentlemen, after they had ſerved in the warres the complete time ſet downe and limited by the lawes, ſhould preſent their horſes in the market place before the two reformers of maners, called Cenſours, and there openly recount and relate unto them in what warres or battels they had fought, and the captaines under whom they had borne armes, to the end that according to their demerits they might receive condigne praiſe or blame. It ſo fell out that *Pompeius* being conſull, himſelfe led his owne horſe of ſervice by the bridle, and preſented him before *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, cenſors for the time being; and when they according to the order and maner in that behalfe, demanded of him whether he had ſerved in the warres ſo many yeeres as the law required: Even all (quoth he) fully, and that under my ſelfe, the ſovereigne commander at all times. Being in *Spaine*, he light upon certeine papers and writings of *Sertorius*, wherein were many letters miſſive ſent from the principall Senatours of *Rome*, and namely ſuch as ſollicited and called *Sertorius* to *Rome*, for to raiſe ſome innovations, and make a change in the State: theſe letters he flung all into the fire, giving them occaſion and opportunitie by this meanes, who intended miſchiefe and were ill bent, to change their minds, repent and amend. *Phraates* king of the Parthians ſent unto him certeine ambaſſadors to requeſt him that he would not paſſe over the river *Euphrates*, but to make it the middle frontier & bound betweene them both: Nay rather (quoth *Pompeius*) let juſtice be the indifferent limit betweene the Parthians and the Romans. *L. Lucullus*, after he was returned from his warres and conqueſts, gave himſelfe over exceſſively to all pleaſures, and to live moſt ſumptuouſly, reprooving *Pompeius* for this: That hee deſired alwaies from time to time more and more, great charges and emploiments even above his age, and unfitting thoſe yeeres of his: unto whom *Pompeius* made this anſwere: That it was a thing more unbeſeeming olde yeeres, for a man to abandon himſelfe to delights and pleaſures, than to attend the weightie affaires of the common weale. upon a time when he was ſicke, the Phyſicians preſcribed that he ſhould eat of a blackebird; great laying there was in many places for that bird, but none could be found, for that it was not their ſeaſon nor the time of the yeere; but one there was, who ſaid that if he would ſend to *Lucullus*, he might have of them, for he kept them in mue all the yeere long: And what needs that (quoth he) can not *Pompey* recover and live, if *Lucullus* were not a waſter and a delicate given to belly-cheere? and ſo leaving the Phyſicians preſcript diet, hee compoſed and framed himſelfe to eat that which was ordinary and might be found in every place. In regard of a great famine and ſcarſitie of corne and victuals at *Rome*, he was ordeined in outward ſhew of words, the grand purveiour or generall ſuperintendent and over-ſeer for victuals, but in effect and authoritie, lord indeed both of ſea and land: by which occaſion he made voiages into *Africke*, *Sardinia* and *Sicilie*, where, after he had provided a mightie deale of corne, he intended preſently to have returned with all ſpeed to *Rome*; but there aroſe a terrible tempeſt, inſomuch as the pilots and mariners themſelves made no haſte to goe to ſea and ſet ſaile; but he in his owne perſon embarked firſt, and when he was on ſhip-boord, he commanded to weigh anker, ſaying with a loud voice: Saile we needs muſt, there is no remedie, but to live there is not ſuch neceſſitie. When the quarrell betweene him and *Cæſar* was broken out and fully diſcovered, there was one *Marcellinus*, (a man that before-time had bene advanced by him, & yet afterwards turned to the adverſe part and faction of *Cæſar*) who in a frequent aſſembly of the Senate, charged and challenged him to his face for many things, and ſpake ſpightfull words againſt him: *Pompeius* could not holde, but anſwered him thus: Baſheſt not thou *Marcellinus*, in this open place to miſcall and raile upon me, who have made thee eloquent, whereas before thou couldſt not ſpeake at all? who have fed thee full, even untill thou be readie to caſt up thy ſtomacke, where before thou wert hungry and ready to pine for famine? Unto *Cato*, who chidde and reprooved him ſharply for that he would never beleeve his words, when he fore-tolde him many times, that the puiſſance and increaſe of *Cæſars* State, unto whom he lent his hand, would one day greatly prejudice and hurt the weale-publicke, he anſwered: Your counſell indeed was wiſer, but mine more loving and friendly. In ſpeaking of himſelfe freely, he ſaid: That all offices of State he both entred ſooner upon than he looked himſelfe; and alſo forwent them before it was expected that he would. After the battel of *Pharſalia* when he fled into *Aegypt*, and was to paſſe out of his gally into a little barke or fiſher boat, which the king had ſent unto him for to bring him to land, he turning unto his wife and ſonne, ſaid no more but this verſe out of *Euripides*:

Who once in court of Tyrant ſerve, become
His ſlaves anon, though free they thither come.

Being paſſed over in this barke, after he had received one blow with a ſword, he gave onely a ſigh and groane, and without ſaying one word, he covered his owne face with his garment, and yeelded himſelfe to be killed.

CICERO the great oratour was mocked of ſome for that ſurname of his which alludeth unto a Cich-peaſe; in ſo much as his friends gave him counſell to change his name: but hee contrariwiſe ſaid, that he would make the name of the Ciceroes more noble and renowmed, than the Catoes, the Catuli, or the Scauri. He offered unto the gods a goodly faire veſſell of ſilver, in which he cauſed to be engraven his two fore-names, *Marcus* and *Tullius* in letters; but for the third, to wit, *Cicero* his ſurname, hee commaunded to bee emboſſed or chaced the forme of a Cich-peaſe. He ſaid that thoſe oratours who uſed to ſtraine their voices, and crie aloud in the pulpit, were privie to their owne weakeneſſe and inſufficience otherwiſe, and had recourſe to this one helpe, like as creples and lame-folke to their horſes for to mount upon. *Verres* had a ſonne diffamed for the abuſe of his bodie in the floure of his youth; and yet the ſaid *Verres* ſtucke not to ſlaunder *Cicero* and raile upon him, even to theſe broad and foule tearmes, as to call him a filthie wanton and a buggeror; whereto *Cicero* anſwered thus: Thou doeſt not know, that it were more ſeemely to rebuke thy children for this within doores in ſome ſecret part of thy houſe cloſe ſhut. *Marcellus* one day in debating and conteſting with him ſaid: Thou haſt brought more to their death by thy teſtimonies and depoſitions, than thou haſt ſaved with all thy good pleading: I confeſſe as much (quoth *Cicero* againe) for I have more truth and fidelitie in me by farre, than eloquence. The ſame *Metellus* demaunded of him who was his father, reproching him (as it were) thereby that he was a new upſtart, and a gentleman of the firſt head: Unto whom readily thy mother hath made this queſtion more hard on thy part to be anſwered: now was *Metellus* his mother thought to be an unchaſt woman and naught of her bodie; and *Metellus* himſelfe was counted a vaine braine-ſicke and ſlipperie fellow, given over to his wanton luſts and deſires. This *Metellus* had cauſed to be ſet upon the ſepulchre of one *Diodorus*, who had beene his maſter ſometime to teach him Rhetoricke, the portraiture of a crow in ſtone: whereupon *Cicero* tooke occaſion to come upon him in this wiſe: A juſt recompence in deed and fit for him, becauſe he hath taught this man to flie and not to ſpeake. **Vatinius* was a lewd man, and his adverſarie: now a rumour ran abroad that he was dead; but afterwards when he found it to be a falſe brute: A miſchiefe take him for me

(quoth

* or *Varius*.

(quoth *Cicero)* that made this lie firſt. There was one ſuppoſed to be an Africane borne, who ſaid unto him: That he heard him not when he ſpake: I marvell at that (quoth *Cicero*) conſidering thine [f] eares be bored as they are and have holes in them. *C. Popilius* would have bene taken and reputed for a great lawyer, although he had no law in the world in him, and was beſides a man of very groſſe capacity: this man was ſerved with a writ to appeare in the court for to beare witneſſe of a trueth, touching a certeine fact in queſtion; but he anſwered: That he knew nothing at all: True (quoth *Cicero:*) for peradventure you meane of the law, and thinke that you are asked the queſtion of it. *Hortenſius* the orator, who pleaded the cauſe of *Verres*, had received of him for a fee or a gentle reward, a jewel with the portraiture of *Sphinx* in* ſilver: it fell out ſo, that *Cicero* chanced to give out a certeine darke and ambiguous ſpeech: As for mee (quoth *Hortenſius*) I can not tell what to make of your words, for I am not one that uſeth to ſolve riddles and ænigmaticall ſpeeches: Why man (quoth *Cicero*) and yet you have *Sphinx* in your houſe. He met upon a time with *Voconius* and his three daughters, the fouleſt that ever looked out of a paire of eies: at which object he ſpake ſoftly to his friends about him:

This man (I weene) his children hath begot
In ſpight of Phœbus, *and when he would it not.*

Fauſtus the ſonne of *Sylla* was in the end ſo farre endebted, that he expoſed his goods to be ſold in open ſale, and cauſed billes to be ſet up on poſts in every quarrefour to notifie the ſame: Yea mary (quoth *Cicero*) I like theſe billes and [g] proſcriptions better than thoſe that his father publiſhed before him. When *Cæſar* and *Pompeius* were entred into open warre one againſt another: I know full well (quoth *Cicero*) whom to flie, but I wot not unto whom to flie. He found great fault with *Pompeius* in that he left the citie of *Rome*, and that he choſe rather in this caſe to imitate the policy of *Themiſtocles* than of *Pericles*, ſaying: That the preſent ſtate of the world reſembled rather the time of *Pericles*, than of *Themiſtocles*. Hee drew at firſt to *Pompeius* ſide, and being with him, repented thereof. When *Pompey* asked him where he had left *Piſo* his ſon-in-law; he anſwered readily: Even with your good father-in-law; meaning *Cæſar*. There was one who departed out of *Cæſars* campe unto *Pompey*, and ſaid: That he had made ſuch haſte, that hee left his horſe behinde him: Thou canſt skill (I perceive) better to ſave thy horſes life than thine owne. Unto another, who brought word that the friends of *Cæſar* looked ſoure and unpleaſant: Thou ſaieſt (quoth he) as much as if they thought not well of his proceedings. After the battell of *Pharſalia* was loſt, and that *Pompeius* was already fled, there was one *Nonius* who came unto him, and willed him not to deſpaire, but be of good cheere, for that they had yet ſeven eagles left, [which were the ſtanderds of the legions:] Seven eagles (quoth he;) that were ſomewhat indeed, if we had to warre againſt jaies & jackdawes. After that *Cæſar*, upon his victorie, being lord of all, had cauſed the ſtatues of *Pompey* which were caſt done, to be ſet up againe with honor; *Cicero* ſaid of *Cæſar*: In ſetting up theſe ſtatues of *Pompey*, he hath pitched his owne more ſurely. He ſo highly eſteemed the gift of eloquence and grace of well ſpeaking, yea, and he tooke ſo great paines with ardent affection, for to performe the thing, that having to plead a cauſe onely before the Centumvirs or hundred judges, and the day ſet downe being neere at hand for the hearing and triall thereof; when one of his ſervants *Eros*, brought him word that the cauſe was put off to the next day, [h] he was ſo well contented and pleaſed therewith, that incontinently he gave him his freedome for that newes.

CAIUS CAESAR, at what time as he being yet a yoong man, fled and avoided the furie of *Sylla*, fell into the hands of certeine pirats or rovers, who at the firſt demanded of him no great ſumme of money for his ranſome, whereat hee mocked and laughed at them, as not knowing what maner of perſon they had gotten; and ſo of himſelfe promiſed to pay them twiſe as much as they asked; and being by them guarded and attended upon very diligently, all the while that he ſent for to gather the ſaid ſumme of money which he was to deliver them, he willed them to keepe ſilence and make no noiſe, that he might ſleepe and take his repoſe: during which time that he was in their cuſtodie, he exerciſed himſelfe in writing aſwell verſe as proſe, and read the ſame to them when they were compoſed; and if hee ſaw that they would not praiſe and commend thoſe poemes and orations ſufficiently to his contentment, he would call them ſenſeleſſe ſots and barbarous, yea, and after a laughing maner, threaten to hang them: and to ſay a truth, within a while after, he did as much for them: for when his ranſome was come, and he delivered once out of their hands, he levied together a power of men and ſhips from out of the coaſts of *Aſia*, ſet upon the ſaid rovers, ſpoiled them and crucified them. Being returned to *Rome*, and having enterpriſed a ſute for the ſoveraign Sacerdotall dignitie againſt *Catulus*, who was
then

[f] Noting that by condition he was a ſlaue.

* Or gold.

[g] It is a pleaſure to ſee the ruine & overthrow of ſuch caterpillers & cormorants houſes.

[h] A man of honour can not be too carefull for to quit him well in his calling and vocation.

then a principall man at *Rome*; whenas his mother accompanied him as farre as to the utmoſt gates of his houſe, when he went into Mars field where the election was held, he took his leave of her and ſaid: Mother you ſhall have this day your ſonne to be chiefe Pontifice and high prieſt, or elſe baniſhed from the citie of *Rome*. He put away his wife *Pompeia*, upon an ill name that went of her, as if ſhe had beene naught with *Clodius*: whereupon when *Clodius* afterwards was called into queſtion judicially for the fact, and *Cæſar* likewiſe convented into the court, peremptorily for to beare witneſſe of the truth; being examined upon his oath, he ſware that he never knew any ill at all by his wife: and when he was urged and replied upon againe, wherefore he had put her away? he anſwered: That the wife of *Cæſar* ought not onely to be innocent and cleere of crime, but alſo of all ſuſpicion of crime. In reading the noble acts of *Alexander* the great, the teares trickled downe his cheeks; and when his friends deſired to know the reaſon why he wept: At my age (quoth he) *Alexander* had vanquiſhed & ſubdued *Darius*, and I have yet done nothing. As he paſſed along through a little poore towne ſituate within the Alpes; his familiar friends about him, merrily asked one another whether there were any factions and contentions in that burrough, about ſuperioritie, and namely, who ſhould be the chiefe? whereupon he ſtaid ſuddenly; and after he had ſtudied and muſed a while within himſelfe: I had rather (quoth he) be the firſt here, than the ſecond in *Rome*. As for hautie & adventerous enterpriſes, he was wont to ſay: They ſhould be executed & not conſulted upon: and verily when he paſſed over the river *Rubicon*, which divideth the province of *Gaul* from *Italy*, for to leade his power againſt *Pompeius*: Let the Die (quoth he) be throwen for all: as if he would ſay: * This caſt for it, there is but one chance to loſe all. When *Pompey* was fled from *Rome* to the ſea ſide, and *Metellus* the ſuperintendent of the publike treaſurie, would have hindred him for taking foorth any money from thence, keeping the treaſure houſe faſt ſhut, he threatned to kill him; whereat *Metellus* ſeeming to be amazed at his adacious words: Tuſh, tuſh, (quoth he) good yoong man, I would thou ſhouldeſt know that it is harder for me to ſpeake the word, than to doe the deed. And for that his ſoldiors ſtaid long ere they were tranſported over unto him from *Brunduſium*, to *Dyrrhachium*, he embarked himſelfe alone into a ſmall veſſell, without the knowledge of any man who he was, purpoſing to paſſe the ſeas alone without his companie; but it hapned ſo, that he was like to have beene caſt away in a guſt, and drowned with the waves of the ſea: whereupon he made himſelfe knowne unto the pilot, and ſpake unto him aloud: Aſſure thy ſelfe and reſt confident in fortune, for wot well thou haſt *Cæſar* a ſhip boord: howbeit for that time he was empeached that he could not croſſe the ſeas, as well in regard of the tempeſt which grew more violent, as alſo of his ſouldiers who ran unto him from all ſides, and complained unto him for griefe of heart, ſaying: That he offred them great wrong to attend upon other forces, as if he diſtruſted them. Not long after this he fought a great battell, wherein *Pompeius* hand the upper had for a time, but for that he followed not the train of his good fortune, he retired into his campe; which when *Cæſar* ſaw, he ſaid: The victorie was once this day our enemies, but their head and captaine knew not ſo much. Upon the plaines of *Pharſalia*, the very day of the battell, *Pompey* having arranged his army in array, commanded his ſoldiers to ſtand their ground, and not to advaunce forward, but to expect their enimies, and receive the charge; wherin *Cæſar* afterwards ſaid: He did amiſſe and groſſely failed, for that therby he let ſlack as it were the vigor & vehemencie of his ſoldiors which is miniſtred unto thẽ by the violence of the firſt onſet, & abated that heat alſo of courage which the ſaid charge would have brought with it. When he had defaited at his very firſt encounter, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*; he wrote thus unto his friends: I came, I ſaw, I vanquiſhed. After that *Scipio* and thoſe under his conduct were diſcomfited and put to flight in *Africke*; when he heard that *Cato* had killed himſelfe, he ſaid: I envie thy death ô *Cato*, for that thou haſt envied me the honour of ſaving thy life. Some there were who had *Antonie* and *Dolabella* in jealouſie and ſuſpicion, and when they came unto him and ſaid: That he was to looke unto himſelfe, and ſtand upon his good guard; he made them this anſwer: That he had no diſtruſt nor feare of them, who ledde an idle life, be well coloured and in ſo good liking as they: But I feare (quoth he) theſe pale and leane fellowes pointing unto *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. One day as he ſat at the table when ſpeech was mooved and the queſtion asked, what kind of death was beſt? Even that (quoth he) which is ſudden and leaſt looked for.

* Or thus, I have put it upon the dice, come what will of it.

CAESAR, him I meane who firſt was ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, being as yet in his youth, required and claimed of *Antonie* as much money as amounted to two thouſand and five hundred *Myriades, which he had tranſported out of *Julius Cæſars* houſe after he was murdred, and gotten

* i. 20. Millians of Seſterces or Denarii.

ten into his owne hands; for that he entended to pay the Romans that which the ſaid *Cæſar* had bequeathed unto them by his laſt will and teſtament: for he had left by legacie unto every citizen of *Rome* 75.* drams of ſilver; but *Antonie* deteined the ſaid ſumme of money to himſelfe, and anſwered yoong *Cæſar*, that if he were wiſe he ſhould deſiſt from demanding any ſuch monies of him: which when the other heard, he proclaimed open port ſale of all the goods that came to him by his patrimonie, & in deed ſold the ſame; and with the money raiſed thereof, he ſatisfied the foreſaid legacies unto the Romanes: in which doing he wan all the hearts of the citizens of *Rome* to himſelfe, & brought their evill wil and hatred upon *Antonie*. Afterwards *Rymetalces* king of *Thracia* left the part of *Antonius*, and turned to his ſide; but he overſhot himſelfe ſo much at the table, being in his cups, and namely, in that he could talke of nothing elſe, but of this great good ſervice, and caſting in his teeth this worthy alliance and confederacie of his, ſo as he became odious therefore; inſomuch as one time at ſupper *Cæſar* taking the cup, dranke to one of the other kings who ſat at the boord, ſaying with a loud voice: Treaſon I love well, but traitors I hate. The Alexandrians after their citie was woonne, looked for no better than to ſuffer all the extremities and calamities that might follow upon the forcing of a city by aſſault: but this *Cæſar* mounting up into the publike place to make a ſpeech unto the citizens, having neere by unto him a familiar friend of his; to wit *Arius*, an Alexandrian borne; pronounced openly a generall pardon, ſaying that he forgave the citie: firſt, in regard of the greatneſſe and beautie thereof; ſecondly in reſpect of king *Alexander* the great their firſt founder: and thirdly for *Arius* his ſake, who was his loving friend. Underſtanding that one of his Procuratours named *Eros*, who did negotiate for him in *Aegypt*, had bought a quaile of the game, which in fight would beat all other quailes, and was never conquered himſelfe, but continued ſtill invincible; which quaile notwithſtanding, the ſaid ſlave had cauſed to be roſted and ſo eaten it: he ſent for him and examined him thereupon whether it was true or no? and when he confeſſed Yea, he commanded him preſently to be crucified and nailed to the maſt of his ſhip. He placed *Arius* in *Sicilie* for his agent and procuratour, in ſtead of one *Theodorus*: and when one preſented unto him a little booke or bill wherein were written theſe words, *Theodorus* of *Tharſis* * the bauld is a theefe, how thinke you is he not? when he had read this bill, he did nothing elſe but ſubſcribe underneath: I thinke no leſſe. He received yeerely upon his birth day from *Mecænas*; (one of his familiar friends who converſed daily with him) a cup for a preſent. *Athenodorus* the Philoſopher being of great yeeres, craved licence with his good favour to retire unto his owne houſe from the court, by reaſon of his old age; and leave he gave him, but at his farewell, *Athenodorus* ſaid unto him: Sir, when you perceive your ſelfe to be mooved with choler, neither ſay do nor ought before you have repeated to your ſelfe all the 24. letters in the Alphabet: *Cæſar* hearing this advertiſement, tooke him by the hand: I have need ſtill (quoth he) of your company and preſence, and ſo reteined him for one yeere longer, ſaying withall this verſe,

The hire of ſilence, now I ſee
Is out of perill and jeopardie.

Having heard that King *Alexander* the Great at the age of two and thirtie yeeres, having performed moſt part of his conqueſts, was in doubt with himſelfe and perplexed what to do and how to be employed afterwards: I woonder (quoth he) that *Alexander* thought it not a more difficult matter to governe and preſerve a great empire after it is once gotten, than to winne and conquer it at firſt. When he had enacted the law *Julia* as touching adulterie, wherein is ſet downe determinately the manner of proceſſe againſt thoſe that be attaint of that crime, and how ſuch are to be puniſhed who be convict thereof: it hapned that through impatience and heat of choler, he fell upon a yoong gentleman, who was accuſed to have committed adulterie with his daughter *Julia*, in ſo much as he buffetted him well and thorowly with his owne fiſts: the yoong man thereupon cried unto him: Your ſelfe have made a law, *Cæſar*, which ordaineth the order and forme of proceeding againſt adulteries: whereat he was ſo diſmaied & abaſhed, yea and ſo repented himſelfe of this miſcariage, that he would not that day eat anie ſupper. When he ſent his nephew or daughters ſonne *Caius* into *Armenia*, he praied unto the gods to accompanie him with that good will of all men which *Pompey* had, with the valiantneſſe of *Alexander* the Great, and with his owne good fortune. He ſaid, that he left unto the Romans for to ſucceed him in the empire, one who never in his life had conſulted twiſe of one thing, meaning *Tyberius*. Minding to appeaſe certaine yoong Romane gentlemen of honour and authoritie, who made a great noiſe and ſtirre in his preſence; when he ſaw that for all his

* i. Denarii.

* Or read thus, it is either bald or a theefe, according to ſome Greeke copies.

his firſt admonitions he could do no good, he ſaid unto them: Yoong gentlemen give eare unto me an old man, whom when I was yoong as you are, auncient men would give eare unto. The people of *Athens* had offended and done him ſome diſpleaſure, unto whom hee wrote in this wiſe: You are not ignorant (I ſuppoſe) that I am diſpleaſed with you, for otherwiſe I would not have wintered in this little iſle *Aegina*: and more than thus, he neither did nor ſaid afterwards unto them. When one of *Eurycles* his accuſers had at large with all libertie and licentiouſneſſe of ſpeech uttered againſt him (without any reſpect) what he would, he let him run on ſtill, untill he came to theſe words: And if theſe matters (*Cæſar*) ſeeme not unto you notorious and heinous, command him to rehearſe unto me the ſeventh booke of *Thucydides*: *Cæſar* offended now at his audacious impudencie, commanded him to be had away and led to priſon; but being advertiſed that he was the onely man left of the race and line of captaine *Braſidas* hee ſent for him, and after he had given him ſome few good admonitions, he let him goe. *Piſo* had built him a moſt ſtately and magnificent houſe, even from the foundation to the roofe thereof, which when *Cæſar* ſaw he ſaid: It rejoiceth my heart exceedingly to ſee thee build thus, as if *Rome* ſhould continue world without end.

LACONICKE APOPHTHEGMES, OR THE NOTABLE SAYINGS OF LACEDÆMONIANS.

The Summarie.

Plutarch *had in the collection precedent among the Apophthegmes of renowmed Greeks, mingled certaine notable ſayings of King* Ageſilaus *and other Lacedæmonians: but now he exhibiteth unto us a treatiſe by it ſelfe of the ſaid Lacedæmonians, who deſerve no doubt to be regiſtred apart by themſelves, as being a people who (of all other nations deſtitute of the true knowledge of God) leaſt abuſed their tongue. In which regard alſo he maketh a more ample deſcription of their Apophthegmes, ſhewing ſufficiently by ſo many pleaſant ſpeeches and lively reencounters, that it was no marvell, if ſo ſmall a Sate (as* Sparta *was) flouriſhed ſo long, being governed and peopled by men of ſuch dexterity, and ſo well qualified in the parts both of bodie and minde, and yet who knew better to do than to ſay. Moreover, this Catalogue here is diſtinguiſhed into foure principall portions: whereof the firſt repreſenteth the woorthie ſpeeches of Kings, Generall captaines, Lords and men of name in* Lacedæmon: *the ſecond containeth the Apophthegmes of ſuch Lacedæmonians, whoſe names are unknowen: the third deſcribeth briefly the cuſtomes & ordinances which ſerve for the maintenance of their eſtate: and the fourth compriſeth certaine ſayings of ſome of their women, wherein may be ſeene ſo much the more the valour & magnanimitie of that nation. As touching the profit that a man may draw out of theſe Apophthegmes it is verie great in everie reſpect: neither is there any perſon of what age or condition ſoever, but he may learne herein verie much, and namely, how to ſpeake little, to ſay well, and to carie himſelfe vertuouſly, as the reading thereof will make proofe. We have noted alſo and obſerved ſomewhat in the margin, not particulariſing upon everie point; but onely to give a taſte and appetite unto the Reader for to meditate better thereof, and to apply unto his owne uſe, both it and all the reſt which he may there comprehend and underſtand.*

LACONICKE

LACONICKE APOPHTHEGMES, OR THE NOTABLE ſAYINGS OF Lacedæmonians.

AGESICLES a king of the Lacedæmonians, by nature given to heare and deſirous to learne; when one of his familiar friends ſaid unto him: I woonder ſir ſince you take ſo great pleaſure otherwiſe to heare men ſpeake wel and eloquently, that you do not entertaine the famous ſophiſter or rhetorician *Philophanes* for to teach you? made him this anſwer: It is becauſe I deſire[a] to be their ſcholler, whoſe ſonne alſo I am, that is, among whom I am borne. And to another who demaunded of him, how a prince could raigne in ſafetie, not having about him his guards for the ſuretie of his perſon; Marie (quoth he) if he rule his ſubjects as a good father governeth his children.

AGESILAUS the Great, being at a certaine feaſt, was by lot choſen the maſter of the ſaid feaſt; and to him it appertained to ſet downe a certaine law, both in what manner and how much everie one ought to drinke; now when the butler or ſkinker asked him how much he ſhould poure out for everie one, he anſwered: If thou be well provided and have good ſtore of wine, fill out as much as everie man liſt to call for; but [b] if thou have no great plentie of it, let everie gueſt have alike. There was a maleſactor, who being in priſon endured conſtantly before him all maner of torments; which when he ſaw: What a curſed wretch is this and wicked in the higheſt degree, who doth employ this patience and reſolute fortitude in the maintenance of ſo ſhamefull and miſchievous parts, as he hath committed! One highly praiſed in his preſence a certaine maſter of Rhetoricke, for that he could by his eloquent toong amplifie ſmall matters, making them ſeeme great, wherupon he ſaid: I take him not to be a good ſhomaker, who putteth on a big ſhoe upon a litle foot. When one in reaſoning & debating a matter upon a time challenged him, and ſaid: Sir, you gave your conſent once unto it; and eftſoones iterating the ſame words, charged him with his grant and promiſe: True indeed (quoth he) if the cauſe were juſt, I approved it in good earneſt & gave my promiſe; but if not, I did but barely ſay the word & no more: but as the other replied againe and ſaid: Yea, but kings ought to accompliſh & performe whatſoever they ſeeme once to grant, & it be but with the nod of the head: Nay (ſaid he againe) they are no more bound thereto, than thoſe that come unto them are tied for to ſpeake and demand all things juſt and reaſonable, yea, and to obſerve the opportunity and that which fitteth and ſorteth well with kings. When he heard any men either to praiſe or diſpraiſe others, he ſaid: That it behoved to know the nature, diſpoſition and behaviour no leſſe of thoſe who ſo ſpake, than of the parties of whom they did ſpeake. Being whiles he was very yoong, at a certeine publicke and feſtivall ſolemnitie, wherein yoong boies daunced (as the maner was) all naked, the warden or overſeer of the ſaid ſhew and daunce, appointed him a place for to beholde that ſight, which was not verie honourable; wherewith notwithſtanding he ſtood well contented, albeit he was knowen to be heire apparant to the crowne, and already declared king; and withall ſaid: It is very well; for I will ſhew, that it is not the place which crediteth the perſon, but the perſon that giveth credit and honour to the place. A certeine Phyſician had ordeined for him in one ſickneſſe that he had, a courſe of phyſicke to cure his maladie, which was nothing eaſie and ſimple, but very exquiſit, curious and withall painfull: By *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) if my deſtinie be not to live, I ſhal not recover though I take all the drogues and medicines in the world. Standing one day at the altar of *Minerva* ſurnamed *Chalceæcos*, where he ſacrificed an oxe, there chanced a louſe to bite him; and he was nothing diſmaied and abaſhed to take the ſaid louſe, but before them all who were preſent, killed her, and ſwore by the gods, ſaying: That it would do him good at the heart, to ſerve them all ſo, who ſhould treacherouſly lay wait to aſſaile him, yea, though it were at the very altar. Another time, when he ſaw a little boy drawing a mouſe which he had caught, out of a window, and that the ſaid mouſe turned upon the boy and bit him by the hand, inſomuch as ſhee made him leave his holde, and ſo eſcaped; hee ſhewed the ſight unto thoſe that were preſent about him, and ſaid: Loe, [d] if ſo little a beaſt and ſillie creature as this, hath the heart to be revenged upon thoſe that doe it injurie, what thinke you is meet and reaſon that men ſhould doe? Being deſirous to make warre upon the king of *Perſia*, for the deliverance and freedome

[a] A Prince is to honour his native countrey.

[b] Expenſes proportionable to the purſe.

[c] Patience ill employed is extreame wickedneſſe.

[d] Naturall it is for every thing to defend it ſelfe.

of thoſe Greeks who did inhabit *Aſia*;he went to conſult with the oracle of *Jupiter* within the foreſt *Dodona*,as touching this deſſeigne of his: and when the oracle had made anſwere according to his minde,namely: That if it pleaſed him, he ſhould enterpriſe that expedition; he communicated the ſame to the controllers of State called *Ephori*; who willed him alſo to goe forward, and aske the counſell likewiſe of *Apollo* in the citie of *Delphos*; and being there, he entred into the chapell from whence the oracles were delivered, and ſaid thus: O *Apollo*, art thou alſo of the ſame minde that thy father is? and when he anſwered, Yea; whereupon hee was choſen for the generall to conduct this warre, and ſet forth in his voiage accordingly. *Tiſſaphernes*, lieutenant under the king of *Perſia* in *Aſia*, being aſtonied at his arrivall, made a compoſition and accord with him at the very firſt; in which treatie, he capitulated and promiſed to leave unto his behooſe, all the townes and cities of the Greeks which are in *Aſia*, free and at libertie to be governed according to their owne lawes: meane while hee diſpatched meſſenges in poſt to the king his maſter, who ſent unto him a ſtrong and puiſſant armie; upon the confidence of which forces he gave defiance,and denounced warre, unleſſe he departed with all ſpeed out of *Aſia*: *Ageſilaus* being well enough pleaſed with this treacherous breach of the agreement, made ſemblant as though he would go firſt into *Caria*; and when *Tiſſaphernes* gathered his forces in thoſe parts to make head againſt him,all on a ſudden he invaded *Phrygia*,where he won many cities,and raiſed rich booties from thence, ſaying unto his friends: That to breake faith and promiſe unjuſtly made unto a friend,was impietie; but to abuſe and deceive an enemie, was not onely juſt,but alſo pleaſant and profitable. Finding himſelfe weake in cavallery, he returned to the citie of *Epheſus*, where he intimated thus much unto the rich men, who were willing to be exempt from going in perſon unto the warres, that they ſhould every one ſet forth one horſe and a man: by which meanes within few daies, he levied a great number both of horſe and alſo of men able for ſervice, in ſtead of thoſe that were rich and cowards; wherein he ſaid: That he did imitate *Agamemnon*, who diſpenſed with a rich man who was but a daſtard and durſt not go to the warre, for one faire and goodly mare. When he ſolde thoſe priſoners for ſlaves, whom he had taken in the warres,the officers for this ſale, by his appointment,made money of their clothes and other furniture apart,but of their bodies,all naked by themſelves; now many chapmen there were,who willingly bought their apparell, but few or none had any minde to the perſons themſelves, for that their bodies were ſoft and white,as having bene delicately nouriſhed and choiſly kept within houſe and under covert, and ſo ſeemed for no uſe at all, and good for nothing: *Ageſilaus* ſtanding by: Beholde my maſters (quoth hee) this is that for which you fight, ſhewing their ſpoiles; but theſe be they againſt whom you fight, pointing to the men. Having given *Tiſſaphernes* an overthrow in battel within the country of *Lydia,* and ſlaine a great number of his men, he overran and harried all the kings provinces: and when he ſent unto him preſents of gold and ſilver, praying him to come unto ſome agreement of peace, *Ageſilaus* made this anſwere: As touching the treatie of peace, it was in the citie of *Lacedæmons* power to doe what they would; but otherwiſe,for his owne part he tooke greater pleaſure to enrich his ſoldiers than to be made rich himſelfe: as for the Greeks, they reputed it an honour not to receive gifts from their enemies, but to be maſters of their ſpoiles. *Megabætes* the yoong ſonne of *Spithridates,* who was of viſage moſt faire and beautifull,came toward him as it were to embrace and kiſſe him,for that he thought (as he was right amiable) to be exceedingly beloved of him; but *Ageſilaus* turned his face away, inſomuch as the youth deſiſted and would no more offer himſelfe unto him; whereupon *Ageſilaus* demanded the reaſon thereof,and ſeemed to call for him; unto whom his friends made anſwere: That himſelfe was the onely cauſe, being afraid to kiſſe ſo faire a boy; but if he would not ſeeme to feare, the youth would returne and repaire unto him in place right willingly: upon this he ſtood muſing to himſelfe a good while, and ſaid never a word; but then at length hee brake foorth into this ſpeech: Let him even alone, neither is there any need now that you ſhould ſay any thing or perſwade him; for mine owne part I count it a greater matter to be the conquerour,and have the better hand of ſuch, than to win by force the ſtrongeſt holde or the moſt puiſſant and populous citie of mine enemies; for I take it better for a man to preſerve and ſave his owne libertie to himſelfe,than to take it from others. Moreover,he was in all other things a moſt preciſe obſerver in every point, of whatſoever the lawes commanded, but in the affaires and buſineſſe of his friends, he ſaid: That ſtraightly to keepe the rigour of juſtice, was a very cloake and colourable pretence, under which they covered themſelves who were not willing to doe for their friends: to which purpoſe there is a little letter of his found written unto *Idrieus* a prince of *Caria,* for the enlarging and deliverance of a friend of his, in theſe words: If

Nicias have not tranſgreſſed,deliver him; if he have,deliver him for the love of me ; but howſoever, yet deliver him : and verily thus affected ſtood *Ageſilaus* in the greateſt part of his friends occaſions ; howbeit,there fell out ſome caſes,when he reſpected more the publike utility,& uſed his opportunity therefore,according as he ſhewed good proofe. Upon a time,at the diſlodging of his campe in great haſte & hurry,inſomuch as he was forced to leave a boy whō he loved full well behind him, for that he lay ſicke: for when the partie called inſtantly upon him by name, & beſought him not to forſake him now at his departure, *Ageſilaus* turning backe, ſaid : Oh how hard is it to be pitifull & wiſe both at once. Furthermore,as touching his diet & the cheriſhing of his bodie, he would not be ſerved with more nor better than thoſe of his traine and company. He never did eat untill he was ſatisfied, nor tooke his drinke untill he was drunke, and as for his ſleepe, it never had the command and maſtrie over him, but he tooke it onely as his occaſions and affaires would permit : for cold and heat he was ſo fitted and diſpoſed, that in all ſeaſons of the yeere he uſed to weare but one and the ſame ſort of garments : his pavilion was alwaies pitched in the mids of his ſoldiers , neither had he a bed to lye in,better than any other of the meaneſt : for he was woont to ſay : That he who had the charge and conduct of others, ought to ſurmount thoſe private perſons,who were under his leading not in daintineſſe and delicacie,but in ſufferance of paine and travell , and in fortitude of heart and courage. When one asked the queſtion in his preſence: What it was wherin the lawes of *Lycurgus* had made the citie of *Sparta* better ? he anſwered : That this benefit it found by them ; to make no recknoning at all of pleaſures. And to another who marvelled to ſee ſo great ſimplicitie and plainneſſe,as well in feeding as apparell both of him,and alſo of other Lacedæmonians,he ſaid : The fruit (my good friend) which we reape by this ſtraight maner of life, is libertie and freedome. There was one who exhorted him to eaſe and remit a little this ſtraight and auſtere manner of living : For that (quoth he) it would not be uſed,but in regard of the incertitude of fortune ; and becauſe there may fall out ſuch an occaſion, and time as might force a man ſo to do : Yea but I (ſaid *Ageſilaus*) do willingly accuſtome my ſelfe hereto,that in no mutation and change of fortune,I ſhould not ſeeke for change of my life. And in verie truth,when he grew to be aged, he did not for all his yeeres give over and leave his hardnes of life:and therfore when one asked him : Why (conſidering the extreame cold winter and his old age beſides) he went without an upper coat or gabardine? he made this anſwer : Becauſe yoong men might learne to do as much, having for an example before their eies, the eldeſt in their countrey, and ſuch alſo as were their governors. We reade of him, that when he paſſed with his armie over the Thaſians countrey , they ſent unto him for his refection meale of all ſorts, geeſe and other fowles, comfitures, and paſtrie works, fine cakes, marchpanes,and ſugar-meats, with all manner of exquiſite viands, and drinks moſt delicate and coſtly : but of all this proviſion, he received none but the meale aforeſaid ; commanding thoſe that brought the ſame,to carrie them all away with them,as things whereof he ſtood in no need, and which he knew not what to do with:In the end after they had beene verie urgent,and importuned him ſo much as poſſibly they could to take that curteſie at their hands, he willed them to deale all of it among the Ilots,which were in deed the ſlaves that followed the campe : whereupon when they demaunded the cauſe thereof, he ſaid unto them : That it was not meet for thoſe who profeſſed valour and proweſſe to receive ſuch dainties ; Neither can that (quoth he) which ſerveth in ſtead of a bait to allure & draw men to a ſervile nature,agree wel with thoſe who are of a bold and free courage. Over and beſides, theſe Thaſians having received many favours and benefits at his hands, in regard whereof they tooke themſelves much bound and beholden unto him,dedicated temples to his honour,and decreed divine worſhip unto him, no leſſe than unto a verie god , and hereupon ſent an embaſſage to declare unto him this their reſolution : when he had read their letters and underſtood what honour they minded to do unto him,he asked this one queſtion of the embaſſadors; whether their State and countrey was able to deifie men ? and when they anſwered, Yea : Then (quoth he) begin to make your ſelves gods firſt , and when you have done ſo, I will beleeve that you alſo can make me a god. When the Greeke Colonies in *Aſia*, had at their parliaments ordained in all their chiefe and principall cities to erect his ſtatues;he wrote backe unto them in this manner : I will not that you make for me any ſtatue or image whatſoever,neither painted nor caſt in mould,nor wrought in clay,ne yet cut and engraven any way. Seeing whiles he was in *Aſia*, the houſe of a friend or hoſte of his , covered over with an embowed roofe of plankes,beames and ſparres foure-ſquare ; he asked him whether the trees in thoſe parts grew ſo ſquare ? and when he anſwered, No, but they grew round : How then (quoth he) if they had growen naturally foure cornered,would you have made them round ? He was asked the queſtion upon a time,how farre forth the marches and confines of *Lacedæmon* did extend: then he ſhaking a javelin which he held in his hand: Even as farre (quoth he) as this is able to goe. One demaunded of him,why the citie of *Sparta* was not walled about? See you not (quoth he) the walles of the Lacedæmonians; and therewith ſhewed him the citizens armed. Another asked him the like queſtion,and he made him this anſwer: That cities ought not to be fortified with ſtones, with wood and timber, but with the proweſſe and valiance of the inhabitants. He uſed ordinarily to admoniſh his friends,not to ſeeke for to be rich in money,but in valour and vertue. And whenſoever he would have a worke to be finiſhed, or ſervice to be performed ſpeedily by his ſoldiers; his maner was,to begin himſelfe firſt to lay hand unto it in the face of all. He ſtood upon this and would glorie in it; that he travelled as much as any man in his company: but he vaunted of this; that he could rule and command himſelfe more than in being a king. Unto one who woondering to ſee a Lacedæmonian maimed and lame,go to war, ſaid unto the partie: Thou ſhouldeſt yet at leaſtwiſe have called for an horſe to ſerve upon: Knoweſt not thou (quoth he) that in warre we have no need of thoſe that will flie away, but of ſuch as will make good and keepe their ground? It was demaunded of him, how he wonne ſo great honour and reputation; In deſpiſing death (quoth hee.) And being likewiſe asked why the Spartanes uſed the ſound of flutes when they fought? To the end(ſaid he) that when in battell they march according to the meaſures, it may be knowen who be valiant and who be cowards. One there was who reputed the King of *Perſia* happie, for that he attained verie yoong to ſo high and puiſſant a State: Why ſo (quoth he) for *Priamus* at his age was not unhappie nor infortunate. Having conquered the greater part of *Aſia*,he purpoſed with himſelfe to make warre upon the king himſelfe, as well for to breake his long repoſe, as alſo to hinder him otherwiſe and ſtop his courſe, who minded with money to bribe and corrupt the governors of the Greeke-cities and the oratours that lead the people: but amid this deſeigne and deliberation of his he was called home by the *Ephori*, by reaſon of a dangerous warre raiſed by the Greeke-States, againſt the citie of *Sparta*, and that by meanes of great ſummes of money which the king of *Perſia* had ſent thither; by occaſion whereof, forced he was to depart out of *Aſia*, ſaying: That a good prince ought to ſuffer himſelfe to be commaunded by the lawes; and he left behinde him much ſorrow and a longing deſire after him among the Greek-inhabitants in *Aſia* after his departure: and for that on the Perſian pieces of coine, there was ſtamped or imprinted the image of an archer; he ſaid when he brake up his campe, that the king of *Perſia* had chaſed him out of *Aſia* with thirtie thouſand archers: for ſo many golden Dariques had beene carried by one *Timocrates* unto *Thebes* and *Athens*,which were divided among the oratours and governors of thoſe two cities, by meanes whereof they were ſollicited and ſtirred to begin warre upon the Spartanes: ſo hee wrote a letter miſſive unto the *Ephori*, the tenor whereof was this: *Ageſilaus* unto the *Ephori*, greeting. We have ſubdued the greateſt part of *Aſia*, and driven the Barbarians from thence; alſo in *Ionia* we have made many armours; but ſince you commaund me to repaire home by a day appointed: Know yee that I will follow hard after this letter,or peradventure prevent it; for the authority of command which I have,I hold not for my ſelfe,but for my native countrey and cōfederates: and then in truth doth a magiſtrate rule according to right & juſtice,when he obeieth the lawes of his countrey & the *Ephori*, or ſuch like as be in place of government within the city. Having croſſed the ſtraights of *Helleſpont*,he entred into the countrey of *Thrace*,where he requeſted of no prince nor State of the Barbarians,paſſage; but ſent unto every one of them,demāding whether he ſhould paſſe as through the land of friends or enemies? And verily all others received him friendly, and accompanied him honorably as he journeyed through their countries: onely thoſe whom they call Troadians, (unto them as the report goeth, *Xerxes* himſelfe gave preſents, to have leave for to paſſe,) demaunded of him for licence of quiet paſſage, a hundred talents of ſilver and as many women: but *Ageſilaus* after a ſcoffing manner asked thoſe who brought this meſſage: And why doe not they themſelves come with you for to receive the money and women: ſo he led his armie forward; but in the way he encountred them well appointed,gave them battell,overthrew them,and put many of them to the ſword, which done,he marched farther. And of the Macedonian king he demaunded the ſame queſtion as before; who made him this anſwer: That he would conſult thereupon: Let him conſult(quoth he)what he will, meane while we will march on: the king wondring at his hardineſſe, ſtood in great feare of him, and ſent him word to paſſe in peaceable and friendly maner. The Theſſalians at the ſame time were confederate with his enemies: whereupon he forraied and ſpoiled their countries as he went,and ſent to the citie of *Lariſſa* two friends of his, *Xenocles* and *Scytha*, to ſound them & ſee if they could practiſe effectually for to draw them, to the league and amity of the Lacedæmonians, but thoſe of *Lariſſa* arreſted thoſe agents, and kept them in priſon; whereupon all the reſt taking great indignation, were of this minde, that *Ageſilaus* could doe no leſſe, but preſently encampe himſelfe and beleaguer the citie *Lariſſa* round about: but hee ſaide that for to conquer all *Theſſalie*, he would not leeſe one of thoſe twaine: ſo upon compoſition and agreement, he recovered and got them againe. Being given to underſtand that there was a battell fought neere to *Corinth*, in which very few Lacedæmonians were ſlaine, but of Athenians, Argives, Corinthians and their allies, a great number: he was not once ſeene to have taken any [c] joy or contentment at the newes of the victorie; but ſighed deepely from the bottome of his heart, ſaying: Alas for unhappie *Greece*, who hath herſelfe deſtroied ſo many men of her owne, as had beene ſufficient in one battell to have defeated all the Barbarians at once. But when the Pharſalians came to ſet upon the taile of his armie in his march, and to doe them miſchiefe and damage; with a force of five hundred horſe, he charged and overthrew them; for which luckie hand, he cauſed a Trophe to be erected under the mountaines called *Narthacii*; and this victorie of all others pleaſed him moſt, for that with ſo ſmall a troupe and cornet of his owne horſemen which himſelfe put out and addreſſed againſt them, hee had given thoſe the overthrow, who at all times vaunted themſelves to be the beſt men at armes in the world. Thither came *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori* unto him, being ſent expreſly from *Sparta*, with a commandement unto him, that incontinently he ſhould with force and armes invade the countrey of *Bœotia*; and he although he meant and purpoſed of himſelfe ſome time after to enter with a more puiſſant power; yet would he not diſobey thoſe great lords of the State, but ſent for two regiments of ten thouſands a peece, drawen out of thoſe who ſerved about *Corinth*, and with them made a rode into *Bœotia*, and gave battell before *Coronæa*, unto the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, and Corinthians, where he wan the field: which, as witneſſeth *Xenophon*, was the greateſt and moſt bloudie battell that had beene fought in his time: but true it is, that hee himſelfe was in many places of his body ſore wounded, and then being returned home, notwithſtanding ſo many victories and happie fortunes, hee never altered any jot in his owne perſon, either for diet or otherwiſe for the maner of his life. Seeing ſome of his citizens to vaunt and boaſt of themſelves, as if they were more than other men, in regard that they nouriſhed and kept horſes of the game to runne in the race for the prize; he perſwaded his ſiſter named *Cyniſca*, to mount into her chariot, and to goe unto that ſolemnitie of the Olympick games, there to runne a courſe with her horſes for the beſt prize; by which, his purpoſe was to let the Greekes know, that all this running of theirs was no matter of valour, but a thing of coſt and expence, to ſhew their wealth onely. He had about him *Xenophon* the philoſopher, whom he loved and highly eſteemed; him he requeſted to ſend for his ſonnes to be brought up in *Lacedæmon*, and there to learne the moſt excellent and ſingular diſcipline in the world, namely, the knowledge how to obey and to rule well. Being otherwiſe demaunded, wherefore he eſteemed the Lacedæmonians more happy then other nations: It is (quoth he) becauſe they profeſſe and exerciſe above all men in the world, the skill of obeying and governing. After the death of *Lyſander*, finding within the city of *Sparta* great factions and much ſiding, which the ſaide *Lyſander* incontinently after he was returned out of *Aſia* had raiſed and ſtirred up againſt him, he purpoſed and went about to detect his lewdneſſe, and make it appeere unto the inhabitants of *Sparta*, what a dangerous medler he had beene whiles he lived: and to this purpoſe having read an oration found after his deceaſe among his papers, which *Creon* verily the Halicarnaſſian had compoſed; but *Lyſander* meant to pronounce before the people in a general aſſembly of the citie, tending to the alteration of the State, and bringing in of many novelties, he was fully minded to have divulged it abroad: but when one of the auncient Senatours had read the ſaid oration, and doubted the ſequell thereof, conſidering it was ſo well penned, and grounded upon ſuch effectuall and perſwaſive reaſons, hee gave *Ageſilaus* counſell not to digge up *Lyſander* againe, and rake him as it were out of his grave, but to let the oration lie buried with him: whoſe advice he followed, and ſo reſted quiet and made no more adoo: and as for thoſe who underhand croſſed him and were his adverſaries, he did not courſe them openly, but practiſed and made meanes to ſend ſome of them foorth as captaines into certaine forrain expeditions, and unto others to commit certaine publike offices: in which charges they caried themſelves ſo, as they were diſcovered for covetous & wicked perſons, and afterwards when they were called into queſtion judicially, hee ſhewed himſelfe contrary to mens expectation to helpe them out of trouble, and ſuccour them ſo, as that he gat their love and good wils, inſomuch as

in

[c] A good man rejoiceth no in the victory obteined in civill wars.

in the end there was not one of them his adverſarie. One there was who requeſted him to write in his favour to his hoſts and friends which he had in *Aſia*, letters of recommendation, that they would defend and maintaine him in his rightfull cauſe: My friends (quoth he) uſe to doe that which is equitie and juſt, although I ſhould write never a word unto them. Another ſhewed him the wals of a city how woonderfull ſtrong they were and magnificently built, aſking of him whether he thought them not ſtately and faire: Faire (quoth he) yes no doubt, for women to lodge and dwell in, but not for men. A Megarian there was who magnified and highly extolled before him the city *Megara*: Yoong man (quoth he) and my good friend, your brave words require ſome great puiſſance. Such things as other men had in great admiration, hee would not ſeeme ſo much as to take knowledge of. upon a time one *Callipides* an excellent plaier in Tragedies, who was in great name and reputation among the Greeks, inſomuch as all ſorts of men made no ſmall account of him, when he chanced to meet him upon the way, ſaluted him firſt, and afterwards preſumptuouſly thruſt himſelfe forward to walke among others, with him, in hope that the king would begin to ſhew ſome lightſome countenance, and grace him; but in the end, ſeeing that it would not be, he was ſo bolde as to advance himſelfe, and ſay unto him: Sir king, know you not me? and have you not heard who I am? *Ageſilaus* looking wiſtly upon his face: Art not thou (quoth he) *Callipides Deicelictas*? (for ſo the Lacedæmonians uſe to call a jeſter or plaier.) He was invited one day to come and heare a man who could counterfeit moſt lively and naturally the voice of the nightingale; but he refuſed to go, ſaying: I have heard the nightingales themſelves to ſing many a time. *Menecrates* the Phyſician had a luckie hand in divers deſperate cures; whereupon ſome there were who ſurnamed him *Jupiter*, and he himſelfe would over arrogantly take that name upon him, inſomuch as he preſumed in one letter of his, which he ſent unto him, to ſet this ſuperſcription: *Menecrates Jupiter*, unto king *Ageſilaus* wiſheth long life: but *Ageſilaus* wrote back unto him in this wiſe: *Ageſilaus* to *Menecrates* wiſheth [f] good health. When *Pharnabaſus* and *Conon* the high-admirals of the armada under the Perſian king, were ſo farre-foorth lords of the ſea, that they pilled and ſpoiled all the coaſts of *Laconia*; and beſides, the walles of *Athens* were rebuilded with the money that *Pharnabaſus* furniſhed the Athenians withall; the lords of the counſell of *Lacedæmon* were of advice, that the beſt policie was, to conclude peace with the king of *Perſia*; and to this effect ſent *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribaſus*, with commiſſion treacherouſly to betray and deliver into the barbarous kings hands, the Greeks inhabiting *Aſia*; for whoſe libertie *Ageſilaus* before had made warres: by which occaſion *Ageſilaus* was thought to have had his hand in this ſhamefull and infamous practiſe: for *Antalcidas*, who was his mortall enemie, wrought by all meanes poſſible to effect peace, becauſe he ſaw that warre continually augmented the credit of *Ageſilaus*, and made him moſt mightie and honourable; yet nevertheleſſe he anſwered unto one that reproched him with the Lacedæmonians, ſaying: That they were Medified, or turned Medians: Nay rather (quoth he) the Medians are Laconified and become Laconians. The queſtion was propounded unto him upon a time, whether of theſe two vertues in his judgement was the better, Fortitude or Juſtice? and he anſwered: That where Juſtice reigned, Fortitude bare no ſway, and was nothing worth; for if we were all righteous and honeſt men, there would be no need at all of Fortitude. The people of *Greece* dwelling in *Aſia*, had a cuſtome to call the king of *Perſia*, The great king: And wherefore (quoth he) is he greater than I, unleſſe he be more temperat and righteous? ſemblably he ſaid: That the inhabitants of *Aſia* were good ſlaves, but naughtie freemen. Being aſked how a man might win himſelfe the greateſt name and reputation among men, he anſwered thus: If he ſay well, and yet do better. This was a ſpeech of his: That a good captaine ought to ſhew unto his enemies, valour and hardineſſe; but unto thoſe that be under his charge, love and benevolence. Another demanded of him, what children ſhould learne in their youth? That (quoth he) which they are to doe and practiſe when they be men growen. He was judge in a cauſe, where the plaintife had pleaded well, but the defendant very badly; who eftſoones and at every ſentence did nothing but repeat theſe words: O *Ageſilaus*, a king ought to protect and helpe the lawes: unto whom *Ageſilaus* anſwered in this wiſe: If one had [g] undermined thy houſe, or robbed thee of thy raiment, wouldeſt thou thinke and looke that a carpenter or maſon were bound to repaire thy houſe, and the weaver or tailour for to ſupplie thy want of clothes? The king of *Perſia* had writ unto him a letter miſſive after a generall peace concluded; which letter was brought by a gentleman of *Perſia*, who came with *Callias* the Lacedæmonian, and the contents thereof was to this effect: That the king of *Perſia* deſired to enter into ſome more eſpeciall amitie and fraternitie with him; but he would not accept there-

[f] Signifying that hee was brainſicke, & his head out of temper.

[g] He that hath done the injurie is to make amends.

of, ſaying unto the meſſenger: Thou ſhalt deliver this anſwere from me unto the king thy maſter; that hee needed not to write any ſuch particular letters unto mee, concerning private friendſhip; for if hee friend the Lacedæmonians in generall, and ſhew himſelfe to love the Greeks, and deſire their good, I alſo reciprocally will be his friend to the utmoſt of my power; but if I may finde that he practiſeth treacherie, and attempteth ought prejudiciall to the ſtate of *Greece*, well may he write epiſtle upon epiſtle, and I receive from him one letter after another, but let him truſt to this: I will never be his friend. Hee loved very tenderly his owne children when they were little ones, inſomuch as he would play with them up and downe the houſe, yea, and put a long cane betweene his legs, and ride upon it like an hobby horſe with them for company; and if it chanced that any of his friends ſpied him ſo doing, he would pray them to ſay nothing unto any man thereof, untill they had babes and children of their owne. But during the continuall warres that he had with the Thebans, he fortuned in one battell to be grievouſlie wounded; which when *Antalcidas* ſaw, he ſaid unto him: Certes you have received of the Thebans the due ſalarie and reward that you deſerved, for teaching them as you have done, even againſt their willes how to fight, which they neither could nor ever would have learned to doe: for in trueth it is reported, that the Thebans then became more martiall and warlike than ever before-time, as being inured and exerciſed in armes by the continuall roads and invaſions that the Lacedæmonians made; which was the reaſon, that ancient *Lycurgus* in thoſe lawes of his which be called Rhetræ, expreſly forbad his people to make warre often upon one and the ſame nation, for feare leſt in ſo doing their enemies ſhould learne to be good ſouldiers. When he heard, that the allies and confederates of *Lacedæmon* were offended and tooke this continuall warfare ill, complaining that they were never in maner out of armes, but caried their harneſſe continually upon their backs; and beſides, being many more in number, they followed yet the Lacedæmonians, who were but an handfull to all them: he being minded to convince them in this, and to ſhew how many they were, commanded all his ſaid confederates to aſſemble together, and to ſit them downe pell-mell one with another; the Lacedæmonians likewiſe to take their place over-againſt them apart by themſelves; which done, he cauſed an herald to cry aloud in the hearing of all: That all the potters ſhould riſe firſt; and when thoſe were riſen, that the braſſe-founders and ſmithes ſhould ſtand up; then the carpenters; after them the maſons; and ſo all other artiſans & handi-crafts men, one after another; by which meanes all the confederats wel-nere were riſen up, and none in maner left ſitting; but all this while not a Lacedæmonian ſtirred off his ſeat, for that forbidden they were all, to learne or exerciſe any mechanicall craft: then *Ageſilaus* tooke up a laughter, and ſaid: Lo, my maſters and friends, how many more ſouldiers are we able to ſend into the warres, than you can make? In that bloodie battell fought at *Leuctres*, many Lacedæmonians there were that ran out of the field & fled, who by the lawes and ordinances of the countrey were all their life time noted with infamy; howbeit, the *Ephori* ſeeing that the citie by this meanes would be diſpeopled of citizens and lie deſert, in that verie time when as it had more need than ever before of ſouldiers, were deſirous to deviſe a policie how to deliver them of this ignominie, and yet notwithſtanding preferre the lawes in their entire and full force: therefore to bring this about, they elected *Ageſilaus* for their law-giver, to enact a new lawes; who being come before the open audience of the city, ſpake unto them in this manner: Yee men of *Lacedæmon* I am not willing in any wiſe to be the author and inventor of new lawes: and as for thoſe which you have alreadie, I minde not to put any thing thereto, to take fro, or otherwiſe to alter and chaunge them, and therefore mee thinkes it is meete and reaſonable, that from to morrow forward, thoſe which you have, ſhould ſtand in their ful vigor, ſtrength and vertue accuſtomed. Moreover, as few as there remained in the citie; (when *Epaminondas* was about to aſſaile it with a great fleete and a violent tempeſt (as it were) of Thebans and their confederates, puffed up with pride for the late victorie atchieved in the plaine of *Leuctres*) with thoſe few (I ſay) hee put him and his forces backe, and cauſed them to returne without effect: but in the battell of *Mantinea*, he admoniſhed and adviſed the Lacedæmonians to take no regard at all of other Thebans, but to bend their whole forces againſt *Epaminondas* onely, ſaying: That wiſe and prudent men alone, and none but they, were valiant and the ſole cauſe of victorie; and therfore if they could vanquiſh him, they might eaſily ſubdue all the reſt, as being blockiſh fooles and men in deed of no valour; and ſo in truth it proved: for when as the victory now enclined wholy unto *Epaminondas*, and the Lacedæmonians were at the verie point to be disbanded, diſcomfited and put to flight: as the ſaid *Epaminondas* turned for to call his owne men together to folow the rout, a Lacedæmonian chanced to give him a mortall wound, wherewith hee fell to the ground, and the Lacedæmonians who were with *Ageſilaus* called themſelves, made head againe, and put the victorie into doubtfull ballance: for now the Thebanes abated much their courage, and the Lacedæmonians tooke the better hearts. Moreover, when the citie of *Sparta* was neere driven and at a low ebbe for money to wage warre, as being conſtrained to entertaine mercenarie ſouldiers for pay, who were meere ſtrangers; *Ageſilaus* went into *Aegypt*, being ſent for by the King of *Aegypt* to ſerve as his penſioner; but for that hee was meanely and ſimply apparelled, the inhabitants of the countrey deſpiſed him, for they looked to have ſeene the King of *Sparta* richly arraied and ſet out gallantly, and all gorgeouſly to be ſeene in his perſon like unto the Perſian King; ſo fooliſh a conceit they had of kings: but *Ageſilaus* ſhewed them within a while, that the magnificence and majeſtie of Kings was to be acquired by wit, wiſedome, and valour: for perceiving that thoſe who were to fight with him and to make head againſt the enemie, were frighted with the imminent perill, by reaſon of the great number of enemies, who were two hundred thouſand fighting men, and the ſmall companie of their owne ſide; he deviſed with himſelfe before the battell began, by ſome ſtratageme to encourage his owne men, and to embolden their hearts; which policie of his he would not communicate unto any perſon; and this it was: He cauſed upon the inſide of his left hand to be written this word, Victorie, backward; which done he tooke at the prieſts or ſooth-ſaiers hand who was at ſacrifice, the liver of the beaſt which was killed, and put it into the ſaid left hand thus written within, and ſo held it a good while, making ſemblance as if he muſed deeply of ſome doubt, and ſeeming to ſtand in ſuſpenſe & to be in great perplexity, untill the characters of the foreſaid letters had a ſufficient time to give a print, and leave their marke in the ſuperficies of the liver; then ſhewed he it unto thoſe who were to fight on his ſide, and gave them to underſtand that by thoſe characters the gods promiſed victory: who ſuppoſing verily that there was in it a certaine ſigne & preſage of good fortune, ventured boldly upon the hazard of a battell. And when the enemies had inveſted and beleaguered his campe round about; ſuch a mightie number there were of them, and beſides had begun to caſt a trench on everie ſide thereof, King * *Nectanebas* (for whoſe aid he was thither come) ſollicited and intreated him to make a ſally and charge upon them before the ſaid trench was fully finiſhed, and both ends brought together, he anſwered: That he would never impeach the deſeigne and purpoſe of the enemies, who went (no doubt) to give him meanes to be equall unto them and to fight ſo many to ſo many: ſo he ſtaied until there wanted but a verie little of both ends meeting; and then in that ſpace betweene, he raunged his battell; by which device they encountred and fought with even fronts, and on equall hand for number: ſo he put the enemies to flight, and with thoſe few ſouldiers which he had, he made a great carnage of them; but of the ſpoile and booty which he wan, he raiſed a good round maſſe of money, and ſent it all to *Sparta*. Being now ready to embarke for to depart out of *Aegypt*, & upon the point of returne home, he died: and at his death expreſly charged thoſe who were about him, that they ſhould make no image or ſtatue whatſoever repreſenting the ſimilitude of his perſonage: For that (quoth he) if I have done any vertuous act in my life time, that will be a monument ſufficient to eternize my memorie; if not, all the images, ſtatues, and pictures in the world will not ſerve the turne, ſince they be the workes onely of mechanicall artificers which are of no woorth and eſtimation.

* or *Nectabios.*

Agesipolis the ſonne of *Cleombrotus*, when one related in his preſence that *Philip* K. of *Macedon* had in few daies demoliſhed and raced the citie *Olinthus*: *Par die* (quoth he) *Philip* will not be able in many more daies to build the like to it. Another ſaid unto him by way of reproch, that himſelfe (king as he was, and other citizens men growen of middle age) were delivered as hoſtages, and neither their children nor wives: Good reaſon (quoth he) and ſo it ought to be according to juſtice, that we our ſelves and no others, ſhould beare the blame and paine of our faults. And when he was minded to ſend for certaine dog-whelps from home; one ſaid unto him; that there might not be ſuffered any of them to goe out of the countrey: No more was it permitted heeretofore (quoth hee) for men to be lead foorth, but now it is allowed well enough.

Agesipolis the ſonne of *Pauſanias* (when as the Athenians ſaid to him: That they were content to report themſelves to the judgement of the Megarians as touching certaine variances and differences between them, and complaints which they made one againſt another) ſpake thus unto them: Why my maſters of *Athens*, this were a great ſhame indeed, that they who are the chiefe and the verie leaders of all other Greeks, ſhould leſſe skill what is juſt than the Megarians.

Agis the ſonne of *Archidamus*, at what time as the *Ephori* ſpake thus unto him: Take with you the yoong & able men of this citie, & go into the countrey of ſuch an one, for he wil conduct you his owne ſelfe, as farre as to the verie caſtle of his city: And what reaſon is it (quoth he) my maſters, you that be *Ephori*, to commit the lives of ſo many luſtie gallants into his hands, who is a traitour to his native countrey? One demaunded of him what ſcience was principally exerciſed in the citie of *Sparta*: Marie (quoth he) the knowledge how to obey and how to rule. He was woont to ſay, that the Lacedæmonians never asked, how many their enemies were? but where they were. Being forbidden to fight with his enemies at the battell of *Mantinea*, becauſe they were far more in number: He muſt of neceſſity (quoth he) fight with many that would have the cõmand & rule of many. Unto another who asked what number there might be in all of the Lceadæmonians? As many (quoth he) as are enough to chaſe and drive away wicked perſons. In paſſing a long the wals of *Corinth*, when he ſaw them ſo high, ſo wel built, and ſo large in extent: What[h] maner of women (quoth he) be they that inhabit within? To a great maſter of Rhetorick who praiſing his owne skill & profeſſion, chaunced to conclude with theſe words; When all is done, there is nothing ſo puiſſant as the ſpeech of man: Why then be like (quoth he) ſo long as you hold your peace you are of no worth. The Argives having bin once already beaten & defaited, returned nevertheleſſe into the field & ſhewed themſelves in a bravado more gallantly than before, and preſt for a new battell: and when therupon he ſaw his auxiliaries and confederates to be ſomewhat troubled and frighted: Be of good cheere (quoth he) my maſters and friends, for if we, who have given them the foile be affraid, what thinke you are they themſelves. A certaine embaſſador from the citie *Abdera*, came to *Sparta*, who made a long ſpeech as touching his meſſage, and after he had done and held his toong a little, he demaunded at laſt a diſpatch, and ſaid unto him: Sir, what anſwer would you that I ſhould carry backe to our citizens: You ſhall ſay unto them (quoth *Agis*) that I have ſuffred you to ſpeake all that you would, and as long as you liſt; and that I lent you mine eare all the while without giving you one word againe. Some there were who commended the Eliens for moſt juſt men and preciſe in obſerving the ſolemnitie of the Olympick games: And is that ſo great a matter and ſuch a wonder (quoth he) if in five yeeres ſpace they exerciſe juſtice one day? Some buzzed into his eares that thoſe of the other roiall houſe envied him: Then (quoth he) doe they ſuffer a double paine; for firſt and formoſt their owne evils will vexe and trouble themſelves; then in the ſecond place, the good things in me and my friends will torment them. Some one there was of advice, that he ſhould give way and paſſage to his enemies when they were put to flight: Yea, but marke this (quoth he) if we ſet not upon them who runne away for cowardiſe, how ſhall we fight againſt them that ſtaie and make good their ground by valour? One there was who propounded a meanes for the maintenance of the Greekes libertie; which (no doubt) was a generous and magnanimous courſe, howbeit very hard to execute; unto whõ he anſwered thus: My good friend, your words require great ſtore of money, and much ſtrength. When another ſaid that king *Philip* would watch them well enough that they ſhould not ſet foote within other parts of *Greece*: My friend (quoth he) it ſhall content us to remaine and continue in our owne countrey. There was another embaſſador from the city *Perinthus*, came to *Lacedæmon*, who having likewiſe made a long oration, in the end demaunded of *Agis* what anſwer he ſhould deliver backe to the Perinthians: Mary what other but this (quoth he) that thou couldeſt hardly finde the way to make an end of ſpeaking, and I held my peace all the while. He went upon a time ſole embaſſador to king *Philip*, who ſaid unto him: You are an embaſſador alone indeed: True (quoth he) and good enough to one alone as you are. An auncient citizen of *Sparta* ſaid unto him one day, being himſelfe aged alſo, and far ſtept in yeeres: Since that the old lawes and cuſtomes went every day to ruine and were neglected, ſeeing alſo that others farre woorſe were brought in and ſtood in their place, all in the end would be naught and runne to confuſion; unto whom he anſwered merilie thus: Then is it at it ſhould be, and the world goes well enough if it be ſo as you ſay; for I remember when I was a little boy, I heard my father ſay, that every thing then was turned upſide downe, and that in his remembraunce all went kim kam; and he alſo would report of his father that he had ſeene as much in his daies; no marvell therefore if things grow woorſe and woorſe; more woonder it were if they ſhould one while be better, and another while continue ſtill in the ſame plight. Being asked on a time how a man might continue free all his life time; he anſwered: By deſpiſing death.

Agis the yoonger, when *Demades* the oratour ſaid unto him: That the Lacedæmonians ſwords were ſo ſhort that theſe juglers and thoſe that plaied legerdemain, could ſwallow them

downe

[h] High wals be a fortreſſe for women.

downe all once, made him this anſwere: As ſhort as they be the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies with them wel enough. A certaine leud fellow and a troubleſome, never linned asking him, who was the beſt man in all *Sparta*: Mary (quoth *Agis*) even he who is unlikeſt thy ſelfe.

Agis, the laſt king of the Lacedæmonians, being forelaid and ſurpriſed by treachery, ſo that he was condemned by the *Ephori* to die; as he was ledde without forme of law and juſtice to the place of execution for to be ſtrangled with a rope, perceiving one of his ſervants and miniſters to ſhed teares; ſaid thus unto him; Weepe not for my death; for in dying thus unjuſtly and againſt the order of law, I am in better caſe than thoſe that put me to death; and having ſaid theſe words, he willingly put his necke within the halter.

Acrotatus, when as his owne father and mother requeſted his helping hand for to effect a thing contrarie to reaſon and juſtice, ſtaied their ſute for a time: but ſeeing that they importuned him ſtill and were very inſtant with him; in the end ſaid unto them: So long as I was under your hands, I had no knowledge nor ſence at all of juſtice; but after that you had betaken me to the common-weale, to my countrey, and to the lawes thereof, and by that meanes informed and inſtructed me in what you could in righteouſneſſe and honeſtie, I will endevour and ſtraine my ſelfe to follow the ſaid inſtruction and not you; and for that I know full well that you would have me doe that which is good, and conſidering that thoſe things be beſt (both for a private perſon, and much more for him who is in authoritie and a chiefe magiſtrate) which are juſt; ſure I will doe what you would have me, and refuſe that which you ſay unto me.

Alcamenes the ſonne of *Teleclus*, when one would needs know of him, by what meanes a man might preſerve a kingdome beſt, made this anſwer: Even by making no account at all of lucre and gaine. Another demanded of him wherefore he would never accept nor receive the gifts of the Meſſenians? Forſooth (quoth he) becauſe if I had taken thē, I ſhould never have had peace with the lawes. And when a third perſon ſaid: That he marvelled much how he could live ſo ſtraight and neere to himſelfe, conſidering he had wherewith and enough: It is (quoth he) a commendable thing, when a man having ſufficient and plentie can nevertheleſſe live within the compaſſe of reaſon, and not according to the large reach of his appetite.

Alexandridas the ſonne of *Leon*, ſeeing one to torment himſelfe, and taking on deſperately becauſe he was baniſhed out of his native countrey: My friend (quoth he) never fare ſo for the matter nor vexe thy heart ſo much, for being conſtreined to remoove ſo farre from thy countrey, but rather for being [i] ſo remote from juſtice. Unto another who in delivering good matter unto the *Ephori*, and to very great purpoſe, but in more words a great deale than need was: My friend (quoth he) thou ſpeakeſt indeed that which becommeth, but otherwiſe than is becomming. One asked him why the Lacedæmonians committed the charge of all their lands unto the Ilotes their ſlaves, & did not husband and tend them their owne ſelves: Becauſe (quoth he) we conquered and purchaſed them, for that we would looke to our ſelves, and not tend them. Unto another who held that it was nothing but deſire of credit and reputation that undid men, and whoſoever could be delivered from the care thereof were happie; he replied thus againe: If it be true that you ſay, we muſt confeſſe and graunt that wicked men, who do wrong unto others are happy; for how can a church-robber or theefe who ſpoileth other men of their goods be deſirous of honour and glorie? When another demanded of him, how it came to paſſe that the Lacedæmonians were ſo hardy and reſolute in all occurrences and dangers of warre, he rendred this reaſon: Becauſe (quoth he) we ſtudie and endevour to have a reverend regard of our lives, and not to enterteine the feare of our lives, as others doe. It was demaunded of him, wherefore the Seniours or Elders ſat many daies in deciding and judging criminall cauſes? and why albeit the accuſed party were by them acquit, yet he continued nevertheleſſe in the ſtate of a guiltie and accuſed perſon? As for the Senatours (quoth he) they be long in deciding capitall matters, where men are brought in queſtion for their life; becauſe thoſe judges who have committed an errour in condemning a man to die, can never rectifie and amend that ſentence: and as to the partie abſolved and enlarged, he muſt remaine alwaies liable and ſubject to the law, becauſe they might ever after enquire and judge better of his fact according to the law.

Anaxander the ſonne of *Eutycrates*, being asked the queſtion why he and ſuch other did not gather money and lay it up in the publicke treaſury, made this anſwere: For feare leſt wee being keepers thereof, ſhould be corrupted and perverted thereby.

Anaxilas, unto one who marvelled why the *Ephori* roſe not up and made obeiſance to the kings, conſidering that by the kings they were ordeined and put into that place? gave this

[i] A man ought to grieve more for committing ſinne, than for being exiled.

reaſon: Even becauſe they are created *Ephori*, that is to ſay, overſeers and controllers of them.

ANDROCLIDAS the Laconian, being maimed and lame of a legge, would nevertheleſſe be enrolled in the number of thoſe who were to ſerve in the warres; and when ſome withſtood him becauſe he was impotent of that legge: Why my maſters (quoth hee) they be not the men of good footmanſhip, who can run away, but ſuch as ſtand their ground that muſt fight with enemies.

ANTALCIDAS making meanes to be admitted into the confraternitie of the Samothracian religion, when the prieſt his confeſſour, in houſeling and ſhriving him, demanded which was the greateſt ſinne that ever hee had committed in all his life? If (quoth he) I have committed any ſinne all my life time, the gods know the ſame well enough themſelves. When a certeine Athenian miſcalled the Lacedæmonians, terming them ignorant and unlearned ſots: In deed (quoth he) we onely of all the Grecians, are the men who have not learned of you to do ill. And when another Athenian bragged, and ſaid: We have chaſed you many a time from the river *Cephiſus*: But we (quoth he) never yet drave you from the river *Eurotas*. Unto another, who was deſirous to know how one might pleaſe men beſt, he ſhaped this anſwere: In caſe he ſpeake alwaies that which pleaſeth, and doe that which profiteth them. A certeine great maſter and profeſſour of Rhetoricke, would needs one day rehearſe and pronounce before him an oration compoſed in the praiſe of *Hercules*: And who ever (quoth he) diſpraiſed him? And unto *Ageſilaus*, being ſore wounded in a battell by the Thebans: Nay (quoth he) you are well enough ſerved and receive a due Minervall for your ſchoolage at the Thebans hands, whom you have taught even againſt their willes that which they knew not, nor were willing to learne, to wit, for to fight: for in trueth, by meanes of the continuall incurſions and expeditions that *Ageſilaus* made againſt them, they became valiant warriours. Himſelfe was woont to ſay: That the walles of *Sparta*, were their yong men; and their confines, the heads of their pikes. Unto another, who demanded why the Lacedæmonians fought with ſuch ſhort curtelaxes: To the end (quoth he) that we might cope and cloſe more neerely to our enemies.

ANTIOCHUS being one of the *Ephori*, heard ſay that king *Philip* had beſtowed upon the Meſſenians certeine lands for their territorie: But hath *Philip* (quoth he) given them withall, forces to be able for to defend the ſame?

ARIGEUS, when ſome there were that highly commended certeine dames, not their owne wives, but wedded to other men: By the gods (quoth he) of good, honeſt, and faire women, there ought no vaine ſpeeches to bee made, for that indeed they are not knowen of any other but their husbands who live ordinarily with them. As he paſſed once thorow the citie *Selinus* in *Sicilie*, he chanced to reade this epitaph engraven upon a ſepulchre or tombe:

Theſe men before Selinus *gates*
were ſlaine in bloudie fight,
As whilom they ſought for to quench
the lawleſſe tyrants might.

And well deſerved you (quoth he) to die, for ſeeking to extinguiſh tyranny when it burneth out of a light fire; for cleane contrariwiſe, you ſhould have kept it from burning altogether.

ARISTON hearing one praiſe and diſcourſe of a ſentence that king *Cleomenes* was wont to uſe, at what time as the queſtion was asked: What was the office of a good king? Mary even to do good unto his friends & hurt unto his enemies: But how much better (anſwered *Ariſton*) my good friend, were it to benefit friends indeed, and of enemies to make good friends? but of this notable ſentence, no doubt, *Socrates* was the authour, and upon him it is rightly fathered. Alſo when one demanded of him how many in number the Lacedæmonians were: As many (quoth he) as be ſufficient to chaſe away their enemies. A certeine Athenian pronounced a funerall oration which he had penned in the praiſe of their owne citizens, who had bene defaited and were ſlaine by the Lacedæmonians in a battel: If your countreymen (quoth he) were ſo valiant as you ſay, what thinke you then of ours, who vanquiſhed them? When one praiſed *Charilaus* upon a time, for that hee ſhewed himſelfe courteous indifferently to all men: And how can he deſerve (quoth *Ariſton*) to be commended, who is kind and friendly to wicked perſons? Another reproved *Hecatæus* a profeſſour in Rhetoricke, who being invited to eat with them at their feaſts which they call *Syſſitia*, ſpake never a word all dinner time; unto whom he made this anſwere: It ſeemeth that you are ignorant, that he who knoweth how to ſpeake wel, can skil likewiſe of the time when it is good to ſpeake and when to keepe ſilence.

ARCHIDAMUS the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus*, when one asked him who they were that governed the citie *Sparta?* anſwered: The lawes firſt, and then the magiſtrates who ruled according to thoſe lawes. When he heard one praiſing exceedingly a plaier on the harpe, and for his skill in muſicke having him in ſingular admiration: My friend (quoth he) what honourable reward ſhall they have at your hands, who be men of proweſſe and valour, when you commend ſo highly an harper? Another recommended unto him a muſician and ſaid: Oh, what an excellent chaunter is there? This is (quoth he) even as much as a good cooke or maker of pottage among us: meaning that there was no difference at all betweene giving pleaſure by ſound of voice or inſtruments, and the dreſſing of viands or ſeaſoning ſewes. One promiſed to give him wine that was very ſweet and pleaſant: And to what purpoſe? (quoth he) conſidering that it ſerveth but for to draw on more wine, and to make folke drinke the rather; and beſides, to cauſe men to be leſſe valiant and unfit for any good things. Lying at ſiege before the city of *Corinth*, he marked how there were hares ſtarted even cloſe under the walles thereof; upon which ſight he ſaid thus to thoſe that ſerved with him: Our enemies are eaſie to be ſurpriſed and caught, when they are ſo lazie and idle, as to ſuffer hares to lie and harbour hard under their citie walles, even within the trench and towne-ditch. He had bene choſen an umpire betweene two parties who were at variance, for to make them friends; and he led them both into the temple of *Diana* ſurnamed *Chalceæcos*, where he willed them both to promiſe and ſweare, laying their hands upon the altar of that goddeſſe, that they would both twaine obſerve from point to point whatſoever he ſhould award; which they undertooke to doe, and bound it with an oath accordingly: I judge then (quoth he) that neither of you both ſhall depart out of this temple, before you have made an attonement, and pacified all quarrels betweene you. *Dionyſius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, had ſent unto his daughters certeine rich robes to weare; but he refuſed them, and ſaid: I greatly feare, that when they have this raiment upon them, they will ſeeme more foule and ilfavoured than now they do. Seeing his owne ſonne in a battell, fighting deſperately againſt the Athenians: Either (quoth he) augment thy ſtrength, or abate thy courage.

ARCHIDAMUS the ſonne of *Ageſilaus*, when king *Philip* after the battell which he had won againſt the Greeks, neere vnto *Cheronea*, wrote unto him a rough and ſharpe letter; returned unto him backe againe this anſwere in writing: If you take meaſure now of your owne ſhadow, you ſhall finde it no bigger than it was before the victorie. Being demanded the queſtion upon a time, how farre the territory of the Lacedæmonians did extend? he anſwered: Even as farre as they can reach with their javelins. *Periander* the phyſician was a ſufficient man in his art, and eſteemed with the beſt and moſt excellent, howbeit he wrote in verſe, but with a bad grace; unto whom he ſaid one day thus: I marvell much *Periander* whether you had rather be named an ill poet or a good phyſician? In the warre which the Lacedæmonians made againſt King *Philip*, ſome gave him counſell to be wel adviſed where he fought, and to battell as far as he could from his owne countrey; unto whom he replied againe: This is not the thing (quoth hee) that wee ought to regard, but rather to conſider and thinke upon this, how we may quit our ſelves ſo well in fight, that we be winners in the end. And to thoſe who praiſed him for that he had woonne a field of the Arcadians, he made this anſwer: It had beene better that we had overcome them rather in wiſedome and prudence than in might and force. About the time that hee entred by force and armes into the countrey of *Arcadia*, being advertiſed that the Eleans ſent aide and ſuccor unto the Arcadians, he wrate unto them in this ſort; *Archidamus* to the Eleans, greeting: A bleſſed thing it is to be quiet & at repoſe. When the confederate & allied nations in the Peloponneſiacke warre, demaunded how much money would ſerve for the defraying of the charges to the ſaid warre belonging? and requeſted him to taxe each one how much they ſhould contribute: War (quoth he) knoweth no ſum, & is not waged at any certaine rate. Seeing a ſhot which was levelled from an engine of batterie newly brought out of *Sicily*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) now is mans proweſſe gone for ever. And for that the Greeks would not give credit and be perſwaded by him, to performe thoſe conditions of peace which had beene made with *Antigonus* and *Craterus*, two Macedonians, for to live in their ancient libertie; alledging that the Lacedæmonians would be lords more rigorous and inſupportable than the Macedonians: The ſheepe (quoth he) hath alwaies one and the ſame voice; but man changeth it oftentimes in divers ſorts, untill he have brought about and finiſhed his deſſeignes.

ASTICRATIDAS, when one ſaid, after that King *Agis* had loſt the field to *Antigonus*, about the citie *Megale*: O poore Lacedæmonians, what will you doe now? will you become ſlaves to the Macedonians? anſwered thus: And why ſo? Can * *Antigonus* forbid and let us, but we will die in fight for *Sparta*?

*or *Antipater.*

BIAS being ſurpriſed by an ambuſh, which was laid for him by *Iphicrates* captaine of the Athenians, when his ſouldiers ſaid: Now captaine what is to be done? What elſe (quoth hee) but to adviſe you to ſave your ſelves, and to reſolve my ſelfe for to die in fight.

BRASIDAS found among dried figs a mouſe that bit him by the hand, ſo as he was glad to let her goe, whereupon he ſaid unto thoſe that were preſent: Lo, how there is not the leaſt creature that may be, but it is able to make ſhift and ſave it life, in caſe it have but the heart to defend it ſelfe againſt thoſe who aſſaile it? In a certaine ſkirmiſh he was wounded with a javellin thorow his buckler, and when he had drawen the head out of his bodie, with the verie ſame weapon he ſlew his enemie who had hurt him; and to thoſe who aſked him, how he came ſo wounded? he anſwered thus: Becauſe my buckler deceived me. When he put himſelfe into his journey to the warres, he wrote thus unto the *Ephori*: All that is requiſite for this warre as touching the warre, do I will to my power or die for it. After he had loſt his life in the quarrell of delivering the Greeks out of ſervitude who inhabit in *Thracia*, the embaſſdors which were ſent from thoſe parts to give thankes unto the Lacedæmonians, went to viſit his mother *Argileonis*; of whom ſhe demaunded firſt, whether her ſonne *Braſidas* died manfully or no? And when the Thracian embaſſadors highly praiſed him, inſomuch as they ſaid, that he had not left his fellow behinde him: Oh (quoth ſhee) you are much deceived my friends; *Braſidas* was in deed a valiant and hardie man, but there be in *Sparta* many more farre better than he.

DAMONIDAS hapned to be placed laſt in the dance by him who was the maſter choriſter; whereat hee was no otherwiſe diſpleaſed, but ſaid thus unto him: Well done, for thou haſt found the meanes to make this place honourable, which heeretofore was but baſe and infamous.

DAMIS, when letters had beene written unto him as touching *Alexander* the Great, namely how *Alexander* by their ſuffrages was declared a god; wrote backe in this wiſe: We grant that *Alexander* ſhould be called a god ſince he will needs have it ſo.

DAMINDAS, when King *Philip* was entred with a maine armie unto *Peloponneſus*, whereupon one ſaid unto him: The Lacedæmonians are in daunger to ſuffer many calamities, unleſſe they can make meanes to agree and compound with him: Thou womaniſh-man (quoth hee) how can hee bring us to ſuffer any miſeries, conſidering that we make no reckoning at all of death?

DERCILLIDAS was ſent embaſſador unto King *Pyrrhus*, what time as he had his armie encamped upon the verie confines of *Sparta*: and *Pyrrhus* enjoined the Lacedæmonians to receive againe their King *Cleonimus* whom they had baniſhed, or elſe he would make them to underſtand, that they were no more valiant than other men; upon whom *Dercyllidas* thus replied: If you be a god we fear you not, becauſe we have no way offended you; but if you be a man, know you that you are no whit better than we.

DEMARATUS talked and communed one day with *Orontes*, who gave him blunt ſpeeches and hard words; and when one who heard their talke, ſaid afterwards: *Orontes* is verie bold with you, and uſeth you but homely ô *Demaratus*: Nay (quoth he) he hath nothing faulted to meward; for thoſe who gloſe and flatter in all their ſpeech, be they who doe moſt harme, and not ſuch as ſpeake upon ill will and malice. One ſeemed to demaund of him, wherefore at *Sparta* thoſe were noted with infamie, who in a diſcomfiture threw away their bucklers, and not they who caſt from them their morrions, cuiraces or breaſt-plates: Becauſe (quoth he) theſe armors and head-pieces, ſerve onely for thoſe who weare them; but their ſheilds & bucklers, have their uſe alſo for the common ſtrength of the whole battailon. When he heard a certaine muſician ſing: Beleeve me (quoth hee) the fellow plaies the foole verie well. He was upon a time in a great companie & aſſembly, where he continued a long while and ſpake never a word; by occaſion whereof one ſaid unto him: Is it for folly and want of matter to talke of, that you are ſo ſilent? How can it be folly (quoth he) for a foole can never hold his peace? One aſked of him what was the cauſe why he was baniſhed out of *Sparta*, being king thereof? Becauſe (quoth hee the lawes there be miſtreſſes and command all. A certaine Perſian by continuall gifts had inveagled and gotten from him in the end a yoong boy whom hee loved, and afterwards in manner of a ſkorne ſaid unto him: I have ſo well hunted, that at laſt I have caught your love: Not ſo (quoth he) I ſweare by the gods, but rather you have bought it. A certaine gentleman of *Perſia* there was, who had rebelled againſt the king of *Perſia*; but *Demaratus* by reaſons and remonſtrances ſo wrought with him, that he perſwaded him to yeeld and returne againe to his allegeance; the king incontinently minded to put this Perſian to death; but *Demaratus* diverted him, and ſaid: Sir, this were an utter ſhame for you, if when you could not puniſh him for rebellion being your enemie you ſhould proceed to his execution now, when he is become againe your ſervitor and friend. There was a certaine jeſter and paraſite who uſed to play his part at the kings table, and gave unto *Demaratus* eftſoones, biting quips, and taunts by way of reproch for his exile; but hee anſwered him and ſaid: Good fellow, I am not diſpoſed to fight with thee now at this time, being put as I am out of my biace and the raunge of my life, and having loſt my ſtanding.

* EMEREPES the *Ephorus*, cut two ſtrings of the nine with an hatchet, in *Phrynis* his harpe, ſaying withall: Then marre not muſicke.

* or *Ecprepes.*

EPÆNETUS was woont to ſay: That liers were the cauſe of all the offences and crimes in world.

EUBOIDAS hearing ſome to praiſe another mans wife, reprooved them for it, & ſaid: That ſtrangers who were not of the houſe, ought not in any reſpect to ſpeake of the behaviour and manners of any dame.

EUDAMIDAS the ſonne of *Archidamus* and brother to *Agis*, having eſpied *Xenocrates*, a man well ſtriken in yeeres, ſtudying philoſophie hard, with other yoong ſchollers in the *Academie*, demaunded what old man that might be: one ſtanding by, anſwered, that he was a wiſe man and a great clearke, one of thoſe who ſought after vertue: If he be ſtill ſeeking of it (quoth hee) when will he uſe and practiſe it? Having heard a Philoſopher diſpute and diſcourſe upon this paradox: That there was no good captaine in warre, but the great clarke and learned Sage onely: This is (quoth he) a ſtrange propoſition and a woonderfull, but the beſt is, he that mainteineth it, is in no wiſe to be credited, for his eares were never yet acquainted ſo much as with the ſound of a trumpet. He came one day into the open ſchoole or auditorie to heare *Xenocrates* diſcourſe at large upon ſome queſtion; but it fell out ſo, that he had new done when hee entred into the place; then one of his companie began to ſay: Surely, ſo ſoone as we were preſent, he became ſilent: He did well (quoth *Eudamidas*) if he had made an end of that which he had to ſay: but when the other replied: It were not amiſſe yet that we heard him, and that he would ſet to it againe: If we (quoth *Eudamidas*) ſhould goe to viſit a man in his houſe who had ſupped already before we came, were it well done of us to pray him to goe to a new ſupper for the love of us? It was once demaunded of him why he alone would ſeeme to approove reſt, quietneſſe and peace, conſidering that all his fellow-citizens with one conſent were of opinion to take armes and make warre upon the Macedonians? It is (quoth he) becauſe I neither need nor am deſirous to convince them of their errour and lying. Another for to animate him to this warre, alleaged the proweſſes and worthy exploits atchieved by them at other times againſt the Perſians: Me thinkes (quoth he) you know not what you ſay, namely, that becauſe we have overcome a thouſand ſheepe, we ſhould therefore ſet upon fiftie woolves. He was upon a time in place to heare a muſician ſing, who did his part very well; and one asked him, how he liked the man, and what he thought of him? Mary (quoth he) I take him to be a great amuſer of men in a ſmall matter. When another highly extolled the citie of *Athens* in his preſence: And who can juſtly and dulie (quoth he) praiſe that citie which no man ever loved, for being made better in it? When *Alexander* the great had cauſed open proclamation to be made in the great aſſemblie at the Olympick games: That all baniſhed perſons might returne unto their owne countries, except the Thebanes: Behold (quoth *Eudamidas*) heere is a wofull proclamation for you that be Thebans; howbeit honorable withall, for it is a ſigne that *Alexander* feareth none but you onely in all *Greece*. A certaine citizen of *Argos* ſaid one day in his hearing: That the Lacedæmonians after they be gone once out of their owne countrey and from the obeiſance of their lawes, proove woorſe for their travelling abroad in the world: But it is contrary with you that be Argives and other Greekes (quoth he) for being come once into our citie *Sparta* you are not the woorſe, but proove the better by that meanes. It was demaunded of him what the reaſon might be, wherefore they uſed to ſacrifice unto the Muſes before they did hazard a battell: To the end (quoth he) that our valiant acts might be well and woorthilie written.

EURYCRATIDAS the ſonne of *Anaxandrides*, when one asked him why the *Ephori* ſat every day to decide and judge of contracts betweene men: For that (quoth he) we ſhould learne to keepe our faith and truth even among our enemies.

ZEUXIDAMUS likewiſe anſwered unto one who demaunded of him why the ſtatutes and ordinances of proweſſe and martiall fortitude, were not reduced into a booke, and given in writing unto yoong men for to reade? Becauſe (quoth he) we would have them to be acquainted with deeds and not with writings. A certaine *Aetolian* ſaid: That warre was better than peace, unto thoſe who were deſirous to ſhew themſelves valorous men: And not warre onely (quoth he) for by the gods, in that reſpect better is death than life.

HERONDAS chaunced to be at *Athens*, what time as one of the citizens was apprehended, arraigned, and condemned for his idleneſſe, judicially and by forme of law; which when he underſtood, and heard a brute and noiſe about him, he requeſted one to ſhew him the partie that was condemned for a gentlemans life.

THEARIDAS whetted his ſword upon a time, and when one asked him if it were ſharpe, he anſwered: Yea, ſharper than a ſlanderous calumniation.

THEMISTEAS being a prophet or ſoothſaier, foretold unto king *Leonidas* the diſcomfiture that ſhould happen within the paſſe or ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, with the loſſe both of himſelfe and alſo of his whole armie: whereupon being ſent away by *Leonidas* unto *Lacedæmon*, under a colour and pretenſe to enforme them of theſe future accidents; but in truth, to the end that he ſhould not miſcarie and die there with the reſt; he would not ſo doe, neither could he forbeare but ſay unto *Leonidas*: I was ſent hither for a warrior to fight, and not as an ordinary courrier and meſſenger to carrie newes betweene.

THEOPOMPUS when one demaunded of him how a king might preſerve his kingdome and roiall eſtate in ſafetie? ſaid thus: By giving his friends libertie to ſpeake the truth, and with all his power by keeping his ſubjects from oppreſſion. Unto a ſtranger who told him that in his owne countrey & among his citizens he was commonly ſurnamed *Philolacon*, that is to ſay, a lover of the Laconians: It were better (quoth he) that you were called* *Philopolites* than *Philolacon*. Another embaſſadour there came from *Elis*, who ſaid: That he was ſent from his fellow-citizens, becauſe he onely of all that citie loved and followed the Laconike maner of life; of him *Theopompus* demaunded: And whether is thine or the other citizens life the better? he anſwered Mine: Why then (quoth he) how is it poſſible that a citie ſhould continue ſafe, in which there being ſo great a number of inhabitants, there is but one good man? There was one ſaid before him, that the citie of *Sparta* maintained the ſtate thereof entier, for that the kings there knew how to governe well: Nay (quoth he) not ſo much therefore, as becauſe the citizens there can ſkill how to obey well. The inhabitants of the citie *Pyle*, decreed for him in their generall counſell exceeding great honors; unto whom he wrote backe againe: That moderate honors time is woont to augment, but immoderate to diminiſh and weare away.

* A lover of your fellow citizens.

THERYCION returning from the citie *Delphos*, found king *Philip* encamped within the ſtreight of *Peloponneſus*, where he had gained the narrow paſſage called *Iſthmos*, upon which the city of *Corinth* is ſeated; whereupon he ſaid: *Peloponneſus* hath but bad porters and warders of you, Corinthians.

THECTAMENES, being by the *Ephori* condemned to death, went from the judgement place ſmiling away; and when one that was preſent asked him, if he deſpiſed the lawes and judiciall proceedings of *Sparta*? No iwis (quoth he) but I rejoice heereat, that they have condemned me in that fine which I am able to pay and diſcharge fully, without borrowing of any friend, or taking up money at intereſt.

HIPPODAMUS, as *Agis* was with *Archidamus* in the campe, being ſent with *Agis* by the king unto *Sparta*, for to provide for the affaires of weale publicke and looke unto the State; refuſed to goe, ſaying: I cannot die a more honorable death, than in fighting valiantly for the defence of *Sparta*: now was he foureſcore yeeres old and upward and tooke armes, where hee raunged himſelfe on the right hand of the king, and there fighting by his ſide right manfully, was ſlaine.

HIPPOCRATIDAS, when a certaine prince or great lord of *Caria* had written unto him, that he had in his hands a Lacedæmonian, who having beene privie unto a conſpiracie and treaſon intended againſt his perſon, revealed not the ſame; demaunding withall, his counſell what he ſhould doe with him; wrote back againe in this wiſe: If you have heeretofore done him any great pleaſure and good turne, put him to death hardly and make him away; if not, expell him out of your countrey, conſidering he is a baſe fellow uncapable altogether of vertue. He chaunced to encounter upon the way a yoong boy, after whom followed one who loved him; and the boy bluſhed for ſhame; whereupon he ſaid unto him: Thou oughteſt to goe in their company my boy with whom thou being ſeene, needeſt not to change colour for the matter.

CALLICRATIDAS being admirall of a fleet, when the friends of *Lyſander* requeſted him to pleaſure them in killing ſome of their enemies; and in conſideration thereof he ſhould receive of them fifty talents; notwithſtanding he ſtood then in very great need of mony for to buy victuals for the mariners, yet would not he grant their requeſt; and when *Cleander*, one of his counſell, ſaid unto him: I would (I trow, if I were in your place) take the offer: So would I alſo (quoth he) if I were in yours. Being come to *Sardis* unto *Cyrus* the yoonger, who at that time was an allie and confederate of the Lacedæmonians, to ſee if hee could ſpeed himſelfe of him with money for to enterteine mariners and mainteine the armada; the firſt day he gave him to underſtand that he was thither come to ſpeake with him; but anſwere was made: That the king was at the table drinking: Well (quoth he) I will give attendance untill he have made an end of his beaver: after he had waited a long time, and ſaw that it was impoſſible for to have audience that day, he departed out of the court for that time, being thought very rude and uncivill in ſo doing: the morow after, when likewiſe he was given to underſtand that he was drinking againe, and that he would not come abroad that day; he made no more adoe, but returned to *Epheſus*, from whence he came, ſaying withall: That he ought not ſo farre foorth to take paines for to be provided of money, as to doe any thing unſeeming *Sparta*: and beſides, he fell a curſing thoſe who were the firſt that endured ſuch indignitie, as to ſubject themſelves unto the inſolencie of Barbarians, and who taught them to abuſe their riches, and thereby to ſhew themſelves ſo proud and diſdainfull, as to inſult over others; yea, and he ſware a great oath in the preſence of thoſe who were in his company, that ſo ſoone as he was returned to *Sparta*, he would labor with all his might and maine, to reconcile the Greeke nations one unto another; to the end that they might be more dread and terrible to the Barbarians, when as they ſtood in no need of their forren forces to wage warre one upon another. It was demanded of him, what kinde of men the Ionians were? Good ſlaves they are (quoth he) but bad free-men. When *Cyrus* in the end had ſent money for to pay his ſouldiers wages, and beſides ſome gifts and preſents particularly to himſelfe; he received onely the foreſaid pay, but as for the gifts, he ſent them backe againe, ſaying: That he had no need of any private or particular amitie with *Cyrus*, ſo long as the common friendſhip which he had with all the Lacedæmonians perteined alſo unto him. A little before he gave the battell at ſea, neere unto *Arginuſie*, his pilot ſaid unto him: That it was beſt for him to ſaile away, for that the gallies of the Athenians were farre more in number than theirs: And what of all that (quoth he) is it not a ſhamefull infamie, & hurtfull beſides to *Sparta*, for to flie? ſimply, beſt it is to tary by it, and either to win, or die for it. Being at the point to encounter and joine medley, and having ſacrificed unto the gods, the ſoothſaier ſhewed unto him that the entrails of the beaſt ſignified and promiſed aſſured victory unto the armie, but death unto the captaine; whereat he was nothing daunted nor affrighted, but ſaid: The ſtate of *Sparta* lieth not in one man, for when I am dead, my countrey will be never the leſſe; but if I ſhould recule now, and yeeld unto the enemies, ſhe will be much impaired, and loſe her reputation. Thus having ſubſtituted *Cleander* in his place, if ought ſhould happen otherwiſe than well, he gave the charge, and ſtrooke a navall battell, wherein fighting valiantly he ended his life.

CLEOMBROTUS the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, when a certeine friend a ſtranger, debated and reaſoned with his father about vertue, he ſaid unto him: In this point at leaſt-wiſe is my father before you, for that he hath already begotten a ſonne, and you none.

CLEOMENES the ſonne of *Anaxandrides*, was wont to ſay: That *Homer* was the Poet of the Lacedæmonians, becauſe he taught how to make warre; but *Heſiodus* the Poet of the Ilots, for that he wrote of agriculture and husbandry. He had made truce for ſeven daies with the Argives; and the third night after it beganne, perceiving that the Argives upon the aſſurance and confidence of the ſaid truce were ſoundly aſleepe, he charged upon them, ſlew ſome, and tooke others priſoners; and when he was reproched therefore, and namely, that he had broken his oth; he anſwered: That he never ſware to obſerve truce in the night ſeaſon, but in day-time onely; and beſides, what annoiance ſoever a man did unto his enemies (in what ſort it made no matter) he was to thinke that both before God and man it was a point above juſtice, and in no wiſe ſubject and liable unto it: howbeit, for this perjurie of his and breaking of covenant, he was diſappointed and fruſtrate of his hope and deſſeigne, which was to ſurpriſe the citie of *Argos*, for that indeed the very women tooke thoſe armes which in memoriall of ancient victories were hung and ſet up faſt in their temples, with which they repelled them from the walles: after this, he fell into a furious rage, and his wits were beſtraught; inſomuch as he tooke a knife, and ſlit his bodie from the very ancles up to the principall and noble vitall parts, and ſo laughing and ſcoffing, he

left his life. His very ſoothſaier would have diſſwaded and diverted him from leading his forces againſt *Argos*, ſaying: That his returne from thence would be diſhonourable and infamous: and when he preſented his power before the citie, he found the gates faſt ſhut againſt them, and the women in armes upon the walles: How thinke you (quoth he) now, doe you ſuppoſe this a diſhonourable returne, when as the women, after all the men be dead, are faine to keepe the gates faſt locked? When the Argives abuſed him with reprochfull tearmes, calling him a perjured and godleſſe perſon: Well (quoth he) it is in you to miſcall me and raile upon me as you do, in word; but it is in me to plague and miſchiefe you indeed. Unto the ambaſſadours of *Samos*, who came to moove and ſollicit him for to warre upon the tyrant *Polycrates*, and to that effect, uſed long ſpeeches and perſwaſions, he anſwered thus: As touching that point which you ſpake of in the beginning of your oration, it is out of my head now, and I remember it not; in which regard alſo I doe not well conceive the middle part of your ſpeech; but as for that which you delivered in the latter end, I miſlike it altogether. There was in his time a notable rover or pirate, who made roads into the land, and ſpoiled the coaſts of *Laconia*, but at the laſt he was intercepted and taken; now being examined and demanded why he robbed in this ſort? I had not wherewith (quoth he) to mainteine and keepe my ſouldiers about me, and therefore I came to thoſe who had it, and knowing that they would give me nothing freely and by faire meanes, I aſſaied to get ſomewhat of them by force and ſtrong hand: Naughtineſſe I ſee well (quoth he) goeth the neereſt way to worke. There was a leaud villaine, who did nothing but revile and miſcall him: Thou ſeemeſt (quoth he) to go up and downe railing upon every man, to the end that being amuſed how to anſwere thoſe thy ſlanders and imputations, we might have no time nor leaſure to charge thee with thy wickedneſſe and lay open thy vices. When one of his ſubjects ſaid unto him: That a good king ought alwaies and in every thing to be milde and gracious: Not ſo (quoth he) leſt he grow thereby deſpiſed and contemptible. Being ſore handled with a long and tedious maladie, and not knowing what to do, he put himſelfe at laſt into the hands of ſorcerers, enchanters, wiſards and ſacrificers, unto whom he was woont never to give any credit before; whereat when one of his familiar friends marvelled much, he ſaid unto him: Wherfore wonder you at the matter? for I am not the man that heretofore I was, but much changed by ſickneſſe; and as I am not the ſame, ſo I do not like & allow of thoſe things which I did in times paſt. There was a great profeſſor of Rhetoricke, who tooke vpon him in his preſence to diſcourſe at large of prowеſſe and valour, whereat he began to laugh a good; and when the partie ſaid unto him: Why laugh you to heare a man ſpeake of valiance, eſpecially being as you are a king? My good friend (quoth he) becauſe if a ſwallow ſhould talke as you have done, I would doe as you do; marie if it had beene an eagle, I ſhould have beene ſilent haply and held my peace. The
* ἀναμαχέσθαι Argives made their boaſt & vaunted that in a *ſecond battel, they had recovered the loſſe which
* ἄνα. they ſuſtained in a former: I wonder much at that (quoth he) if by the addition of* two ſyllables onely, you are prooved better men now than earſt you were. When one reproched him in foule tearmes, ſaying: You are a great ſpender *Cleomenes* and a voluptuous perſon: Better it is yet (quoth he) ſo to be, than unjuſt as you are, who being wealthie enough, are yet covetous, and get your goods by undue and indirect meanes. There was one who recommended a muſician unto him, and in truth praiſed the man in many reſpects; but among the reſt for his excellent voice, ſaying: He was the beſt ſinger in all *Greece*: but *Cleomenes* pointing with his finger to one hard by: Lo (quoth hee) here is a paſſing good cooke of mine, and namely at making of broth he hath no fellow. *Meander* the Tyrant of *Samos*, upon the comming and invaſion of the Perſians, fled into the citie of *Sparta*, where hee ſhewed unto *Cleomenes* all the gold and ſilver which he had brought with him, praying him to take what he would of it; none would hee receive at his hands, but fearing leſt he would faſten ſome of that treaſure upon other citizens, to the *Ephori* he went & ſaid thus unto them: It were better for *Sparta*, if this Samian gueſt of mine were ſent out of *Peloponneſus*, for feare he induce and miſleade ſome one of the Spartanes to be naught: the *Ephori* no ſooner heard this advertiſement of his, but the verie ſame day by open proclamation baniſhed him out of the countrey. One demaunded of him upon a time, and ſaid: Why having ſo often vanquiſhed the Argives warring upon you, have yee not rooted them out cleane? Neither will wee ever ſo do (quoth hee) for we would have our yoong men alwaies to be kept occupied and in exerciſe: and when another asked him why the Spartanes never conſecrated unto the gods the armors which they had deſpoiled their enemies of? Becauſe (quoth he) they be the ſpoiles of cowardes; for thoſe armes which have beene taken from ſuch as held them cowardly, it is not meete either to ſhew unto yoong men, or to dedicate unto the gods.

Cleomenes the ſonne of *Cleombrotus*, when one gave him certaine cockes of game which were verie eager and hot in fight, ſaying: That they would in combat for the victorie, die in the verie place: Nay (quoth hee) give me thoſe rather that kill them; for ſurely ſuch muſt needs be better than theſe.

Labotus unto one who made a long diſcourſe before him, hee ſaid: To what purpoſe makeſt thou ſuch great preambles and prologues for ſo ſmall a matter; words I tell thee muſt be couſens to the things.

Leotychidas the firſt of that name, when one hit him in the teeth that he was inconſtant and mutable: If I change (quoth he) it is in regard of the times which doe alter and be divers; and not as you do, who alter ever and anon upon your owne naughtineſſe. Unto another who asked him how a man might beſt keepe the goods that preſently he enjoyed; he anſwered: By not committing them all at once unto fortune. It was demaunded of him once, what it was that yoong gentlemen of noble houſes ought to learne: Even that (quoth hee) which will doe them good another day, when they be men growen. Laſtly, when one would needs know of him the reaſon why the Spartanes dranke ſo little: Becauſe (quoth he) others ſhould not conſult of us, but we of others.

Leotychidas the ſonne of *Ariſton*, when one brought him word that the ſonnes of *Demaratus* gave out verie hard ſpeeches of him: By the gods (quoth he) I nothing marvell thereat; for there is not one of them all that can affoord any man a good word. There chanced to be a ſerpent ſeene, which claſped round about the key or bolt of the gate next unto him; which ſight the ſooth-ſayers pronounced to be prodigious and a great woonder: Why (quoth he) this ſeemeth not to me any monſtrous or ſtrange thing, that a ſerpent ſhould winde about a key or bolt; but ſurely it were a marvellous matter indeed, if the key or bolt ſhould be wound about the ſerpent. There was a ſacrifiicer or prieſt named *Philippus*, who inducted and profeſſed men in the ceremoniall religion of *Orpheus*; and ſo extreame poore he was that he begged for his living; howbeit he went about and ſaid: That thoſe who by his hand were admitted into thoſe ceremonies, ſhould be happy after their death: Foole that thou art (quoth he) why doſt not thou thy ſelfe die quickly, to the end that thou maieſt ceaſe to lament and bewaile thine owne miſerie and povertie.

Leon the ſonne of *Eucratidas*, being asked in what citie a man might dwell moſt ſafely? anſwered thus: Even in that, whereof the inhabitants are not richer or poorer one than another; and wherin juſtice doth prevaile, & injuſtice is of no force. When he ſaw certaine runners prepare to run a courſe for the prize in the race at the ſolemne Olympicke games, and marked how they eſpied all meanes poſſible to catch and winne ſome advantage of their concurrents: See (quoth he) how much more ſtudious theſe runners are of ſwiftneſſe than of righteouſneſſe. And when one hapned to diſcourſe out of time and place, of things verie good and profitable: My good friend (quoth he) unto him, your matter is honeſt and ſeemely, but your manner of handling it, is bad and unſeemely.

Leonidas the ſonne of *Anaxandridas*, and brother to *Cleomenes*; when one ſaid unto him: There was no difference betweene you and us before you were a king: Yes Iwis good Sir (quoth he) for if I had not been better than you, I had never beene king. When his wife, named *Gorgo*, at what time as he tooke his leave of her and went foorth to fight with the Perſians in the paſſe of *Thermopylæ*, asked of him whether hee had ought elſe to commaund her? Nothing (quoth he) but this, that thou be wedded againe unto honeſt men and bring them good children. When the *Ephori* ſaid unto him, that he lead a ſmall number foorth with him to the foreſaid ſtraights of *Thermopylæ*: True (quoth he) but yet enough for that ſervice which we go for. And when they enquired of him againe, and ſaid: Why ſir, entend you any other deſſeigne and enterpriſe? In outward ſhew (quoth he) and apparance, I give out in words that I goe to empeach the paſſage of the Barbarians; but in verie truth to lay downe my life for the Greekes. When he was come to the verie entrance of the ſaid paſſe, hee ſaid unto his ſouldiers: It is reported unto us by our ſcouts, that our Barbarous enemies be at hand; therefore wee are to loſe no more time, for now we are brought to this iſſue, that we muſt either defait them, or elſe die for it. When one ſaid unto him, for the exceeding number of their arrowes we are not able to ſee the ſun: So much the better (quoth he) for us, that we may fight under the ſhade. To another who ſaid: Lo they be even hard & cloſe to us; And ſo are we (quoth he) hard by them. Another uſed theſe words unto him: You are come *Leonidas* with a verie ſmall troupe, for to hazard your ſelfe againſt ſo great a multitude; unto whom he anſwered: If you regard number, all *Greece* aſſembled together is not able to furniſh us, for it would but anſwere one portion or canton of their multitude: but if you ſtand upon valor & proweſſe of men, certes this number is ſufficient. Another there was who ſaid as much to him: But yet I bring (quoth he) money enough, conſidering we are heere to leave our lives. *Xerxes* wrote unto him to this effect: You need not unleſſe you liſt be ſo perverſe and obſtinate as to fight againſt the gods, but by ſiding and combining with me, make your ſelfe a monarch over all *Greece*; unto whom he wrote back in this wiſe: If you knew wherein conſiſted the ſoveraigne good of mans life, you would not covet that which is another mans; for mine owne part, I had rather looſe my life for the ſafetie of *Greece*, than be the commaunder of all thoſe of mine owne nation. Another time *Xerxes* wrote thus: Send me thy armour; unto whom he wrote backe: Come your ſelfe and fetch it. At the verie point when he was to charge upon his enemies, the marſhals of the armie came unto him, and proteſted that they muſt needs hold off and ſtay until the other allies & confederates were come together: Why (quoth he) thinke you not that as many as be minded to fight are come alreadie? or know you not that they onely who dread and reverence their kings, be they that fight againſt enimies? this ſaid, he commaunded his ſouldiers to take their dinners, for ſup we ſhall (ſaid he) in the other world. Being demaunded why the beſt and braveſt men preferre an honorable death before a ſhamefull life? Becauſe (quoth he) they eſteeme the one proper to nature onely; but to die well they thinke it peculiar to themſelves. A great deſire he had to have thoſe yoong men of his troupe and regiment, who were not yet maried, and knowing well that if he delt with them directly and openly, they would not abide it; he gave unto them one after another two brevets or letters to carrie unto the *Ephori*, and ſo ſent them away: he meant alſo to ſave three of thoſe who were married; but they having an inkeling thereof, would receive no brevets or miſſives at al: for one ſaid, I have followed you hither to fight, and not to be a carier of newes; the ſecond alſo: By ſtaying heere I ſhall quit my ſelfe the better man; and the third: I will not be behind the reſt, but the formoſt in fight.

LOCHAGUS the father of *Polyænides* and *Syron*, when newes was brought unto him that one of his children was dead: I knew long ſince (quoth he) that he muſt needs die.

LYCURGUS the law-giver, minding to reduce his citizens from their old maner of life, unto a more ſober and temperat courſe, and to make them more vertuous and honeſt (for before time they had beene diſſolute and over delicate in their maners and behaviour) nouriſhed two whelpes which came from the ſame dogge and bitch, and the one he kept alwaies within houſe, & uſed it to licke in every diſh & to be greedy after meat; the other he would leade forth abroad into the fields and acquaint it with hunting: afterwards he brought them both into an open and frequent aſſembly of the people, and ſet before them in the mids, certaine bones, ſoſſe & ſcraps; he put out alſo at the ſame time an hare before them; now both the one and the other tooke incontinently to that whereto they had beene acquainted, and ranne apace, the one to the meſſe of ſops, and the other after the hare and caught it: heereupon *Lycurgus* tooke occaſion to inferre this ſpeech: You ſee heere my maſters and citizens (quoth he) how theſe two dogs having one ſire and one dam to them both, are become farre different the one from the other, by reaſon of their divers educations and bringing up; whereby it is evident how much more powerful nouriture and exerciſe is to the breeding of vertuous maners, than kinde and nature: howbeit ſome there be who ſay, that theſe two dogs or whelps which he brought out, were not of one and the ſame dogge and bitch; but the one came from thoſe curres that uſed to keepe the houſe, and the other from thoſe hounds that were kept to hunting; and afterwards that he acquainted the whelpe that was of the woorſe kinde onely to the chaſe, and that which came of the better race, to ſlappe, licke, and doe nothing elſe but raven; whereupon either of them made their choiſe and ranne to that quickly whereto they were accuſtomed; and thereby he made it appeer evidently, how education, trayning, and bringing up is availeable both for good and bad conditions, for thus he ſpake unto them: By this example you may know my friends that nobilitie of bloud, how highly ſoever it is eſteemed with the common ſort, is to no purpoſe, no though we bee deſcended from the race of *Hercules*, if we doe not practiſe thoſe deeds whereby hee became the moſt renowmed and glorious knight in the world, learning and exerciſing all our life time thoſe things which are honeſt and vertuous. Having made a deviſion of the whole territorie, and diſtributed to every citizen an equall portion; it is reported that a good while after, being returned frō a long voiage which he had, into the ſaid territorie about harveſt time, when the corne was newly reaped and cut down, ſeeing the ſhocks & ſheaves, cocks and ſtiches raunged even and orderly, and the ſame like one to another; he rejoiced in his heart, and ſmiling ſaid to thoſe about him: That the whole territorie of *Laconia* looked like unto the inheritance and patrimonie of many brethren who had lately parted and divided their portions together equally. When he had brought in the cutting off and abolition of debts, he went in hand with the diviſion of all utenſils alſo and mooveable goods within houſe into even ſhares, to the end that there might be no imparitie nor inequality at all among his citizens; but perceiving that if he went directly and plainly to work, they would hardly beare and brooke that any thing ſhould be abridged and taken from them: he diſcredited firſt and formoſt all ſorts of gold and ſilver coine, giving commaundement that there ſhould be no money uſed but made of iron: and taxed a certaine rate and limitation to what ſumme each mans ſtate ſhould amount; according to the eſtimation of the ſaid money by way of exchange; which done, all wrongs and unjuſt dealings were chaſed cleane out of *Lacedæmon*: for now by this meanes there could no man rob nor ſteale, there was no bribing nor corruption by gifts, no man might defraud in contracts and bargains, nor embezzell any more, conſidering that neither they might conceale and hide that which was unjuſtly gotten, nor any man joied in poſſeſſing ought, nor could poſſibly uſe and occupie the ſame without perill, ne yet carie to and fro in ſafetie and ſecuritie: and withall by the ſame meanes, he baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon* all ſuperfluities, whereby there were no more any marchants, nor pleading ſophiſters, no wiſards & fortune tellers, no cogging mount-banks & juglers, no ingenious deviſers of new fabricks & buildings that haunted *Sparta* any more; for why, he would not permit any money there which was currant in other places, but onely this iron coine was in requeſt, and paſſed from one to another: as for the price thereof it waighed an Aeginetick pound; but in woorth and valour, it went but for foure *Chochins*. Moreover, having a purpoſe to root out delicate and ſuperfluous pleaſures, and to cut off cleane all covetous deſire of riches, he inſtituted and brought up thoſe meetings which they cal *Syſsitia*: i. eating at publick meales and making merrie together: and when ſome demanded of him what he meant to deviſe the ſame, and alſo why he ordeined that his citizens ſhould be divided by little tables when they ſat together in armes? To the end (quoth he) that they might be in more readineſſe to receive commaundement from their ſuperiors; as alſo if peradventure there ſhould be ſome practiſe among them of change and alteration, the fault might be in ſome few; and moreover, that there ſhould be equallity in their eating & drinking, & neither in their diſhes of meat nor cups of drink, nor in their beds nor apparel, no nor ſo much as in the utenſils & implemēts of the houſe, or in any thing whatſoever, the rich ſhuld have any vantage over the poore: by this policy having brought to paſſe that riches was not ſet-by and deſired, conſidering that ſuch order was taken, that neither men had much occaſion to uſe it, nor any joy & pleaſure to ſhew it, he would thus ſay unto his familiars: My good friends, what a gay & goodly matter is it, to make it knowen by effect indeed, that *Pluto*, that is to ſay, the god of riches, is in trueth blinde, according as he is named to be. Furthermore, carefull he was, and had a ſpeciall regard that his people ſhould not firſt dine at home in their owne houſes, and after that, goe to their publicke halles and meetings aforeſaid, being full of other viands and drinks; for others would reproch and ſpeake badly of a man who did not eat among them with a good appetite, as being a glutton, or one who for daintineſſe and delicacy diſdained this common and vulgar maner of diet; but if any ſuch happened to be ſeene and knowen, he was ſure to be condemned in a good round fine. Hereupon it was, that a long time after, king *Agis* (after his returne from an expedition or voiage in warre, wherein he had ſubdued the Athenians) willing one day to ſuppe privately by himſelfe with his wife at home, ſent into the kitchin for his part or allowance of meat; but the marſhals of the armie would ſend him none; and the morrow after, when the matter came to the knowledge of the *Ephori*, he had a fine ſet on his head for it: but by reaſon of theſe new ordinances, divers of the richer ſort tooke ſnuffe, and in great indignation roſe up againſt him, abuſed him with hard tearmes, threw ſtones and would have brained him; but he ſeeing himſelfe thus furiouſly purſued, made ſhift by good footmanſhip, and eſcaped out of the common market place, & put himſelfe within the ſanctuarie of *Minervaes* temple, called *Chalcæcos*, before the other could overtake him, only *Alcander* was ſo neere unto him, that when he caſt his eie behinde to ſee who followed after, rought him a rap with his baſon, and ſtrake one of his eies out of his head: but *Alcander* afterwards, by the common ſentence of the whole citie, was put into his hands for to do exemplarie juſtice upon him, according as he thought good: howbeit, hee wrought him no miſchiefe nor diſpleaſure at all; and that which more is, hee never ſo much as complained of any wrong or abuſe that he had offered and done unto him; but having him to be a domeſticall gueſt and to live with him, he did this good of him: That hee blazed in every place where he came, his commendable parts, and namely, the orderly diet and maner of life, that he had learned by converſing with him; and in one word, ſhewed himſelfe highly to affect that diſcipline in which *Lycurgus* had trained him: afterwards, for a memoriall of this accident which befell unto him, he cauſed within the temple of *Minerva Chalceacos,* a chapell to be built unto *Minerva,* ſurnamed *Optiletis*; for that the Doriens inhabiting thoſe parts, do call in their language, Eies, *Opteli*. It was demanded of him upon a time, why he had not eſtabliſhed any written poſitive lawes: Becauſe (quoth he) they that are well brought up and inſtituted in that diſcipline as it apperteineth, know well how to judge that which the time requireth. Some asked him why he had ordeined that the roofes of houſes ſhould be made with timber rough hewen with the axe, and the doores of ſawen planke or boord onely, without worke of any other tooles or inſtruments at all? unto whom he anſwered: Becauſe our citizens ſhould be moderate in all things that they bring into their houſes, and have no furniture therein that might ſet other mens teeth on water, or which other men do ſo much affect. From this cuſtome by report it came, that king *Leotychides* the firſt of that name, being at ſupper in a friends houſe of his, when he ſaw the roofe over his head richly ſeeled with embowed arch-worke, demanded of his hoſt whether the trees in that countrey grew ſquare or no? When he was asked why he forbad to make warre often againſt the ſame enemies: For feare (quoth he) that being forced eftſoones to ſtand upon their owne guard and put themſelves in defence, they ſhould in the end become well experienced in the warres: in which regard *Ageſilaus* afterwards was greatly blamed for being the cauſe by his continuall expeditions and invaſions into *Bœotia,* that the Thebans were equall in armes unto the Lacedæmonians. Another asked alſo of him, why he enjoined maidens marriageable to exerciſe their bodies in running, wreſtling, pitching the barre, flinging coits, and lancing of darts? For this purpoſe (quoth he) that the firſt rooting of their children which they are to breed, taking faſt and ſure holde in able bodies wel ſet and ſtrongly knit, might ſpring and thrive the better within them, and they alſo themſelves being more firme and vigorous, beare children afterward the better, be prepared and exerciſed (as it were) to endure the paines and travels of child-birth eaſily and ſtoutly, over and beſides, if need required, be able to fight in defence of themſelves, their children and countrey. Some there were who found fault with the cuſtome that he brought in, that the maidens of the city at certeine feſtivall daies ſhould dance naked in ſolemne ſhewes and pomps that were ſet, demanding the cauſe thereof? to whom hee rendred this reaſon: That they performing the ſame exerciſes which men do, might be no leſſe enabled than they, either in ſtrength and health of body, or in vertue and generoſity of minde, and by that meanes checke and deſpiſe the opinion that the vulgar ſort had of them. And from hence it came, that *Gorgo* the wife of *Leonidas,* as we finde written, when a certeine dame and ladie of a forren countrey ſaid unto her: There be no other women but you Laconian wives, that have men at command; anſwered in this wiſe: For why? we onely are the women that beare men. Moreover, he debarred and kept thoſe men who remained unmarried, from the ſight of thoſe ſhewes where the yoong virgins aforeſaid danced naked; and that which more is, ſet upon them the note of infamie, in depriving them expreſly of that honour and ſervice which yonger folke are bound to yeeld unto their elders: in which doing, he had a great foreſight and providence to move his citizens to marriage and for to beget children; by occaſion whereof, there was never any man yet who miſliked and complained of that which was ſaid unto *Dercillidas,* by way of reproch, though otherwiſe he was a right good and valiant captaine; for when he came upon a time into a place, one of the yonger ſort there was, who would not deigne to riſe up unto him, nor give him any reverence; and this reaſon he gave: Becauſe (quoth he) as yet you have not begotten a childe to riſe up and doe his duety likewiſe to me. Another asked of him, wherefore he had ordeined that daughters ſhould be married without a dowrie or portion given with them? Becauſe (quoth he) for default of marriage-money none of them might ſtay long ere they were wedded, nor be hearkened after for their goods; but that every man regarding onely the maners and conditions of a yoong damoſell, might make choiſe of her whom he meaneth to eſpouſe, for her vertue onely; which is the reaſon alſo that he baniſhed out of *Sparta* all maner of painting, trimming, and artificiall embeliſhments to procure a ſuperficiall beauty and complexion. Having alſo prefixed and ſet downe a certeine time, within the which aſwell maidens as yoong men might marrie; one would needs know of him why he limited forth ſuch a definite terme? unto whom he anſwered: Becauſe their children might be ſtrong and luſtie, as being begotten and conceived of ſuch perſons as be already come to their full growth. Some woondered why hee would not allow that the new married bridegrome ſhould lie with his eſpouſe; but expreſly gave order that the moſt part of the day hee ſhould converſe with his companions, yea, and all the nights long, but whenſoever hee went to keepe company with his new wedded wife, it ſhould be ſecretly and with great heed and care that hee be not ſurprized or found with her? This (quoth he) is done to this end that they may be alwaies more ſtrong and in better plight of body: alſo that by not enjoying their delights and pleaſures to the full; their love might be ever freſh, and their infants betweene them more hardie and ſtout: furthermore, hee remooved out of the citie all precious and ſweete perfumes, ſaying: That they were no better than the verie marring and corruption of the good naturall oile; the art alſo of dying and tincture, which he ſaid was nothing elſe but the flatterie of the ſenſes: to be briefe, he made the citie *Sparta* inacceſſible (as I may ſay) for all jewelers and fine workmen, who profeſſe to ſet out and adorne the body: giving out, that ſuch by their lewd artificiall devices, do deprave and marre the good arts and myſteries in deed. In thoſe daies the honeſtie and pudicitie of dames was ſuch, and ſo far off were they from that tractable facilitie and eaſie acceſſe unto their love; which was afterwards, that adulterie among them was held for an unpoſſible and uncredible thing. And to this pupoſe may well be remembred the narration of one *Geradatas*, an ancient Spartane, of whom a ſtranger asked the queſtion: What puniſhment adulterers were to ſuffer in the citie of *Sparta*? for that, he ſaw, *Lycurgus* had ſet downe no expreſſe law in that behalfe: Why (quoth he) there is no adulterie among us: but when the other replied againe: Yea, but what and if there were? even the ſame anſwere made *Geradatas*, and none other: For how (quoth he) can there be an adulterer in *Sparta*, wherein all riches, all ſuperfluous delights and dainties, all outward trickings and embeliſhings of the bodie are deſpiſed and diſhonoured? and where ſhame of doing ill, honeſtie, reverence and obeiſance to ſuperiors carrie away all the credit and authoritie? One put himſelfe forward, and was in hand with him to ſet up and eſtabliſh the popular State of government in *Sparta*; unto whom hee anſwered: Begin it thy ſelfe firſt within thine owne houſe. And unto another who demaunded of him, why he ordained the ſacrifices in *Lacedæmon* ſo ſimple and of ſmal coſt? To the end (quoth he) that we ſhould never ceaſe and give over to worſhip and honour the gods. Alſo when hee permitted his citizens to practiſe thoſe exerciſes of the bodie onely, wherein they never ſtretched foorth their hands; he was required by one to yeeld a reaſon thereof: Becauſe (quoth he) none of us ſhould in taking paines be accuſtomed to be wearie or to faint, and give over at any time. Likewiſe being asked the reaſon why he gave order oftentimes to change the campe, and not in one place to lie long encamped? To the end (quoth he) that we might doe the greater damage to our enemies, and hurt more of them. Another was deſirous to know of him, why he forbad to give the aſſault unto any walles? unto whom he anſwered: For feare that the beſt men might not be killed, by a woman, a child, or ſome ſuch like perſon. Certaine Thebanes craved his advice and opinion touching the ſacrifice, divine ſervice, and dolefull moane which was ſolemnely made in the honour of *Leucothea*; unto whom he anſwered thus: If you take her for a goddeſſe, weepe not for her as if ſhe were a woman; if you ſuppoſe her to be a woman, ſacrifice not unto her as to a goddeſſe. Unto his citizens who demaunded of him, how they might put backe and repulſe the invaſions of their enemies? Marie (quoth he) if you continue poore, and none of you do covet to have more than another. Againe, when they would needs know why he would not have their citie to be walled about: Becauſe (ſaith he) that citie is never without a wal, which is environed and compaſſed about with valiant men, and not with bricke or ſtone. The Spartanes alſo were verie curious in trimming the haire of their heads, alledging for their warrant a certaine ſpeech of *Lycurgus* as touching that point, who was woont to ſay: That ſidehaire made them who were faire more beautifull, and thoſe that were foule, more hideous and terrible. Likewiſe he gave commaundement, that in their warres, when they had diſcomfited their enemies and put them to flight, to follow the chaſe ſo hardly, untill they were fully aſſured of the victorie, and then to retire withall ſpeed, ſaying: That it was no act of a generous ſpirit, nor beſeeming the brave minde of the Greekiſh nation, to maſſacre and execute thoſe who had quit the place and were gone; beſides, this alſo would be ſafe and commodious for themſelves, foraſmuch as the enemies who knew once their cuſtome, namely, to put thoſe to the ſword who obſtinately reſiſt and make head, and to ſpare thoſe and let them eſcape who flie before them; find by that meanes that flight is better than to ſtand to fight. A certaine man asked him, for what cauſe he would not ſuffer the ſouldiers to rifle and ſpoile the bodies of their enemies as they fell dead: For feare (quoth hee) leſt while they buſie themſelves, and ſtoupe forward to gather

ther the ſpoiles, they ſhould neglect their fight in the meane time, but rather entend onely with their povertie and want to keepe their range.

The Tyrant of *Sicilie Dionyſius* had ſent unto Lysander two ſutes of womens roabes, that he might chooſe whether of them he liked better, to carrie unto his daughter; but hee ſaid unto him: That ſhe herſelfe knew beſt which to chooſe, and what was fitteſt for herſelfe, and ſo he tooke both away with him. This *Lyſander* was a verie craftie and ſubtile foxe, who ordered and managed moſt part of his affaires by cunning caſts and deceitfull devices, eſteeming juſtice onely by utilitie, and honeſtie by profit; confeſſing in word that truth was better than falſhood; but meaſuring in deed the worth and price as well of the one as the other by commoditie. To them who reprooved and blamed him for conducting the moſt part of his enterpriſes by fraud and guile, and not by plaine direct force, a thing unwoorthy the magnanimity of *Hercules*, hee would laugh and anſwere: That where he could not atchieve a thing by the lions skin, hee muſt needes ſow thereto a piece of the foxes caſe. And when others charged and accuſed him mightily, for that he had violated and broken his oath, which he had made in the citie *Miletum*, he uſed to ſay: That children were to be deceived with cock-all-bones, but men with oaths: Having defaited the Athenians in a battell by meanes of an ambuſh, in a certaine place called the Goats-rivers, and afterward preſſed them ſo ſore with famine, that he forced them to yeeld the citie unto his mercie, he wrote unto the *Ephori* thus: *Athens* is woon. The Lacedæmonians in his time were at ſome difference with the Argives about their confines; and it ſeemed that the Argives alledged better reaſons, and brought forth more direct evidences for themſelves than the other; whereupon he came among them and drew his ſword, ſaying: They that are the mightier with this, plead beſt for their confines. Seeing the Bœotians as he paſſed thorow their countrey, hanging in equall ballance, and as yet not reſolved and certaine to which ſide for to range themſelves, he ſent one unto them for to know whether they would chuſe, that he marched thorow their lands with ſpeares and pikes upright, or bending downeward and trailing. In a certaine aſſembly of the eſtates of *Greece*, there was a Megarian who ſpake bravely and audaciouſly unto him: Thy words my friend (quoth he) have need of a citie; meaning thereby, that he was of too weake and ſmall a citie, as to give ſuch glorious words. The Corinthians rebelled upon a time, whereupon he advaunced with his forces againſt their walles, which the Lacedæmonians ſeemed to aſſaile verie coldly: but at the verie inſtant there was eſpied an hare, running croſſe over the towne ditch: whereupon he tooke occaſion to ſay: Are yee not aſhamed in deed ô yee Spartanes, to feare ſuch enemies, who are ſo idle and ſtirre ſo little abroad, that hares can ſleepe quietly, even under their verie walles. When hee was at *Samothrace* to conſult with the oracle there; the prieſt was in hand with him to confeſſe what was the moſt wicked and enormious act that ever hee did in all his life time: whereupon hee asked the prieſt againe: Whether is it your ſelfe or the gods that would know thus much, and impoſeth this confeſſion upon mee? The gods (quoth the prieſt) would have it ſo: Why then (quoth he) retire you aſide out of my ſight, and if they demaund the ſame of mee, I will anſwere them. A certaine Perſian asked him what kinde of government hee liked beſt and praiſed moſt: Even that (quoth hee) which ordeineth for cowards and hardy men that reward and hire which is meet for them. Another ſaid unto him: That in every place where he came hee was ready to commend and defend him: I have (quoth he againe) in my grounds two oxen, and neither of them ſpeaks a word; howbeit, I know for al that, which is good of deed, and which is idle and lazie at his worke. There was one who let flie at him divers odious and reprochfull words: Speake on good fellow (quoth he) out with it hardly and ſpare not, vomit up all and leave nothing behinde, if haply thou canſt rid and purge thy heart of all the wicked venim wherewith thou ſeemeſt to ſwell. Some time after, when he was dead, there aroſe variance betweene the allies of *Sparta* as touching certaine matters; and for to know the truth and ſettle all cauſes among them, *Ageſilaus* went to *Lyſanders* houſe, for to ſearch certaine papers that might give light and evidence to the thing in controverſie; and among other writings he chaunced to light upon an oration or pamphlet penned by him as touching policie & the State; wherein he ſeemed to perſwade the Spartans to take the roialtie and regall dignitie from the houſes of the *Eurytionidæ* and *Agiadæ*, and to bring it to a free election of the citizens, that they might chuſe for their kings out of all the citie thoſe who were approoved and knowen for the woorthieſt men, and not to be obliged for to take and admit of neceſſitie one of *Hercules* line; ſo as the crowne and regall ſtate might be conferred as a reward and honour upon him who in vertue reſembled *Hercules* moſt, conſidering that it was by the meanes thereof, that unto him were aſſigned the honors due unto the gods: now was *Ageſilaus* fully bent to have publiſhed this oration before al the citizens, to the end that they might take knowledge how *Lyſander* was another kind of man than he had beene taken for, and withall to traduce thoſe that were his friends and bring them into obloquie, ſuſpicion, and trouble: but by report *Lacratidas* the principall man, and preſident of the *Ephori*, fearing leſt if this oration were once divulged & openly read, it might take effect, and perſwade that indeed which it pretended; ſtaied *Ageſilaus* and kept him from doing ſo, ſaying: That he ſhould not now rake *Lyſander* out of his grave, but rather enterre and burie the oration together with him, ſo wittily and artificially compoſed it was, and ſo effectuall to perſwade. Certaine gentlemen there were of the citie, who during his life were ſuters to his daughters in mariage; but after his death when his eſtate was knowen to be but poore, they deſiſted and caſt them off, whereupon the *Ephori* condemned them in great fines, for that they made court unto them, ſo long as they eſteemed him wealthy; but afterwards when they found by his poore eſtate that he was a righteous and juſt man, they made no more reckoning of his daughters but diſdained them.

NAMERTES being ſent as embaſſadour into a forren countrey, there chanced to be one of thoſe parts who ſaid unto him: That he held and reputed him for an happie man, becauſe he had ſo many friends; unto whom he replied and asked: Whether he knew the true proofe whereby a man might be aſſured that he had many friends? the other anſwered: No, but I pray you tell me: Why then (quoth he) it is * adverſitie.

* Or, proſperitie.

NICANDER, when one brought him, word that the Argives ſpake ill of him: It makes no matter (quoth he) are they not ſufficiently chaſtiſed and puniſhed for railing upon good men? One asked of him wherefore the Lacedæmonians wore their haire long of their heads, & ſuffred likewiſe their beards to grow ſide; unto whom he anſwered: Becauſe a mans owne proper ornament is of all other the faireſt, and coſteth leaſt. A certaine Athenian being in communication with him, caſt out this word: All you Lacedæmonians (*Nicander*) love your eaſe well, and are idle: You ſay true indeed (quoth he) but we buſie not our ſelves as you doe in every trifling matter.

PANTHOIDAS, being ſent in embaſſage into *Aſia,* was ſhewed by the people of thoſe parts a certaine ſtrong citie well fortified with high and goodly wals: Now by the gods (quoth he) my friends, this ſeemes to be a trim cloiſter to mue up women in. In the ſchoole of *Academie* the philoſophers diſcourſed and diſputed as touching many good themes, and after they had made an end, they ſaid unto him: Now good ſir ô *Panthoidas,* how like you theſe diſcourſes? What ſhould I thinke of them elſe (quoth he) but that they are goodly and honeſt in ſhew, but ſurely profitable they are not, nor edifie at all, ſo long as your ſelves doe not live accordingly.

PAUSANIAS the ſonne of *Cleombrotus*, when the inhabitants of the iſle *Delos* were at debate, and pleaded for the proprietie of the ſaid iſle againſt the Athenians, alleaging for themſelves that by an old law (time out of minde) obſerved among them, there might none of their women beare children within the ſaid iſland, nor any of their dead be buried there: How then (quoth he) can this iſle be yours, if none of you were ever borne or buried there? When certaine exiled perſons from *Athens* ſollicited him to leade his armie againſt the Athenians, and for to provoke him rather thereto, ſaid: That they were the onely men who hiſſed and whiſtled at the naming of him, when he was declared victor in the ſolemnitie of the Olympick games: But what thinke you (quoth he) will they doe when we have wrought them ſome ſhrewd turne, ſince they ſticke not to hiſſe at us being their benefactors? Another asked of him, wherefore the Lacedæmonians had enfranchized the poet *Tyrteus* their denizen? Becauſe (quoth he) we never would be thought to have a ſtranger or alien our leader and governour. There was a very weak and feeble man of bodie who nevertheleſſe ſeemed very earneſt and inſtant to make warre upon the enemies, and to give them battell both on ſea and land: Will you (quoth he) ſtrip your ſelfe out of your clothes, that we may ſee what a goodly man of perſon you are, to moove and perſwade us for to fight? Some there were who ſeeing the ſpoiles that were taken from the dead bodies of the Barbarians after they were ſlaine in the field, marveiled much at their ſumptuous and coſtly clothes: It had been better (quoth he) that themſelves had beene of more valour, and their habilements of leſſe valew. After the victorie which the Greeks wan of the Perſians before the citie *Plateæ*, he commaunded thoſe about him to ſerve him up to the table that ſupper which the Perſians had provided for themſelves, which being woonderfull exceſſive and ſuperfluous: Now *Par-die* (quoth he) the Perſians are great gourmaunders and greedy gluttons, who having ſo great ſtore of viands come hither among us, for to eate up our browne bread and courſe bisket.

Pausanias the ſonne of *Pliſtonax*, unto one who asked him, why it was not lawfull in their countrey to alter any of their auncient ſtatutes, made this anſwer: Becauſe lawes ought to be miſtreſſes of men, and not men maſters of the lawes. Being exiled from *Sparta*, and making his abode within the citie *Tegea*, he highly praiſed the Lacedæmonians; one of the ſtanders by ſaid unto him: And why then ſtaied not you at *Sparta*, if there be ſo good men there? why I ſay fled you from thence? Becauſe (quoth he) phyſicians doe not uſe to keepe where folke be ſound and whole, but where they are ſicke and diſeaſed. One came to him and ſaid: How ſhall we be able to defait & conquer the Thracians? Mary (quoth he) if we chuſe the valianteſt man for our captaine. A certaine Phyſician adviſed & looked upon him very wiſtly, & after he had well conſidered his perſon, ſaid: Thou aileſt nothing, neither is there any evil in thee: I thinke ſo (quoth he) becauſe I uſe none of thy counſell & phyſick. His friends reprooved him for ſpeaking ill of a phyſician, of whom he had no proofe nor experience, and at whoſe hands he had received no harme: True indeed (quoth he) I have made no triall of him; for if I had, ſurely I ſhould not have bene a lives-man at this day. When a Phyſician ſaid unto him: You are now become old ſir: Thou ſaiſt trueth (quoth he) becauſe I have not enterteined thee for to miniſter phyſicke unto me. He was wont alſo to ſay: That he was the beſt Phyſician, who would not let his patients rot above ground, but diſpatch them at once, and ſend them quickly to their graves.

Paedaretus, when one ſaid unto him: There is a great number of our enemies: Then (quoth he) ſhall we win greater honour, for kill we may the more of them. Seeing one who by nature was a very daſtard and coward, howbeit, commended otherwiſe by his fellow-citizens for his modeſtie and mildneſſe: I would not have men (quoth he) praiſed for being like women, nor women for reſembling men, unleſſe peradventure a woman be driven upon ſome occaſion of extremitie to play the man. Having the repulſe upon a time, when hee ſhould have bene choſen into the counſell of the three hundred, which was the moſt honourable degree of State in all the citie, he departed from the aſſembly all jocund, mery and ſmiling; and when the *Ephori* called him backe againe, and demanded of him why he laughed? Becauſe (quoth he) I joy in the behalfe of the citie, that it hath in it three hundred better and more ſufficient citizens than my ſelfe.

Pliſtarchus the ſonne of *Leonidas*, when one enquired of him the cauſe why they caried not the denomination of their families from the names of their firſt kings, but of the later? Becauſe (quoth he) thoſe in the olde time * choſe rather to be leaders than kings; but their ſucceſſors not. There was a certeine advocate at the barre, who in pleading for his client, was full of his jeſts and frumps, never ceaſing to ſcoffe and move laughter: My friend (quoth he unto him) do you not conſider and regard, that in ſeeming to make others for to laugh, you will cauſe your ſelfe to be ridiculous and a laughing ſtocke? even as thoſe who by wreſtling oft become good wreſtlers? Report there was made unto him one day of a certeine foule-tongued fellow, who uſed to ſlander and back-bite all men, and yet ſpake all good of him: I wonder much (quoth he) if no man tolde him that I was dead; for ſurely he cannot for his life affoord any man living one good word.

* Some reade thus: Were compelled of neceſſitie to be captaines or kings.

Pliſtonax the ſonne of *Pauſanius*, when a certeine Athenian oratour called the Lacedæmonians, unlettered and ignorant perſons: Thou ſaieſt true (quoth he) for we alone of all other Greeks, are the men who have learned no naughtineſſe of you.

Polydorus the ſonne of *Alcamenes*, ſaid unto one who ordinarily did nothing els but menace his enemies: Doeſt not thou perceive how thou ſpendeſt the moſt part of thy revenge in theſe threats? He led upon a time the army from *Lacedæmon* againſt the citie of *Meſſene*; and one demanded of him, whether his heart would ſerve to fight againſt brethren? No (quoth he) but I can finde in mine heart to march into that inheritance which is not yet ſet out and parted by lots. The Argives, after the diſcomfiture of their three hundred men who fought againſt ſo many of the Lacedæmonians, were defaited a ſecond time, all in a ranged battell; by reaſon whereof, the allies and confederates of the Lacedæmonians were earneſt with *Polydorus* not to let ſlip ſo good an opportunitie, but to follow the traine of victory, and to go directly to the oppugnation of their city walles, and to win it by force; which he might effect right eaſily, conſidering that all the men were killed up in the field, and none but women left alive within, to defend the citie; unto whom he anſwered: I am well appaied, and take this for my great honour and glory, that I have vanquiſhed mine enemies in battell, fighting on even-hand ſo many to ſo many; but being to determine the quarrell by dint of ſword for our confines onely, and having exploited that, to proceed forward, and covet to aſſault and winne their city, I holde it not to be juſt and equall; for come I am to recover thoſe lands of ours which they occupied, and not to ſeize upon their home-ſtalles. Being demanded why the Lacedæmonians expoſed themſelves ſo manfully to the hazzard of warre? It is (quoth he) becauſe they have learned to reverence, and not to feare their rulers and captaines.

POLYCRATIDAS being ſent with others, in ambaſſage to the lieutenants of the king of *Perſia*, when they demanded of him & the reſt, whether they were come of their own proper motion, or ſent by commiſſion from the State? If we ſpeed of that (quoth he) which we demand, then are we come in the behalfe of the common weale; but if we miſſe, we come of our owne heads.

PHOEBIDAS immediatly before the battell of *Leuctres*, when ſome gave out, and ſaid: This day will trie and ſhew who is a good man: Such a day (quoth hee) is much worth in deed, if it be able to ſhew a good man.

SOUS, as it is reported (being upon a time ſtraightly beſieged by the Clitorians, in a place which was very rough and without water) made offer to render into their hands all thoſe lands which he had conquered from them, in caſe that he and all his company might drinke at a certeine fountaine which was neere at hand: the Clitorians accorded thereto, and this covenant was concluded and confirmed by oath betweene them: ſo hee aſſembled all his men together, and declared unto them: That if there were any amongſt them would abſteine from drinke, he would reſigne up into his hands all his ſovereigne power and roialtie; but there was not one of all his troupe who could conteine and forbeare, ſo exceeding thirſty they were all; but everie man drunke heartily, himſelfe onely excepted, who went laſt downe to the ſpring, where he did nothing els but coole and beſprinckle his body without, in the preſence of his very enemies, not taking one drop inwardly: by which evaſion, he would not afterwards yeeld up the foreſaid lands, but alledged that they had not all drunke.

TELECRUS when one came unto him & ſaid: That his owne father gave him alwaies hard words; made him this anſwer: Surely, if there were not cauſe to uſe ſuch ſpeeches, he would never ſpeake ſo. His brother alſo was diſcontented, and complained in this wiſe; The citizens do not beare mee ſuch favour and kindneſſe as they ſhew in your behalfe; notwithſtanding we are the ſonnes of one father and mother; but they miſuſe me moſt injuriouſly: The reaſon is (quoth he) becauſe you know not how to put up a wrong as I doe. Being demaunded why the cuſtome was in their country, that yoong men ſhould riſe up from their places where they were ſet, and do reverence unto their elders: It is (quoth he) to this end, that in doing this honor unto thoſe, who nothing belonged unto them, they might learne ſo much the more to honour their parents. Unto another that asked him of what wealth he was, and how much goods he had? he anſwered: I have no more than will ſuffice.

CHARILLUS being asked the queſtion why *Lycurgus* had given them ſo few lawes? Becauſe (quoth he) they have no need at all of many lawes who ſpeake but little. Another demaunded of him the cauſe, why at *Sparta* they ſuffered to goe foorth into publick place, virgins with their faces open, but wives vailed and covered: For that (quoth he) maidens might finde them out husbands to be wedded unto, and wives keepe thoſe whom they have maried already. One of the ſlaves (called Ilotes) behaved himſelfe vpon a time over boldly and malapertly with him; unto whom he ſaid: Were I not angrie, I would kill thee at my foot. One asked him what kind of government he eſteemed beſt? Even that (quoth he) wherein moſt men, in managing of publicke affaires without quarrels and ſedition, ſtrive a vie who ſhall be moſt vertuous. And unto another who would needs know the reaſon, why at *Sparta* the images and ſtatues of the gods were made in armor? he ſhaped this anſwer: To the end that the reproches which are faſtned upon men for cowardiſe, might not take hold of them; alſo that yoong men ſhould never without their armes make their praiers unto the gods.

Apophthegmes of Spartanes and Laconians, whoſe names are not expreſſed.

The Samiens had ſent certaine embaſſadors unto *Sparta*, who after audience given, were very long and ſomewhat tedious in their orations; but when they had found the way to make an end, THE LORDS OF SPARTA made them this anſwer; The beginning of your ſpeech we have forgotten, and we conceived not the reſt becauſe the beginning was out of our remembrance. The Thebanes upon a time had conteſted bravely, and contradicted them ſtoutly in certaine points in queſtion, unto whom they anſwered thus: Either leſſe hearts, or more puiſſance. There was one asked a Lacedæmonian upon a time why he let his beard grow ſo long? Becauſe (quoth he) whenſover I ſee my hoary and grey haires, I might be put in minde to doe nothing unbeſeeming them. When another highly praiſed certaine men for moſt valiant : a Lacedæmonian heard him and ſaid : Oh, ſuch were ſometime at *Great Troy*. Another of them hearing it ſpoken, that in certaine cities men were forced to drink after ſupper : And doe they not (quoth he) compell them alſo to eate ? The poet *Pindarus* in one of his canticles nameth the citie of *Athens* the prop of al *Greece*: Thẽ wil *Greece* quickly come tumbling down (quoth a Laconian) if it beare but upon ſo ſleight a pillar. Another beheld a painted table, wherin was the pourtrature of the Lacedæmonians, how they were killed by the Athenians, and when one that ſtood by ſaid; Now ſurely theſe Atheniãs be valiant men: Yea mary (quoth he) in a picture. There was one ſeemed to take pleaſure in hearing certaine opprobrious and ſlanderous words untruely given out againſt a Laconian, & to beleeve the ſame; but the partie thus miſuſed ſaid : Ceaſe to lend your eare againſt me. Another when he was puniſhed, went crying; If I have don amiſſe it was againſt my wil: Why then (anſwered a Laconian) let it be againſt thy wil alſo that thou art puniſhed. Another ſeeing men going forth of the countrey, ſet at their eaſe within coches: (God forbid (quoth he) that I ſhould ſit there where I can not riſe up to doe my dutie unto him that is elder than my ſelfe. Certaine Chians there were, who being come to ſee the citie of *Sparta*, chaunced to be well whittled and ſtarke drunke, who after ſupper went to ſee alſo the conſiſtorie of the *Ephori*, where they caſt up their gorges, yea and that which more is, both vomited and diſcharged their guts, even upon the very chaires where the *Ephori* was wont to ſit : the morrow after, the Lacedæmonians made great ſearch and diligent enquirie at the firſt, who they were that thus had plaid the ſlovens and beaſts, and namely whether they were any of their owne citie or no : but when they underſtood that they were theſe ſtrangers and travellers from *Chios*, they made open proclamation with ſound of trumpet; That they gave the Chians leave thus filthily to abuſe themſelves. Another Laconian ſeeing hard almonds ſold at the double price: What (quoth he) are ſtones ſo geaſon heere? Another having plucked all the feathers off from a nightingale, and ſeeing what a little body it had : Surely (quoth he) thou art all voice and nothing elſe. There was likewiſe a Lacedæmonian, who ſeeing the cynick philoſopher *Diogenes* in the mids of winter when it was extreme cold, embraſing and clipping a braſen ſtatue very devoutly, asked him if he chilled not for cold? and when the other anſwered, No; Why then (quoth he) what great matter doe you? A certaine Laconian reproched upon a time one borne in *Metapontium*, ſaying; They were all cowards and falſe-hearted like women : If it be ſo (quoth the Metapontine) how is it that wee hold ſo much of other mens lands as wee doe? Why then (replied the Laconian) I ſee that you are not cowards onely, but unjuſt alſo. A traveller being come to *Sparta* for to ſee the citie, ſtood upright a long while upon one foote onely, and ſaid unto a Laconian I doe not thinke thou canſt ſtand ſo long of one leg as I do : Not I indeed (quoth the other) but there is not a gooſe but can do as much. There was one vaunted greatly what a Rhetorician he was, and namely that he was able to perſwade what he would; Now by *Caſtor* and *Pollux* I ſweare (quoth a Laconian) there never was, nor ever will be any arte indeed without verity. A certaine Argive boaſted much, that there were in their citie many graves & tombes of the Lacedæmonians : And contrariwiſe (quoth a Laconian) there is not among us one ſepulcher of the Argives; giving him thus much to underſtand, that the Lacedæmonians had many times entred with a puiſſant armie into the countrey of *Argos*, but the Argives never into the territorie of *Sparta*. A Laconian being taken priſoner in warre (when hee ſhould bee ſold in port ſale, as the crier began with a loud voice to pronounce : Who will buy a Laconian, who) put his hand to the criers mouth and ſaid: Cry for Gods ſake who wil buy a priſoner? One of thoſe mercenary ſoldiers whom king *Lyſimachus* waged, being demanded of him this queſtion; Art thou one of theſe Lacedæmonian Ilots? Why, thinke you (quoth the other) that a Lacedæmonian will deigne to come and ſerve for foure obols by the day? After that the Thebans had defaited the Lacedæmonians at the battell of *Leuctres*, they invaded the countrey of *Laconia*, ſo farre as to the verie river *Eurotas*; and one of them in boaſting & glorious maner, began to ſay; And where be now theſe brave Laconians? what is become of them? a Laconian who was a captive among them, ſtraight waies made this anſwer: They are no where now indeed, for if they were, you would never have come thus farre as you doe. At what time as the Athenians delivered up their owne citie into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, for to be at their diſcretion, they requeſted that at leaſtwiſe they would leave them the iſle *Samos* : unto whom the Laconians made this anſwer: When you are not maſters of your owne, doe you demand that which is other mens: hereupon aroſe the common proverbe throughout all *Greece* :

Who cannot that which was his owne ſave,
The Iſle of Samos *would yet faine have.*

The Lacedæmonians forced upon a time a certaine citie,and wan it by aſſault; which the *Ephori* being advertiſed of, ſaid thus: Now is the exerciſe of our yoong men cleane gone, now ſhall they have no more concurrents to keepe them occupied. When one of their kings made promiſe unto them for to raſe another citie and deſtroy it utterly (if they ſo would) which oftentimes before had put thoſe of *Lacedæmon* to much trouble; the ſaid *Ephori* would not permit him,ſaying thus unto him: Doe not emoliſh and take away quite the whetſtone that giveth an edge to the harts of our youth.The ſame *Ephori* would never allow that there ſhould be any profeſſed maſters, to teach their yong men for to wreſtle and exerciſe other feats of activitie: To this end (ſay they) that there might bee jealouſie and emulation among them, not in artificiall ſlight, but in force and vertue. And therefore when one demaunded of *Lyſander*,how *Charon* had in wreſtling overcome him and laid him along on the plaine ground: Even by ſlight and cunning (quoth he)and not by pure ſtrength. *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, before he made entrie into their country,wrote unto them to this effect: Whether they had rather that he entred as a friend,or as an enemie: unto whom they returned this anſwer; Neither one nor the other. When they had ſent an embaſſador to *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*,having intelligence that the ſaid embaſſadour in parle with him, eftſoones gave him the name of King, they condemned him to pay a fine when he was returned home; notwithſtanding that hee brought as a preſent and gratuitie from the ſaid *Demetrius*, in time of extreme famine, a certain meaſure of corne called *Medimnus*, for every poll throughout the whole citie. It hapned that a leud and wicked man delivered in a certaine conſultation very good counſell: this advice of his they approoved right well, howbeit receive it they would not comming out of his mouth, but cauſed it to be pronounced by another who was knowen to be a man of good life.Two brethren there were at variance,and in ſute of law together; the *Ephori* ſet a good fine upon their fathers head, for that he neglected his ſonnes, and ſuffred them to maintaine quarrell and debate one againſt another. A certaine muſician who was a ſtranger and a traveller,they likewiſe condemned to pay a ſumme of money, for that he ſtrake the ſtrings of his harpe with his fingers. Two boies fought together, and one gave the other a mortall wound with a ſickle or reaping hooke; & when the boy that was hurt lay at the point of death, & was ready to yeeld up the ghoſt,other companions of his promiſed to be revenged for his death,and to kill the other, who thus deadly had wounded him: Doe not ſo I beſeech you(quoth he)as you love the gods, for that were injuſtice; and euen I my ſelfe had done as much for him, if I had beene ought, and could have raught him firſt. There was another yong lad,unto whom certaine mates and fellows of his(in that ſeaſon wherin yong lads were permitted freely to filtch whatſoever they could handſomely come by, but reputed it was a ſhamefull and infamous thing for them to be ſurprized and taken in the maner)brought a yong cub or little foxe to keepe alive,which they had ſtollen:thoſe who had loſt the ſaid cub came to make ſearch; now had this lad hidden it cloſe under his clothes, & the unhappie beaſt being angred,gnawed & bit him in the flanke as far as to his very bowels, which he endured reſolutely,and never quetched at it, for feare he ſhould be diſcovered: but after all others were gone and the ſearch paſt, when his companions ſaw what a ſhrewd turne the curſt cub had done him;they chid him for it,ſaying: That it had been far better to have brought forth the cub and ſhewed him, rather than to hide him thus with danger of death: Nay Iwis (quoth he) for I had rather die with all the dolorous torments in the world, than for to ſave my life ſhamefully to be detected ſo, for want of a good heart. Some there were who encountred certaine Laconians upon the way in the countrey, unto whom they ſaid: Happie are you that can come now this way, for the theeves are but newly gone from hence: Nay forſooth(by god *Mars* we ſweare) we are never the happier therefore; but they rather,becauſe they are not fallen into our hands. One demaunded of a Laconian upon a time, what he knew and was ſkilfull in? Mary in this, to be free. A yoong lad of *Sparta* being taken priſoner by King *Antigonus*, and ſold among other captives,obeied him who had bought him in all things that he thought meet for to be done by a freeman; but when he commaunded to bring him an urinall or chamberpot to piſſe in; he would not endure that indignitie, but ſaid: Fetch it your ſelfe for me, I am no ſervant for you in ſuch miniſteries: now when his maſter urged him thereto and preſſed hard upon him, hee ran up to the ridge or roofe of the houſe, and ſaid: You ſhall ſee what an one you have bought; and with that caſt himſelfe downe with his head forward, and brake his owne necke. Another there was to be ſold; and when the partie who was about him, ſaid thus: Wilt thou be good and profitable if I doe buy thee? Yea that I will (quoth he) though you never buy me. Another there was likewiſe upon ſale in open market, and when the crier proclaimed aloud: Here is a ſlave, who buies him, who? A ſhame take thee (quoth he) couldſt not thou ſay, a captive or priſoner, but a ſlave. A Laconian had for the badge or enſigne of his buckler a flie painted, and the ſame no bigger than one is naturally; whereupon ſome mocked him and ſaid: That he had mad choiſe of this enſigne, becauſe he would not be knowen by it: Nay rather (quoth he) I did it, becauſe I would be the better marked: for I meane to approch mine enemies ſo neere, that they may ſee how great or little my cogniſance is. Another there was, who when there was tendered unto him at the end of a banquet, the harpe to play upon according to the cuſtome of *Greece*, refuſed it and ſaid: The Laconians have not yet learned to play the fooles. One asked a Spartan once, if the way that led to *Sparta*, were ſafe or no? but he anſwered thus: Even acccording as a man doth goe downe thither: for * they who goe thither as lions, bee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the ſhade of their borroughs. In wreſtling it chanced that a Laconian was caught hold on by the necke, and notwithſtanding that he ſtrove what he could to make the other leave his hold; yet hee forced him and made him ſtoupe groveling downeward to the ground: the Laconian ſeeing himſelfe feeble in the reines of the backe, and at the point to be laide along, bit the others arme who held him ſo hard, whereupon hee began to crie: What thou Laconian, doeſt thou bite like women? No (quoth he) but I bite as lions uſe to do. A certaine Laconian who was maimed and lame of his legge, went to warfare, whereupon ſome mocked him; but hee ſaid unto them: It is not for thoſe to goe into the warres who are good of foot-manſhip and can runne away apace; but ſuch as are able to make good their ground and keepe well their ranke. Another Laconian being ſhot thorow the body with an arrow, when he was at the point to yeeld up his vitall breath, ſaid thus: It never grieves me to leeſe my life, but to die by the hand of an effeminate archer, before I came to hand-ſtrokes, that is it that troubleth me. Another being come to an hoſtelrie or inne to be lodged in, gave his hoſte that kept the inne, a piece of fleſh to dreſſe for his ſupper; but hee called for cheeſe beſides and oyle: And what needes that (quoth the Laconian) if I had cheeſe, do you thinke that I would deſire to have any viands more? Another hearing the marchant named *Lampis* borne in *Aegina*, highly praiſed and eſteemed happie, for that he was exceeding rich, and had many great ſhips going at ſea: I never (quoth hee) make reckoning of that felicitie, which hangeth by ropes and cords. Another likewiſe anſwered unto one who ſaid unto him: Thou lieſt Laconian: And why not (quoth he) wee are free, as for others that happen to ſpeake untruths, they are wel puniſh for it and crie out, alas. There was a Laconian who laboured hard to make a dead body ſtand upright upon his feet; but when he ſaw that he could not bring his purpoſe to effect, do what he could: Now by *Jupiter* (quoth hee) there wanteth ſomewhat that ſhould bee within. *Tynnichus* the Laconian, when his ſonne *Thraſybulus* was ſlaine in the warre, tooke his death verie well and like a man, whereupon was this Epigram made:

* Otherwiſe thus: We go forth to chaſe lions, but hares we hunt in their harborroughs.

Thy body was upon the ſheild
ô Thraſybulus *brought*
All breathleſſe to the armed troup,
from place where thou hadſt fought:
Seven deadly wounds at Argives hands
thou didſt receive in fight,
And on the forepart of thy corps,
thou ſhewd'ſt them all in ſight.
Thy father old Sir Tynnichus
it tooke with blood beraid,
And putting it in funerall fire,
with good cheere thus he ſaid:
Let cowards weepe and waile thy death;
but I thy father kinde,
Will ſhed no teares, nor ſemblance make
of ſad and grieved minde:
But thee enterre (my ſonne) as doth

beſeeme thy fathers child,
And as a true Laconian,
who loves to die in field.

The maſter of the baines where *Alcibiades* the Athenian was woont to bathe and waſh himſelfe, powred great ſtore of water upon his bodie more than ordinarily upon others; a Laconian being then by ſaid: It ſeemeth that he is not cleane and neat, but that he is exceeding foule and filthie, that he beſtoweth ſo much water upon him. When King *Philip* of *Macedonia* entred with a maine army into *Laconia,* at what time as it was thought all the Lacedæmonians were killed up and dead, he ſaid unto one of the Spartanes: O poore Laconians, what will you do now? what elſe (quoth the Laconian) but die valiantly like men; for we alone of all other Greeks have beene taught to live free and not to ſerve in bondage under any others. After that King *Agis* was vanquiſhed; *Antipater* the king demaunded of the Lacedæmonians for hoſtages, fiftie children of theirs: *Eteocles* one of the *Ephori* for the time being, returned this anſwere: That hee would not deliver into his hands any of their children, for feare they would learne ill manners and lewd conditions; for that they ſhould not be brought up and nourtered in the diſcipline of their owne countrey, and wanting it they would not proove ſo much as good citizens; but if he would be ſo cōtent, he ſhould receive for pledges women or old men, twice as many. And when he menaced hereupon and ſaid: That he would worke him all the deſpite that poſſibly he could; they anſwered all with one accord: If thou impoſe upon us thoſe conditions which are more grievous than death, we ſhall die with ſo much the better will. One old man deſirous to ſee the combats at the Olympicke games, could not get a roome to ſit in, but paſſed along by manie places, and no man would make him roome, but fell to laugh and made good game at him, untill he came at length to that quarter of the whole theater, whereas the Lacedæmonians were ſet; and there all the children, yea and many of the men roſe up unto him, and offered him their place: all the whole aſſembly of the Greekes obſerved well this behaviour of theirs, and with great applauſe and clapping of hands, approoved and praiſed the ſame: then the good olde father

Shaking his head with haires all gray,
His beard alſo as hoare as they.

and weeping withall: Ah, God helpe (quoth he) what a world is this? that Greeks ſhould all of them know well enough what is good and honeſt; but the Lacedæmonians onely practiſe it? Some write, that the ſame hapned in *Athens* alſo, at the feſtivall ſolemnitie called *Panathenæa*; where thoſe of *Attica* plaied mock-holiday, and made themſelves mery with a poore olde man, who they ſeemed to call unto them (as it were) to give him a place among them; but after hee was come to them, no roome he could have with them, but was well mocked and frumped for his labour: howbeit, when he had paſſed along by all the reſt, at length he came to a place where certeine ambaſſadours of *Lacedæmon* were ſet, and they made him roome, and ſet him among them: the people there aſſembled, taking great pleaſure to ſee this act, clapped their hands aloud, with great acclamation, in token that they approoved it: then one of the Spartans, who there was: By the two twin-gods, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) I ſweare, theſe Athenians know what is good and honeſt, but they doe not according to their knowledge. A begger upon a time craved almes of a Laconian, who anſwered him thus. But if I ſhould give thee any thing, thou wouldeſt make an occupation of it, and beg ſtill ſo much the more; for verily, whoſoever he was that firſt beſtowed almes upon thee, was the cauſe of this villanous life which thou leadeſt now, and hath made thee ſo vagrant and idle as thou art. Another Laconian ſeeing a collectour going about, and gathering mens devotions for the gods, ſaid thus: I will now make no more reckoning of the gods, ſo long as they be poorer than my ſelfe. A certeine Spartan having taken an adulterer in bed with his wife, a foule and ilfavoured woman: Wretched man that thou art (quoth he) what neceſſitie hath driven thee to this? Another having heard an oratour making long periods, and drawing out his ſentence in length: Now by *Caſtor* and *Pollux,* what a valiant man his here? how he rolleth and roundly turneth his tongue about, and all to no purpoſe. A traveller paſſing thorow *Lacedæmon,* marked among other things, what great honour and reverence yoong folke did to their elders: I perceive (quoth he) there is no place to *Sparta,* for an olde man to live in. A Spartan was upon a time asked the queſtion, what maner of Poet *Tyrtæus* was? A good Poet beleeve me (quoth he) to *whet and ſharpen the courages of yoong men to warre. Another having very badde and diſeaſed eies, would needs goe to warfare; and when others ſaid unto him: Wilt thou go indeed in that caſe as thou art in? what deed thinkeſt

* κακκνεῖν. Some interpret cleane contrary, & reade ἀγάλλειν, or καλλύνειν. i. to allure duty, gently handle, or adorne the minde.

thou to do there? Why (quoth he) if I do no other good els, I wil be ſure to dull the brightneſſe of mine enemies ſword. *Buris* and *Spertis*, two Lacedæmonians, voluntarily departed out of their countrey, and went to *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*, offering themſelves to ſuffer that paine and puniſhment, which the Lacedæmonians had deſerved by the ſentence of the oracle of the gods, for killing thoſe heralds which the king had ſent unto them; who being come before him, were deſirous that he ſhould put them to death in what maner he would himſelfe, for to acquit the Lacedæmonians: the king wondering at this reſolution of theirs, not onely pardoned the fault, but earneſtly requeſted them to ſtay with him, promiſing them liberall enterteinment: And how can we (ſay they) live here, abandoning our native ſoile, our lawes, and thoſe kinde of men, for whoſe ſake to die we have ſo willingly undertaken this long voiage? and when a great captaine under the king, named *Jndarnes*, intreated them ſtil very inſtantly, aſſuring them upon his word, that they ſhould be kindly uſed, and in equall degree of credit and honour, with thoſe who were in higheſt favour with the king, and moſt advanced by him, they ſaid unto him: It ſeemeth unto us ſir, that you full little know what is liberty and freedome; for he that wiſt what a jewell it were, if he be in his right wits, would not change the ſame for the whole realme of *Perſia*. A certeine Laconian as he way-fared, came unto a place where there dwelt an olde friend and hoſt of his, who the firſt day, of purpoſe avoided him and was out of the way, becauſe he was not minded to lodge him; but the morrow after, when he had either hired or borowed faire bedding, coverings and carpets, received him very ſtately; but this Laconian mounting up to his beds, trampled and ſtamped the faire and rich coverlets under his feet, ſaying withall: I beſhrew theſe fine beds and trim furniture, for they were the cauſe that yeſternight I had not ſo much as a mat to lie upon, when I ſhould ſleepe and take my reſt. Another of them, being arrived at the city of *Athens* and ſeeing there the Athenians going up and downe the city, ſome crying ſalt-fiſh to ſell, others fleſh and ſuch like viands; ſome like publicanes, ſitting at the receit of cuſtome, other profeſſing the trade of keeping brothel-houſes, and exerciſing many ſuch vile and baſe occupations, eſteeming nothing at all foule and diſhoneſt: after he was returned home into his owne countrey, when his neighbours and fellow-citizens aſked him, what newes at *Athens*, and how all things ſtood there? Paſſing well (quoth he) and it is the beſt place that ever I came in (which he ſpake by way of mockerie and deriſion) every thing there, is good and honeſt; giving them to underſtand, that all meanes of gaine and lucre, were held lawful & honeſt at *Athens*, and nothing there, was counted villanous and diſhoneſt. Another Laconian being aſked a queſtion, anſwered; No: and when the party who mooved the queſtion ſaid: Thou lieſt; the Laconian replied againe, and ſaid: See what a foole thou art, to aske me that which thou knoweſt well enough thy ſelfe! Certeine Laconians were ſent upon a time, ambaſſadours to *Lygdamis* the tyrant, who put them off from day to day, and haſted with them ſo, as he gave them no audience; at the laſt, it was tolde them, that hee was at all times weake and ill at eaſe, and not in caſe to be conferred with: the ambaſſadours thereupon ſaid unto him who brought this word unto them: Tell him from us, that we are not come to wreſtle, but to parle onely with him. A certeine prieſt, inducted a Laconian into the orders and ceremonies of ſome holy religion; but before that he would fully receive and admit him, he demanded of him what was the moſt grievous ſinne that ever he committed, and which lay heavieſt upon his conſcience? The gods know that beſt (quoth the Laconian: but when the prieſt preſſed hard upon him, and was very importunate, proteſting that there was no remedie, but he muſt needs utter and confeſſe it: Unto whom (quoth the Laconian) muſt I tell it, unto you or to the God whom you ſerve? Unto God (quoth the other:) Why then turne you behinde me (quoth hee) or retire aſide out of hearing. Another Laconian chanced in the night to goe over a church-yard by a tombe or monument, and imagined that he ſaw a ſpirit ſtanding before him; whereupon he advanced forward directly upon it with his javelin; and as he ran full upon it, and as he thought, ſtrake thorow it, he ſaid withall: Whither flieſt thou from me, ghoſt that thou art, now twiſe dead? Another having vowed to fling himſelfe headlong from the high Promontorie *Leucas*, downe into the ſea, mounted up the top thereof, but when hee ſaw, what an huge downfall it was, he gently came downe againe on his feet: now when one twitted and reproched him therefore: I wiſt not (quoth he) that this vow of mine had need of another greater than it. Another Laconian there was, who in a battell and hot medley, being fully minded to kill his enemie who was under him, and to that purpoſe had lifted up his ſword backe, to give him a deadly wound; ſo ſoone as ever hee heard the trumpet ſound the retreat, preſently ſtaied his hand, and would no more follow his ſtroake: now when one aſked him, why he ſlew not his enemie whom he had in his hands? Becauſe (quoth he) it is better to obey a captaine, than to kill an enemie. There was a Laconian tooke the foile in wreſtling at the Olympicke games; and when one cried aloud: Thy concurrent is better than thou, Laconian: Better (quoth he?) not ſo, but in deed he can ſkil better than I of ſupplanting and tripping.

THE CVSTOMES AND ORDINANCES AMONG THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

THE manner and cuſtome was at *Lacedæmon*, that when they entred into their publicke halles where they tooke their meats and meales together; the eldeſt man of the whole companie ſhould ſhew the doores unto everie one as they came, and ſay unto them: At theſe doores there goeth not forth ſo much as one word. The moſt exquiſite diſh among them was a meſſe of broth, which they called Blacke-pottage; inſomuch as when that was ſerved up to the table, the elder folke would not care for any fleſh meats, but leave all them ſame for the yoonger ſort. And (as it is reported) *Denys* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, for this purpoſe bought a cooke from *Lacedæmon*, and commaunded him to make him ſuch pottage and ſpare for no coſt; but after he had a little taſted thereof, he found it ſo bad that he caſt up all that he had taken of it; but his cooke ſaid unto him: Sir, if you would finde the goodneſſe of this broth, you muſt be exerciſed firſt after the Lacedæmonian manner, all watred, and be well waſhed in the river *Eurotas*. Now after the Laconians have eat & drunk ſoberly at theſe ordinaries, they returne home to their houſes without torch or any light before them: for it is not lawfull for any man at *Lacedæmon*, to go either from thence or to any place elſe with a light carried before him in the night; becauſe they ſhould bee accuſtomed to keepe their way, and goe confidently without feare, all night long in the darke without any light at all. To write and reade they learned for neceſſitie onely; as for all other forrein ſciences and literature they baniſhed them quite out of their coaſts, like as they did all ſtrangers and aliens: and in verie truth their whole ſtudie was to learne how to obey their ſuperiours, to endure patiently all travels, to vanquiſh in fight, or to die for it in the place. All the yeere long they went in one ſingle gaberdine without coat at all under it; and ordinarily they were foule and ſullied, as thoſe who uſed not the ſtouphes & baines, ne yet annointed themſelves for the moſt part. Their boies and yoong men commonly ſlept together in one dorter, by bands and troupes, upon pallets and courſe beds, which they themſelves gathered, breaking and tearing with their owne hands without any edged toole, the heads of canes and reeds which grew along the bankes of the river *Eurotas*: and in winter time they ſtrewed and mingled among, a certaine kind of Thiſtle-downe, which they call *Lycophanes*; for they are of opinion, that ſuch ſtuffe hath in it (I wot not what) which doth heat them. It was lawfull and permitted among them to love yoong boies for their good minds and vertuous natures; but to abuſe their perſons wantonly and fleſhly, was reputed a moſt infamous thing, as if ſuch were lovers of the bodie and not of the minde; in ſuch ſort, as whoſoever was accuſed and attaint thereof, became noted with infamie, and ſhame followed him whereſoever he went all his life time. The cuſtome was that elder folke when and whereſoever they met with yoonger, ſhould demaund whither and whereabout they went? yea and checke and chide them, if they were to ſeeke of a good anſwere or if they went about to deviſe colourable excuſes: and whoſoever he was that did not reproove him that did a fault in his preſence, incurred the ſame reprehenſion and blame as he did who tranſgreſſed; yea and if he chafed and ſhewed himſelfe diſcontented, when he was reprooved, he ſuſtained reproch, diſgrace and diſcredit thereby. If peradventure one were ſurpriſed and taken tardie in ſome fault; he muſt be brought to a certaine altar within the citie, and there forced to go round about it ſinging a ſong, made of purpoſe for his owne reproofe, and conteining naught elſe,but the blame and accuſation of himſelfe. Moreover,yoong folke were not onely to honor their owne fathers, and to be obedient unto them; but alſo to ſhew reverence unto all other elder perſons; namely, in yeelding them the better hand, in turning out of their way when they met them, and giving them the wall, in riſing up from their ſeats before them when they came in place,and in ſtanding ſtill when they paſſed by: and therefore everie man had a certaine hand of government, and diſpoſe, not onely (as in other cities) over their owne children, their proper ſervants and goods; but alſo they had a regard of their neighbours children, ſervants and goods,as wel as if they had beene their owne: they made uſe alſo of them as of things common, to the end, that to each one everie thing might be (as it were) his owne in proprietie. Whereupon,if it fortuned that a child having beene chaſtiſed by another man,went to complaine therof to his owne father; it was a ſhame for the ſaid father, if he gave him not his payment againe: for by the ordinarie courſe of diſcipline in that countrey,they were aſſured, that their neighbors would impoſe nothing upon their children, but that which was good and honeſt. Yoong lads were uſed to filtch and ſteale whatſoever they could come by,for their food and victuals, yea and they learned from their verie infancie, to forelay and lie pretily in ambuſh for to ſurpriſe thoſe who were aſleepe,& ſtood not well upon their guards: but ſay that one were taken in the maner when he ſtealeth; this was his puniſhment, namely, to be whipped and to faſt from meat; expreſly therefore and of very purpoſe they were allowed verie little to eate, to the end that they might be driven upon verie extreame neceſſitie to make ſhifts and expoſe themſelves venturouſly into any danger, yea and to deviſe alwaies ſome cunning caſt or other to ſteale more cleanly: but generally the reaſon and effect of this their ſtraight diet was, that they ſhould long before accuſtome their bodies never to be full, but able to endure hunger; for that in deed they were of opinion,that they ſhould be the meeter for ſouldiarie, if they could take paines and travell without food; yea and that it was a good meanes to be more continent,ſober,and thriftie,if they were taught & inured to continue a long time with ſmal coſt & expenſe: to be briefe,perſwaded they were: That to abſtaine eating of fleſh or fiſh dreſſed in the kitchin,or to feed ſavorly of bread or any other viands that came next to hand,made mens bodies more healthy,& cauſed them to burniſh and grow up; for that the naturall ſpirits not preſſed nor over-charged with a great quantitie of meat,and ſo by that meanes not kept and depreſſed downeward, but diſperſed and ſpread in largeneſſe and breadth,gave libertie for the bodies to ſhoot up,waxe tall, and perſonable; yea and made them more faire and beautifull; for that the habitudes and complexions which be ſlender, lanke and emptie, are more obſequent unto that naturall vertue and facultie which giveth forme and faſhion to the limmes; whereas thoſe who be corpulent,groſſe,ful,and given to much feeding, by reaſon of weight and heavines reſiſt the ſame. They ſet their minds alſo to compoſe and make proper ditties and ballads, yea,and no leſſe ſtudious are they to ſing the ſame; having alwaies in theſe their compoſitions,a certaine pricke or ſting(as it were)to ſtir up and provoke their courage and ſtomacke, to enſpire alſo into the hearts of the hearers a conſiderate reſolution,and an ardent zeale and affection to doe ſome brave deed: the ditties were plaine,ſimple,and without all affectation; containing in manner nothing elſe,but the praiſes of thoſe who had lived vertuouſly, and died valiantly in the warres for the defenſe of *Sparta*, as being of all others moſt happie; as alſo the blame and reproch of ſuch as for cowardiſe and faint-heart were affraid to die,whom they accounted to live a wretched and miſerable life. Moreover they ſtood much upon promiſes of future proweſſe or vanteries of preſent valour, according to the diverſitie of their ages who chanted the ſaid ſongs; for alwaies in their ſolemne and publike feaſts, three quiers or dances there were: one of old folke, and the foreburthen of their canticle was this:

The time was when we gallant weare,
Youthfull and hardy,void of feare.

Next to it came in place a daunce of men in their beſt age and full ſtrength,who anſwered them in this wiſe:

But we are come to proofe, and now at beſt;
Try who that liſt, to fight we are now preſt.

And a third followed after of children who chaunted thus:

And we one day ſhall be both tall and ſtrong,
Surpaſſing far, if that we live ſo long.

Now their very notes and tunes to the meaſures and numbers whereto they daunced and marched in battell againſt their enemies after the ſound of the flute, were appropriate and fitted to incite their hearts to valour, confident ſecuritie, and contempt of death: for *Lycurgus* did ſtudy and endevor to joyne the exerciſe & practiſe of militarie diſcipline with the pleaſure of muſick, to the end, that warlike and vehement motions being mingled and delaied with ſweet melodie, might be tempered with a delectable accord and harmonie: and therefore in battels before the charge and firſt ſhock of the conflict, their king was woont to ſacrifice unto the Muſes, for this entent; that the ſoldiers in fight might have the grace to performe ſome glorious and memorable exploits. But if any man paſſed one point beyond this ancient muſicke, they would not endure him, inſomuch as the *Ephori* ſet a fine upon the head of *Terpander* (though otherwiſe he loved antiquitie well enough, and was the beſt harper in his time, yea & tooke greateſt delight to praiſe the heroick acts of the renowmed woorthies in times paſt) and more than that; they hung up his harp upon a ſtake or poſt, onely becauſe he had ſet to it one ſtring more than ordinarie, whereby he might varie his voice the better with more ſundry notes; for they allowed no ſongs nor ſonets but ſuch as were plaine and ſimple; and when *Timotheus* at the feaſt *Carneia* plaied upon the harpe for to winne the prize; one of the *Ephori* taking a skeine or knife in his hand, aſked him, on whether ſide, either above or beneath, he would rather have him to cut a two the ſtrings which were more than ſeven. Moreover *Lycurgus* tooke from them al vaine & ſuperſtitious feare as touching ſepulchers, permitting them to burie their dead within the citie, and to reare their mounments and tombs round about the temples of their gods: he cut off likewiſe all pollutions of mortuaries, and would not give them leave to enterre any thing with the corps, but onely to enwrap the ſame within a winding ſheet of red cloth, together with olive leaves ſtrewed among, and the ſame indifferently to all bodies, no more to one than another: ſemblably he put downe all epitaphes and ſuperſcriptions upon graves, unleſſe it were for ſuch as loſt their lives in battell; forbidding all mourning and dolefull lamentations. Furthermore it was unlawfull for them to make voiages into ſtrange countries, for feare they ſhould learne forrein faſhions and uncivill maners, ſavouring of no good bringing up; and for the ſame reaſon, *Lycurgus* baniſhed aliens out of the citie, leſt if they ſhould thither reſort, by reaſon of their confluence, they might teach and ſhew the citizens their vices. And as for citizens borne, any of them would not ſuffer their children to be brought up according to the diſcipline and inſtitution of the citie, they might not enjoy the rights and privileges of free burgeſſie. Some ſay alſo that *Lycurgus* ordained; If a very alien would yeeld to the obſervation of his diſcipline, and be ranged under the policie of the State, he might enjoy one of thoſe portions which from the beginning was ſet out and appointed; but he was not allowed to ſell the ſame. The maner and cuſtome was in *Lacedæmon*, to make uſe of their neighbours ſervants, even as well as of their owne, whenſoever they had any buſineſſe or occaſion to employ them; as alſo to make bold with their horſes and hounds, unleſſe the owners themſelves and maſters had preſent need of them. In the countrey alſo and territorie of *Laconia*, if they ſtood in need of any thing that was in their neighbours houſe, they would goe boldly and aske no leave, to their cupboords, preſſes, coffers, and ſuch places where the thing was, make no more adoo but open them, take out and carie away whatſoever they thought good, ſo they made faſt and ſhut againe the roome out of which they had taken ought. To warfare they went in red liveries, both for that they thought this colour more decent for a man, as alſo becauſe it reſembled bloud, it ſtrucke the greater feare into thoſe who were not uſed thereto; beſides, there was good uſe and profit thereof in this reſpect, that if any of them hapned to be wounded, the enemie could not ſo perceive it, becauſe that colour looked ſo like unto bloud. Whenſoever they had vanquiſhed their enemies by ſome ſtratagem that their captaines uſed, their maner was to ſacrifice an oxe unto *Mars*; but if they got a victorie by fine force & open manhood, they ſacrificed a cock; by which meanes, they occaſioned their leaders to be not onely valiant, but alſo politicke warriors. Among other praiers that they made unto the gods this was ever one: That they might have the power and grace to beare wrongs: but the ſumme of all their ſupplications was this: That the gods would vouchſafe them honour for wel doing, & no more. They worſhipped the goddeſſe *Venus* in her complet armor, and made all the images of their gods, as well female as male, with launces and javelins in their hands, as if they all had militar and martiall vertue in them. Alſo they uſed this ſaying as a common proverbe:

Call upon fortune in each enterpriſe,
With hand ſtretcht foorth, not otherwiſe.

As if they would ſay, that we ought when we invocate the gods, to enterpriſe ſomewhat our ſelves,and lay our hands to worke, or elſe not to call upon them. They uſed to let their children ſee the Ilotes when they were drunk,to keepe them by their example from drinking much wine. They never knocked and rapped at their neighbours doores, but ſtood without, and called aloud to to thoſe within. The curry-combes that they occupied were not of iron, but of canes and reeds. They never heard any comedies or tragedies acted, becauſe neither in earneſt nor in game they would not heare thoſe that any wiſe contradicted the lawes. When *Archilochus* the poet was come to *Sparta*,they drave him out the very ſame houre that he came, for that they knew he had made theſe verſes, wherein he delivered : That it was better to fling away weapons than to die in the field :

A foole he is, who truſting in his ſhield,
Doth venture life and limme in bloody field:
As for mine owne, I have it flung me fro
And left behind in buſhes thick that gro.

Others tranſlate it thus.

Some Saïan now, in that my doubtie ſhield
Doth take great joy, which flying out of field,
Though full againſt my mind, I flang me fro
And left behind in buſhes thicke that grow.
Although it were right good, yet would not I
Preſume to fight with it, and ſo to dy,
Farewell my ſhield, though thou be loſt and gone,
Another day as good I ſhall buy one.

All their ſacred and holy ceremonies were common, as well for their daughters as their ſonnes, The *Ephori* condemned one *Siraphidas*, to pay a ſumme of money, for that he ſuffred himſelfe to take wrong and abuſe at many mens hands. They cauſed one to be put to death for playing the hypocrite, and wearing ſackcloth like a publike penitent, for that the ſaide ſackcloth was purfled with a border of purple. They rebuked and checked a yoong man as hee came from the ordinary place of exerciſe, for that hee frequented it ſtill, knowing as he did the way to *Pytæa*, where was held the aſſembly of the States of *Greece*. They chaſed out of the citie a Rhetorician named *Cephiſophon*, becauſe he made his boaſt; That he could ſpeak if it were a whole day of any theame propoſed unto him; for they ſaid: That ſpeech ought to be proportionable to the ſubject matter. Their children would endure to be laſhed & whipped all the day long, yea,and many times even to death,upon the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia*, taking joy and pleaſure therein, ſtriving a vie for the victorie who could hold out longeſt; and looke who was able to abide moſt beating, he was beſt eſteemed, and caried away the greateſt praiſe: this ſtrife& emulation among them was called the Whippado; and once every yeere they obſerved ſuch an exerciſe. But one of the beſt,moſt commendable and bleſſed things that *Lycurgus* provided for his citizens; was the plentie & abundance that they had of reſt & leiſure; for they were not allowed at all to meddle with any mechanicall arte; and to trafficke and negotiate painfully for to gather and heape up goods, was in no wiſe permitted; for he had ſo wrought that riches among them was neither honored nor deſired. The Ilotes were they that ploughed and tilled their ground for them, yeelding them as much as in old time was ſet downe and ordeined; and execrable they eſteemed it to exact more of any of them,to the end that thoſe Ilotes for the ſweetneſſe of gaine which they found thereby,might ſerve them more willingly,and themſelves covet to have no more than the old rate. Forbidden likewiſe were the Lacedæmonians to be mariners,or to fight at ſea; yet afterwards for all that, they fought navall battels, and became lords of the ſea; howbeit they ſoone gave that over,when they once ſaw that the maners and behavior of their citizens were thereby corrupted and depraved; but they changed afterwards againe,and were mutable, as well in this as in all other things: for the firſt that gathered and hoarded up money for the Lacedæmonians,were condemned to death, by reaſon that there was an auncient oracle which delivered this anſwer unto *Alcamenes* and *Theopompus*, two of their kings,

Avarice one day (who ever lives to ſee)
Of Sparta *citie will the ruine bee.*

And yet *Lyſander* after he had wonne the citie of *Athens*, brought into *Sparta* a great maſſe of gold and ſilver, which the citizens received willingly, and did great honour unto the man himſelfe for his good ſervice. True it is, that ſo long as the citie of *Sparta* obſerved the lawes of *Lycurgus*,and kept the othes which it was ſworne by, ſhe was a paragon, yea and the ſoveraigne of all *Greece*, in good government and glorie for the ſpace of 300. yeeres: but when they came once to tranſgreſſe the ſaid lawes and breake their oathes; avarice and covetouſneſſe crept in among them by little and little, and they with all their puiſſance & authoritie decreaſed, yea and their allies and confederates heereupon began to be ill affected unto them: and yet being as they were in this declining eſtate, after that king *Philip* of *Macedonia* had woon the battell at *Chæronea*, when all other cities and ſtates of *Greece*, by a generall conſent, and with one accord had choſen him the generall captaine of all the Greeks, as well for land as ſea, yea, and after him his ſonne *Alexander* the Great, upon the deſtruction of the citie *Thebes*, onely the Lacedæmonians, notwithſtanding their citie lay all open, without any wall about it, and themſelves were brought to a very ſmall number by occaſion of their continuall warres, which had waſted and conſumed them, whereby they were become very feeble, and by conſequence more eaſie to be defeated than ever before, yet for that they had retained ſtill ſome little reliques of the government eſtabliſhed by *Lycurgus*, they would never yeeld to ſerve under thoſe two mightie monarches, no nor other kings of *Macedonia* their ſucceſſors, neither would they be preſent at the generall diets and common aſſemblies of other ſtates, nor contribute any money with the reſt, untill they having utterly caſt aſide and rejected the lawes of *Lycurgus*, they were held under and yoked with the tyranny of their owne citizens; namely when they reteined no part of the ancient diſcipline, whereby they grew like unto other nations, and utterly loſt their old reputation, glory, and libertie of franke ſpeech, ſo as in the end they were brought into ſervitude, and even at this day be ſubject unto the Romane empire, aſwell as other cities and ſtates of *Greece*.

THE APOPHTHEGMES, THAT IS TO SAY, THE NOBLE SAYINGS AND ANSWERS OF LACEDÆMONIAN DAMES.

ARGILEONIS the mother of *Braſidas*; (after that her ſonne was ſlaine, when certaine embaſſadors from the citie *Amphipolis* came to *Sparta*, and viſited her;) demaunded of them, whether her ſonne died like a valiant man, and as became a Spartan? now when they praiſed him exceedingly, ſaying that he was the braveſt man in armes in all *Lacedæmon*; ſhe ſaid againe unto them: My ſonne was indeed a knight of valour and honour (my good friends;) but *Lacedæmon* hath many others yet more valiant than he was.

GORGO, the daughter of king *Cleomenes*, when *Ariſtagoras* the Mileſian was come to *Sparta*, for to ſollicit *Cleomenes* to make warre upon the king of *Perſia*, in the defence of the Ionians freedome; and in conſideration heereof promiſed him a good round ſumme of money; and the more that he contradicted and denied the motion, the more he ſtill augmented the ſumme of money which he promiſed: Father (quoth ſhe) this ſtranger heere will corrupt you if you ſend him not the ſooner out of your houſe. Alſo when her father willed hir one day to deliver certaine corne unto a man, by way of a reward and recompence, ſaying withall: For this is he who hath taught me how to make wine good: How now, good father (quoth ſhe) ſhall there be more wine drunke ſtill, conſidering that they who drinke thereof become more delicate and leſſe valorous? When ſhe ſaw how *Ariſtagoras* had one of his men to put on his ſhooes: Father (quoth ſhe) heere is a ſtranger that hath no hands. When ſhe ſaw a foreiner comming toward her who was wont to goe ſoftly and delicatlie, ſhee thruſt him from her and ſaid: Avaunt idle luske as thou art, and get thee gone, for thou art not ſo good of deed as a woman.

Gyrtias, when *Acrotatus* her nephew or daughters ſonne, (from out of a braule and fray that was betweene him and other yoonkers his companions) was brought home with many a wound, inſomuch as no man looked for life; ſeeing his familiar friends and thoſe of his acquaintance, waile and take on piteouſly: What (quoth ſhe) let be this weeping and lamentation, for now hath he ſhewed of what bloud he is deſcended; neither ought wee to crie out and bewaile for the hurts of valiant men, but rather to goe about their cure and ſalve them, if haply we may ſave their lives. When a meſſenger comming out of *Candia,* where he ſerved in the warres, brought newes that the ſaid *Acrotatus* was ſlaine in fight: Why (quoth ſhe) what elſe ſhould he do, being once gone foorth to warre, but either die himſelfe or elſe kill his enemies? yet had I rather heare, and it doth me much more good that he died woorthy my ſelfe, woorthy his native countrey and his progenitours, than that he ſhould live as long as poſſiblie a man could, like a coward and man of no woorth.

Demetria hearing that her ſonne prooved a daſtard, and indeed not woorthy to be her ſonne, ſo ſoone as ever he was returned from the wars, ſhe killed him with her owne hands; whereupon was made this epigram of her:

By mothers hand was ſlaine one Demetrie,
For that he brake the lawes of chivalrie,
No marvell, ſhe a noble Spartan *dame*
Diſclaim'd her ſonne, unwoorthy of that name.

Another woman of *Lacedæmon* being given to underſtand, that her ſonne had abandoned his ranke, made him likewiſe away, as unwoorthy of that countrey wherein he was borne, ſaying: That he was no ſonne of hers: And thereupon this epigram alſo was compoſed of her:

A miſchiefe take thee wicked impe,
be gone in divils name
Through balefull darkneſſe: Hatred is
too good, and earthly ſhame:
For cowards ſuch of craven kind
like hinds, are not to drinke,
Nor waſh in faire Eurotas *ſtreame*
their bodies, as I thinke.
Avaunt thou cur-dogge whelpe to hell,
thou divils limme unmon'd,
Unwoorthy Sparta *ſoile thou art*
for thee I never gron'd.

Another, hearing that her ſonne was ſaved and had eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies, wrote thus unto him: There runneth a naughtie rumor of thee; either ſtop the courſe thereof, or elſe live not. There was another likewiſe, whoſe children had fled out of the battell, and when they came home unto her, ſhe welcomed them in this manner: Whither goe you running leawd lozels and cowardly ſlaves as you are; thinke you to enter hither againe from whence you firſt came? and therewith plucked up her cloaths, and ſhewed them her bare belly. Alſo another eſpying her ſonne new returned from the wars, and comming toward her: What newes (quoth ſhe) how goeth the world with our countrey and common-wealth? and when he anſwered: We have loſt the field and all our men be ſlaine; ſhe tooke up an earthen pot, let it fly at his head & killed him out-right, ſaying: And have they ſent thee to bring us the newes? There was one brother recounted unto his mother what a noble death his brother died, unto whom his mother anſwered: And wert not thou aſhamed that thou didſt not accompanie him in ſo faire a journey? Another there was who had ſent her ſonnes (and five they were in number) to the warres, and ſhe ſtood waiting at the townes end, about the ſuburbs and hamlets neere unto them, for to hearken what was the iſſue of the battell: and of the firſt man whom ſhe encountred from the campe, ſhe asked, what newes, and who had the day; hee told her that her ſonnes were ſlaine all five: Thou leaud varlet (quoth ſhee) and baſe ſlave as thou art, I did not demaund that queſtion of thee; but in what ſtate the affaire of the common-wealth ſtood: The victorie (quoth he) is ours: Then am I well appaid (ſaith ſhee) and contented with the loſſe of my children. Another there was, unto whom as ſhe buried her ſonne ſlaine in the warres, there came a ſilly old woman and moaned her, ſaying: Ah good woman what fortune is this? Why good (quoth ſhe?) by *Caſtor* and *Pollux* I ſweare; for I bare him into this world for nothing elſe, but that he ſhould ſpend his life for *Sparta*; and loe this is now hapned. A ladie there was of *Ionia*, who bare herſelfe verie proud of a worke in tapiſtrie which ſhe herſelfe had made, moſt coſtly and curiouſly; but a Laconian dame ſhewed unto her, foure children, all verie well given and honeſtly brought up: Such as theſe (quoth ſhe) ought to be the works of a ladie of honour, and herein ſhould a noble woman in deed, make her boaſt and vaunt herſelfe. Another there was, who heard newes, that a ſonne of hers behaved himſelfe not well in a ſtrange countrey where hee was, unto whom ſhe wrote a letter in this wiſe: There is blowen a bad brute of thee in theſe parts, either proove it falſe or elſe die, I adviſe thee. Certaine fugitives or exiled perſons from *Chios*, came to *Sparta*, who accuſed *Pædaretus*, and laid many crimes to his charge: his mother *Teleutia* hearing thereof, ſent for them to come unto her; at whoſe mouthes when ſhe heard the ſeverall points of their imputations, and judging in herſelfe that hee was in fault, and had done great wrongs, ſhe ſent a letter unto him in this forme: Either do better or tarie there ſtill, and never thinke to ſave thy ſelfe here. In like manner another wrote unto her ſonne accuſed of an hainous crime, in theſe tearmes: My ſonne quit thy ſelfe of this imputation, or elſe quit thy life. Another accompanying a ſon of hers upon the way when he went to battell, ſaid unto him: Sonne remember every foot that thou ſteppeſt to vertue and proweſſe, and fight like a man. Another whoſe ſonne returned out of the field wounded in the foot, and complayning unto her of the great paine which he endured: Sonne (quoth ſhe) if thou wouldſt remember vertue and valour, thou ſhouldeſt never thinke of thy paine. A certaine Lacedæmonian chanced ſo grievouſly to be wounded in a skirmiſh, that he had much adoe to ſtand upon his legs, ſo that he was faine to go with crutches (as it were) upon foure feet; now when he was abaſhed to ſee ſome laugh at him for it, his mother ſaid: Greater cauſe thou haſt (my ſonne) to rejoice for this teſtimonie of thy valour and proweſſe, than to be diſmaied at their fond and ſenſleſſe laughter. Another woman when ſhe gave unto her ſonne a ſhield, admoniſhed him to uſe it well, and do his devoir like a man, and theſe words ſhe uſed unto him: My ſonne either bring this ſhield home againe, or let it bring thee dead upon it. Another likewiſe giving a targuet to her ſonne when he tooke his leave of her to go to warre, ſaid unto him: Thy father kept this targuet well from time to time; ſee thou (for thy part) keepe it as well, or elſe die with it. Another when her ſonne found fault with his ſhort ſword, ſaid unto him: Then ſet foot neerer to thine enemie. A woman hearing that her ſonne died valiantly in battell: No marvell (quoth ſhee) for he was my ſonne. Contrariwiſe, another when ſhe heard that her ſonne tooke him to his heeles, and eſcaped by good footmanſhip: He was never (quoth ſhe) a ſonne of mine. But another hearing that her ſonne was ſlaine fighting in the verie place where his captaine had ſet him: Remoove him than (quoth ſhe) from thence, and let his brother ſtep into his place. A Lacedæmonian woman being in a ſolemne and publicke proceſſion, with a chaplet of flowers upon his head, underſtood that her ſonne had wonne a field, but was ſo grievouſly wounded, that ready he was to yeeld up his breath; without putting off her chaplet of flowers from her head, but glorying (as it were) in theſe newes: Oh my friends (quoth ſhe) how much more glorious and honourable is it for a ſouldier to die with victorie in battell, than for a champion to ſurvive after he hath wonne the prize in the Olympicke games. A brother reported unto his ſiſter, how valiant her ſonne died in battell, unto whom ſhe anſwered againe: Looke how much I joy & take pleaſure to heare this of him; ſo much I am diſpleaſed and diſcontented at you, brother, for that you would not beare him companie in ſo vertuous a voiage, but tarie behind him. When one ſent unto a Lacedæmonian woman to ſollicit and ſound her, whether ſhe would conſent unto him, ſhe made this anſwere: When I was a maiden, I learned to obey my father, and ſo I did evermore; and when I was a wife, I did the the like unto my huſband; if then that which he demaundeth of me be honeſt and juſt, let him acquaint my huſband with it firſt. A poore maiden being asked the queſtion what dowrie ſhe would bring her huſband? The pudicitie (quoth ſhee) and honeſtie of my countrey. Another Lacedæmonian woman being demaunded, whether ſhe had yet beene with her huſband? Not I (quoth ſhee) but hee hath beene with me. Alſo another yoong woman chanced ſecretly to be deflowred and to leeſe her maiden-head; now when by ſome miſhap ſhe fell unto untimely labour, and to ſlip an abortive fruit; ſhe endured the paines of travell thereto belonging ſo patiently, without one crie or groane, that neither her father, nor any one about her, perceived any thing at all that ſhe was delivered; for ſhame and honeſtie fighting together, overcame all the vehemencie of her paines. A Lacedæmonian woman being ſold in the market for a ſlave, was asked what ſhe could doe? I can skill (quoth ſhee) to bee true and faithfull. Another likewiſe being a captive and demaunded the like queſtion, anſwered, that ſhe could keepe the houſe well. Another likewiſe when ſhe was asked by one whether ſhee would proove good if he bought her, made anſwer thus: Yea that I will, although you never buy me. Laſt of all, a Lacedæmonian woman when ſhe was to be ſold in port-ſale, and the crier demaunded of her what ſhe had skill in? anſwered: To be free. Now when he that bought her commaunded her to do ſome things unbeſeeming a free perſon: You will repent (quoth ſhe) that you envied your ſelfe ſo noble a poſſeſſion; and ſo ſhe killed herſelfe.

THE VERTVOVS DEEDS OF WOMEN.

The Summarie.

Vertue alwaies deſerveth praiſe whereſoever it is found, but eſpecially when it proceedeth from feeble inſtruments, and thoſe of ſmall ſhew; for by that meanes the excellencie thereof is ſo much better ſeene: our Author therefore in that regard, hath made here a collection of hiſtories, relating the woorthy demeanours of many women who have ſhewed manly courage in ſundry dangers; the conſideration whereof, is able greatly to move and affect the reader. In the Preface of this diſcourſe, after he had refuted the opinion of Thucydides, *who would confine women (as it were) into a perpetuall ermitage, he proveth by divers reaſons, that vertue being alwaies the ſelfe-ſame, notwithſtanding that it hath objects and ſubjects different, it were meere injurie and too much iniquitie, either to forget or to deſpiſe thoſe women who for their valour have deſerved, that their name and example ſhould continue; to the end that the ſame might be imitated as occaſion requireth in many ſorts, not onely by other women, but alſo by the moſt part of men. Which done, he deſcribeth the notable exploits of ſome in generall: and then he commeth to ſpeake of certeine in particular, noting and obſerving in them divers graces and commendable parts, but eſpecally an extreame hatred of tyrannie and ſervitude, an ardent love and affection toward their countrey, a ſingular affection to their husbands, rare honeſtie, pudicitie, chaſtitie joined with a generous nature, which hath cauſed them, both to enterpriſe and alſo to execute heroique acts and well deſerving that praiſe, which hath beene preſerved entire for ſuch women, after ſo many yeeres untill this day, by the meanes of this preſent hiſtoricall fragment; the which conteineth goodly inſtructions for men and women of name and marke, to induce them to governe themſelves in ſuch ſort, that in the mids of the greateſt confuſions, they might take a good courage, and lay their hands to that which their vocation requireth; and to hold this for certeine, that enterpriſes lawfull and neceſſarie, will ſooner or later have good iſſue, to the ſhame and ruine of the wicked, but to the repoſe and quietneſſe of all perſons, who deſire, ſeeke, and procure that which is good.*

THE VERTUOUS DEEDS of women.

I Am not of *Thucydides* minde (dame *Clea)* touching the vertue of women; for he is of this opinon: That ſhe is the beſt & moſt vertuous, of whom there is leaſt ſpeech abroad, aſwell to her praiſe as her diſpraiſe; thinking that the name of a woman of honour, ought to be ſhut up and kept faſt within, like as her bodie, that it never may go forth. *Gorgias* yet (me thinks) was more reaſonable, who would have the renowme and fame, but not the face & viſage of a woman, to be knowen unto men: and it ſeemeth unto me, that it was an excellent law and cuſtome among the Romans, which imported thus much: That women aſwell as men, after their death might be honoured publickly at their funerals, with ſuch praiſes as they had deſerved: and therefore immediatly after the deceaſe of the moſt vertuous ladie *Leontis*, I diſcourſed with you at large upon this matter; which diſcourſe (in my conceit) was not without ſome conſolation founded upon reaſon & Philoſophy: and now alſo (according to your requeſt at that time) I ſend you in writing, the reſt of our ſpeech and communication, tending to this point: That the vertue of man and woman is all one and the very ſame; which appeareth by the proofe and teſtimony of many and ſundry examples, drawen out of ancient hiſtories, collected by me, not upon any intention to pleaſe the eare; but if the nature of an example be ſuch, as alwaies, to the perſwaſive power that it hath to proove, there is joined alſo a lively vertue to delight. This treatiſe of mine rejecteth not the grace of that pleaſure, which doth ſecond and favouriſe the efficacie of a proofe; neither is it aſhamed to join Graces with Muſes; which (as *Eurypides* ſaith) is the beſt conjunction in the world, inducing the minde moſt eaſily to give eare and credit unto good reaſons, by meanes of the delectation which it there findeth. For if to proove, that it is all one art, to paint and draw the life of women and men, I ſhould produce and bring foorth ſuch pictures of women as *Apelles*, *Zeuxis* or *Nicomachus* have left behinde them; hath any man reaſon to finde fault and to charge me, that I aime and intend to delight the eie and content the minde, rather than to verifie my aſſertion? I ſuppoſe that no man will ſo doe: ſemblably, if otherwiſe to ſhew, that the art of Poetrie, or skill to repreſent in verſe, all things whatſoever, is the ſame in women and men, and nothing different one from the other, I ſhould conferre the Odes and verſes of *Sappho* with thoſe of *Anacreon*; or the oracles penned by the *Sibylles* with thoſe which are ſet downe by *Bacchis*; is there any man that could juſtly blame ſuch a demonſtration, for that it draweth the hearer to beleeve with ſome pleaſure and content? no man (I trow) would ever ſo ſay: and yet there were no better way to know either the reſemblance, or the difference in the vertue of man and woman, than in comparing lives with lives, and deeds with deeds; as if wee ſhould lay together the works of ſome noble ſcience, and conſider them one by another; even ſo likewiſe, to ſee whether the magnificence of queene *Semiramis*, hath all one forme and figure with that of king *Seſoſtris*; and the wiſedome of queene *Tanaquil*, with that of king *Servius*; or the magnanimitie of ladie *Porcia*, with that of *Brutus*; or of dame *Timoclea*, with that of *Pelopidas*; namely, in that quality which is moſt principall, and wherein lieth the chiefeſt point and force of theſe vertues: for vertue admitteth certeine other differences, as proper and particular colours, according to divers natures, and is in ſome ſort conformable to the maners and conditions of thoſe ſubjects wherein they be, and to the temperatures of their bodies, or to the verie nutriments and divers diets and faſhions of their life. For *Achilles* was after one ſort valiant, and *Ajax* after another; the wiſdome of *Ulyſſes* was not like unto *Neſtors*; neither were *Cato* and *Ageſilaus* juſt alike; *Irene* loved not her husband in that maner as *Alceſtis* loved hers; nor *Cornelia* & *Olympias* were alike magnanimous; and yet for all that, we ſay not, that there be many and divers kinds of fortitude, ſundry ſorts of prudence and wiſdome, nor different juſtices, in regard of the diſſimilitude and varietie which ariſeth particularly in ech one perſon, ſo as the ſaid peculiar differences, do not exclude any one vertue from the proper definition thereof. As for ſuch examples as are moſt divulged and publiſhed abroad (of which I preſume you have already ſufficient knowledge, and firmely remember their hiſtorie, by that which you have read in ancient books) I wil paſſe them over at this preſent; unleſſe haply there be ſome acts worthy of remembrance, which they were ignorant of, who before our time have written the common hiſtories and vulgar Chronicles. But for that the women in times paſt, aſwell in common as particular, have performed many memorable deeds, it will not be amiſſe in the firſt place to ſet downe briefly what ſome of them have done in ſocietie and companie together.

THE TROJANE DAMES.

OF thoſe Trojanes who eſcaped after the winning and deſtruction of *Troie the Great*, the moſt part went to ſeeke their fortune, and by force of tempeſt (the rather for that they had no skill in navigation, and were not acquainted with the ſeas) were caſt upon the coaſt of *Italie*, where putting into ſuch baies, ports & creeks as they could meet with, in that very place (whence the river *Tybris* diſchargeth it ſelfe into the ſea) with much adoe and great difficultie they landed, and the men went wandring up and downe the countrey, for to ſee if they could light upon thoſe that might direct them in their voiage, and give them ſome light and intelligence of thoſe coaſts. Meane while the women communed and deviſed thus among themſelves: That ſince they had beene the moſt fortunate and happie nation in the world, it were better for them to ſettle in any one certaine place whatſoever, than ſtill to wander uncertainely upon the ſeas, and to make that, their countrey and ſeat of habitation, ſince they were not able to recover that native ſoile which they had loſt: to which motion after they had all with one accord agreed, they ſet fire on their ſhips, and the firſt ring-leader in this action was a Ladie (by report) named *Roma*; which done, they went farther up into the continent to meet with the men aforeſaid, who now by this time were cōming apace to the ſea for to ſuccour their ſhips on fire, & fearing their furious anger, they fell to embrace and kiſſe them very kindly, ſome their husbands, others their kinſfolk, and by this means appeaſed their wrath. Hereupon aroſe that cuſtom, which continueth at this day among the Romanes, that no men ſhould ſalute their kinſfolke, and thoſe that be joined in blood to them, by kiſſing their lips: for the Trojan men ſeeing (as it ſhould ſeeme) in what neceſſitie they ſtood, were well enough content; and withal, finding the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts courteous, and ready to receive and entertaine them friendly, approoved that which the women had done, and ſo remained and dwelt in the ſame part of *Italy* among the Latines.

THE DAMES OF PHOCIS.

THE woorthy act of the dames of *Phocis*, whereof we now meane to make mention, no Hiſtoriographer of name hath yet recorded and ſet downe in writing: howbeit there was never a more memorable deed of vertue wrought by women, and the ſame teſtified by the great ſacrifices, which the Phocians do celebrate even at this day, neere unto the citie *Hyampolis*, and that according to the ancient decrees of the countrey. Now is the totall hiſtorie of this whole action from point to point particularly recorded in the life of *Daïphantus*; as for that which the ſaid women did, thus ſtood the caſe. There was an irreconcilable and mortall warre betweene the Theſſalians and thoſe of *Phocis*, for that the Phocians upon a certaine fore-ſet day, killed all the magiſtrates and rulers of the Theſſalians, who exerciſed tyrannie in the cities of *Phocis*: and they againe of *Theſſalia* had beaten and bruiſed to death two hundred and fiftie hoſtages of the Phocæans, whom they had in cuſtodie; and after that, with all their puiſſance entred and invaded their countrey by the way of the Locrians; having before hand concluded this reſolution in their generall counſell, not to pardon nor ſpare any one that was of age ſufficient to beare armes, and as for their wives and children, to leade them away captives as ſlaves: whereupon *Daïphantus* the ſonne of *Bathyllus*, one of the three ſoveraign governours of *Phocis*, mooved and perſwaded the Phocæans (as many as were of yeeres to fight) for to go forth and encounter the Theſſalians; but their wives and children, to aſſemble all together unto a certaine place in *Phocis*, & environe the whole pourpriſe and precinct thereof with a huge quantity of wood, and there to ſet certaine guards to watch and ward; whom hee gave in charge, that ſo ſoone as ever they heard how their countrey-men were defaited, they ſhould ſet the wood on fire, and burne all the bodies within the compaſſe thereof: which deſſeigne when all others had approoved, there was one man among them, ſtood up and ſaid: It were juſt and meet, that they had the conſent alſo of the women as touching this matter; and if they would not approve and allow of this counſell, to leave it unexecuted, and not to force them thereto: this conſultation being come to the eares of the ſaid women, they held a counſell together apart by themſelves as touching this entended action, where other reſolved to follow the advice of *Daïphantus*, and that with ſo great alacritie and contentment, that they crowned *Daïphantus* with a chaplet of flowers, as having given the beſt counſell that could be deviſed for *Phocis*. It is reported alſo, that their verie children ſat in counſell hereabout by themſelves, and concluded the ſame: but it fortuned ſo, that the Phocæans having given the Theſſalians battell neere unto a village, called *Cleonæ*, in the marches or territorie of *Hyampolis*, defaited them. This reſolution of the Phocæans, was afterwards by the Greekes named *Aponæa*, that is, A deſperat deſſeigne: and in memoriall of the ſaid victorie, all the people of *Phocis* to this day do celebrate in *Hyampolis*, the greateſt and moſt ſolemne feaſt that they have, to the honour of *Diana*, and call it *Elaphebolia*.

THE WOMEN OF CHIOS.

THE men of *Chios* inhabited ſometime the colonie *Leuconia*, upon ſuch an occaſion as this. A gentleman, one of the beſt houſes in *Chios*, chanced to contract a marriage; and when the bride was to be brought home to his houſe in a coach, King *Hippoclus* being a familiar friend unto the bridegroom, & one who was preſent with others at the eſpouſales and wedding; after he had taken his wine wel, being ſet upon a merrie pin, and diſpoſed to make ſport, leapt up into the coach where the new wedded wife was; not with any entent to offer violence or vilanny, but only to dallie, toy & make paſtime in a meriment, as the maner was at ſuch a feaſt: howbeit the friends of the bridegroome tooke it not ſo, but fell upon him and killed him outright in the place: upon which murder there appeered unto thoſe of *Chios* many evident tokens and ſignes of Gods anger; yea and when they underſtood by the oracle of *Apollo*, that for to appeaſe their wrath, they ſhould put all thoſe to death who had murdered *Hippoclus*; they made anſwere: That they all were guiltie of the fact: and when the god *Apollo* commanded them, that if they were all tainted with the ſaid murder, they ſhould all depart out of the citie *Chios*, they ſent away (as manie, as either were parties and principals, or acceſſaries and privie to the ſaid blood-ſhed; yea, and whoſoever approoved and praiſed the fact, and thoſe were neither few in number, nor men of meane qualitie and power) as far as to *Leuconia*; which citie the Chians firſt conquered from the Coroneans, and poſſeſſed by the helpe of the Erythræans: but afterwardes when there was warre betweene the ſaid Chians and the Erythræans (who in thoſe daies were the mightieſt people in all *Ionia*) inſomuch as the Erythræans came againſt *Leuconia*, with a power intending to aſſault it: the Chians being not able to reſiſt, grew to make a cõpoſition; in which capitulated it was & agreed, that they ſhould quit the city, & depart every perſon with one coat & caſſock only, without taking any thing els with them. The women underſtanding of this agreement, gave them foule words, & bitterly reproched them, for being ſo baſe minded as to lay off their armor, & thus to go naked thorow the mids of their enimies: but when their husbands alleaged that they had ſworn & taken a corporal oth ſo to do, they gave them counſel in any wiſe, not to leave their armes and weapons behind them, but to ſay; that a javelin was a coat, and a ſhield the caſſocke of a valiant and hardie man. The Chians perſwaded hereunto ſpake boldly to the Erythræans to that effect, and ſhewed them their armes, inſomuch as the Erythræans were affraid to ſee their reſolute boldneſſe, and there was not one of them ſo hardie as to come neere for to empeach them, but were verie well content that they abandoned the place, and were gone in that ſort. Thus you may ſee how theſe men having learned of their wives to be couragious and confident, ſaved their honours and their lives. Long after this, the wives of the Chians atchieved an other act nothing inferiour to this in vertue and proweſſe. At what time as *Philip* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, holding their citie beſieged, cauſed this barbarous edict, and proud proclamation to be publiſhed: That all the ſlaves of the citie ſhould rebell againſt their maſters, and come to him: for that he would make them all free, and give them libertie to eſpouſe and marie their miſtreſſes, even the wives of their former maſters. The dames conceived hereof ſo great choler and indignation in their harts (together with the ſlaves themſelves, who were provoked likewiſe to anger as well as they, and readie to aſſiſt their miſtreſſes) that they tooke heart to mount upon the walles of the citie, and to carrie thither ſtones, darts and all manner of ſhot, beſeeching their husbands to fight luſtily and with good courage, & eſtſoones admoniſhing and encouraging them to quit themſelves like men, and do their devoir; which they did ſo effectually both in word and deed, that in the end they repulſed the enemie, and conſtrained *Philip* to raiſe his ſiege from before the citie without effecting his purpoſe, and there was not ſo much as one ſlave that revolted from his maſter unto him.

THE WOMEN OF ARGOS.

THe exploit of the *Argive* dames againſt *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedæmon*, in defence of the citie *Argos*, which they enterpriſed under the conduct and by the perſwaſion of *Teleſilla* the poëtreſſe, is not leſſe glorious and renowmed, than any action that ever was atchieved by a crew of women. This dame *Teleſilla* (as the fame goeth) was deſcended of a noble and famous houſe, howbeit in body ſhe was very weake and ſickly; by occaſion wherof, ſhe ſent out to the oracle for to know how ſhe might recover her health: anſwer was made, that ſhe ſhoulde ſerve, honour and worſhip the Muſes: ſhe yeelding obedience to this revelation of the god, and giving herſelfe to learne poeſie, and likewiſe vocall muſicke, and skill in ſong, in ſhort time was delivered from her maladie, and became moſt renowmed and highly eſteemed among women for hir poeticall veine, and muſicall knowledge in this kind: in proceſſe of time it fortuned that *Cleomenes* the king of the Spartans, having in a battell ſlaine a great number indeed of Argives, but not as ſome fabulous writers have preciſely ſet downe (ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred, ſeventie and ſeven) advaunced directly to the citie of *Argos*, hoping to finde and ſurprize the ſame void of inhabitants: but the women, as many as were of age ſufficient (as it were by ſome heavenly and divine inſtinct) put on a reſolute minde, and an extraordinary courage, to doe their beſt for to beate backe their enemies that they ſhould not enter the citie; and in very truth under the leading of *Teleſilla*, they put on armes, tooke weapon in hand, and mounting up the wals ſtood round about the battlements thereof, and environed them on every ſide, defending the citie right manfully, to the great wonder & admiration of the enemies: thus they gave *Cleomenes* the repulſe, with the loſſe and carvage of a great number of his men. Yea and they chaſed *Democrates* another king of *Lacedæmon* out of their citie, as *Socrates* ſaith, who had made entrance before, and ſeiſed that quarter which is called *Pamphyliacum*: when the citie was thus ſaved by the proweſſe of theſe women, ordeined it was, that as many of them as chaunced in this ſervice to be ſlaine, ſhould be honorably enterred, upon the great cauſey or high-way called *Argeia*; and unto them who remained alive, graunted it was for a perpetuall monument and memoriall of their proweſſe, to dedicate and conſecrate one ſtatue unto *Mars*. This combat and fight (as ſome have written) was the ſeventh day, or (as others ſay) the firſt of that moneth which at *Argos* in old time they called *Tetartos*, but now *Hermeus*, on which day the *Argives* do celebrate even in this age, a ſolemne ſacrifice and feaſt which they call *Hybriſtica* (as one would ſay) reprochfull and infamous; wherein the cuſtome is, that women went clad in ſoldiers coates and mantels, but men were arraied and attired in womens peticoates, frocks, and veiles. Now to repleniſh and repeople the citie againe, for default of men who died in the wars, they did not (as *Herodotus* writeth) uſe this pollicie, to marrie their ſlaves to their widdowes, but they granted free burgeoſie of their citie, unto the better ſort of men who were their neighbors and borderers, and granted unto them for to affiance and eſpouſe the ſaid widowes: but it ſhould ſeeme that theſe wives diſdained & deſpiſed (in ſome ſort) theſe husbands of theirs, as not comparable to their former; for they made a law, that theſe wives ſhould have counterfeit beards ſet to their chins whenſoever they ſlept and lay with their husbands.

THE PERSIAN WOMEN.

C*Yrus* (having cauſed the Perſians to rebel againſt king *Aſtyages* & the Medes) hapned to be diſcomfited & vanquiſhed together, with the Perſians: now when the Perſians fled amaine toward the city, and their enemies followed hard at their heeles, ready to enter pel-mell with thẽ; the women iſſued out of the gates, met them even before the citie, and plucking up their clothes before, from beneath, to their waſte, cried unto them: Whither away, and whither doe you flie, the moſt beaſtly cowards that ever were? for run as faſt as you wil there is no reentrance here for you into that place, out of which you came firſt into the world: the Perſians being aſhamed as well to ſee ſuch a ſight, as to heare thoſe words, blamed and rebuked themſelves; whereupon they turned againe, and made head at their enemies, fought freſhly, and put them to flight: from which time forward, there was a law eſtabliſhed: That whenſoever the king returneth from ſome farre voiage, and entreth into the citie, everie woman ſhould receive of him a piece of gold, and that by the ordinance of king *Cyrus*, who firſt enacted it. But it is reported, that king *Ochus* one of his ſucceſſors (who being bad enough otherwiſe) was the moſt covetous prince that ever raigned over them, turned alwaies out of the way, paſſed beſides the citie, and never would come into it after ſuch a journey; whereby the women alwaies were diſappointed of that gratuitie and gift which they ought to have had: but king *Alexander* contrariwiſe entred the citie twice, and gave to every woman with childe, double ſo much, that is to ſay, two ſuch pieces of gold.

THE WOMEN OF GAULE.

BEfore that the Gaules paſſed over the mountaines called *Alpes*, and held that part of *Italy* which now they doe inhabit; there aroſe a great diſcord and dangerous ſedition among them, which grew in the end to a civill warre: but when both armies ſtood embattailed and arranged, ready to fight, their wives put themſelves in the very mids betweene the armed troupes, tooke the matter of difference and controverſie into their hands, brought them to accord and unitie, and judged the quarrell with ſuch indifferent equitie, and ſo to the contentment of both parts, that there enſued a woonderfull amitie, and reciprocall good will, not onely from citie to citie, but alſo betweene houſe and houſe; inſomuch that ever after, they continued this cuſtome in all their conſultations, aſwell of warre as peace, to take the counſell and advice of their wives; yea to compoſe and pacifie all debates and braules with their neighbours and allies, by the mediation of them: and therefore in that compoſition and accord which they made with *Anniball*, at what time as he paſſed through their citie, among other articles this went for one: That in caſe the Gaules complained of any wrongs done unto them by the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian captains and governors which were in *Spain* ſhould be the judges betweene them; but contrariwiſe, if the Carthaginians pretended that the Gaules had wronged them, the Gaule dames ſhould decide the quarrell.

THE WOMEN OF MELOS.

THe Melians purpoſing to ſeeke for another land to inhabit, more large and fertile than their owne, choſe for the captaine and leader of that troupe or colonie which was ſent forth, a yoong gentleman of ſingular beautie, named *Nymphæus*; but firſt they had conſulted with the oracle, where they received this anſwere: That they ſhould take the ſeas, and ſaile; and looke in what place ſoever they happened to leeſe their porters and cariers, there they ſhould reſt and inhabit: now it happened as the coaſted along *Caria*, and were ſet aland, their ſhips were loſt in a tempeſt and periſhed; and then the inhabitats of the city *Cryaſſa* in *Caria*, (were it that they had pity of their neceſſitie, or feared their hardineſſe and valour) requeſted them to make their abode with them, and granted them a part of their territorie to holde and occupie: but afterwards the Carians ſeeing, that in a ſmall time the Melians mightily increaſed and waxed great, they complotted and laid ambuſhes for to murder them al, at a certeine ſolemne feaſt and ſupper which they prepared for them: but it fell out ſo, that a yoong damoſell of *Caria* named *Cophene* (who ſecretly was in love and enamoured upon *Nymphæus* aboveſaid, and could not endure that her love *Nymphæus* ſhould ſo treacherouſly be murdered) diſcovered the ſaid plot and intended deſſeigne of her countreymen: now when the Cryaſſians came to call them to the feaſt aboveſaid, *Nymphæus* made them this anſwere: That the cuſtome of the Greeks was not to go unto any great ſuppers or feaſts, unleſſe they had their wives with them; which when the *Carians* heard, they ſaid: Bring your wives with you and ſpare not, they ſhall be welcome: thus when he had advertiſed his countreymen the Melians, what had paſſed betweene him and the Carians, he gave order that they ſhould themſelves come unarmed in their plaine apparell, but every one of their wives ſhould bring with them a ſkeine or dagger under their clothes, and ſo ech of them ſit cloſe unto her husband: now in the mids of ſupper, when the ſignall was given to the Carians for to go in hand with the execution of their deſſeigne, they Greeks knew thereby incontinently, that the time was now come to execute this feat; and then the women all at once opened their boſoms, and their husbands caught the ſkeines aforeſaid, ran upon the barbarous Carians, and maſſacred all in the place, inſomuch as not one of them eſcaped with life: and thus being maſters of the countrey, they raſed the city, and built another, which they called *New Cryaſſa*: *Cophene* then was maried to *Nymphæus*, and woon much honour and favor, which ſhe right well had deſerved for the great good ſervice that ſhe did: but in my conceit, the principall matter in this whole action, and that which is moſt to be commended, was the ſilence and ſecrecie of theſe dames, that being ſo many as they were, there was not one whoſe hart fainted in the execution of this enterpriſe, nor perforce and for feare againſt her will, failed in her dutie.

THE TUSCANE WOMEN.

THere were in times paſt certeine Tyrrhenians or Tuskanes, who ſeized upon the iſles of of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*; yea and raviſhed certeine Athenian wives out of *Brauron*, and begat children of them; but afterwards, the Athenians chaſed that generation out of the ſaid iſles, as being mungrels and halfe Barbarians, who fortuning to arrive at the cape or head of *Tænarus*, did very good ſervice under the Spartans in their wars againſt the Ilots; and for this cauſe obteined their freedome and burgeoſie in *Sparta*, yea, and were allowed to take wives and marrie among them; onely they were not capable of any office of State or magiſtracie, nor admitted into the counſell of the citie: howbeit, ſuſpected they were in the end, that they conſpired and went about a change and alteration in the government: whereupon the Spartans apprehended their bodies, and caſt them in priſon, where they kept them very ſtraight, as cloſe priſoners, to ſee if they could convince them by ſome proofes and undoubted evidence. Meanwhile, the wives of theſe priſoners came to the goales, and by their earneſt praiers and importunate ſute, wrought ſo with their keepers, that they ſuffred them to have acceſſe unto their husbands, onely to viſit, ſalute, and ſpeake unto them: they were no ſooner entred in, but they adviſed and perſwaded their husbands, with all ſpeed to put off their owne clothes, and doe on their apparell, and ſo to get away with their faces vailed and covered; which preſently was put in execution, and themſelves remained faſt ſhut up in the ſaid priſon, prepared and reſolute to abide all the miſeries and tortures that might be done unto them: thus the goalers let out their husbands, taking them to be their wives. No ſooner were they at libertie, but immediately they went and ſeized the mountaine *Taygeta*, and ſollicited withall the Ilots to take armes and rebell; which the men of *Sparta* much fearing, ſent unto them an herald with a trumpet, by whoſe entercourſe they agreed upon theſe articles of compoſition. Inprimis, to deliver them their wives. Item, to reſtore unto them their money and all their goods. Item, to furniſh them with ſhips to paſſe upon the ſeas for to ſeeke their adventure: and when they had found a commodious land, in one place or other, & were provided of a citie to inhabit; that they ſhould be named and reputed kinsfolke to the Lacedæmonians, and a colonie derived and diſcended from them. The ſame did the Pelaſgians, who tooke for their captaines in this voiage, *Pollis*, *Adelphus*, and *Crataidas*, all three Lacedæmonians; for when one part of them ſtaied in the iſle *Melos*, the greater troupe under the conduct of *Pollis* arrived in *Candie*, attending and expecting if thoſe ſignes which had beene foretold them by the oracles would happen; for anſwer was given them by oracle: That whenſoever they had loſt their ankor and goddeſſe, then they were at an end of their voiage and ſhould build them a citie: being come therefore unto the demie iſland *Cherſoneſus*, and their ſhip lying at ankor in the harbour; there hapned in the night a ſudden feare and fright among them without any apparant cauſe, ſuch as they call Panique Frights, wherewith being woonderfully troubled and ſcarred, they went a ſhipboord, without all order, and in a tumultuous maner, leaving behinde them for haſte, the image of *Diana* upon the land, which had remained a long time among them, and had paſſed by deſcent from father to ſonne, and by their forefathers had beene firſt brought unto them from *Brauron* unto the iſle *Lemnos*, and which they caried with them from thence into all places whereſoever they came: after this ſudden fright and tumult was paſſed, as they ſailed in the open ſea, they miſſed the ſaid image, and withall *Pollis* alſo was advertiſed, that a flouke of an anker was wanting and loſt; for that when they came to weigh anker by great force (as commonly it hapneth in ſuch places where it taketh hold of the ground among rocks) it brake and was left behinde in the bottome of the ſea; whereupon he ſaid that the oracles were now fulfilled which foretold them of theſe ſignes, and therewith gave ſignall to the whole fleete for to retire backe, and ſo he entred upon that region to his owne uſe: and after he had in many skirmiſhes vanquiſhed thoſe who were up in armes againſt him, he lodged at length in the citie *Lyctus*, and wan many more to it. Thus you ſee how at this day they call themſelves the kinsfolke of the Athenians by the mothers ſide; but indeed by the father they are a colonie drawne from *Lacedæmon*.

THE LYCIAN WOMEN.

That which is reported to have beene done in *Lycia*, as a meere fable and tale deviſed of pleaſure, yet neverthleſſe teſtified by a conſtant fame that runneth verie currant. For *Amiſodarus* (as they ſay) whom the Lycians name *Iſarus*, came from about the marches of *Zelea*, a colonie of the Lycians, with a great fleet of rovers and men of warre, whoſe captaine or admirall, was one *Chimærus*) a famous arch-pirate, a warlike man but exceeding cruell, ſavage and inhumane) who had for the badges and enſignes of his owne ſhip, in the prow a lion, and at the poope a dragon: much hurt hee did upon all the coaſts of *Lycia*; inſomuch as it was not poſſible either to ſaile upon the ſea, or to inhabit the maritime cities and townes, neere unto the ſea ſide for him. This man of warre or arch-rover, *Bellerophontes* had ſlaine who followed him hard in chaſe with his ſwift pinnace (*Pegaſus*) as he fled, untill he had overtaken him, and withall had chaſed the Amazones out of *Lycia*; yet for all this, he not onely received no worthy recompence for his good ſervice, at the hands of *Iobates* king of *Lycia*, but alſo which was woorſe, ſuſtained much wrong by him: by occaſion whereof *Bellerophontes* taking it as a great indignitie, went to ſea againe, where he praied againſt him unto *Neptune*, that he would cauſe his land to be barraine and unfruitfull; which done, hee returned backe againe: but behold a ſtrange and fearfull ſpectacle, for the ſea ſwelled & overflowed all the countrey, following him everie where as he went, and covering after him the face of the earth: and for that the men of thoſe parts, who did what poſſibly they could to entreat him for to ſtay this inundation of the ſea, could not obtaine ſo much at his hands, the women tooke up their petticots before & went to meet him, & ſhewed their nakednes; whereupon for very ſhame he returned back, & the ſea likewiſe (by report) retired with him into the former place. But ſome there be (who more civilly avoiding the fabuloſity of this tale) ſay: That it was not by praiers & imprecations that he drew after him the ſea, but becauſe that part of *Lycia* which was moſt fertill, being low and flat, lay under the levell of the ſea: there was a banke raiſed along the ſea ſide which kept it in; and *Bellerophon* cut a breach thorow it, and ſo it came to paſſe that the ſea with great violence entred that way, and drowned the flat part of the countrey; whereupon the men did what they could by way of praiers and intreatie with him, in hope to appeaſe his mood, but could not prevaile: howbeit, the women environing him round about by great troups & companies, preſſed him ſo on all ſides, that he could not for verie ſhame deny them, & ſo in favour of them, laid downe his anger. Others affirme that *Chimæra* was an high mountaine, directly oppoſite to the ſunne at noon-tide, which cauſed great reflections and reverberations of the ſunne beames, and by conſequence, ardent heats in manner of a fire, in the ſaid mountaine, which comming to be ſpread and diſperſed over the champion ground, cauſed all the fruits of the earth, to dry, fade, and wither away: whereof *Bellerophontes* (a man of great reach and deepe conceit) knowing the cauſe in nature, cauſed in many places, the ſuperfice of the ſaid rocke or mountaine to be cloven and cut in two, which before was moſt ſmooth & even, and by that reaſon conſequently, did ſend back the beames of the ſun, & cauſed the exceſſive heat in the countrey adjoining: now for that he was not well conſidered and regarded by the inhabitants, according to his demerit, in deſpite he meant to be revenged of the Lycians; but the women wrought him ſo, that they allaied his fury. But ſurely that cauſe which *Nymphus* alleageth in his fourth booke as touching *Heraclea*, is not fabulous nor deviſed to delight the Reader: for he ſaith: That this *Bellerophontes* having killed a wilde bore that deſtroied all the fruits of the earth, & all other beaſts within the Xanthiens countrey, had no recompenſe therefore; whereupon, when he had powred out grievous imprecations againſt thoſe unthankfull Xanthiens, unto *Neptune*, hee brought ſalt-water all over the land, which marred all and made all become bitter, untill ſuch time as he (being wonne by the praiers and ſupplications of the women) beſought *Neptune* to let fal his wrath. Loe whereupon the cuſtome aroſe and continueth ſtill in the Xanthiens countrey: That men in all their affaires negotiate not in the name of their fathers, but of their mothers, and bee called after their names.

THE WOMEN OF SALMATICA.

Annibal of the houſe of *Barca*, before that he went into *Italie* to make warre with the Romaines, laid ſiege unto a great citie in *Spaine*, named *Salmatica*: the beſieged were at the firſt affraid, and promiſed to do whatſoever *Annibal* would commaund them; yea and to pay him three hundred talents of ſilver; for ſecuritie of which capitulation to be performed, they put into his hands three hundred hoſtages: but ſo ſoone as *Annibal* had raiſed his ſiege, they repented of this agreement which they had concluded with him, and would do nothing according to the conditions of the accord; whereupon hee returned againe for to beſiege them afreſh: and to encourage his ſouldiers the better to give the aſſault, he ſaid: That hee would give unto them the ſaccage and pillage of the towne; whereupon the citizens within, were woonderfully affraid, and yeelded themſelves to his devotion, upon this condition: That the Barbarians would permit as many as were of free condition, to goe foorth, every man in his ſingle garment, leaving behind them their armes, goods, money, ſlaves and the citie. Now the dames and wives of the towne, fearing leſt the enemies would ſearch and rifle their husbands as they went forth of the gates, and not once touch and meddle with them, tooke unto them ſhort curtelaſſes or skeines, hid them under their clothes, and ſo went forth together with their husbands. When they were all out of the towne, *Annibal* (having ſet a guard of *Maſæſylians* to attend them) ſtaied them at the end of the ſuburbs: meane while the reſt of his armie, without all order put themſelves within the citie, and fell to the ſpoile and ſackage of it: which when the *Maſæſylians* perceived, they grew out of all patience, & could not containe themſelves, nor looke wel unto their priſoners; but were woonderous angrie, and in the end meant for to have as good a part and ſhare as the reſt, of the ſpoile: hereupon the women tooke up a crie, and gave unto their husbands the ſwords which they had brought with them, yea & ſome of them fel upon the guard or garriſon, inſomuch as one of them was ſo bold, as to take from *Banon* (the Truchman or interpretor) the ſpeare which he had, and thruſt at him with it, but he had on a good corps of a cuirace which ſaved him: but their husbands having wounded ſome of them, and put the reſt to flight, eſcaped by this meanes away, together in a troupe with their wives; which when *Annibal* underſtood, he ſet out immediately after them, and ſurpriſed thoſe who were left behind; whiles the reſt got away and ſaved themſelves for the preſent, by recovering the mountaines adjoining; but after they ſent unto *Annibal* and craved pardon, who graciouſly granted it; yea and permitted them to returne in ſafetie and reinhabit their owne citie.

THE MILESIAN WOMEN.

THE Mileſian maidens upon a time, were ſurprized with a verie ſtrong paſſionate fit of a fearfull melancholicke humour, without any apparant cauſe that could be rendred thereof, unleſſe it were (as men moſt conjectured:) that the aire was infected and empoiſoned, which might cauſe that alienation of the mind, and worke a diſtemperature in their braines, to the overthrow of their right wits; for all on a ſudden, every one had a great deſire to die, and namely, in a furious rage would needs hang themſelves; and in truth many of them ſecretly knit their necks in haltars, and ſo were ſtrangled: no, reaſons and remonſtrances, no teares of father and mother, no perſwaſions and comfortable ſpeeches of their friends would ſerve the turne; but looke what keepers ſoever they had, and how carefully ſoever they looked unto them, they could find meanes of evaſion to avoide and goe beyond all their devices and inventions; in ſuch ſort, that it was thought to be ſome plague and puniſhment ſent from the gods above; and ſuch as no humaine proviſion could remedie, untill ſuch time as by the advice of a ſage and wiſe citizen, there went foorth a certaine edict, and the ſame enacted by the counſell of the citie: That if any one more, hapned to hang herſelfe, ſhe ſhould be carried ſtarke naked as ever ſhe was borne thorow the market-place in the view of the whole world: this proclamation being thus ratified by the common-counſell of the citie, did not onely repreſſe for a while, but alſo ſtaied for altother, this furious rage of the maidens and their inordinate deſire to make themſelves away. Thus we may ſee, that the fear of diſhonor, ſhame & infamy, is a great ſigne & infallible token of good nature and vertue, conſidering that they feared neither death nor paine, which are the moſt horrible accidents that men can endure; howbeit they could not abide the imagination of vilannie, ſhame and diſhonor, though it hapned not unto them, untill they were dead and gone.

THE WOMEN OF CIO.

THe maner and cuſtome was for the yoong virgins of *Cio*, to goe altogether unto their publick temples and churches, and ſo to paſſe the time al the long day there, one with another:

where their lovers who wooed them for marriage, might behold them diſport and daunce: and in the evening they went home to each of their houſes, in order, where they waited upō their fathers and mothers, yea and the brethren, one of another, even to the very waſhing of their feet. Now it hapned ſometimes that many yoong men were enamoured of one and the ſame maide, but their love was ſo modeſt, good, and honeſt, that ſo ſoone as a maiden was affianced and betrothed unto one, all the reſt would give over ſute, & ſo ceaſe to make any more love unto her: In ſumme, the good order and cariage of theſe women of *Cio* might be knowen in this: that in the ſpace of ſeven hundred yeeres, it was never knowen nor appeered upon record, that anie wife committed adulterie, nor maiden unmaried loſt her virginitie.

THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS.

THe tyrants of *Phocis*, ſurprized upon a time and ſeized the citie of *Delphos*; by occaſion whereof, the Thebans made that warre upon them, which was called the Holy warre; at which time it ſo befell, that the religious women conſecrated unto *Bacchus*, named *Thyades*, being beſtraught and out of their right wits, ranne wandring like vagrants up and downe in the night, and knew not whither, untill ere they were aware, they ranne unto the citie *Amphiſſa*, where being wearie (but yet not come againe to their ſenſes) they lay along in the mids of the market place, and couched themſelves ſcattering heere and there to take their ſleepe: the wives of *Amphiſſa* being advertiſed heereof, and fearing leſt their bodies ſhould be abuſed by the ſoldiers of the tyrants (whereof there lay a garriſon within the citie, for that *Amphiſſa* was of the league, and confederate with the Phocæans) ranne all thither to the place, ſtanding round about them with ſilence, and not ſaying one word, and ſo long as they ſlept, troubled them not; but ſo ſoone as they wakened of themſelves and were gotten up, they tooke the charge of them, gave them meat, and each of them looked to one; yea, and afterwards having gotten leave of their husbands, they conveighed and accompanied them in ſafetie, ſo farre as to the mountains and marches of their owne territorie.

VALERIA and CLOELIA.

THe outrage committed upon the perſon of a Roman ladie, named *Lucretia*, and her vertue together, were the cauſe that *Tarquinius Superbus* (the ſeventh king of the Romanes after *Romulus*) was deprived of his roiall eſtate, and driven out of *Rome*: This dame being married unto a great perſonage, deſcended of the bloud roiall, was abuſed and forced by one of the ſons of the ſaid king *Tarquin*, who was enterteined and friendly lodged in her houſe: by occaſion of which villanous fact, ſhe called all her kinsfolke and friends together about her; unto whom after ſhe had delcared and given them to underſtand the ſhamefull diſhonour that he had done upon her body, ſhe ſtabbed herſelfe in the place before them: and *Tarquin* the father (for this cauſe being depoſed from his princely dignitie, and chaſed out of his kingdome) levied manie warres againſt the Romans, thinking thereby to recover his ſtate; and among the reſt in the end wrought ſo effectually with *Porſena* king of the Tuskanes, that he perſwaded him to laie ſiege to the citie of *Rome*, and to beleaguer it with a puiſſant power: Now over and beſides this hoſtilitie, the Romans within, were afflicted alſo and ſore preſſed with famine; but hearing that the ſaid *Porſena* was not onely a valiant captaine in armes, but withall a good and righteous prince, they were willing to make him the indifferent umpire and judge betweene them and *Tarquin*: but *Tarquin* ſtanding ſtiffe in his owne opinion, and highly conceited of himſelfe, giving out alſo, that *Porſena* if he continued not a faſt and conſtant ally, he would not afterwards be a juſt & equal judge: whereupon *Porſena* forſaking him, and leaving his alliance, capitulated and promiſed to depart in good tearmes of amitie & peace with the Romans, upon condition to recover of them all thoſe lands which they had occupied in *Tuskane*, & to have away with him thoſe priſoners whom they had taken in thoſe wars: now for the better aſſurance of this compoſition ſo concluded, there were delivered into his hands as hoſtages, ten boies, and as many yoong maidens; among whom *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola* the conſull was one: which done, preſently he brake up his campe and diſlodged, yea and gave over preparation of farther warre; notwithſtanding that all the articles of the ſaid capitulation were not yet accompliſhed. Theſe yong virgins beforeſaid, being in his campe, went down as it were to bath and waſh themſelves, unto the river ſide, which ran a good way from the campe; and by the motion and inſtigation of one among the reſt named *Cloelia*; after they had wrapped and wreathed their clothes faſt about their heads; they tooke the river which ran with a very ſtrong ſtreame and ſwift current, and by ſwimming croſſe over it, helping one another what they could amid the deepe channell, and ſurging whirlpoles thereof, untill with much travell, they hardly recovered the banke on the other ſide. Some report, that this damoſell *Cloelia*, made meanes to get an horſe, mounted his backe, and gently by little and little paſſed overthwart the river, ſhewing the way unto the reſt of hir fellowes, encouraging, yea, and ſupporting them as they ſwomme on each ſide and round about her: but what the reaſon is of this their conjecture, I will ſhew anon: when the Romans ſaw that they were gotten over in ſafetie, they woondered at their boldneſſe and rare vertue; howbeit they were nothing well pleaſed with their returne, neither could they endure to be chalenged and reproched: that in fidelitie and troth, they all ſhould be inferior to one man, and therefore gave commandement that theſe virgins ſhould returne from whence they came, and ſent with them a guard to conduct them; but when they were paſſed over the river *Tybris* againe, they eſcaped very hardly of being ſurprized by an ambuſh that *Tarquin* had laid for them by the way: as for *Valeria* the conſull *Poplicolaes* daughter, ſhe fled at firſt with three ſervants into the campe of *Porſena*: and the reſt, *Arnus* the ſonne of king *Porſena*, who ran preſently to the reſcue, recovered out of the hands of the enemies: now when they were all preſented and brought before the king; he demaunded which of them it was, who had encouraged her companions to ſwim over the river, and given them counſell ſo to doe: all the reſt fearing leſt the king would doe *Cloelia* ſome harme, would not ſpeake a word; but ſhe her ſelfe confeſſed all: *Porſena* highly eſteeming her valour and vertue, cauſed one of the faireſt horſes to be fetched out of his ſtable, richly trapped and ſet out with coſtly furniture, which he beſtowed upon her, yea, and that which more is (for her ſake and to grace her) curteouſly and kindly diſmiſſed all her fellowes, and ſent them home. This is the geſſe (I ſay) by which ſome thinke that *Cloelia* paſſed over the river on horſe-back: but others ſay no; who deliver the ſtorie thus. That the king marvelling at this valour and extraordinarie hardineſſe, above the proportion of that ſex, thought her woorthy of a preſent, which is woont to be given unto a valiant man at armes and a brave warrior: but how ever it was, for a memoriall of this act, there is to be ſeene her ſtatue at this daie, to wit, a maiden ſitting on horſe-backe, and it ſtandeth in the ſtreet called *Via ſacra*, which ſome ſay, repreſenteth *Cloelia*, others *Valeria*.

MICCA and MEGISTO.

A*Riſtotimus* having uſurped tyranny and violent dominion over the Elians, bare himſelfe much upon the favor and countenance of king *Antigonus*, eſtabliſhed the ſame; but ſo cruelly and exceſſively he abuſed this power and authoritie under him, that in nothing he was tolerable; for over and beſides that, he was a man by nature given to violence (by reaſon that he ſtood in ſome ſervile feare, and was glad to pleaſe the guard that he had about him of mixt Barbarians, whom he had gotten together from divers parts, for the defence of his ſtate and perſon) he ſuffered them alſo to commit many inſolent parts and cruell outrages upon his ſubjects; and among the reſt, that unhappie indignitie which befell to *Philodemnus*, who had a faire damoſell to his daughter, named *Micca*, unto whom one of the captaines of the ſaid tyrant, named *Lucius*, ſeemed to make court, not for any true love and heartie affection that he bare unto her, but upon a wanton luſt to abuſe and diſhonour her bodie: ſo he ſent for this maiden to come and ſpeake with him: her parents ſeeing, that whether they would or no, conſtrained they ſhould be to let her goe, gave her leave; but the damoſell her ſelfe of a generous ſpirit and magnanimous heart, claſped them about and hung upon them, fell downe at their feet, and humbly beſought them, all that ever ſhe could, rather to kill her out of hand, than to ſuffer her thus ſhamefully to be betraied, and villanouſly to be deſpoiled of her maidenhead: but for that ſhe ſtaied longer than was to the good liking of the foreſaid *Lucius*, (who burned all this whiles in luſt, and had withall taken his wine liberally) he roſe from the table in great choler, and went himſelfe toward her: when he came to the houſe, he found *Micca* with her head upon her fathers knees, and her he commanded to follow him; which ſhe refuſed to do; whereupon he rent her clothes from her bodie, and whipped her ſtarke naked; and ſhe, without giving one word againe, endured for her part with patience and ſilence all the ſmart and paine: but her father and mother, ſeeing, that with all their piteous praiers and tender teares, they could not prevaile nor boot anie thing with this wretch, turned to call and implore the helpe both of God and man, crying with a loud voice: Out upon ſuch injurious indignity and intolerable villany: whereupon, this barbarous villaine (growen now to be furious and enraged, partly with choler, and in part with drunkenneſſe) killed this ſilly poore girle, even as ſhe couched her face in the very lap and boſome of her father: howbeit, for all this and ſuch like wicked pranks plaied, the tyrant was nothing at all moved to pitie and compaſſion, but many citizens he murdered, and more he baniſhed and cauſed to leave their countrey; in ſuch ſort, that (as the ſpeech went) no fewer than eight hundred fled to the Aetolians, craving at their hands to make meanes unto the tyrant, that they might have away their wives and little children alſo. Not long after, the tyrant of his owne accord cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet; that as many women as were willing to go unto their husbands, ſhould make them ready and depart, yea, and cary with them as much of their goods as they would: now when he underſtood, that they all with great joy of this proclamation thus publiſhed, and that they were aſſembled together with much contentment of minde, to the number of ſixe hundred, he commanded that they ſhould depart, and put themſelves in their journey all together on a certeine day by him prefixed, making ſemblant againſt that time, to provide a good convoy for their better ſecurity: when the time appointed was come, they flocked thicke to the gates of the city, having brought with them their truſſes and fardles of ſuch goods as they meant to have away with them, carying ſome of their little babes in their armes, taking order for others for to be brought in waggons; and ſo they ſtaied there, & attended one anothers comming: but ſuddenly, many of the ſouldiers and thoſe of the tyrants guard, came running toward them, and crying aloud afarre off: Stay, ſtay: now when they approched nere, all the women they commanded to go backe againe, but the waines and waggons they turned together with the horſes full upon them, and drave them amaine thorow the mids of the troupe and throng of the women, not ſuffering them either to follow, or to ſtay or ſuccor their poore little infants, whom they ſaw to die before their faces: for ſome of them periſhed with falling out of the chariots to the ground, others were deſtroied and trampled under the horſe feet; and all this while, theſe penſioners of the guard, with loud out-cries and with whipping, drave the women before them, like as they had bene ſo many ſheepe, and thronged them ſo hard, that one tumbled upon another; and thus they chaſed them, untill ſuch time as they had caſt them all into priſon: but all their bag and baggage was ſeized upon, and brought unto *Ariſtotimus*. Now when the men of *Elis* were were heerewith mightily offended; the religious women conſecrated to the ſervice of *Bacchus*, whom they call the Sixteene (carrying in their hands boughs of olive trees, like ſuppliants, and chaplets of vine branches about their heads, which they tooke from the god whom they ſerved) went to meet with *Ariſtotimus* about the marketplace of the citie: his ſquires and penſioners about him for the guard of his bodie, made a lane for them, and ſeemed (upon ſome reverence) to give them way that they might come nere: and the women at firſt kept ſilence, doing nought els but in moſt humble and deuout maner tender unto him their branches, like ſuppliants: but after that the tyrant underſtood that it was for the Eliens wives that they came thus to make ſupplication, and namely, that hee would take ſome commiſeration of them; being wroth & diſpleaſed with his guard, he cried out upon them for ſuffering the ſaid women to approch ſo neere unto his perſon; and thereupon commanded them to drive ſome and to beat others, untill they were all chaſed out of the market-place; and more than all this, he condemned theſe religious votaries in a fine of two talents a piece. During theſe occurrences, there was within the citie, one of the burgeſſes named *Hellanicus*, a man very farre ſtept in age, who was the authour of a conſpiracie and inſurrection againſt the tyrant; one that of all others he leaſt diſtruſted, and whom he never thought likely to practiſe againſt him, both for that he was very aged, and alſo becauſe but a little before he had buried two of his children: and it fortuned at the very ſame time, that frō *Aetolia* the exiles before named, paſſed into the territorie of *Elis*, and ſeized upon a fort called *Amymom*, ſituate in a very commodious place for to mainteine warre; where they received and enterteined many other inhabitants of the citie, who immediatly reſorted thither, and ran apace: upon theſe tydings, the tyrant *Ariſtotimus* much fearing the ſequel hereof, went unto their wives in priſon; and thinking to compaſſe his deſſeignes better by feare, than favor and love, he commanded them to ſend unto their husbands, & to write unto them, for to abandon their holde and depart out of the countrey, menacing the poore women, that if they did not ſo, he would cauſe their children firſt to be mangled with whips, and ſo killed before their face, and then put themſelves alſo to death: all of them were ſilent a good while, & notwithſtanding he importuned them a long time, and urged them to ſpeake at once whether they would doe it or no? they looked one upon another without ſaying a word, giving him thereby to underſtand, that they ſtood in no feare, and were not aſtonied for all his threats: at the laſt, one of them, named *Megiſto*, wife to *Timoleon*, and a woman whom the reſt regarded and held as their captaineſſe, aſwell in reſpect of her husbands honour, as her owne vertue, deigned not to riſe up from her ſeat herſelfe, nor ſuffered any of the reſt to ſtand up; but ſitting ſtill in her place, thus ſaid: If thou wert a wiſe man, thou wouldeſt not deale thus as thou doeſt, betweene women and their husbands, but rather ſend unto them, as to thoſe who have the power and authoritie over their wives, and to deliver unto them better ſpeeches than ſuch, whereby thou haſt deceived us; now if (being paſt hope to perſwade them) thou thinkeſt to circumvent and delude them by the meanes of us, never looke that thou ſhalt abuſe us any more, nor thinke that they will be ſo ill adviſed or ſo baſe minded, as that for to ſpare their wives and little children, they will abandon and loſe the libertie of their countrey: for ſurely the loſſe of us will not be to them ſo much, conſidering that they now enjoy us not, as the gaine and benefit, in delivering their countrey and fellow-citizens from ſuch outrageous crueltie. Whiles *Megiſto* enterteined *Ariſtotimus* with theſe ſpeeches, he could no longer endure, but commanded her little ſonne to be brought before him, for to murder him before her eies; and when the penſioners about the tyrant ſearched for him among other little boies that were playing & wreſtling together, his mother called unto him by name, ſaying: Come hither to me my boy, that thou maieſt be delivered from the crueltie of this tyrant, before thou haſt any ſenſe or underſtanding to know what tyranny is: for a greater griefe it would be unto me another day to ſee thee for to ſerve like a ſlave vnworthily, than to die here preſently: hereat *Ariſtotimus* through impatience of furious anger, drew his ſword upon the woman herſelfe, meaning to run her thorow; but one of his familiar friends, named *Cylon* (who made ſemblant to be true & faithful unto him but hated him ſecretly in his hart, & indeed was of the complices in that conſpiracy of *Hellanicus*) ſtepped before him, and by his effectuall praiers turned his hand, making remonſtrance unto him, that it was no generous and manly deed, but a womaniſh act: neither ſavoured it of a prince or ſuch a perſonage as knew how to manage great affaires of State, to deale in that ſort, which he forced and preſſed ſo inſtantly that hardly and with much ado though it were; *Ariſtotinus* was of a better minde, bethought himſelfe and went his way. Now there befell unto him a ſtrange accident, which preſaged what miſchiefe was toward him; for about high noone it was, when being in his bed-chamber, & repoſing himſelf with his wife, whiles his dinner was now readie to be ſerved up, thoſe of his houſhold might perceive an eagle ſoaring round over his houſe; and ſhe let fal a bigge ſtone directly upon the very place of the roofe of the ſaid chamber where he lay, as if upon deliberate purpoſe ſhe had aimed and leveled as it were ſo to doe, himſelfe hearing the noiſe and rap that the ſtone gave upon the houſe top over his head, and withall, the outcry beneath of thoſe who beheld the foule, was mightily affrighted, and demanded what the matter might be? when he underſtood what it was; hee ſent preſently for the wizard or ſoothſaier, whom he was wont to uſe in ſuch caſes, and all troubled and perplexed in ſpirit, asked him what this ſigne might preſage? the ſoothſaier cōforted him, & willed him to be of good cheere, ſaying unto himſelfe: That it was *Jupiter* who wakened him, & ſhewed how willing he was to aſſiſt and ſuccour him; but unto other citizens whom he might truſt, he expounded it otherwiſe, and aſſured them that it was the vengeance of God, which ſpeedily would light upon the tyrants head: whereupon *Hellanicus* and his adherents were reſolved to deferre the execution of their deſſeignes no longer, but to ſet upon the enterpriſe the next morrow: in the night that came betweene, *Hellanicus* as he ſlept, dreamed, and in that viſion he thought, that one of his ſons late deceaſed ſtood before him & ſaid: Father, what meane you to lie a ſleepe, conſidering that once to morrow you muſt be captaine general and ſovereigne governor of this citie: *Hellanicus* wonderfully encouraged by this viſion, ſtarted up, and went to ſollicit the reſt of his complices and companions in the ſaid conſpiracie. By this time was *Ariſtotimus* advertiſed that *Craterus* was comming to aide him with a puiſſant armie, and lay encamped neere to *Olympia*; in the aſſurance and confidence whereof, he preſently tooke *Cylon* with him, and went foorth without any guard about his perſon: *Hellanicus* ſeeing the opportunitie now offred, and taking the vantage thereof, gave not the ſignal and watchword which was agreed upon, with thoſe who firſt were to ſet to the execution of their entended enterpriſe; but ſtretching foorth both his hands with a loud voice cried out: Now, now, my maſters and valiant men, what ſtaie you for? can you deſire a fairer theater to ſhew your valour in, than to fight for the defence of your libertie, in the very heart of your native countrey? At which words, *Cylon* drew his ſword firſt, and ſmot one of them that followed and accompanied *Ariſtotimus*; but *Thraſibulus* and *Lampis* came afront,and ran upon the tyrant himſelfe, who preventing the venue of their ſtroake, fled for refuge and ſanctuarie into the temple of *Jupiter*, where they ſlew him out-right, and drew his dead corps into the market place; and then aſſembled all the citizens thither, for to recover their freedome: but many of the people could not prevent the women; for they ranne out with the firſt in great alacritie,weeping and crying out for very joy, and environing their husbands round about,crowned them,and ſet chaplets of flowers upon their heads: then the multitude of the common people ſet upon the tyrants houſe, and aſſaulted it; his wife having ſhut her-ſelfe within her chamber,there hung her ſelfe, and whereas ſhe had two daughters,virgins as yet, but in the prime and flower of their yeeres, ready for marriage; thoſe they tooke,and by force haled them out of the houſe, with full intent to kill them; in the end after they had abuſed their bodies firſt,and then perpetrated all the villanie & ſhame they could deviſe unto them; which no doubt they would have put in execution, but that *Megiſto* with other honeſt matrons of the citie,oppoſed themſelves and came betweene, who cried aloud unto them; that in ſo dooing they ſhould commit an indignitie unbeſeeming them, if conſidering,that now being in the verie traine and high way of recovering their libertie, for to live from hencefoorth in a popular government, they ſhould perpetrate as violent outrages, as the moſt bloudy and cruell tyrants are uſed to commit: the people in good reſpect and reverence to the honour and authoritie of this vertuous and honeſt dame, who ſpake her minde ſo frankely unto them with teares guſhing out of her eies, were reclaimed and adviſed to offer no abuſe nor vilanie unto their perſons; but to put unto their choiſe what death they would die? and when they had brought them both back againe into the houſe, and intimated unto them, that there was no other remedie but die they muſt,and that preſently; the elder of the twaine named *Myro*,untied her girdle from about her waſte, and with a running nooſe did it about her owne necke in maner of an halter; then kiſſing and embracing her yoonger ſiſter, ſhe praied her to marke what ſhe did, and according to her example to doe thereafter: To the end(quoth ſhe) that we may not die baſely, unwoorthy the place from whence we are come and deſcended: but the yoonger deſired againe,that ſhe might die firſt,caught hold of the girdle and ſnatched it from her; then the elder: Well ſiſter (quoth ſhe)I never yet refuſed to do any thing that you deſired at my hands; & even now content I am to doe ſo much for you as to endure and ſuffer that, which will be more greevous unto me than death it ſelfe,namely,to ſee my moſt deere and beſt beloved ſiſter to die before me; which ſaid, ſhe her ſelfe taught her how to fit the ſaid girdle to her necke, and to knit it for the purpoſe,and when ſhe perceived once that the life was out of her bodie, ſhe tooke her downe and covered her breathleſſe corps; then addreſſing her ſpeech unto dame *Megiſto* her ſelfe, ſhe beſought her, that ſhe would not ſuffer her bodie after ſhe was dead, to lie ſhamefully above the ground, and not interred: the ſight heereof and the words withall were ſo patheticall,that there was not one preſent ſo hard hearted,or ſo ſpightfully and malicouſly bent againſt the tyrant, but deplored their wofull eſtate, and pitied the generoſitie and magnanimitie of theſe two yoong ladies. Now albeit there be infinit preſidents of noble deeds, that in old time, women have done in companies together; yet me thinkes theſe few examples which I have already delivered, may ſuffice: from hencefoorth therefore I will rehearſe the particular vertuous acts of ſeverall women by themſelves,as they come ſcattering into my remembrance: for I ſuppoſe that ſuch narrations and hiſtories as theſe, doe not require of neceſſitie the preciſe order and conſequence of the times.

PIERIA.

OF thoſe Ionians who were come to dwell in the citie of *Miletum*, ſome chaunced to be at variance and debate with the children of *Neleus*; by occaſion whereof in the end, they thought the city too hot for them,and conſtreined they were to remoove and retire themſelves into the citie *Myus*, where they made their abode & habitation; and yet even there alſo,much moleſted they were and troubled by the Mileſians,who warred upon them, for their revolt and apoſtaſie: howbeit this warre was not ſo bloudie and mortall, but that they uſed to ſend one unto another,yea and to communicate and negotiate reciprocally in divers things: for even upon certaine ſolemne and feſtivall daies,the wives and women of *Myus* would repaire boldly unto *Miletum*: now among theſe Myuntines, there was a noble man and of great name, one *Pythes*, who had to wife a ladie called *Japygia*, by whom he was father of a faire daughter, cleped *Pieria*: when as therefore the great feaſt unto *Diana* and a ſolemne ſacrifice called *Neleus*, was celebrated by the Mileſians: *Pythes*, ſent thither unto this ſolemnitie, his wife and daughter aforeſaid, for they had requeſted leave of him to be partakers of the feaſt. It fortuned whiles they were there, that one of the ſonnes of *Neleus* (a man of moſt credit and greateſt authoritie in the citie) named *Phrygius*, caſt a fancie to *Pieria*; and in courting her after the manner of lovers, deſired to know of her what it might be, wherein he might gratifie her moſt, and beſt content her, unto whom ſhe anſwered: If Sir you will ſo bring about, that I my ſelfe with many more may oftentimes reſort hither, you ſhall doe me the greateſt pleaſure that you can deviſe: *Phrygius* (conceiving preſently what her meaning was, namely that there might bee continuall peace and amitie betweene thoſe two cities) wrought ſo, that he compoſed the warre on both ſides: in regard hereof *Pieria* was highly eſteemed and honoured in both cities; in ſuch wiſe, that unto this day the Mileſian dames do wiſh ordinarily and pray unto the gods, that they may be as well beloved, as *Pieria* was of *Phrygius*.

POLYCRITE.

There was in times paſt, warre betweene the Naxians and the Mileſians, about *Neæra* the wife of *Hypſicreon*, and the ſame aroſe upon this occaſion. This *Neæra* was enamoured upon *Promedon*, a Naxian, inſomuch as ſhe would embarke, take the ſea, and ſaile with him: for why? an ordinarie gueſt he was of *Hypſicreons*, and uſed to lodge in his houſe whenſoever hee came to *Miletum*: yea and ſecretly ſhe had him to lie with her, ſhe loved him ſo well: but in proceſſe of time when ſhee feared that her husband perceived it, he faire tooke her cleane away with him to *Naxos*, where he ordained, that ſhe ſhould be a ſuppliant of *Veſta*. *Hypſicreon* ſent for her againe; but when the Naxians in favour of *Promedon* refuſed to render her, alleaging for a colourable pretenſe of their excuſe the priviledge and franchiſes of ſuppliants: hereupon the warre began between them; in which quarrell the Erythræans favoured the Mileſians verie affectionatly and ſided with them, inſomuch as it grew to a long and lingering warre, and many miſeries and calamities that follow warres, it drew withall, as well to the one part as the other; until at laſt the quarrel was finally ended by the vertue of one woman, like as it began firſt by the vice and wickedneſſe of another. For *Diognetus* the captaine generall of the Erythræans, (unto whom was cōmitted the charge of keeping a fort, ſeated upon a very commodious place to annoy & endamage the Naxians) made rodes and incurſions into their territorie, where with many other huge booties that he drave and carried away, he took and led as his priſoners many maidens and wives of good houſes and parentage; among whom there was one named *Polycrite*, whom himſelfe fancied and fell in love with; her he kept and entertained not like a captive or priſoner, but as if ſhe had beene his eſpouſed wife: now it fortuned that the day was come when the Mileſians lying in campe, were to ſolemnize a great feaſt; by reaſon whereof they fel to drinking freely and making good cheere, inviting one another as the maner was: then *Polycrite* asked captaine *Diognetus*, whether hee would be offended if ſhe ſhould ſend certaine tarts, pies, and cakes, provided for that feaſt unto her brethren? who anſwered: that he not onely permitted, but alſo willed her ſo to doe: ſhe taking the opportunitie of good occaſion, put within one of theſe tarts, a little thinne plate of lead which was written upon, charging him expreſſely who had the carriage thereof, to ſay unto her brethren, that in any caſe none but they, ſhould taſte of the ſaid cakes or tarts: this meſſage was done accordingly, and when they came to eate the tarts, they found within one, a writing of their ſiſters; whereby ſhee advertiſed and adviſed them not to faile, but that very night to come and aſſaile their enemies, for that they ſhould finde them in great diſorder, without ſentinell and *corps-de-guard*, without any watch and ward at all, for that they were all drunke by occaſion of the good cheere that they had made at that feaſt: having this intelligence, they preſently acquainted the captaines generall of the Naxians armie therewith, pray[illegible] them to enterpriſe this ſervice by their direction and with them: thus were the Erythræans deſeized of their ſtrong hold, and a great number of them within, put to the ſword: but *Polycrite* craved *Diognetus* of her fellow-citizens, and by that meanes ſaved his life; now when ſhe approched neere unto the gates of *Naxos*, ſeeing all the inhabitants comming foorth to meet her with exceeding great joy and mirth, putting garlands of flowers upon her head, and chanting ſongs of her praiſes, her heart was not able to endure ſo great joy; for ſhe died at the very gate of the citie, where afterwards ſhe was enterred and entombed; and her monument was called, the Sepulcher of Envie, as if there had beene ſome envious fortune, which had grudged unto *Polycrite*, the fruition of ſo great glorie and honour. Thus the Hiſtoriographers of *Naxos* have delivered this narration: howbeit (*Ariſtotle* ſaith) that *Polycrite* was never taken priſoner; but *Diognetus* having had a ſight of her by ſome other meanes, became enamoured upon her ſo farre, that he was ready to give unto her, and to do for the love of her, whatſoever ſhe would: alſo that ſhe promiſed to go with him, in caſe he would agree and graunt one thing, and (as the ſaid philoſopher telleth the tale) thereupon ſhe required of him an obligation of his oth; and after he had faithfully ſworne unto her, ſhe demaunded that hee ſhould deliver unto her the caſtle *Delio*; for that was the name of the fort or piece whereof hee had the charge, otherwiſe ſhe ſaid that ſhe would never come in bed with him; whereupon he (aſwell for the great deſire that he had to enjoy her love, as in regard of his foreſaid oath, by which he was bound and obliged) quit the place and rendred it into the hands of *Polycrite*, who preſently delivered it up unto her countrey-men and fellow-citizens; by which meanes they being now able once againe to make their parts good with the Mileſians, made an accord and concluded peace, under what conditions they deſired themſelves.

LAMPSACE.

IN the citie *Phocæa*, there were ſometimes two brethren twinnes, of the houſe and family of the *Codridæ*; the one named *Phobus*, the other *Blepſus*; of which twaine, *Phobus* was the firſt that (according as *Charon* the Chronicler of *Lampſacum* doth record) caſt himſelfe from the high rocks and cliffes of *Leucas* into the ſea. This *Phobus* being of great puiſſance and royall authoritie in his countrey, hapned to have ſome private affaire and negotiation of his owne in the iſle of *Paros*, and thither he went; where he contracted amitie, alliance and hoſpitalitie with *Mandron* king of the Bebrycians, ſurnamed Pityoeſſenes: and by vertue of this new league he aided them, and in their behalfe made warre with them, againſt other barbarous people their neighbours, who did them wrong and wrought them much damage: afterwards (when he was upon his departure and returne home) *Mandron* among many other courteſies and tokens of kindneſſe which he beſtowed upon him, now ready to embarke and take the ſea, offered him the one moitie of his country and city, if he would come & dwel in the citie *Pityoeſſa*, with ſome part of the Phocæans, for to people the place: whereupon *Phobus* after he was come home againe to *Phocæa*, propoſed this matter unto the Phocæans his citizens; & having perſwaded them to accept of the offer, he ſent his owne brother, as leader and captaine to conduct this colonie of new inhabitants; who upon their firſt arrivall and comming thither, found themſelves as well entreated, & as courteouſly entertained as they could wiſh or looke for at *Mandron* his hands: but in tract of time, after that they had gotten many advantages at the Barbarians hands, their neighbours & borderers, wan divers booties from them, and gained much pillage & ſpoile; they began to be envied firſt, and afterwards to be dread and feared of the Bebrycians; who being deſirous for to be rid and delivered of ſuch gueſts, durſt not addreſſe themſelves unto *Mandron*, whom they knew to be an honeſt and juſt man, for to perſwade him to practiſe any diſloyaltie or treacherie, againſt men of the Greek nation; but eſpying a time when he was abſent and out of the countrey; they complotted and prepared to ſurprize the Phocæans by a wile, and ſo to diſpatch them al at once out of the way: but *Lampſace* (the daughter of *Mandron*, a maiden yet unmarried, having ſome fore-inkling and intelligence of this forelaied ambuſh) laboured & dealt, firſt with her familiar friends to divert them from ſo wicked an enterpriſe, ſhewing and prooving unto them, that it was a damnable act before God, and abominable among men, to proceed ſo treacherouſly againſt their allies and confederates, who had beene ready at all times to aid and aſſiſt them in their need againſt their enemies, and beſides, were now incorporate with them, and their fellow-citizens: but when ſhe ſaw that there would no good be done, and that ſhe could not diſſwade them from it: ſhe acquainted the Greeks under-hand with this treaſon, which was a warping againſt them, & adviſed them to look unto themſelves, & ſtand upon their own guard: ſo the Phocæans made a ſolemn ſacrifice & a publick feaſt, invited the Pityoeſſenes to come out of the citie into the ſuburbes to take part thereof; & themſelves they divided into two troupes, whereof the one ſeiſed the wals of the citie, whiles the inhabitants were at the feaſt, meane time the other were buſie in maſſacring the gueſts that were bidden to it; and by this meanes they became maſters of the whole citie, and ſent for *Mandron*, whom they deſired to participate with them in their counſels and affaires: as for *Lampſace* his daughter, who fortuned to die of ſickneſſe, they interred magnificently, and in memoriall of that good which ſhe did unto them, called the citie after her name *Lampſacum*: howbeit *Mandron* becauſe he would not be ſuſpected to have beene a traitour unto his owne people, would not conſent to dwell among them, but required to have of them, the wives and children of them who were dead; whom they ſent unto him with all ſpeed and diligence, without dooing any harme or diſpleaſure at all unto them; as for *Lamſaca* unto whom before they had ordeined heroick honors; they decreed for ever to ſacrifice unto her as unto a goddeſſe, and even to this day they doe continue and obſerve the ſame divine worſhip unto her.

ARETAPHILA.

ARetaphila of *Cyrene,* was none of them that lived in ancient time, but lately in the daies of king *Mithridates*; but ſhe ſhewed vertue, & performed an act comparable to the magnanimous counſels and deſſeignes of the moſt antike demi-goddeſſes that ever were: daughter ſhe was to *Aeglator*, and wife to *Phædimus*, both noble men and great perſonages; faire & beautifull of viſage, of deepe conceit and high reach, and namely in matters of eſtate, & affaires of government well experienced: the publike calamities of her countrey did illuſtrate her name, and cauſed her to be well knowne and voiced in the world: for *Nicocrates* having uſurped the tyrannie of *Cyrene,* put to death many of the chiefe and principall men of the citie, and among the reſt, one *Melanippus* the high prieſt of *Apollo,* whom he ſlew with his owne hands, for to enjoy his prieſthood: he did to death alſo *Phædimus* the husband of *Aretaphila,* and not content therewith, married her perforce and againſt her will: this tyrant over & above an infinit number of other cruelties which he daily committed, ſet certaine warders at every gate of the city; who when there was caried foorth any dead corps to buriall out of the citie, abuſed the ſame, with digging into the ſoles of their feet, with the points of their daggers and poinards, or elſe with ſearing them with red hot irons; for feare that any of the inhabitants ſhould be conveied alive out of the citie, under colour of being borne to the grave as dead: private and particular croſſes, had *Aretaphila* no doubt, which were greevous unto her, and hardly to be endured, although the tyrant was otherwiſe kinde enough unto her, and led her a faire life, letting her have her owne will, for the love he bare unto her; inſomuch as the tyrant ſuffred her to enjoy a great part of his puiſſance and regall power; for love had enthralled and ſubdued him unto her; and not one there was but ſhe alone who knew how to uſe and handle him; for to all the others he was untractable, inflexible, and ſavage beyond all meaſure: but it grieved her moſt of all, to ſee her native countrey ſo miſerably abuſed, and ſo unwoorthily intreated by this tyrant; for there was not one day went over his head, but he cauſed to be executed one citizen or other, neither was there to be ſeene any hope of revenge or deliverance out of theſe calamities on any ſide; for that the exiled perſons and ſuch as fled, being weake and feeble every way, and altogether heartleſſe and fearefull, were ſcattered ſome in this place others in that: *Aretaphila* therefore (building upon her-ſelfe alone, the onely hope of recovering and raiſing the State of the common-weale, and propoſing the magnanimous and renowmed acts of *Theba,* the wife of the tyrant *Pheres*, as examples to imitate; but wanting and deſtitute altogether of faithfull friends and truſtie kinsfolke for to helpe and ſecond her in any enterpriſe, ſuch as the preſent times and affaires did affoord unto the other) aſſaied to make away the tyrant by ſome poiſon; but as ſhe was about the proviſion heereof, and aſſaied to make proofe of the forces of many ſtrong poiſons, ſhe could not carrie her deſſeigne ſo ſecretly but it came foorth, and was diſcovered: now when the thing was averred & evidently proved; by ſtrong preſumptions: *Calbia* the mother of *Nicocrates* (a bloudy woman, and of nature implacable) thought to have her put to many exquiſite torments, and then to bring her ſoone after to her death: but the affection that *Nicocrates* bare unto her wrought ſome delay in revenge, and dulled the edge of his anger, and withall, *Aretaphila,* (who conſtantly and reſolutely offered her-ſelfe to anſwer all imputations that were laid unto her charge;) gave ſome colourable excuſe unto the paſſionate affection of the tyrant: but in the end ſeeing that ſhe was convinced by certaine proofes and evidences, which ſhe knew not how to anſwer, neither could ſhe denie that ſhe had ſome drugs in her cloſet, & did temper certaine medicines; but confeſſed that indeed ſhe had prepared certaine drugs, yet ſuch as were neither deadly nor dangerous: But my good lord (quoth ſhe unto her husband the tyrant) I am much perplexed and troubled with many things of great conſequence, and namely how to preſerve the good opinion which you have of me, the kinde affection alſo which of your gracious favour you beare unto me, by meanes wherof, I have this honour, as to enjoy a good part of your power and authoritie jointly with you; this maketh me to be envied of wicked women, at whoſe hands I (fearing ſorceries, charmes, enchantments, and other cunning divelliſh caſts, by which they would goe about to withdraw and diſtract you from the love that you beare me) reſolved at the length with my ſelfe for to ſeeke means how to meet, encounter, and prevent their devices; fooliſh peradventure they may be (as indeed the very inventions of a woman) but in no wiſe worthy of death; unleſſe haply, ſir (in your judgement) it be juſt and reaſonable to put your wife to death, for that ſhe mindeth to give you ſome love-drinks, and amatorious cups; or deviſeth ſome charmes, as deſirous to be more loved of you than haply it is your pleaſure for to love her. *Nicocrates* having heard theſe excuſes alledged by *Aretaphila,* thought good, and reſolved to put her to torture; whereat *Calbia* her mother was preſent, who never relented nor ſeemed to be touched with her dolorous torments, but remained inexorable: now when ſhe was laid upon the racke, and asked ſundrie queſtions, ſhe yeelded not unto the paines that ſhe ſuſtained, but continued invincible, and confeſſed no fault in the height of all extemities; untill at length *Calbia* herſelfe, even againſt her will was forced to give over tormenting her any longer: and *Nicocrates* let her goe, being not fully perſwaded, that the excuſes alledged by her were true & to be credited, repenting that he had put her to ſuch paine as he did; and it was not long after (ſo deepely was the paſſion of love imprinted in his heart) but he returned to her, and aſſaied to win her grace and good will againe, by all honours, favours, courteſies and kindneſſe that poſſibly he could ſhew unto her; but ſhe, who had the power and ſtrength to reſiſt all torments and yeeld unto no paines, would not be overcome with all his flatteries; but joining now unto her former deſire of doing ſome vertuous deed, the animoſitie for to be revenged and to effect her purpoſe, aſſaied other meanes. One daughter ſhe had mariageable, and beautifull ſhe was beſides; her ſhe ſuborned and ſet as an alluring bait to entrap and catch the tyrants brother, a yong gentleman, eaſie to be caught with the pleaſures & delight of youth: and many are of opinion, that ſhe uſed certeine charmes and amatorious potions, aſwell as the object of her daughters beautie, whereby ſhe enchanted and bewitched the wits and ſenſes of this yong man, whom they called *Leander*: when he was once enamoured with the love of this yoong damoſell, hee prevailed ſo much by praiers and entreatie with his brother, that he permitted him to wed her: no ſooner was he married, but his freſh ſpouſe (having inſtructions before-hand from her mother) began to be in hand with him, and to perſwade him for to enterpriſe the recoverie of freedome unto the citie, ſhewing by good remonſtrance, that himſelfe enjoied not libertie, ſo long as he lived under tyrannie, neither had he power of himſelfe, either to wed a wife, or to keepe her when he had her, if it pleaſed not the tyrant: on the other ſide, his friends and other of his familiar acquaintance, for to gratifie *Aretaphila* and to doe her pleaſure, repaired unto him continually, forging ſome new matter of quarrels and ſuſpitions againſt his brother the tyrant: when he perceived that *Aretaphila* was alſo of the ſame minde, and had her hand therein, he reſolved to execute the enterpriſe; and thereupon he ſet one *Daphnis,* a ſervant of his owne, in hand with the buſineſſe, by whoſe meanes he killed *Nicocrates*: but after he was thus murdered, *Leander* would no more be adviſed by *Aretaphila,* nor follow her counſell in the reſt; but ſhewed incontinently by his deportments and carriage in all actions, that a brother indeed hee had murdered, but not killed a tyrant: for in his owne government, he bare himſelfe like a foole, and ruled inſolently and furiouſly: howbeit, unto *Aretaphila* he ſhewed alwaies ſome honour and reverence, conferring upon her ſome part of his authoritie in management of State affaires; for that ſhe made no ſemblant at all of diſcontentment, nor directly and in open maner ſeemed to warre againſt him, but privily practiſed, and cunningly diſpoſed all: for firſt and formoſt, ſhe raiſed warre upon him out of *Lybia*, by the meanes of a prince there, named *Anabus*, betweene whom and her there paſſed ſecret intelligence: him ſhee ſollicited and perſwaded to invade his countrey, and with a puiſſant armie to approch the citie *Cyrene*: then ſhe buzzed into *Leanders* head, certeine ſurmizes and ſuſpitions of diſloialtie in his peeres, his friends and captaines; giving him to underſtand, that their hearts ſtood not to this warre, but that they loved peace and quietneſſe rather: Which (quoth ſhe) to ſay a truth, as things now ſtand, were better for you & for the eſtabliſhment of your roial ſtate & dominion, in caſe you would rule in deed, holde under, and keepe in awe, your ſubjects and citizens: and for mine owne part, I holde it good policie for you to make meanes for a treatie of peace, which I will labour to effect, and for that purpoſe bring you and *Anabus* together, to an interview and parle (if you thinke ſo good) before that you grow to farther tearmes of hoſtilitie and open warre, which may breed a miſchiefe, that afterwards will admit no cure nor remedie. This motion ſhe handled and followed with ſuch dexteritie, that *Leander* condeſcended thereto; and ſhee herſelfe in perſon went to conferre with the Lybian prince,whom ſhe requeſted,that ſo ſoone as ever they were met together to treat of this pretended accord, he ſhould arreſt the tyrant as his priſoner; and to doe this feat, ſhe promiſed him great gifts and preſents, beſides a good reward in money: the Lybian ſoone accorded hereto: now *Leander* made ſome doubt at firſt,to go into this parle, and ſtaied a while, but afterwards (for the good reſpect that he had unto *Aretaphila,* who promiſed in his behalfe,that he ſhould come to conference) he ſet forward, naked, without armes and without his guards: when he approched the place appointed for this interview, and had a ſight once of *Anabus,* his heart miſgave him againe; and being much troubled and perplexed, he would not go on, but ſaid, he would ſtay for his guard: howbeit, *Aretaphila* who was there preſent, partly encouraged him, and in part rebuked and checked hin, ſaying: That he would be taken and reputed for a baſe minded coward, and a diſloiall perſon, who made no account of his word, if he ſhould now flinch and ſtart backe: at the laſt, when they were at point to meet; ſhe laied holde upon him,plucked him forward by the hand,and with great boldneſſe and reſolution haled him, untill ſhe had delivered him into the hands of the barbarous prince: then immediatly was hee apprehended,and his bodie attached by the Lybians, who kept him bound as a priſoner, and ſet a ſtraight guard about him, untill ſuch time as the friends of *Aretaphila* with other citizens of *Cirene,* were come to the campe, and brought the money and gifts unto her which ſhe had promiſed unto *Anabus.* For ſo ſoone as it was knowen in the city that *Leander* was taken priſoner & in ſure hold, a number alſo of the multitude ran forth,to the place appointed of conference; and ſo ſoone as they had ſet an eie on *Aretaphila,* they went within a little of forgetting all their anger and malice which they bare unto the tyrant, thinking that the revenge and exemplarie puniſhment of him was but acceſſarie and by-matter; as being now wholly amuſed upon another thing, and ſuppoſing the principall fruition of their libertie conſiſted in ſaluting and greeting her moſt kindly, and with ſo great joy, that the teares ran downe their cheeks, inſomuch as they were ready to kneele, yea, and caſt themſelves downe proſtrate at her feet, no leſſe than before the ſacred image and ſtatue of a goddeſſe: thus they flocked unto her,by troups out of the citie one after another,all day long,inſomuch as it was wel in the evening before they could adviſe with themſelves to ſeize upon the perſon of *Leander*, and hardly before darke night did they bring him with them into the citie. Now after they were well ſatisfied with giving all maner of praiſes, and doing what honour they could deviſe unto *Aretaphila,* in the end they turned to conſultation what was beſt to be done with the tyrants? ſo they proceeded to burne *Calbia* quicke; and as for *Leander,* they put him in a leather poke and ſowed it up cloſe, and then caſt it into the ſea. Then ordeined and decreed it was, that *Aretaphila* ſhould have the charge and adminiſtration of the weale publicke, with ſome other of the principall perſonages of the citie joined in commiſſion with her: but ſhe (as one who had plaied many and ſundry parts alreadie upon the ſtage ſo well, that ſhee had gotten the garland and crowne of victorie) when ſhee ſaw that her countrey and citie was now fully free and at libertie,immediatly betooke her ſelfe to her owne private houſe, as it were cloiſtered up with women onely,and would no more intermeddle in the affaires of State abroad; but the reſt of her life ſhe paſſed in peace and repoſe with her kinſfolke and friends, without ſetting her ſelfe to any buſineſſe, ſave onely to her wheele, her web, and ſuch womens works.

CAMMA.

THere were in times paſt,two moſt puiſſant Lords and Tetrarches of *Galatia,*who alſo were in blood of kinne one to the other, *Sinatus* and *Synorix*. *Sinatus* had eſpouſed a yoong virgin named *Camma,*and made her his wife; a ladie highly eſteemed of as many as knew her, as well for the beautie of her perſon, as the floure of her age; but admired much more in regard of her vertue and honeſtie; for ſhe had not onely a tender reſpect of her owne good name and honour,carried an affectionate love and true heart unto her; but alſo, ſhee was wiſe,magnanimous,and paſſing well beloved of all her ſubjects and tenants,in regard of her gentle nature,and her debonair and bounteous diſpoſition; and that which made her better reputed and more renowmed,was this; that ſhe was both a religious prieſtreſſe of *Diana* (a goddeſſe whom the Galatians moſt devoutly honour and worſhip) and alſo in every ſolemne proceſſion and publicke ſacrifice, ſhe would alwaies be ſeene abroad moſt ſumptuouſly ſet out, and ſtately adorned. It fortuned ſo, that *Synorix* was enamoured of this brave dame, but being not able to bring about his purpoſe and to enjoy her, neither by faire meanes nor foule, perſwade he,or menance what he could, ſo long as her husband lived: the divell put in his head, to commit a moſt heinous and deteſtable fact; for he laid waite for *Sinatus*, and treacherouſly murthered him: he ſtaied not long after, but he fell to wooing of *Camma*, and courting her by way of marriage; ſhe made her abode within the temple at that time, and tooke the infamous act committed by *Synorix*, not piteouſly, and as one caſt downe and dejected therewith, but with a ſtout heart and a ſtomacke mooved to anger, and yet conſideratly, waiting the time and opportunitie of revenge: on the other ſide, *Synorix* followed his ſute verie earneſtly, ſoliciting and intreating importunately; neither ſeemed he to alledge vaine and frivolous reaſons, but ſuch as carried ſome colourable pretenſe of honeſtie; namely, that he had alwaies ſhewed himſelfe a man of more valor & worth than *Sinatus*; and whereas he took away his life, induced he was thereto for the exceeding love that hee bare to *Camma*, and not mooved thereto by any malice otherwiſe. This yoong dame at the firſt ſeemed to denie him, but yet her denials were not verie churliſh, and ſuch, as he might take for his finall anſwer; for daily by little and little, ſhe made ſemblant that ſhe relented and inclined unto him, for that divers kinsfolk and friends alſo of hers, joined with him to ſecond his ſute, who (for to gratifie and doe pleaſure unto *Synorix*, a man of the greateſt credit and authoritie in his countrey) perſwaded, yea & forced her to yeeld unto this match. To be ſhort, in the end ſhe gave her conſent, & *Synorix* was ſent for to come unto her, where ſhe kept her reſiance, that in the preſence of the ſaid goddeſſe, the contract of marriage might paſſe, & the eſpouſals be ſolemnized: when he was come, ſhe received and welcomed him with an amiable and gracious countenance, lead him unto the very altar of *Diana*, where religiouſly & with great ceremonie ſhe powred forth before the goddeſſe, a little of a potion which ſhee had prepared, out of a boule; the one part thereof ſhe drunke herſelfe, & the other ſhe gave unto *Synorix* for to drinke: now this potion was mead mingled with ranke poiſon: when ſhe ſaw that he had taken his draught, ſhe fetching a loud and evident groane, doing reverence alſo unto the goddeſſe: I proteſt and call thee to witneſſe (quoth ſhe) moſt powerfull and honourable goddeſſe, that I have not ſurvived *Sinatus*, for any other cauſe in the world, but onely to ſee this day, neither have I had any joie of my life all this while that I have lived ſince, but onely in regard of hope that one day I might be revenged of his death, which ſeeing that now I have effected, I go moſt gladly and joifully unto that ſweet husband of mine; and as for thee (moſt accurſed & wicked wretch in the world) give order to thy kinsfolke and friends, in ſtead of a nuptiall bed, to provide a grave for thy burial: the Galatian (hearing theſe words, and beginning withal to feele the operation of the poiſon, and how it wrought & troubled him within his bowels, and all parts of his body;) mounted preſently his chariot, hoping that by the jogging and agitation thereof, he might vomit and caſt up the poiſon; but immediately he alighted againe, and put himſelfe into an eaſie litter; but did he what he could, dead he was that very evening: as for *Camma*, ſhe continued all the night languiſhing, and when ſhe heard for certaintie that he was deceaſed, ſhe alſo with joy and mirth departed out of this world.

STRATONICE.

THe ſelfeſame province of *Galatia* affoorded two other dames woorthy of eternall memorie, to wit, *Stratonice* the wife of king *Deiotarus*, and *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*: as for *Stratonice*, ſhe (knowing that the king her husband was deſirous to have children lawfully begotten, for to leave to be his ſucceſſors & inheritors of the crowne, and yet could have none by her) praied and intreated him to trie another woman, and beget a childe of her body, yea and permitted that it ſhould be put unto her, and ſhe would take it upon her as her owne: *Deiotarus* woondered much at this reſolution of hers, and was content to doe all things according to her mind: wherupon ſhe choſe (among other captives taken priſoner in the warres) a proper faire maiden named *Electra*, whom ſhe brought into *Deiotarus* bed chamber, & ſhut them in both together: and all the children which this concubine bare unto him, his wife reared and brought up with as kinde an affection and as princelike, as if ſhe had borne them herſelfe.

CHIOMARA.

AT what time as the Romans, under the conduct of *Cn. Scipio*, defaited the Galatians that inhabit in *Aſia*; it befell that *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*, was taken priſoner with other Galatian women: the captaine whoſe captive ſhe was, made uſe of his fortune, did like a ſoldier,

dier, and abuſed her bodie, who as he was a man given unto his fleſhly pleaſure, ſo he looked alſo as much or rather more unto his profit and filthie lucre; but ſo it fell out, that overtaken he was and entrapped by his owne avarice: for (being promiſed by the woman a good round quantitie of gold, for to deliver her out of thraldome and ſet her at libertie;) he brought her to the place which ſhe had appointed for to render her and ſet her free; which was at a certeine banke by the river ſide, where the Galatians ſhould paſſe over, tender him the ſaid monie, and receive *Chiomara*: but ſhe winked with her eie, & thereby gave a ſignall to one of her own companie for to kill the ſaid Romane captaine, at what time as he ſhould take his leave of her with a kiſſe and friendly farewell; which the partie did with his ſword, & at one ſtroke fetched off his head: the head ſhe herſelfe tooke up, and wrapped it in the lap of her gowne before, and ſo gat her away apace homeward: when ſhe was come to her huſbands houſe, downe ſhe caſt his head at his feet, whereat he being aſtonied: Ah my ſweet wife (quoth he) it is a good thing to keepe faithfull promiſe: True (quoth ſhe) but it is better, that but one man alive ſhould have my companie. *Polybius* writeth of the ſame woman, that himſelfe talked with her afterwards in the citie of *Sardis*, and that he found her then to be a woman of an high minde and of woonderfull deepe wit. But ſince I am fallen to the mention of the Galatians, I will rehearſe yet one ſtory more of them.

A WOMAN OF PERGAMUS.

King *Mithridates* ſent upon a time for threeſcore of the principall lords of *Galatia*, to repaire unto him upon truſt and ſafe-conduct as friends, into the citie *Pergamus*: whom being come at his requeſt, he enterteined with proud & imperious ſpeeches, whereat they al took great ſcorn and indignation, inſomuch as one of them named *Toredorix* (a ſtrong & tal man of his hands, & beſides woonderfull couragious, Tetrarch of the Toſſepians country) undertooke this one day enterpriſe, to ſet upon *Mithridates*, at what time as he ſat in judgement, & gave audience from the tribunal ſeat in the publike place of exerciſe, and both him and ſeat together to tumble downe headlong into the pit underneath: but it fortuned that the king that day came not abroad as his maner was, up into that place of open exerciſe, but commanded al thoſe Galatian lords, to come and ſpeake with him at his houſe: *Toredorix* exhorted them to be bold and confident, and when they were altogether in his preſence, to runne upon him from everie ſide, to teare him in pieces and make an end of him: this plot was not projected ſo cloſely, but it came to *Mithridates* eares, who cauſed them al to be apprehended, and ſent to chop off al their heads one after another: but immediately after, he called to remembrance that there was one yoong gentleman among the reſt, for the flower of his yeeres, for beautie alſo, and feature of bodie, the goodlieſt perſon that he had ſet eie on in his daies; whom he tooke pitie of, and repented that he had condemned him to die with his fellowes, ſhewing evidently in his countenance, that he was mightily greeved and diſquieted in his minde, as thinking verily that he was executed already with the firſt; howbeit, at a very venture he ſent in all haſte a countermaund, that if he were yet alive, he ſhould be ſpared and let goe: this yoong mans name was *Bepolitanus*; and verily his fortune was moſt ſtrange and woonderfull: for had away hee was to the place of execution in that habit wherein he was attached, and the ſame was a very faire and rich ſute of apparell, which becauſe the butcherly executioner deſired to reſerve cleane and unſprent with bloud, he was ſomewhat long about the ſtripping of him out of it; & whiles he was ſo doing he might perceive the kings men come running apace toward him, and with a loud voice naming *Bepolitanus*. See how covetouſneſſe, which hath beene the death of many a thouſand, was the meanes beyond all expectation, to ſave the life of this yoong gentleman: as for *Toredorix*, after he was cruelly mangled with many a chop and hacke, his bodie was caſt foorth unburied to the dogs; neither durſt any of his friends come neere for to enterre it: one woman onely of *Pergamus*, whom this Galatian in his life time had knowen, in regard of her freſh youth and beautie, was ſo hardie as to hazard the taking of his dead corps away, and to burie it; which when the warders and watchmen perceived they attached her, and brought her to the king: and it is reported that *Mithridates* at the very firſt ſight of her, had compaſſion, for that ſhe ſeemed to be a yoong thing, & a ſimple harmeleſſe wench every way; but when he underſtood withal that love was the very cauſe thereof, his heart melted ſo much the rather; whereupon he gave her leave to take up the bodie, and commit it to the earth, allowing her for that purpoſe funerall clothes, and furniſhing her at his owne charges, with all other things meet for comly and decent buriall.

TIMOCLIA.

THeagines the Theban, carried the like minde and purpoſe for the defence of his countrey and the common-wealth, as ſometimes *Epaminondas, Pelopidas*, and the braveſt men in the world had done; but his fortune was to fall in that common ruine of *Greece*, when as the Greeks loſt that unfortunate battell before *Chæronea*; and yet for his owne part he was a victour, and followed them in chaſe, whom he had diſarraied and put to flight; for he it was who when one of them that fled cried out unto him: How farre wilt thou purſue and follow us; anſwered: Even as farre as into *Macedonia*: but when he was dead, a ſiſter of his who ſurvived him, gave good teſtimony, that in regard as well of his aunceſtors vertue, as his owne naturall diſpoſition, he had beene a worthy perſonage, and worthy to be reckoned and renowmed amongſt the moſt valiant knights in his daies; for ſome fruit received, and reaped vertue, which helped her to beare and endure patiently as much of the common miſeries of her country as touched her; for after that *Alexander the Great* had woon the citie of *Thebes* by aſſault, & the ſoldiers ran to and fro into al parts of the towne, pilling and ranſacking whatſoever they could come by: it chanced that one ſeiſed upon the houſe of *Timoclia*, a man who knew not what belonged to honour, honeſtie, or common curteſie and civilitie, but was altogether violent, furious and out of reaſon; a captaine he was of a coronet of Thraciā light horſemen; and caried the name of king *Alexander* his lord and maſter, but nothing like he was unto him in conditions: for having filled himſelfe with wine after ſupper, and good cheere, without any reſpect unto the race and linage of this noble dame, without regard of her eſtate and calling; he was in hand with her to be his bedfellow all that night, neither was this all; for he would needs ſearch and know of her, where ſhe had laid up and hourded any gold or ſilver, one while threatning to kill her, unleſſe ſhe would bring him to it, another while bearing her in hand that he would make her his wife, if ſhe would yeeld unto him: ſhe taking vantage of this occaſion which himſelfe offred and preſented unto her: It might have pleaſed the gods (quoth ſhe) that I had died before this night, rather than remaine alive; for though I had loſt all beſides, yet my bodie had beene undefiled & ſaved from all violence and villanie; but ſince it is my fortune, that heere after I muſt repute you for my lord, my maſter, and my husband, and ſeeing it is gods will to give you this puiſſance and ſoveraigntie over me, I will not deprive and diſapoint you of that which is yours, and as for my ſelfe, I ſee well, that my condition from henceforth muſt be ſuch as you will; I was woont indeed to have about me, coſtly jewels and ornaments for my bodie; I had ſilver in plate, yea and ſome gold in good coine and other ready money; but when I ſaw that the citie was loſt, I willed my women and maid-ſervants about me to get altogether, and ſo I caſt it away, or rather indeed to ſay a truth, I beſtowed it, and reſerved it in ſafetie within a dry pit, wherein no water is, an odde blinde corner I may ſay to you, that few or none doe know; for that there is a great ſtone lieth over the mouth of it, and a many of trees grow round about to ſhade and cover the ſame; as for you, this treaſure will make you a man, yea, and a rich man for ever, when you have it once in your poſſeſſion; and for my part, it may ſerve for a good teſtimony and ſufficient proofe, to ſhew how noble and wealthy our houſe was before-time. When the Macedonian heard theſe words, his teeth ſo watred after this treaſure, that he could not ſtay untill the morrow, and attend the day light; but would needs out of hand be conducted by *Timoclia*, and her maidens to the place; but he commanded her in any wiſe to ſhut faſt and locke the fore-yard gate after them, that no man might ſee and know; and ſo he went downe in his ſhirt into the foreſaid pit: but curſed and hideous *Clotho*, was his miſtreſſe and guide, who would puniſh and be revenged of his notorious wickedneſſe by the hands of *Timoclia*, who ſtanding above; for when ſhe perceived by his voice that he was now at the very bottom, ſhe herſelfe threw downe a number of ſtones upon him, & her women alſo tumbled downe many others, & thoſe very big ones and heavy, after him, untill they had brained him, overwhelmed him, and in manner filled the pit up: which when the Macedonians heard of, they made meanes to draw up his dead bodie, and for that there was a proclamation publiſhed before by ſound of trumpet throughout the city, that they ſhould not maſſacre one Theban more, they apprehended *Timoclia*, & brought her before king *Alexander*, whom they had already acquainted from point to point in particular, with that audacious act which ſhe had committed: the king judging (by her ſetled & confident countenance, by her ſtaied gate alſo and portly pace) that ſhe could not chuſe but be of ſome great and noble houſe; demanded of her, firſt, what ſhe was? and ſhe with rare boldneſſe and reſolution without ſhewing any ſigne that ſhe was daunted and aſtonied; I had (quoth ſhe) a brother named *Theagines*, who being captaine generall of the Thebans, againſt you, in the battell of *Chæronea*, loſt his life fighting manfully, in the defence of the libertie of *Greece*, to the end that we might not fall into that wofull miſery, into which we are at this preſent fallen; but ſeeing it is ſo, that we have ſuffred thoſe outrages & indignities which be unworthy the place from whence we are deſcended, for my ſelfe I refuſe not to die, and peradventure it were not expedient for me to live any longer, and trie ſuch another night as the laſt was, unleſſe your ſelfe impeach and debarre ſuch demeanors: at theſe words, the nobleſt and moſt honorable perſons who were preſent, could not forbeare but weepe; as for *Alexander*, he thought that the hautie mind and courage of this dame, was greater than to moove pitty and compaſſion; and therefore highly praiſing her vertue and commending her ſpeech which he marked, and pondered well enough, gave ſtraight charge and commaundement unto his captaines, to have a good eie, and carefull regard, yea, and to take order preſently, that there ſhould no more ſuch abuſes be offred in any houſe of honor and nobilitie: and as touching *Timoclia*, he ordeined immediately, that ſhe ſhould be ſet at full libertie, both herſelfe, and alſo all thoſe who were knowne and found any way to be of her bloud and kinred.

ERYXO.

BAttus who was ſurnamed *Dæmon*, that is to ſay, Happie, had a ſonne whoſe name was *Arceſilaus*, in nothing at all reſembling the maners and conditions of his father; for even during his fathers life (for raiſing of battlements and pinnacles round about the walles of his owne houſe,) hee was condemned by his father himſelfe in a fine of one whole talent; and after his death, being of a crooked, rough and troubleſome ſpirit, (according as his very name, *Calepos*, implied), and for that he was governed altogether by the counſell of a minion and favourite of his owne, named *Laarchus*, a man of no worth nor reſpect, he proved a tyrant in ſtead of a king. And this *Laarchus* aſpiring likewiſe to be tyrant, either chaſed and baniſhed out of the citie, or els cauſed to be put to death, the beſt and principall citizens of all *Cyrene*; but when he had ſo done, he derived from himſelfe all the blame and imputation upon *Arceſilaus*; and in the end gave him to drinke a cup of poiſon, to wit, a ſea-hare, whereupon he fell into a lingering and languiſhing diſeaſe, whereby he pined away, and died at the laſt; by which meanes himſelfe uſurped the ſeignorie and rule of the citie, under a colour of keeping it as Tutour and Lord Protectour, for the behoofe and uſe of *Battus* the ſonne of *Arceſilaus*; for a very childe he was, and lame withall; ſo that in regard aſwell of his nonage and minoritie, as the defect and imperfection of his body, he was deſpiſed of the people; but many there were, who drew and ranged themſelves unto his mother, and were willing to obey and honour her, for that ſhe was a wiſe ladie, and of a milde and courteous nature: beſides, moſt of the mightieſt men in thoſe parts were knit to her either in bloud and kindred, or els by bond of friendſhip: by meanes whereof, *Laarchus* made court to her, yea, and ſued unto her for her good will by way of marriage, offering unto her (if ſhe would be affianced and wedded unto him) to adopt *Battus* for his owne ſonne, and make him partaker of his ſeigniorie and dominion: but *Eryxo* (for that was the name of this noble ladie) being adviſed and counſelled thereto before-hand by her brethren, willed *Laarchus* to impart the matter unto them, for that upon conference with them (if they thought well of this marriage) ſhe would be content and condeſcend thereto: *Laarchus* failed not ſo to do, but went and brake the thing unto her brethren accordingly; and they (as it was complotted before) drew the matter out in length, and drave him off from day to day; but *Eryxo* ſent unto him ſecretly one of her waiting maidens, to give him notice from her, that her brethren in deed for the preſent did contradict her minde and croſſed her will; but were the knot once knit and conſummate in bed together, they would conteſt and haſte no longer, but be willing enough to like and approove thereof as a convenient match: and therefore ſhe adviſed him (if he thought ſo good) to repaire by night unto her: for if the thing were once wel begun, the reſt no doubt wuld ſpeed accordingly; this meſſage pleaſed *Laarchus*, and fitted his humour paſſing well: being therefore tranſported wholly beſides himſelfe with theſe lovely and ſugred words of this dame, he promiſed to attend her at what houre ſoever ſhe would appoint. Now was this device complotted and laid by the counſell of her eldeſt brother *Polyarchus*; and after that ſhe had ſet downe the juſt time when they ſhould meet and company together, againſt that very inſtant, ſhe tooke order that the ſaid brother ſhould ſecretly be conueied into her chamber, who brought with him two luſtie tall yoong men well appointed with good ſwords, and who deſired nothing more than to revenge their fathers bloud, whom lately *Laarchus* had cauſed to be put to death: when all things were now in readineſſe, ſhe ſent for *Laarchus*, willing him to come alone without any of his guard about him: no ſooner was he entred into the chamber, but theſe two yoong men charged upon him with their ſwords, wounded him in many parts of his bodie, that he died in the place: his dead corps they caſt over the walles of the houſe; which done, they brought the yong prince *Battus* abroad into the publicke place, declared and proclamed him king after the maner and cuſtome of the citie. Thus *Polyarchus* rendered unto the Cyrenians their ancient government which they had from the beginning. Now there happened to be at the ſame time in *Cyrene* many ſouldiers of *Amaſis* the king of *Aegypt*, in whom *Laarchus* repoſed his confidence, and found them faſt & truſtie unto him; by whoſe meanes he became dread and terrible to the Cyrenians: theſe ſent in poſt with all ſpeed unto king *Amaſis*, meſſengers of purpoſe, to charge & accuſe *Eryxo* & *Polyarchus* for this murder; whereat the king was wroth, and in great indignation intended out of hand to make ſharpe war upon the Cyrenians; but as he prepared to ſet forward this expedition, it fortuned that his mother departed this life: whiles therfore he was buſie about her funerals, newes came to *Cyrene*, how this king was highly diſpleaſed and reſolved to levie warre againſt them: whereupon *Polyarchus* thought good to addreſſe himſelfe in perſon to the ſaid king, and to render a reaſon unto him of this late fact committed upon the bodie of *Laarchus*: neither would his ſiſter *Eryxo* tary behinde, but follow him, and expoſe her owne perſon to the ſame perill that he entred into: yea, and the mother of them both, named *Critola* (very aged though ſhe was) was right willing to goe, and accompanied her ſonne and daughter in this journey: now was ſhe a great ladie, and moſt highly eſteemed in this regard eſpecially, that ſhee was the ſiſter in the whole bloud to *Battus* the firſt of that name, ſurnamed the Happie. When they were arrived in *Aegypt*, all other lords and noble men of the court approved well of that which they had done in this caſe; and *Amaſis* himſelfe infinitely commended the pudicitie and magnanimitie of dame *Eryxo*; and after he had honoured them with rich preſents, and roially enterteined them, he ſent them all backe (*Polyarchus* I meane, and the two ladies) with his good grace and favour, to *Cyrene*.

XENOCRITE.

XEnocrite a ladie of the citie *Cumes*, deſerveth no leſſe to be praiſed and admired, for that which ſhe practiſed againſt *Ariſtodemus* the tyrant, whom ſome thinke to have bene ſurnamed *Malacos*, that is to ſay, Soft and effeminate, in regard of his looſe and diſſolute carriage: but they are deceived and ignorant in the true originall and occaſion of his name; for the Barbarians gave him this addition *Malacos*, which in their language ſignifieth a Yonker: becauſe being a very youth, with other companions of equall age, as yet wearing their haire long, whom in olde time they tearmed *Coroniſtæ*, (of their blacke locks as it ſhould ſeeme) he above the reſt, in the warres againſt the Barbarians, bare himſelfe ſo bravely: (for he was not only hardy & couragious in ſpirit, ſtout alſo and tall of his hands, but withall full of wit, diſcretion and forecaſt, and ſo farre excelled all others in ſingularitie) that hee became right famous and renowmed; whereupon he grew into ſuch credit and admiration among his countreymen and fellow-citizens, that incontinently promoted he was and advanced by them to the greateſt offices of State and higheſt dignities in common-weale; inſomuch as when the Tuskans made warre upon the Romans in the right and quarrell of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and namely, to reſtore him againe to his crowne and kingdome, from which he was depoſed; the Cumans made him captaine generall of thoſe forces which they ſent to aide the Romans: in which expedition and warfare that continued long, he carried himſelfe ſo remiſly among his citizens, (which were in the campe under his charge, and gave them ſo much the head to do what they would, winning their hearts by courteſies and flatterie, rather than commanding them as their generall) that he put into their heads, and perſwaded them (upon their returne home) to run upon the Senate, and to joine with him in expelling and baniſhing the mightieſt perſons and beſt men of the citie. By which practice he ſet up himſelfe as an abſolute tyrant: and as he ſeemed wicked and violent otherwiſe in all kinde of oppreſſion and extortion; ſo moſt of all he was outragious and went beyond himſelfe in villanie toward wives and maidens, to yoong boies alſo of good houſes and free borne: for among other enormities, this is recorded of him: That he forced yoong lads to weare their haire long, like laſſes, to have alſo upon their heads, borders, cawles, and attires with ſpangles of golde;

golde; contrariwiſe, hee compelled yoong maidens to be rounded, polled, and notted, and to weare ſhort jackets, coats & mandilians without ſleeves, after the faſhion of ſpringalds: howbeit, being exceedingly enamored upon *Xenocrita* the daughter of one of thoſe principall citizens who by him were exiled, her he kept, not having eſpouſed her lawfully, nor woon her good will by faire perſwaſions, ſuppoſing that the maiden might thinke her ſelfe well appaied, and her fortune verie happie, to be enterteined (in any ſort whatſoever) by him, being by that meanes ſo highly reputed of and eſteemed fortunate among all the citizens: but as for her, all theſe favors did not raviſh and tranſport her ſound judgement and underſtanding; for beſides that ſhe was mightily diſcontented to converſe and keepe companie with him, not eſpouſed, nor affianced and given in marriage by her friends, ſhe had no leſſe deſire to recover the liberty of her countrey, than thoſe who were openly hated of the tyrant. Now it fortuned about the ſame time, that *Ariſtodemus* cauſed a trench to be caſt, & a bank to be raiſed round about his territory, a piece of worke neither neceſſarie, nor profitable, which he did onely upon a policie, becauſe he would thereby vexe, out-toile conſume & waſte his poore ſubjects; for he tasked every man, to caſt up & cary forth by the day a certaine number of meaſures full of earth. *Xenocrita* when ſhe ſaw him at any time comming toward her, would turne aſide, and cover her face with the lappet of her gown: but when *Ariſtodemus* was paſſed by & gone, yong men her play-feres, by way of mirth and paſtime, would aske her why ſhe muffled and masked her-ſelfe, as aſhamed to ſee him onely, and was not abaſhed to ſee and be ſeene of other men as well; unto whom ſhe would anſwer demurely, & that in right good earneſt ſay: Iwis I do it of purpoſe becauſe there is not one man among all the Cumans but *Ariſtodemus*: this word touched them all very neere; but ſuch as were of any noble ſpirit and courage, it galled and pricked for very ſhame, yea, and gave them an edge to ſet in hand and enterpriſe ſome manly act for to recover their freedome: which when *Xenocrita* heard, ſhe ſaid by report, that ſhe would rather herſelfe carie earth in a basket upon her owne ſhoulders as other did, for her father if he were there preſent, than participate in all delights and pleaſures, yea, and enjoy great power and authoritie with *Ariſtodemus*. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches caſt out by her, confirmed thoſe who were conſpired and ready to riſe againſt the tyrant, of whom the chiefetaine and principall leader, was one *Themotecles*: unto theſe conſpiratours *Xenocrita* gave free acceſſe and ready entrie unto *Ariſtodemus*; who finding him alone, unarmed and unguarded, fell many at once upon him, and ſo quickly diſpatched him out of the way. Lo how the citie of *Cumes* was delivered from tyrannie by two vertues of one woman; by the one ſhe firſt gave the citizens an affection, minde and heart, to begin and enterpriſe; and by the other ſhe miniſtred unto them, meanes to execute and performe the ſame: for which good ſervice of *Xenocrita*, thoſe of the citie offred unto her many honors, prerogatives, and preſents; but ſhe refuſed them all, onely ſhe requeſted this favour at their hands, that ſhe might enterre the corps of *Ariſtodemus*, which they graunted, and more than ſo, they choſe her for to be a religious prieſtreſſe unto *Ceres*, ſuppoſing that this dignitie would be no leſſe acceptable and pleaſing unto the goddeſſe, than beſeeming and fitting the perſon of this lady.

THE WIFE OF PYTHES.

IT is reported moreover, that the wife of rich *Pythes*, in the daies of *Xerxes* when he warred upon *Greece*, was a vertuous and wiſe dame; for this *Pythes* having (as it ſhould ſeeme) found certeine mines of gold, and ſetting his minde thereon, not in meaſure, but exceſſively, and unſatiably, for the great ſweetneſſe and infinit gaines that aroſe thereby; both himſelfe in perſon beſtowed his whole time therein, and alſo he emploied all his ſubjects and citizens indifferently without reſpect of any perſon, to digge and delve, to carrie, to purge, and clenſe the ſaid golde oare; not ſuffering them to follow any other trade, or exerciſe any occupation elſe in the world: upon which unmeaſurable and inceſſant toile, many died, and all were wery, and grumbled thereat, inſomuch as at laſt, their wives came with olive branches, like humble ſuppliants to the gate of this lady his wife, for to moove pittie, and beſeech her for redreſſe and ſuccour in this caſe: ſhe having heard their ſupplication, ſent them away home to their houſes with verie good & gracious words, willing them not to diſtruſt and be diſcomforted: meane while ſhe ſent ſecretly for gold-finers, goldſmithes, and other worke-men in gold, ſuch as ſhe repoſed moſt confidence in, & ſhut them up cloſe within a certeine place, willing them to make loaves, pies, tarts, cakes, paſtrie-works, and junkets of all ſorts, ſweet meats, fruits, all manner of meats and viands, ſuch as ſhe knew her husband *Pythes* loved beſt, all of cleane gold; afterwards, when all were made,and he returned home to his houſe(for as then he was abroad in a forren country:)ſo ſoone as he called for ſupper, his wife ſet before him a table furniſhed with all kinds of counterfeit viands made of gold, without any thing at all, either good to be eaten or drunken, but all gold,and nothing but gold: great pleaſure at the firſt tooke *Pythes* for to ſee ſo rich a ſight, and ſo glorious a banquet, wherein arte had ſo lively expreſſed nature; but after he had fed his eies ſufficiently with beholding theſe goodly golden works,he called unto her in good earneſt for ſomewhat to eate; but ſhe ſtill whatſoever his minde ſtood to, brought it him in gold; ſo that in the end he waxed angrie,and cried out,that he was ready to famiſh: Why ſir (quoth ſhe) are not your ſelfe the cauſe of all this? for you have given us foiſon and ſtore of this mettall, but cauſed extreame want and ſcarcitie of meat and all things elſe, for all other trades, occupations, arts, and myſteries are decaied, and their uſe cleane gone; neither is there anie man that followeth husbandry and tilleth the ground; but laying aſide, and caſting behind us all thing that ſhould be ſowen and planted upon the earth for the food and ſuſtentation of man, we doe nothing elſe but digge and ſearch for ſuch things as will not ſerve to feed and nouriſh us, ſpending and wearing out both our ſelves and our citizens. Theſe words mooved *Pythes* verie much; howbeit, for all this, he gave not over quite the mines and mettall works, but enjoining the fifth part of his ſubjects to travell therein by turnes, one after another; he gave the reſt leave to husband their lands, and plie their other crafts and miſteries. But when *Xerxes* came downe with that puiſſant armie for to make warre upon the Greeks, this *Pythes* ſhewed his magnificence in the enterteinment of him, with ſumptuous furniture, coſtlie gifts and preſents, which he gave unto the king and all his traine: for which he craved this onely grace and favour at his hands againe: that of many children which he had, he would diſpence with him for one of them, that he might not goe to the warres, to the end that the ſaid ſonne might remaine with him at home in his houſe, for to tend and looke unto him carefullie in his old age: whereat *Xerxes* was ſo wroth, that he commaunded that one ſonne (whom he requeſted) to be killed preſently, and his dead body to be cloven through in the mids, and divided into two parts; and ſo diſlodged and cauſed his armie to march betweene them both; the reſt of his ſonnes he led with him to the warres, who died all in the field; whereupon *Pythes* being diſcomforted, and his heart cleane caſt downe, did that which thoſe ordinarilie doe, who want courage and wit; for he feared death, and hated life; willing he was not to live, and yet hee had not the power to make an end of his life; what did he then? There was within the citie a great banke or mount of earth, under which there ranne a river, which they called *Pythopolites*; within this mount he cauſed his tombe to be made, & turned aſide the courſe of the ſaid river, in ſuch ſort, that as it paſſed, the ſtreame might glide upon this monument of his; which being prepared and done accordingly, hee went downe quicke and alive into the ſame ſepulchre, having reſigned over unto his wives hands the citie, and the whole ſeignorie thereof; injoyning her thus much; that ſhe ſhould not approch herſelfe unto this tombe or monument but onely every daie once ſend unto him, his ſupper in a little punt or boat downe the riveret, and to continue this ſo long untill ſhe ſaw, that the ſaid punt went beyond the monument, having in it all his victuals whole and untouched; for then ſhe ſhould not need to ſend him any more, but take this for an aſſured ſigne, that he was dead. Thus lived *Pythes* the reſt of his daies; but his wife governed and managed the State prudently, and wrought a great change and alteration in the toilſome life of her people.

A CONSOLATORIE ORATION SENT UNTO APOLONIUS UPON THE DEATH OF HIS SONNE.

The Summarie.

HOwſoever Plutarch *in this treatiſe hath diſplaied his eloquence and all the skill and helps that he had by the meanes of Philoſophie, yet we ſee that the ſame is not ſufficient to ſet the minde and ſpirit of man in true repoſe; and that ſuch conſolations are (as they ſay) but palliative cures & no better: wherein alſo is diſcovered the want and default of light in the reaſon and wiſdome of man: yet notwithſtanding, take this withall, that ſuch diſcourſes doe recommend and ſhew unto us ſo much the better, the excellencie of celeſtiall wiſedome, which furniſheth us with true and aſſured remedies, and in ſtead of leaving the heart afflicted amid humane thoughts and conſiderations, raiſeth and lifteth it up unto the juſtice, wiſedome and bountie of the true God and heavenly father; it cauſeth it to ſee the eſtate of eternall life; it aſſureth it of the ſoules immortalitie, of the reſurrection of the bodie, (points of learning wherein the Pagans were altogether ignorant) and of the permanent and everlaſting joies above, in the kingdome of heaven. Now albeit as this trueth of God (revealed unto us in his ſacred word) hath inſtructed and reſolved us ſufficiently, it will not be amiſſe and impertinent, to learne of our authour and ſuch others, thoſe things which themſelves did not well and thorowly underſtand, neither in life nor yet in death; for that the foundation failed them, and they miſſed the ground-worke indeed, and in cleaving and leaning to (I wot not what) fortune and fatall deſtinie, they cauſed man to reſt and ſtay himſelfe upon a vaine ſhadow of vertue, and willed him (in one word) to ſeeke for conſolation, where there was nothing but deſolation; for happineſſe in miſery, and for life in death. As touching the argument and contents of this treatiſe; adorned it is with notable reaſons, ſimilitudes, examples and teſtimonies, the ſubſtance whereof is this: That* Apollonius *(unto whom it is addreſſed) ought not to be over-penſive and heavie for the death of his ſonne, deceaſed in the flower of his age. To move and perſwade him thereto,* Plutarch *after he had excuſed himſelfe in that he wrote no ſooner unto him, and ſhewed, that ſpace of time comming betweene, doth better prepare mens hearts, which ſorow and be in anguiſh, to receive comfort; he condemneth aſwell blockiſh and ſenſeleſſe folke, as alſo thoſe that be weaklings and over-tender in adverſitie. Which done, he entreth into a generall review of the remedies which be appropriate to cure the miſeries and afflictions of man; namely, that hee ought to holde a meane, and to continue alwaies like himſelfe; to caſt his eie and have regard upon the divers accidents of our life, and in enjoying the bleſsings thereof; to thinke upon future croſſes and calamities; to be armed with reaſon for to beare all changes; to remember and carefully to thinke upon the eſtate of this mortall and tranſitorie life; to conſider the evils and miſeries of the ſame; to endure patiently that which can not be avoided and prevented with all the cares and lamentations that be; and to compare our owne adverſities with other mens. Then he proceedeth unto the particular conſolations of thoſe who are heavie and ſorowfull for the death of their children, kinsfolke or friends; to wit: That there is no harme nor evill at all in death, but rather that it is a good thing, that the houre of it being uncertaine, it is a comfort unto thoſe whom it ſummoneth, who no doubt would be caſt downe and overthrowen with the apprehenſion of miſeries to come, in caſe they had any foreſight thereof. After this, he proveth at large by three inductions and arguments of* Socrates, *that there is not any evill in death; which he confirmeth by divers examples: and then returning into his conſolations, he mainteineth and holdeth: That whoſoever die yoong, are moſt happie; that the conſideration of Gods providence ought to reteine and ſtay us; that we are not to mourne and lament for the dead, neither in regard of them nor of our ſelves; that ſince over-long* *heavineſſe and ſorow maketh a man miſerable, it were very good for him to be rid and diſpatched of that paine quickly. Having finiſhed this point, he reſolveth and aſſoileth certeine difficulties which are preſented in theſe maters: and then taking in hand his purpoſe againe, he ruleth and reformeth the affections of the living, toward them that are departed; he reclaimeth them from perſiſting and continuing obſtinately in bewailing their abſence, willing them rather to bewaile the caſe of thoſe who are living; and by many reaſons doth prove and conclude, that they who die betimes have one marvellous advantage over theſe that remaine alive in the world. Then he teacheth a man to mainteine and cary himſelfe as he ought, in all affaires; refuteth thoſe who can abide no paine and trouble; and knitting up all the premiſſes in few words, he adjoineth certaine neceſſarie and profitable counſels in ſuch accidents; and before that he concludeth the whole treatiſe, he deſcribeth the felicity of thoſe whom death cutteth off in the prime of their yeeres, having a ſpeciall regard herein, to* Apollonius *the partie unto whom he writeth, and aſſuring him by the recitall of the good parts and vertues which were in his ſonne lately departed, that he was without all queſtion, in that place of repoſe and reſt which the Poets do imagine. Upon which occaſion he treateth of the immortalitie of the ſoule, according to the doctrine of* Plato *and his followers, which is the very end and cloſing up of all that had bene delivered before.*

A CONSOLATORIE ORAtion ſent unto *Apollonius* upon the death of his ſonne.

IT is not newly come upon me now at this preſent and not before, to pitie your caſe and lament in your behalfe (ô *Apollonius*) having heard long ſince (as I did) the heavy newes concerning the untimely death of your ſonne, a yoong gentleman ſingularly well beloved of us all, as who in that youth and tender yeeres of his, ſhewed rare examples of wiſe carriage, ſtaied and modeſt behaviour, together with preciſe obſervance of thoſe devout dueties and juſt offices, which either perteined to the religious ſervice of the gods, or were reſpective to his parents and friends; for even from that time have I condoled with you, and had a fellow-feeling of your ſorrow: but for me to have come then, and viſited you immediatly upon his deceaſe & departure out of this world, to preſent you with an exhortation to beare patiently and as becommeth a man, that unfortunate accident, had bene an unſeemly part of mine and unconvenient, conſidering how in that verie inſtant your minde and bodie both (overcharged with the inſupportable burden of ſo ſtrange and unexpected a calamitie) were brought low and much infeebled; and my ſelfe beſides, muſt needs have moaned you, felt part of your griefe, and ſorrowed with you for companie: for even the beſt and moſt skilfull Phyſicians, when they meet with violent rhewmes and catarrhes, which ſuddenly ſurpriſe any part of the body, doe not proceed at the firſt to a rough cure by purgative medicines, but permit this rage and hot impreſſion of inflamed humours to grow of it ſelfe to maturitie by application onely of ſupple oiles, mild liniments, and gentle fomentations. But now, that ſince your ſaid misfortune, ſome time (which uſeth to ripen all things) is paſſed betweene, and given good opportunitie, conſidering alſo, that the preſent diſpoſition and ſtate of your perſon ſeemeth to require the helpe and comfort of your friends, I thought it meet and requiſit to impart unto you certeine reaſons and diſcourſes conſolatorie, if happily by that meanes I may eaſe your anguiſh, mitigate your penſiveneſſe, and ſtay your needleſſe mourning and bootleſſe lamentation: for why?

If minde be ſicke, what phyſicke then?
But reaſons fit for ech diſeaſe?
A wiſe man knowes the ſeaſon when
To uſe thoſe meanes, the heart to eaſe.

And according as the wiſe Poet *Euripides* ſaith:

Ech griefe of minde, ech maladie
Doth crave a ſeverall remedie:
If reſtleſſe ſorow the heart torment,
Kind words of friends worke much content.

Where folly ſwaies in every action,
Great need there is of ſharpe correction.

For verily among ſo many paſſions and infirmities incident to the ſoule of man, dolor and heavineſſe be moſt irkeſome and goe neereſt into it. By occaſion of anguiſh many a one (they ſay) hath run mad and fallen into maladies incurable; yea, and for thought and hearts-griefe, ſome have bene driven to make away themſelves. Now to ſorow and be touched to the quicke for the loſſe of a ſonne, is a paſſion that ariſeth from a naturall cauſe, and it is not in our power to avoid; which being ſo, I cannot (for my part) holde with them, who ſo highly praiſe and extoll, I wot not what brutiſh, hard, and blockiſh indolence and ſtupiditie, which if it were poſſible for a man to enterteine, is not any way commodious and available. Certes, the ſame would bereave vs of that mutuall benevolence and ſweet comfort which we finde in the reciprocall interchange of loving others and being loved againe; which (of all earthly bleſſings) we had moſt need to preſerve and mainteine. Yet do I not allow that a man ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to be tranſported and caried away beyond all compaſſe & meaſure, making no end of ſorow; for even that alſo is likewiſe unnaturall, and proceedeth from a corrupt and erronious opinion that we have: and therefore, as we ought to abandon this exceſſe as ſimply naught, hurtfull, and not beſeeming vertuous and honeſt minded men; ſo in no wiſe muſt we diſallow that meane and moderation in our paſſions, following in this point ſage *Crantor* the Academick Philoſopher: I could wiſh (quoth he) that we might be never ſicke; howbeit, if we chance to fall into ſome diſeaſe, God ſend us yet ſome ſenſe and feeling, in caſe any part of our bodie be either cut, plucked away, or diſmembred in the cure. And I aſſure you, that ſenſeleſſe impaſſibilitie is never incident unto a man, without ſome great miſchiefe and inconvenience enſuing; for lightly it falleth out, that when the bodie is in this caſe without feeling, the ſoule ſoone after will become as inſenſible: reaſon would therefore, that wiſe men in theſe and ſuch like croſſes, cary themſelves, neither void of affections altogether, nor yet out of meaſure paſſionate; for as the one bewraieth a fell and hard heart, reſembling a cruell beaſt; ſo the other diſcovereth a ſoft and effeminate nature, beſeeming a tender woman: but beſt adviſed is he, who knoweth to keepe a meane, and being guided by the rule of reaſon, hath the gift to beare wiſely and indifferently, aſwell the flattering favours, as the ſcowling frownes of fortune, which are ſo ordinarily occurrent in this life; having this forecaſt with himſelfe: That like as in a free State, and popular government of a common wealth, where the election of ſovereigne magiſtrates paſſeth by lots; the one whoſe hap is to be choſen, muſt be a ruler and commander; but the other who miſſeth, ought patiently to take his fortune, and beare the repulſe; even ſo in the diſpoſition and courſe of all our worldly affaires, we are to be content with our portion allotted unto us, and without grudging and complaint, gently to yeeld our ſelves obedient: for ſurely they that can not ſo doe, would never be able with wiſedome and moderation to weld any great proſperitie: for of many wiſe ſpeeches and well ſaid ſawes, this ſentence may go for one:

How ever fortune ſmile and looke full faire,
Be thou not proud nor beare a loftie mind;
Ne yet caſt downe and plung'd in deepe deſpaire,
If that ſhe frowne or ſhew herſelfe unkind;
But alwaies one and ſame let men thee find.
Conſtant and firme reteine thy nature ſtill,
As gold in fire, which alter never will.

For this is the propertie of a wiſe man and wel brought up, both for any apparent ſhew of proſperitie to be no changling, but to beare himſelfe alwaies in one ſort; & alſo in adverſitie, with a generous and noble mind, to mainteine that which is decent & beſeeming his own perſon: for the office of true wiſdome & conſiderate diſcretion is, either to prevent & avoid a miſchiefe cõming, or to correct and reduce it to the leaſt & narroweſt compaſſe when it is once come, or els to be prepared and ready to beare the ſame manfully, and with all magnanimitie. For prudence, as touching that which we call good, is ſeene and emploied foure maner of waies; to wit, in getting, in keeping, in augmenting, or in well and right uſing the ſame: theſe be the rules as well of prudence, as of other vertues, which we are to make uſe and benefit of in both fortunes, as well the one as the other: for according to the old proverb:

No man there is on earth alive,
In every thing who ay doth thrive.
And verily

By courſe of nature, unneth it wrought may be,
That ought ſhould check fatall neceſſitie.

And as it falleth out in trees and other plants, that ſome yeeres they beare their burden, and yeeld great ſtore of frute, whereas in others they bring foorth none at all; alſo living creatures one whiles be frutefull and breed many yoong, otherwhiles againe, they be as barren for it; and in the ſea it is now tempeſt, and then calme: ſemblably in this life there happen many circumſtances and accidents, which winde and turne us into the chaunces of contrarie fortunes; in regard of which varietie, a man may by good right and reaſon, ſay thus:

O Agamemnon, *thy father* Atreus *hee,*
Alwaies to proſper hath not begotten thee:
For in this life thou muſt have one day joy,
Another, griefe and wealth, mixt with annoy.
And why? thou art by mortall nature fraile,
Thy will againſt this courſe cannot prevaile:
For ſo it is the pleaſure of the gods,
To make this change, and worke in man ſuch ods.

As alſo that which to the ſame effect the poet *Menander* wrote in this wiſe:

Sir Trophimus, *if you the onely wight*
Of women borne, were brought into this light
With priviledge, to have the world at will,
To taſte no woe, but proſper alwaies ſtill?
Or if ſome god had made you ſuch beheſt,
To live in joy, in ſolace and in reſt?
You had juſt cauſe to fare thus as you doe,
And chafe, for that he from his word doth goe,
And hath done what he can not juſtifie:
But if ſo be, as truth will teſtifie:
Under one law this publike vitall aire,
You draw with us, your breath for to repaire;
I ſay to you (gravely in tragick ſtile)
You ought to be more patient the while;
To take all this in better woorth (I ſay)
Let reaſon rule, and ſtand for finall pay.
And to knit up in few words, Trophimus
Of this diſcourſe the ſumme; I reaſon thus:
A man you are, (that is as much to ſay)
A creature, more prompt and ſubject ay
To ſudden change, and from the pitch of blis,
To lie in pit, where bale and ſorow is,
Than others all: and not unwoorthily:
For why, moſt weake by his owne nature, he
Will needs himſelfe in higheſt matters wrap,
Above his reach, ſecure of after-clap:
And then anon, he falling from on high,
Beares downe with him all good things that were nigh:
But as for you, the goods which heere to fore
O Trophimus *you loſt, exceeded not, no more*
Than thoſe miſhaps which you this day ſuſteane
Exceſſive be, but keepe with in a meane:
Hencefoorth therefore, you ought to beare the reſt
Indifferently, and you ſhall finde it beſt.

Howbeit, although the condition and eſtate of mens affaires ſtand in theſe tearmes, yet ſome there be, who for want of ſound judgement and good diſcretion, are growen to that blockiſh ſtupiditie, or vaine overweening of themſelves, that after they be once a little raiſed up, and advanced, either in regard of exceſſive wealth, and ſtore of gold and ſilver under their hands, or by reaſon of ſome great offer, or for other preſidence and preeminence of high place which they hold in the common-weale; or elſe by occaſion of honours and glorious titles which they have acquired, doe menace, wrong and inſult over their inferiors, never conſidering the uncertaintie and inconſtance of mutable fortune, nor how quickly that which was aloft may be flung downe; and contrariwiſe, how ſoone that which lieth below on the ground, may be extolled and lifted up on high by the ſudden mutations and changes of fortune: to ſeeke for any certaintie therefore in that which is by nature uncertaine and variable, is the part of thoſe that judge not aright of things:

For as the wheele doth turne, one part we ſee
Of folly high and low in courſe to bee.

But to attaine unto this tranquillitie of ſpirit, void of all griefe and anguiſh, the moſt ſoveraigne powerfull, and effectuall medicine, is reaſon, and by the meanes thereof, a prepared eſtate and reſolution againſt all the changes and alterations of this life: neither is it ſufficient for a man onely to acknowledge himſelfe to be by nature borne mortall; but alſo that he is allotted unto a mortall and tranſitorie life, and tied as it were unto ſuch affaires as ſoone doe change from their preſent eſtate unto the contrarie: for this alſo is moſt certaine, that as mens bodies be mortall and fraile, ſo their fortunes alſo, their paſſions and affections be flitting and momentanie; yea, and in one word, all that belongeth unto them is tranſitorie; which it is not poſſible for him to avoid and eſcape, who is himſelfe by nature mortall: but as *Pindarus* ſaid:

With maſſie weights of ſtrong neceſſitie,
Of hell ſo darke to bottome forc'd are we.

Verie well therefore ſaid *Demetrius Phalereus*, whereas *Euripides* the Poet wrote thus:

No worldly wealth is firme and ſure,
But for a day it doth endure.
Alſo:
How ſmall things may our ſtate quite overthrow!
It falleth out (as every man doth know)
That even one day is able downe to caſt
Some things from height, and others raiſe as faſt.

All the reſt (quoth he) was excellently by him written, but farre better it had bene, if he had named, not one day, but the minute, moment, and very point of an houre:

For earthly fruits and mortall mens eſtate
Turne round about in one and ſelfe ſame rate,
Some live, waxe ſtrong and proſper day by day,
Whiles others are caſt downe and fade away.

And *Pindarus* in another place

What is it for to be but one?
Nay what is it to be juſt none?
And verily a man is made
To be the dreame even of a ſhade.

hath declared the vanitie of mans life, by uſing an Hyperbole or exceſſive maner of an over-reaching ſpeech, both paſſing-wittily, and alſo to the purpoſe moſt ſignificantly. For what is there more weake & feeble than a ſhadow? but to come in with the fantaſticall dreame of a ſhadow; ſurely it is not poſſible that any other man ſhould expreſſe the thing that he meant, more lively & in fitter tearmes. And verily, *Crantor* in good correſpondence hereunto, when he comforteth *Hippocles* for the untimely death of his children, uſeth theſe words among the reſt: Theſe are the rules (quoth he) that all the ſchoole thorowout of ancient Philoſophie doth deliver and teach; wherein, if there be any point beſides, that we can not admit and approove, yet this at leaſtwiſe is moſt undoubted true, that mans life is exceeding laborious and painfull: for ſay that in the owne nature it be not ſuch; ſo it is, that by our owne ſelves it is brought to that corruption: beſides, this uncerteine fortune haunteth and attendeth upon us afarre off, and even from our very cradle and ſwadling bands, yea, and ever ſince our firſt entrance into this life accompanieth us, for no good in the world.

To ſay nothing, how in all things whatſoever that breed and budde, there is evermore ſome portion more or leſſe of naughtineſſe inbred and mingled therewith; for the very naturall ſeed (which at the firſt, when it is at beſt, is mortall) doth participate this primitive cauſe, whereupon proceed the untoward inclination and diſpoſition of the minde, maladies, cares and ſorrowes; and from thence there creepe and grow upon us, all thoſe fatall calamities that befall to mortall men. But what is the reaſon that we are digreſſed hitherto? forſooth, to this end, that we may know that it is no newes for any man to taſte of miſeries and calamities, but rather that we are all ſubject to the ſame: for (as *Theophraſtus* ſaith) fortune never aimeth or levelleth at any certeine marke, but ſhooteth at randon; taking much pleaſure, and being very powerfull to turne a man out of that which he hath painfully gotten before, and to overthrow a ſuppoſed and reputed felicity, with all regard of any fore-ſet and prefixed time to worke this feat. Theſe reaſons, and many other ſuch like, every one of us may eaſily conſider and ponder within himſelfe; yea & beſides, lay thereto the ſage ſpeeches (which he is ay to heare and learne) of ancient and wiſe men: among whom, the chiefe and principall is that heavenly and divine Poet *Homer*, who ſaith thus:

More weake than man, there is no creature
That from the earth receiveth nourture:
So long as limmes with ſtrength he can advance,
And whiles the gods do lend him puiſſance,
He thinks no harme will ever him befall,
He caſts no doubt, but hopes to outgoe all:
But let them once from heaven ſome ſorrowes ſend,
Maugre the ſmart, he beares unto the end.

Alſo:

Such minds have men, who here on earth do live,
As Jupiter *from heaven doth daily give.*

And in another place:

Why aske you of my bloud and parentage?
Sir Tydeus *ſonne, a knight magnanimous.*
To leaves of trees much like is mans linage:
Leaves ſome blowen downe by winde outragious
Lie ſhed on ground, and others, numerous,
Bud freſh in wood, when pleaſant ſpring doth call:
Mens houſes ſo, ſome riſe and others fall.

Now that this ſimilitude or compariſon of tree-leaves fitly expreſſed and repreſented the tranſitorie vanitie of mans life, it appeareth evidently by thoſe verſes which he wrote in another place:

You would not ſay that I were wiſe, if I did armour take
To fight with you, in wretched mens behalfe and for their ſake,
Who much reſemble leaves at firſt, faire in their freſh verdure,
So long as they of earthly fruits do feed for nourture;
And afterward be like to them, withred and dead againe,
When humour radicall is ſpent, and no ſtrength doth remaine.

Simonides the Lyricall Poet, when as *Pauſanias* king of *Lacedæmon* (bearing himſelfe high, and vaunting of his brave exploits) bad him (upon a time, by way of mockery) to give unto him ſome ſage precept & good advertiſement; (knowing ful well the pride & over-weening ſpirit of the ſaid prince) counſelled him onely to call to minde, and remember: That he was but a man. *Philip* likewiſe, king of *Macedon*, hearing newes in one and the ſame day, of three ſeverall happie ſucceſſes: the firſt: That he had woon the prize, at the great running of chariots drawen with horſes, in the ſolemnitie of the Olympicke games: the ſecond: How his lieutenant generall, *Parmenio*, had defaited the Dardanians in battell: and the third: That his wife *Olympias* was delivered ſafe of a jolly ſonne: lifted up his hands toward heaven, and ſaid: O fortune, I beſeech thee to ſend unto me in counterchange, ſome moderate adverſitie: as knowing full well, that ſhe bare ſpight and envie alwaies to great felicities. Semblably, *Theramenes* one of the thirty tyrants of *Athens*, at what time as the houſe wherein he ſupped with many others fell downe, and he alone eſcaped ſafe out of that dangerous ruine, when all others reputed him an happie man, cried out with a loud voice: O fortune, for what occaſion of miſfortune reſerveſt thou me? and verily within few daies after, it hapned that his owne companions in government caſt him in priſon, and after much torture, put him to death. Moreover, it ſeemeth unto me, that the poet *Homer* deſerveth ſingular praiſe in this matter of conſolation, when hee bringeth in *Abilles* ſpeaking of king *Priamus* (being come unto him for to raunſome and redeeme the corps of his ſonne *Hector*) in this wiſe;

Come on therefore and heere ſit downe, by me upon this throne,
Let be all plaints, forbeare we thus to weepe, to ſigh and grone,
And though our griefe of heart be much, let us the ſame repreſſe,
For why? no teares will ought prevaile, nor helpe us in diſtreſſe.
To live in paines and ſorrowes great men are predeſtinate
By gods above, and they alone dwell ay in bleſſed ſtate,
Exempt from cares and diſcontents, for in the entrie-ſill
Of Jove *his houſe in heaven aloft, two tunnes are ſtanding ſtill,*
Whereout he doth among men deale, ſuch gifts as they containe,
In one good bleſsings are beſtowed, in th'other curſe and paine:
Now he to whom great Jupiter *vouchſafes of both to give,*
Sometime in joy, and otherwhiles in heavineſſe ſhall live:
But if a man be onely from that curſed veſſell ſped,
With ſhame, with want, and penurie he is full ill beſted,
He ſhall be ſure upon the earth to wander and to ſtray,
In much diſgrace with God and man untill his dying day.

The poet who came after him both in order of time, and alſo in credit and reputation, *Heſiodus*, although he taketh upon himſelfe the honour to have beene a diſciple of the Muſes, having as well as the other included the miſeries and calamities of mankind within one tun; writeth that *Pandora* in opening it, ſet them abroad in great quantitie, and ſpred them over all lands and ſeas, ſaying in this maner:

No ſooner then this woman tooke, the great lid from the tun,
With both her hands, but all abroad ſhe ſcattered anon,
A world of plagues and miſeries; thus miſchiefes manifold
She wrought thereby to mortall men on earth both yoong and old:
Hope onely did remaine behinde, and flew not all abroad,
But underneath the upmoſt brim and edge it ſtill abode,
For why, before it could get foorth, the lid ſhe clapt to faſt:
When other evils infinite were flowen from firſt to laſt:
Full was the earth of ſundrie plagues, full was the ſea likewiſe,
Diſeaſes then and maladies from day to day did riſe
Among mankind, and thoſe by night doe walke and creepe by ſtealth,
All ſodainly without cauſe knowen, and doe impeach mans health,
Uncald they come, in ſilence deepe they make not any noiſe,
For Jupiter *in wiſedome great, bereft them all of voice.*

To theſe ſayings and ſentences the comicall poet according well, as touching thoſe who torment themſelves by occaſion of ſuch misfortunes when they happen, writeth thus,

If teares could cure and heale all our diſeaſe,
Or weeping ſtay at once our paine and griefe,
We would our gold exchange for teares, to eaſe
Our maladies, and ſo procure reliefe:
But (Maſter,) now teares with them beare no ſway,
Nor ought prevaile, for weepe we, or weepe not,
They hold their courſe, and ſtill keepe on their way,
So that we ſee by plaints nothing is got;
What gaine we then? nought, ſir, yet give me eare,
Griefe brings foorth teares, as trees their frute doe beare.

And *Dyctis* when he comforted *Danaë*, who ſorrowed overmuch for the death of her ſonne, ſpake unto her in this maner;

Thinke you that Pluto *doth your teares regard,*
And will for ſighes and grones your ſonne back ſend?
No, no, ceaſe you to ſob and weepe ſo hard,
Your neighbours caſe marke rather and intend:
Harts eaſe will come, if that you call to minde,
How many men have died in dungeon deepe?
Or waxen old, bereft of children kind,

Or princely ſtate and port who could not keepe,
But fell to baſe degree; conſider this,
And make right uſe, it will you helpe iwis.

He giveth her counſell to conſider the examples of thoſe who have beene more or leſſe unfortunate then herſelfe, as if the comparing of their condition might ſerve her turne very well, the better to endure her owne calamitie. And heereto may a man very pertinently draw and applie the ſaying of *Socrates*, who was of opinion; that if we laid foorth all our adverſities and miſfortunes in one cōmon heape, with this condition, that each one ſhould carrie out of it an equal portion; moſt men would wiſh and be glad to take up their owne and goe away with all. The poet *Antimachus* alſo uſed the like induction, after that his wife whom he loved ſo entirely. was departed; for whereas her name was *Lyde*, he for his owne conſolation in that ſorrow of his, compoſed an Elegie or lamentable dittie, which he called *Lyde*: wherein he collected all the calamities and miſfortunes which hapned in old time to great princes and kings, making his owne dolour and griefe the leſſe, by comparing it with other miſeries more greevous: whereby it is apparent, that he who comforteth another, whoſe heart is afflicted with ſorrow and anguiſh, (giving him to underſtand that his infortunitie is common to more beſides him, by laying before his face the ſemblable accidents which have befallen to others,) changeth in him the ſenſe and opinion of his owne greevance, and imprinteth in him a certeine ſetled perſwaſion, that his miſfortune is nothing ſo great as he deemed it to be before.

Aeſchylus likewiſe ſeemeth with very great reaſon to reproove thoſe who imagine that death is naught, ſaying in this wiſe:

How wrongfully have men death in diſdaine,
Of many evils the remedie ſoveraigne.

For in imitation of him, right well ſaid he whoſoever was the authour of this ſentence:

Come death to cure my painfull malady,
The onely leech that bringeth remedy;
For hell is th' haven for worlds calamity,
And harbour ſure in all extremity.

And verily, a great matter it is, to be able for to ſay boldly and with confidence:

How can he be a ſlave juſtlie,
Who careth not at all to die?

As alſo:

If death me helpe in my hard plight,
No ſpirits nor ghoſts ſhall me affright.

For what hurt is there in death? and what is it that ſhould ſo trouble and moleſt us when we die? A ſtrange caſe this is, & I can not ſee how it commeth to paſſe, that being ſo well knowen, ſo ordinarily, familiar & naturall unto us as it is, yet it ſhould ſeeme ſo painfull & dolorous unto us. For what wonder is it, if that be ſlit or cut, which naturally is given to cleave? if that melt, which is apt to be molten? if that burne, which is ſubject to take fire? or if that periſh & rot, which by nature is corruptible? and when is it that death is not in our ſelves? for (according as *Heraclitus* ſaith) quicke and dead is all one; to awake and to ſleepe, is the ſame; in yoong and olde, there is no difference; conſidering that theſe things turne one into another, and as one paſſeth, the other commeth in place: much after the maner of an imager or potter, who of one maſſe of clay, is able to give the forme and ſhape of living creatures, and to turne the ſame into a rude lumpe, as it was before; he can faſhion it againe at his pleaſure, and confound all together, as he liſt: thus it lieth in his power, to do and undoe, to make and marre, as often as he will, one after another, unceſſantly; ſemblably, nature of the ſelfe-ſame matter, framed in times paſt our anceſtours and grandſires, and conſequently, afterwards brought foorth our fathers; then ſhe made us; and in proceſſe of time, will of us ingender others; and ſo proceed ſtill to farther poſteritie; in ſuch ſort, that as the current (as it were) of our generation will never ſtay, ſo the ſtreame alſo of our corruption will run on ſtill, and be perpetuall; whether it be the river *Acheron* or *Cocitus*, as the Poets call them; whereof, the one ſignifieth, privation of joy, & the other betokeneth lamentation. And even ſo, that firſt and principall cauſe which made us to live and ſee the light of the ſunne, the ſame bringeth us to death and to the darkeneſſe of hell. And hereof we may ſee an evident demonſtration and reſemblance, by the very aire that compaſſeth us round about; which in alternative courſe and by turnes, repreſenteth unto us the day, and afterwards the night; it induceth us to a ſimilitude of life and death, of waking and ſleeping: and therefore, by good right is life called, a fatall debt, which we muſt duely ſatisfie, and be acquit of: for our forefathers entred into it firſt; and we are to repay it willingly, without grumbling, ſighing and groaning, whenſoever the creditour calleth for it; unleſſe we would be reputed unthankfull and unjuſt. And verily, I beleeve that nature ſeeing the uncertainty and ſhortneſſe of our life, would that the end thereof and the prefixed houre of death ſhould be hidden from us, for that ſhee knew it good & expedient for us ſo to be; for if it had bene fore-knowen of us, ſome (no doubt) would have languiſhed and fallen away before, with griefe and ſorrow; dead they would have bene before their death came. Conſider now the troubles and ſorrowes of this life; how many cares and croſſes it is ſubject unto: certes, if wee went about to reckon and number them, wee would condemne it as moſt unhappie, yea, we would verifie and approove that ſtrong opinion which ſome have held: That it were farre better for a man to die than to live; and therefore ſaid the Poet *Simonides*:

Full feeble is all humane puiſſance:
Vaine is our care and painfull vigilance:
Mans life is even a ſhort paſſage,
Paine upon paine is his arrivage:
And then comes death that ſpareth none,
So fierce, ſo cruell, without pardone:
Over our heads it doth depend,
And threats alike thoſe that doe ſpend
Their yeeres in vertue and goodneſſe,
As in all ſinne and wickedneſſe.

Likewiſe *Pindarus*:

For bleſsing one which men obtaine,
The gods ordaine them curſes twaine.
And thoſe they can not wiſely beare,
Fooles as they be, and will not heare.
Or thus:
They can not reach to life immortall,
Nor yet endure that which is mortall.

And *Sophocles*:

Of mortall men when one is dead,
Doth thine heart groane, and eie teares ſhead;
Not knowing once what future gaine
May come to him, devoid of paine?

As for *Euripides*, thus he ſaith:

In all thy knowledge, canſt thou find
The true condition of mankinde?
I thinke well, No: For whence ſhould come
Such knowledge deepe, to all or ſome?
Give eare, and thou ſhalt learne of me
The skill thereof, in veritie:
All men ordain'd are once to die,
The debt is due, and paied muſt be:
But no man know's if morow next,
Unto his daies ſhall be annext:
And whither fortune bend's her way,
Who can fore-ſee, and juſtly ſay?

If it be ſo then, that the condition of mans life is ſuch indeed as theſe great clearks have delivered and deſcribed unto us; is it not more reaſon to repute them bleſſed and happy, who are freed from that ſervitude which they were ſubject to therein, than to deplore and lament their eſtate, as the moſt part of men doe, through follie and ignorance? Wiſe *Socrates* ſaid, that death reſembled for all the world, either a moſt deepe and ſound ſleepe, or a voiage farre remote into forraine parts, in which a man is long abſent from his native countrey; or elſe thirdly, an utter abolition and finall diſſolution both of ſoule and bodie. Now take which of theſe three you will, according to him, there is no harme at all in death: for thus he diſcourſed through them well, and beginning at the firſt, in this wiſe he reaſoneth: If death (quoth he) be a kinde of ſleepe, and thoſe that ſleepe feele no ill; we muſt needs confeſſe likewiſe, that the dead have no ſenſe at all of harme: neither is it neceſſarie to goe in hand to proove, that the deepeſt ſleepe is alſo the ſweeteſt, and moſt pleaſant; for the thing it ſelfe is plaine and evident to all the world. To ſaie nothing of *Homers* teſtimonie, who ſpeaking of ſleepe writeth thus:

Moſt ſweetly doth a man ſleepe in his bed,
When leaſt he wakes, and ſeemes moſt to be dead.

The ſame he iterateth in many places; and namely once in this wiſe:

With pleaſant ſleepe ſhe there did meet,
Deaths brother germain, you may weet.

And againe:

Death and ſleepe are ſiſter and brother,
Both twinnes reſembling one another.

Where by the way, he lively declareth their ſimilitude, and calling them twins; for that brothers and ſiſters twinnes, for the moſt part be very like: and in another place beſides, he calleth death a braſen ſleepe; giving us thereby to underſtand, how ſenceleſſe death is: neither ſeemeth he unelegantly and beſides the purpoſe, whoſoever he was, to have expreſſed as much in this verſe when he ſaid:

That ſleepes (who doth them well adviſe)
Of death are pettie myſteries.

And in very deed, ſleepe doth repreſent (as it were) a preamble, inducement, or firſt profeſſion toward death: in like manner alſo the cynick philoſopher *Diogenes* ſaid very wiſely to this point, for being ſurpreſſed and overtaken with a dead ſleepe, a little before he yeelded up the ghoſt, when the phyſician wakened him, and demaunded what extraordinary ſymptome or grievous accident was befallen unto him? None (quoth he) onely one brother is come before another, to wit, ſleepe before death: and thus much of the firſt reſemblance.

Now if death be like unto a farre journey or long pilgrimage, yet even ſo, there is no evill at all therein, but rather good, which is cleane contrary: for to be in ſervitude no longer unto the fleſh, nor enthralled to the paſſions thereof; which ſeizing upon the ſoule, doe empeach the ſame, and fill it with all follies and mortall vanities, is no doubt a great bleſſedneſſe and felicitie: for as *Plato* ſaith: The body bringeth upon us an infinit number of troubles and hinderances about the neceſſarie maintenance of it ſelfe; and in caſe there be any maladies beſides, they divert and turne us cleane away from the inquiſition and contemplation of the truth; and in ſtead thereof, peſter and ſtuffe us full of wanton loves, of luſts, feares, fooliſh fanſies, imaginations and vanities of all ſorts; inſomuch, as it is moſt true which is commonly ſaide: That from the bodie there commeth no goodneſſe nor wiſedome at all. For what elſe bringeth upon us warres, ſeditions, battels and fights, but the bodie and the greedie appetites and luſts proceeding from it; for to ſay a truth, from whence ariſe all warres, but from the covetous deſire of money, and having more goods? neither are we driven to purchaſe and gather ſtill; but onely for to enterteine the bodie, and ſerve the turne thereof; and whiles we are amuſed & emploied thereabout, we have no time to ſtudie Philoſophie: finally (which is the woorſt and very extremitie of all) in caſe we find ſome leaſure to follow our booke, and enter into the ſtudie and contemplation of things, this body of ours at al times & in every place is ready to interrupt and put us out; it troubleth, it empeacheth and ſo diſquieteth us, that impoſſible it is to attaine unto the perfect ſight and knowledge of the truth; whereby it is apparent and manifeſt, that if ever we would cleerely and purely know any thing, we ought to be ſequeſtred and delivered from this bodie; and by the eies onely of the mind, contemplate & view things as they be; then ſhall we have that which we deſire and wiſh; then ſhall we attaine to that which we ſay we love, to wit, wiſedome, even when we are dead, as reaſon teacheth us, and not ſo long as we remaine alive: for if it cannot be, that together with the bodie we ſhould know any thing purely; one of theſe two things muſt of neceſſitie enſue, that either never at all, or elſe after death we ſhould attaine unto that knowledge; for then and not before, the ſoule ſhall be apart, and ſeparate from the bodie; and during our life time, ſo much neerer ſhall we be unto this knowledge, by how much leſſe we participate with the body, and have little or nothing to doe therewith, no more than very neceſſitie doth require; nor be filed with the corrupt nature thereof, but pure and neat from all ſuch contagion, untill ſuch time as God himſelfe free us quite from it; and then being fully cleered and delivered from all fleſhly and bodily follies, we ſhall converſe with them and ſuch like pure intelligences, ſeeing evidently of our ſelves all that which is pure and ſincere, to wit, truth it ſelfe; for unlawfull it is and not allowable that a pure thing ſhould be infected or once touched by that which is impure; and therefore ſay that death ſeeme to tranſlate men into ſome other place, yet is it nothing ill in that reſpect, but good rather, as *Plato* hath very well prooved by demõſtration; in which regard, *Socrates* in my conceit ſpake moſt heavenly & divinely unto the judges, when he ſaid: My lords, to be affraid of death, is nothing elſe but to ſeeme wiſe when a man is nothing leſſe, & it is as much as to make ſemblance of knowing that which he is moſt ignorant of; for who wotteth certainly what is death? or whether it be the greateſt felicitie that may happen to a man? yet men doe feare and dread it, as if they knew for certaintie, that it is the greateſt evill in the world. To theſe ſage ſentences he accordeth well who ſaid thus:

Let no man ſtand in doubt and feare of death,
Since from all travels it him delivereth.

and not from travels only, but alſo from the greateſt miſeries in the world; whereto it ſeemeth, that the verie gods themſelves give teſtimonie: for we reade that many men in recompenſe of their religion and devotion, have received death, as a ſingular gift and favour of the gods. But to avoid tedious prolixitie, I will forbeare to write of others, and content my ſelfe with making mention of thoſe onely who are moſt renowmed and voiced by every mans mouth: and in the firſt place, rehearſe I will the hiſtorie of thoſe two yoong gentlemen of *Argos*, namely, *Cleobis* and *Biton*; of whom there goeth this report: That their mother being prieſtreſſe to *Juno*, when the time was come that ſhee ſhould preſent herſelfe in the temple, and the mules that were to draw her coatch thither, not in readineſſe, but making ſtay behinde; they ſeeing her driven to that exigent, and fearing leſt the houre ſhould paſſe, under-went themſelves the yoke, and drew their mother in the coatch to the ſaid temple: ſhe being much pleaſed, and taking exceeding joy to ſee ſo great pietie and kindneſſe in her children, praied unto the goddeſſe, that ſhe would vouchſafe to give them the beſt gift that could befall to man: and they the ſame night following, being gone to bedde for to ſleepe, never roſe againe: for that the goddeſſe ſent unto them, death, as the onely recompenſe and reward of their godlineſſe. *Pindarus* alſo writeth as touching *Agamedes* & *Trophonius*: That after they had built the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, they demanded of that god, their hire and reward; who promiſed to pay them fully at the ſeven-nights end; meane while he bade them be merie and make good cheere; who did as he enjoined them: ſo upon the ſeventh night following, they tooke their ſleepe, but the next morning they were found dead in bed. Moreover, it is reported that when *Pindarus* himſelfe gave order unto the commiſſioners that were ſent from the State of *Bæotia* unto the oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand what was beſt for man? this anſwere was returned from the propheteſſe: That he who enjoined them that errand, was not ignorant thereof, in caſe the hiſtorie of *Agamedes* and *Trophonius* (whereof he was author) were true; but if he were diſpoſed to make further triall, he ſhould himſelfe ſee ſhortly an evident proofe thereof: *Pindarus* when he heard this anſwer, began to thinke of death, and to prepare himſelfe to die; and in trueth, within a little while after changed his life. The like narration is related of one *Euthynous* an Italian, who was ſonne to *Elyſius* of *Terinæ*, for vertue, wealth and reputation, a principall man in that citie, namely, that he died ſuddenlie, without any apparent cauſe that could be given thereof: his father *Elyſius*, incontinently thereupon, began to grow into ſome doubt (as any other man beſides would have done) whether it might not be, that he died of poiſon, for that he was the onely childe he had, and heire apparant to all his riches: and not knowing otherwiſe how to ſound the trueth, hee ſent out to a certeine oracle, which uſed to give anſwere by the conjuration and calling forth of ſpirits or ghoſts of men departed; where (after he had performed ſacrifices and other ceremoniall devotions according as the law required) he laied him downe to ſleepe in the place, where he dreamed, and ſaw this viſion: There appeared unto him (as he thought) his owne father, whom when he ſaw, he diſcourſed unto him what had fortuned to his ſonne, requeſting and beſeeching him to be aſſiſtant with him to finde out the trueth, and the cauſe indeed of his ſo ſudden death: his father then ſhould anſwere thus: And even therefore am I come hither; here therefore receive at this mans hands, that certificate which I have brought unto thee, for thereby ſhalt thou know all the cauſe of thy griefe and ſorrow: now the partie whom his father ſhewed and preſented unto him, was a yoong man that followed after him, who for all the world in ſtature and yeeres reſembled his ſonne *Euthynous*; who being demanded by him, what he was? made this anſwere: I am the ghoſt or angell of your ſonne: and with that, offered unto him a little ſcrowle or letter; which when *Elyſius* had unfolded, he found written within it, theſe three verſes:

Here

Ἦ που νήπιε Ἠλύσιε φρένας ἀνδρῶν.
Εὐθύνοος κεῖται μοιριδίῳ θανάτῳ.
Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ζώειν αὐτῷ καλὸν οὔτε γονεῦσι.

These verſes be unperfect, and it ſeemeth that *Cicero, Tuſcul.* 1. in tranſlating this firſt verſe, read it thus: ἤ που ἔασιν νήπιαι ἠλύσιε φρένες ἀνδρῶν,

Which may be done into Engliſh thus:

Elyſius *thou fooliſh man, aske living Sages read,*
Euthynous *by fatall courſe of deſtinies is dead;*
For longer life would neither him nor parents ſtand in ſtead.

And thus much may ſuffice you, both as touching the ancient hiſtories written of this matter, and alſo of the ſecond point of the foreſaid queſtion.

But to come unto the third branch of *Socrates* his conjecture: admit it were true, that death is the utter abolition and deſtruction aſwell of ſoule as body; yet even ſo, it cannot be reckoned ſimply ill: for by that reckoning there ſhould follow a privation of all ſenſe, and a generall deliverance from paine, anxietie and anguiſh: and like as there commeth no good thereby, even ſo, no harme at all can enſue upon it; foraſmuch as good and evill have no being, but in that thing onely which hath eſſence and ſubſiſtence, and the ſame reaſon there is of the one as of the other: ſo as in that which is not, but utterly becommeth void, anulled, and taken quite out of the world, there can not be imagined either the one or the other. Now this is certeine, that by this reaſon the dead returne to the ſame eſtate and condition wherein they were before their nativitie: like as therefore, when we were unborne, we had no ſenſe at all of good or evill; no more ſhall we have after our departure out of this life: and as thoſe things which preceded our time, nothing concerned us; ſo whatſoever hapneth after our death, ſhall touch us as little.

No paine feele they that out of world be gone:
To die, and not be borne, I holde all one.

For the ſame ſtate and condition is after death, which was before birth. And do you thinke that there is any difference betweene, Never to have bene, and To ceaſe from being? ſurely they differ no more, than either an houſe, or a garment, in reſpect of us and our uſe thereof after the one is ruined or fallen downe, and the other all rent and torne, from that benefit which we had by them before they were begun to be built or made; and if you ſay, there is no difference in them in theſe regards; as little there is be you ſure, between our eſtate after death, and our condition before our nativitie: a very pretie and elegant ſpeech therefore it was of *Arceſilaus* the philoſopher when he ſaid: This death (quoth he) which every man tearmeth evill, hath one peculiar propertie by it ſelfe, of all other things that be accounted ill; in that when it is preſent, it never harmeth any man; onely whiles it is abſent and in expectance it hurteth folke. And in very truth, many men through their folly and weakeneſſe, and upon certaine ſlanderous calumniations and falſe ſurmiſes conceived againſt death, ſuffer themſelves to die becauſe forſooth they would not die. Very well therefore and aptly wrot the poet ***Epicharmus*** in theſe words:

That which was knit and joined faſt,
Is looſed and diſſolv'd at laſt:
Each thing returnes into the ſame,
Earth into earth, from whence it came:
The ſpirit up to heaven anon;
Wherefore what harme heerein? juſt none.

And as for that which *Creſphontes* in one place of ***Euripides***, ſpeaking of ***Hercules*** ſaid:

If under globe of earth, with thoſe he dwell,
Who being none, have left, laid once in grave:
A man of him might ſay, and that right well,
That puiſſance and ſtrength he none can have.

By altering it a little in the end, you may thus inferre:

If under globe of earth with thoſe he dwell,
Who being none, have left, laid once in grave:
A man of him might ſay, and that right well,
That ſenſe at all of paine, he can none have.

A generous and noble ſaying alſo was that of the Lacedæmonians:

Now are we in our gallant prime,
Before as others had their time,
And after us ſhall others floure,
But we ſhall never ſee that houre.

As alſo this:

Now dead are they who never thought,
That life or death were ſimply ought:
But all their care was for to dy
And live, as they ſhould, honeſtly.

Right excellent alſo are thoſe verſes of *Euripides*, as touching them who endure long maladies:

I hate all thoſe by meat and drink,
Who to prolong their daies doe think:
By Magick arte and ſorcery,
The courſe of death who turne awry.
Where as they ſhould be glad and faine,
When as they ſee it is but vaine
Of earth to live upon the face,
For yoongers then to quit the place.

As for *Merope* in pronouncing theſe manlike and magnanimous words, ſhe mooveth the whole theater to this conſideration of her ſpeeches, when ſhe ſaith;

I am not th'onely mother left,
Who of faire children am bereſt;
Nor yet a widow am I alone,
Who my deere husband have forgone:
For others infinite there bee,
Who have felt like calamitee.

Unto this, a man may very aptly adjoine theſe verſes alſo:

What is become of that magnificence?
Where is king Cræſus *with his opulence?*
Or Xerxes, *he whoſe monſtrous worke it was,*
By bridge, the firth of Helleſpont *to pas?*
To Pluto *now they are for ever gon,*
To houſes of moſt deepe oblivion.

Their goods, and their wealth, together with their bodies are periſhed; howbeit, beleeve me, ſome will ſay; many are mooved perforce to weepe and lament, when they ſee a yoong perſon die before due time; and yet I aſſure you, this haſtie and untimely death admitteth ſo readie conſolation, that even the meaneſt and moſt vulgar comicall poets have ſeene into the thing, and deviſed good meanes, and effectuall reaſons of comfort: for conſider what one of them ſaith in this caſe, to him that mourned and lamented for the unripe and unſeaſonable death of a friend of his, in theſe words:

If thou hadſt knowne for certaine, that thy friend
Who now is dead, ſhould have beene bleſſed ay,
Throughout that courſe of life which was behind,
In caſe the gods had ſtaid his dying day:
His death had beene untimely, I would ſay,
But if long life, ſhould bring him greefes incurable,
To him haply was death, than now more favorable.

Seeing then uncertaine it is whether the iſſue and end of this life will be expedient unto a man; and whether he ſhall be delivered and excuſed thereby from greater evils, or no; we ought not to take ones death ſo heavilie, as if we had utterly loſt all thoſe things which we hoped for, and promiſed our ſelves by his life to enjoy; and therefore me thinks that *Amphiaraus* in a certaine tragedy of a poet, did not impertinently and without good purpoſe, comfort the mother of *Archemorus*, who tooke it to the heart, and grieved exceſſively, that her ſonne a yoong infant died ſo long before the ordinarie time: for thus he ſaith unto her:

No man there is of womans body born,
But in his daies much travell he doth beare:
Children ſome die the parents long beforn,
And are by them enterred: then they reare
And get yoong babes, for thoſe that buried were:
Laſtly, themſelves into the graves doe fall,
This is the courſe, this is the end of all.

Yet men for them doe weepe and ſorrow make,
Whoſe bodies they on biere to earth doe ſend,
Although in truth a way direct they take,
As eares of corne full ripe, which downward bend,
As ſome begin, ſo others make an end.
Why ſhould men grieve and ſigh at natures lore?
What muſt, ſhall be, thinke it not hard therefore.

In ſumme, every man ought both in meditation within himſelfe, and in earneſt diſcourſe alſo with others, to hold this for certaine; that the longeſt life is not beſt, but rather the moſt vertuous: for neither he that plaieth moſt upon a lute or citterne, is commended for the cunningeſt muſician; no more than he who pleadeth longeſt, is held the moſt eloquent orator; nor he that ſitteth continually at the helme, is praiſed for the beſt pilot; but they that doe beſt, deſerve the greateſt commendation: for we are not to meaſure goodneſſe by the length of time, but by vertue, by convenient proportion and meaſure of all words and deeds: for this is that amiable beautie which is eſteemed happie in this world, and pleaſing to the gods: which is the reaſon that the poets have left unto us in writing, that the moſt excellent worthies or demie gods, and ſuch (as by their ſaying) were begotten by gods, changed this their mortal life, and departed before they were old: for even * he

Who was of mightie Jupiter, *and* Phœbus *loved beſt,*
Permitted was not long to live, and in old age to reſt.

* *Amphiaraus.*

For this we alwaies ſee, that ordinarily the maturitie of yeeres, and the ſame well emploied, is preferred before old age and long life: for thus we repute thoſe trees and plants beſt, which in leaſt time beare moſt fruit; as alſo thoſe living creatures which in little ſpace yeeld greateſt profit and commodity to mans life: furthermore, little difference you ſhall finde betweene ſhort time and long, in compariſon of eternitie; for that a thouſand, yea and ten thouſand yeeres according to *Simonides*, are no more than a very prick, or rather the ſmalleſt indiviſible portion of a prick, in reſpect of that which is infinit. We reade in hiſtories that there be certaine living creatures about the land of *Pontus*, whoſe life is compriſed within the compaſſe of one day; for in the morning they are bred, by noone they are in their vigor and at beſt, and in the evening they be old, and end their lives: would not theſe creatures thinke you, if they had the ſoule of man, and that uſe of reaſon which we have, feele the very ſame paſſions that we doe, if the like accidents befell unto them? certes, thoſe that died before noone, would miniſter occaſion of mourning and weeping; but ſuch as continued all day long, ſhould be reputed happy. Well, our life ſhould be meaſured by vertue, and not by continuance of time; ſo that we are to eſteem ſuch exclamations as theſe, fooliſh and full of vanitie: Oh, great pittie, that he was taken waie ſo yoong; it ought not to have beene that he ſhould die yet: and who is he that dare ſay; This or that ought? But many things elſe have beene, are, and ſhall be done heereafter, which ſome man might ſay, ought not to have been done: howbeit, come we are not into this life for to preſcribe lawes, but rather to obey thoſe lawes which are decreed and ſet down already by the gods, who governe the world, and the ordinances of deſtinie and divine providence.

But to proceed, thoſe who ſo much deplore & lament the dead, do they it for love of thẽſelves, or for their ſake who are departed? if in regard of their own ſelves, for that they find how they are deprived of ſome pleaſure or profit, or els diſappointed of ſupport in their old age, which they hoped to receive by thoſe who are departed? ſurely this were but a ſmall occaſion, & no honeſt pretence of lamentation; for that it ſeemeth they bewaile not the dead perſons, but the loſſe of thoſe cõmodities which they expected from them: but in caſe they grieve in the behalf of thoſe that be gone out of this world, ſoone wil they ſhake off their ſorrow, if they be perſwaded and beleeve, that after death they feele no ill; & obey they wil that ancient & wiſe ſentence, which teacheth us to extend as much as we can all good things, but to draw in and reſtraine thoſe that be ill: now if ſorrow is to be counted good, we ought to augment and encreaſe the ſame as much as poſſibly we can; but if we acknowledge it (as it is indeed) to be naught, we are to ſhorten & diminiſh it, as much as we may, yea, & to aboliſh it quite, if it lie in our power: and that this may be eaſily effected, it appeereth by the precedent, of ſuch a conſolation as this: We reade that a certaine ancient Philoſopher went upon a time to viſit queene *Arſinoe*, who mourned & lamented much for a ſonne of hers lately departed this life; & to her he uſed theſe or ſuch like words: Madame, at what time as *Jupiter* dealt among the petie gods, goddeſſes, & other heavenly wights, certaine honors and dignities, it chaunced that dame *Sorow*, was not preſent among the reſt: but after that the diſtribution and dole was made, ſhe alſo came in place and preſented her ſelfe, craving of *Jupiter*, her part of honor as well as the other: *Jupiter* being thus driven to his ſhifts, for that he had divided and given away all before, not having any thing elſe to beſtow, gave unto her the honor which is done unto thoſe that be departed this life, to wit, teares, plaints, and lamentations: as other petie gods and goddeſſes therfore, love thoſe who honor them and none elſe; even ſo (good lady) *Sorow* (if you make not much of her, and give her divine honor) will not come neere unto you; but in caſe you worſhip and honor her dutifully with thoſe prerogatives which be allotted unto her, to wit, weeping, wailing, and lamentations, ſhe will affect and love you, ſhe will haunt you, yea, ſhe will alway miniſter matter unto you, that ſhe may be continually honored by you. This device of the Philoſopher, wonderfully wrought with the woman, and perſwaded her in ſuch ſort, as ſhe ſtaied her plaints, gave over her weeping, and caſt off all her ſorrow.

In one word, a man may deale in this wiſe with one that is in ſorrow, and demand of him: Whether art thou minded one day to ceaſe this mourning, and make an end of piteous lamentation? or to perſiſt ſtill in afflicting and tormenting thy ſelfe as long as thou liveſt? for if thou continue all thy life time in this dolourous anguiſh, thou wilt procure and bring upon thy ſelfe perfect miſerie & infelicitie in the higheſt degree, through thy effeminate ſoftneſſe and feebleneſſe of heart; but if thou meaneſt at the length to change this fit, and to lay all mourning aſide, why doeſt not thou beginne betimes, and reſolve out of hand, to be delivered from this miſerie at once? for looke what reaſons and meanes thou art to uſe hereafter, for to be freed from theſe paines and perplexities; by the helpe of the ſame thou maieſt preſently be quit of this unhappie plight and ſtate wherein thou art. And as it fareth in our bodies, the ſooner that wee ridde away the craſie indiſpoſitions and maladies thereof, the better it is for us; even ſo it is in the diſeaſes and paſſions of the ſoule: that therefore, which thou art minded and diſpoſed to yeeld unto long time, give forthwith unto reaſon, unto literature and knowledge; diſcharge thy ſelfe (I ſay, and that with ſpeed) of theſe calamities which now environ and compaſſe thee round about. But haply you will ſay, I never thought that this would have befallen unto me, neither did I ſo much as doubt any ſuch thing: yea, but you ought to caſt doubts afore-hand; you ſhould long time before have conſidered and meditated of the vanitie, weakeneſſe and inſtabilitie of mans affaires; by which meanes you had not bene ſurpriſed as you are, nor taken ſo unprovided, as by ſome ſudden incurſion of enemies. Very well and wiſely therefore it ſeemeth, that noble *Theſeus* in *Euripides*, was prepared and armed againſt all ſuch accidents of fortune, when he thus ſaid:

According as a wiſe man once me taught,
I did in minde all miſeries forecaſt;
And namely, how I might be overcaught
With bitter ſpight; and not to ſit ſo faſt
In native ſoile, but forc't to flie at laſt:
Untimely death of wife, of childe, of friend,
How ſoone might hap, full croſſe unto my minde.
In ſumme, I did misfortunes manifolde
Eftſoones propoſe and ſet before mine eies,
To th'end that I acquainted thus of olde
With ſuch fore-caſts, might ſoone learne to deſpiſe,
And ſet nought by adverſe calamities:
For no miſchance, or fortune overthwart,
Could now be ſtrange, and nip me to the hart.

But thoſe who are effeminate, baſe-minded, and not exerciſed before-hand in ſuch premeditations, never plucke up their ſpirits, nor ſet their mindes to deliberate and conſult as touching any honeſt or profitable courſe; but ſuffer themſelves to breake out into extremities and miſeries remedileſſe, afflicting and puniſhing their harmeleſſe bodies, and as *Alcæus* was woont to ſay, forcing them to be ſicke with them for companie, which ailed nought before. And therefore *Plato* (in my conceit) gave a very wiſe admonition: That in ſuch caſualties and miſchances as theſe, we ſhould be quiet; aſwell, for that it is uncerteine whether it be good or ill for them whoſe death we ſeeme to lament; as alſo, becauſe there can no good enſue unto us by ſuch penſiveneſſe and ſorow: for this is certeine: That as ſage conſultation in a mans ſelfe (as touching that which is hapned alreadie) doth remove ſorrow; ſo griefe impeacheth wiſe counſell, which would have a man to employ and accommodate all his affaires and occurrences the beſt way he can; like as in playing at the tables,to diſpoſe ſo of his caſt and chance whatſoever,as may moſt ſerve to win the game.

If it be our hap therefore, to ſtumble and catch a fall, by the crooked aſpect of adverſe fortune, we muſt not doe as little children, who laying their hands upon that part which is hurt, fall a puling or ſetting up a crie; but apply our minds preſently to ſeeke for remedie; to ſet that upright, which is fallen; to rectifie that which is out of frame, by helpe of good medicines; and in one word, to put away all moanes and lamentations.

Certes,it is reported,that he (whoſoever he was) that ſet downe lawes and ſtatutes to the Lycians, ordeined expreſly: That whenſoever they were diſpoſed to mourne and lament, they ſhould be araied in womans apparell; as giving them thereby to underſtand, that to weepe and waile, was but a feminine and ſervile paſſion, nothing at all befitting grave perſons,well deſcended, or honeſtly brought up: for (to ſay a trueth) to weepe and waile thus, is meere womaniſh, and bewraieth a baſe and abject minde: and like as women ordinarily be more prone and forward thereto than men; ſo Barbarians rather than Greeks; and the woorſe ſort of people are given thereto more than the better: alſo, if you goe thorow all barbarous nations, you ſhall not finde thoſe who are moſt haughtie-minded and magnanimous, or cary any generoſitie of ſpirit in them, ſuch as be the Almans or Gaules addicted hereunto; but Aegyptians, Syrians, Lydians,and ſuch other; for ſome of theſe (by report) uſe to go downe into hollow caves within the ground, and there hide themſelves for many daies together, and not ſo much as ſee the light of the ſunne, becauſe (forſooth) the dead partie whom they mourne for, is deprived thereof. In which regard, *Ion* the Tragicall Poet having (as it ſhould ſeeme) heard of ſuch fooleries, bringeth in upon the ſtage, a woman ſpeaking in this wiſe:

Come forth am I, now at the laſt,
Your nourſe and childrens governeſſe,
Out of deepe caves, where ſome daies paſt,
I kept in balefull heavineſſe.

Others there be alſo of theſe Barbarians, who cut away ſome parts, and diſmember themſelves;ſlit their owne noſes, crop their eares,miſuſe & disfigure the reſt of their bodies,thinking to gratifie the dead in doing thus, if they ſeeme to exceed all meaſure,& that moderation which is according to nature. There are beſides,who reply upon us and ſay: That they thinke we ought not to waile and lament for every kind of death,but onely in regard of thoſe that die before their time; for that they have not as yet taſted of thoſe things which are eſteemed bleſſings in this life, to wit, the joies of marriage,the benefit of literature and learning,the perfection of yeeres, the management of common-weale, honors and dignities; for theſe be the points that they ſtand upon, and grieve moſt who loſe their friends or children by untimely death, for that they be diſappointed and fruſtrate of their hopes before the time; ignorant altogether that this haſtie and overſpeedie death, in regard of humane nature, differeth nothing at all from others: for like as in the returne to our common native countrey,which is neceſſarily impoſed upon al, and from which no man is exempted, ſome march before, others follow after, and all at length meet at one and the ſame place; even ſo in traveling this journey of fatall deſtinie, thoſe that arrive late thither, gaine no more advantage than they who are thither come betime: now if any untimely or haſtie death were naught ſimply, that of little babes and infants that ſucke the breſt, and cannot ſpeake, or rather ſuch as be newly borne were woorſt; and yet their death we beare verie well and patiently, whereas we take their departure more heavily, and to the heart, who are growen to ſome good yeeres, and all through the vanitie of our fooliſh hopes; whereby we imagine and promiſe to our ſelves aſſuredly,that thoſe who have proceeded thus farre,be paſt the woorſt,and are like to continue thus,in a good and certaine eſtate. If then the prefixed terme of mans life were the end of twentie yeeres, certes, him that came to be fifteene yeeres old we would not judge unripe for death,but thinke that he had attained to a competent age;and as for him who had accompliſhed the full time of twentie yeeres, or approched neere thereto we would account him abſolute happy,as having performed a moſt bleſſed and perfect life: but if the courſe of our life reached out to two hundred yeeres, he who chanced to die at one hundred yeeres end, would be thought by us to have died too ſoone; and no doubt his untimely death we would bewaile and lament. By theſe reaſons therefore, and thoſe which heeretofore we have alledged, it is apparent, that even the death which we call untimely, ſoone admitteth conſolation,and a man may beare it patiently; for this is certaine, that *Troilus* would have wept leſſe; yea even *Priamus* himſelfe, ſhed fewer teares, in caſe he had died ſooner; at what time as the kingdome of *Troy* flouriſhed, or whiles himſelfe was in that wealthy eſtate; for which he lamented ſo much; which a man may evidently gather by the words which he gave to his ſonne *Hector*, when he admoniſhed and exhorted him to retire from the combat which he had with *Achilles* in theſe verſes:

Returne my ſonne within theſe wals, that thou from death maiſt ſave
The Trojan men and women both, let not Achilles *have*
Of thee that honour, as thy life ſo ſweet to take away,
By victorie in ſingle fight, and haſt thy dying day:
Have pittie yet my ſonne of me, thy wofull aged ſire,
Ere that my wits and ſenſes faile, whom Jupiter *in ire*
Will elſe one day at th'end of this my old and wretched yeeres,
Conſume with miſerable death, out-worne and ſpent with teeres.
As having many objects ſeene, of ſorrow and hearts griefe;
My ſonnes cut ſhort by edge of ſword, who ſhould be my reliefe;
My daughters trail'd by haire of head, and raviſht in my ſight;
My pallace rac'd, their chambers ſackt, wherein I tooke delight:
And ſucking babes from mothers breſts pluckt, and their braines daſht out
Againſt the ſtones of pav'ment hard, lie ſprawling all about:
When enemie with ſword in hand, in heat of bloudy heart
Shall havocke make: and then my ſelfe at laſt muſt play my part:
Whom when ſome one by dint of ſword, or launce of dart from farre,
Hath quite bereft of vitall breath, the hungry dogs ſhall arre
About my corps, and at my gates hale it and drag along,
Gnawing the fleſh of hoarie head, and griſled chin among,
Mangling beſides the privie parts of me a man ſo old,
Unkindly ſlaine, a ſpectacle moſt piteous to behold.
Thus ſpake the aged father tho, and pluckt from head above
His haires milke-white, but all theſe words, did Hector *nothing move.*

Seeing then, ſo many examples of this matter preſented unto your eies, you are to thinke and conſider with your ſelfe, that death doth deliver and preſerve many men from great & greevous calamities, into which without all doubt they ſhould have fallen, if they had lived longer: But for to avoid prolixitie, I will omit the reſt, & my ſelfe, with thoſe that are related already, as being ſufficient to proove & ſhew; that we ought not to breake out beſide nature, and beyond meaſure into vaine ſorrowes and needleſſe lamentations, which bewray nothing elſe but baſe and feeble minds. *Crantor* the philoſopher was wont to ſay: That to ſuffer adverſitie cauſeleſſe, was no ſmall eaſement to all ſiniſter accidents of fortune: but I would rather ſay: That innocencie is the greateſt and moſt ſoveraigne medicine to take away the ſenſe of all dolour in adverſitie: moreover, the love and affection that we beare unto one who is departed, conſiſteth not in afflicting and puniſhing our ſelves; but in doing good unto him ſo beloved of us: now the profit and pleaſure that we are able to performe for them who are gone out of this world, is the honour that we give unto them by celebrating their good memorials; for no good man deſerveth to be mourned and bewailed; but rather to be celebrated with praiſe and commendation: He is not woorthy of ſorrow and lamentation, but of an honorable and glorious remembrance; he requireth not teares as teſtimonials of griefe and dolour; but honeſt offrings, and civill oblations: if it be true, that he who is gone out of this world, doth pertake a more divine and heavenly condition of life, as being delivered from the ſervitude of this bodie, and the infinit cares perplexities, and calamities which they muſt needs endure, who abide in this mortall life, untill ſuch time as they have runne their race, and performed the prefixed courſe of this life, which nature hath not granted unto us for to be perpetuall, but according to the lawes of fatall deſtiny hath given to every one in ſeverall proportion. Such therefore as be wiſe and well minded, ought not in ſorow and griefe for their friends departed, to paſſe beyond the bounds and limits of nature, and in vaine plaints and barbarous lamentations forget a meane, and never know to make an end; expecting that which hath befallen to many before them, who have bene ſo far gone in heavineſſe and melancholie, that before they had done lamenting, they have finiſhed their daies, and ere they could lay off the mourning habit for the funerals of others, they have bene ready themſelves to be caried forth to their unhappie ſepulture: inſomuch as the ſorowes which they enterteined for the death of another, and the calamities proceeding from their owne folly, have bene buried together with them; ſo as a man might very well and truely ſay of them as *Homer* did:

Whiles they their plaints and ſorowes made,
Darke-night over-ſpread them with her ſhade.

And therefore in ſuch caſe we are eftſoones thus to ſpeake unto our ſelves, and reaſon in this maner: What? ſhall we make an end once? or rather never ceaſe ſo long as we live? but ſtill keepe a weeping and wailing as we do? for I aſſure you, to thinke that ſorrow ſhould never end, were a point of extreame folly, conſidering that often times we ſee even thoſe, who of all others take on and fare moſt impatiently in their fits of griefe and heavineſſe, become (in proceſſe of time) ſo well appeaſed, that even at thoſe tombs and monuments where they piteouſly cried out and knocke their breſts, they met afterwards ſolemnly to make magnificent feaſts, with muſicke, minſtrelſie, and all the meanes of mirth that might be deviſed. It is the propertie therefore of a mad man and one bereft of his wits, to reſolve and ſet downe with himſelfe to dwell evermore in ſorow, and not to give it over: but if men thinke and reckon, that it will ceaſe at length and paſſe away, by occaſion of ſome thing that may occurre, let them caſt this withall, that ſpace of time, will (after a ſort) doe it: for that which once is done, can not by God himſelfe be undone: and therefore that which now is hapned contrary to our hope and expectation, is a ſufficient proofe & demonſtration of that which is wont to befall unto many others by the ſame meanes. How then? is not this a thing that we are able to comprehend by learning and diſcourſe of reaſon in nature? to wit:

The earth is full, and ſea likewiſe,
Of ſundrie evils and miſeries.

As alſo:

Such miſchiefs ay, and ſtrange calamities,
Are daily one after another ſent
To mortall men by fatall deſtinies;
The skie it ſelfe is not thereof exempt.

For not onely in theſe daies, but time out of minde, many men (and thoſe of the wiſer ſort) have deplored the miſeries of mankinde, reputing life it ſelfe to be nothing els but puniſhment; and the verie beginning of mans birth and nativitie, to be no better than woe and miſerie. And *Ariſtotle* ſaith: That even *Silenus*, when he was caught and taken captive, pronounced as much unto king *Midas*. But foraſmuch as this matter maketh ſo well to our purpoſe, it were beſt to ſet downe the very words of the ſaid Philoſopher; for in his booke entituled *Eudemus* or *Of the ſoule*, thus he ſaith: Therefore (quoth he) ô right excellent and ô of all men moſt fortunate, as we eſteeme the dead to be bleſſed and happy, ſo we thinke that to make a lie or ſpeake evil of them, is meere impietie, and an intolerable abuſe offered unto them, as being now tranſlated into a far better and more excellent condition than before: which opinion and cuſtome in our countrey is ſo ancient and of ſuch antiquitie, that no man living knoweth either the time when it firſt began, or the firſt authour thereof, who brought it in: but from all eternitie this cuſtome hath bene among us obſerved for a law. Moreover, you know full wel the old ſaid ſaw, that from time to time hath run currant in every mans mouth: And what is that? quoth he: then the other preſently inferred this anſwere, and ſaid: That ſimplie it was beſt, not to be borne at all, and to die better than to live: and hereto have accorded and given teſtimonie, the very gods themſelves, and namely, unto king *Midas*, who having in chaſe and hunting (upon a time) taken *Silenus*, demanded of him what was beſt for man? and what it was that a man ſhould wiſh for and chuſe above all things in the world? at the firſt he would make no anſwere, but kept ſilence, and gave not ſo much as a word, until ſuch time as *Midas* importuned and urged him by all means; ſo as at length (ſeeing himſelfe compelled even againſt his will) he brake out into this ſpeech, and ſaid unto him: O generation of ſmall continuance! ô ſeed of laborious and painfull deſtinie! ô iſſue of fortune, wretched and miſerable! why force you me to ſay that unto you, which it were better for you to be ignorant of? for that your life is leſſe dolorous and irkeſome, when it hath no knowledge at all of her owne calamities; but ſo it is, that men by no meanes can have that which ſimply is beſt, nor be partakers of that which is moſt excellent: for beſt it had beene for all men and women both, never to have bene borne at all; the next to it, and indeed the principall and chiefe of all thoſe things that may be effected, (how ever in order it falleth out to be ſecond) as to die immediatly after one is borne. So that it appeareth plainly, that *Silenus* judged and pronounced the condition of the dead to be better than of the living. For the proofe of which concluſion, ten thouſand ſentences and examples there be, and ten thouſand more upon the head of them, which may be alledged: but needleſſe it were, to diſcourſe farther of this point, and make more words thereof. Well then: we ought not to lament the death of yong folke, in this regard, that they be deprived of thoſe bleſſings and benefits which men doe enjoy by long life: for uncerteine it is (as we have ſhewed often times before) whether they be deprived of good things or delivered from bad; conſidering that in mans life there be farre more ſorowes than joies; and thoſe (as few as they be) we get with much paines, great travell, and many cares; whereas calamities and evils come eaſily unto us; inſomuch (as ſome men ſay) they be round and united cloſe, and following aptly one upon another; whereas good things be ſeparate and disjoined, inſomuch as hardly they meet together at the very end of mans life: and therefore it ſeemeth that we forget our ſelves; for as *Euripides* ſaith:

Not onely worldly goods are not
Proper to men when they are got,

but not any thing els whatſoever; and therefore of all ſuch things we are thus to ſay:

The gods have all in rightfull propertie,
And under them, at will we tenants be,
To hold and uſe the ſame, ſome more ſome leſſe,
Untill they pleaſe us quite to diſpoſſeſſe.

We ought not therefore to be grieved and diſcontented, if they redemand of us that which they have lent and put into our hands, onely for a little while; for even the banquers themſelves (as we were wont oftentimes to ſay) are not diſpleaſed or offended when they be called unto or conſtrained to render and give up thoſe ſtocks of money that have beene committed unto them, if they be honeſt men, and well minded: for a man may by good right ſay unto thoſe who are unwilling to redeliver the ſame: Haſt thou forgotten that thou didſt receive theſe monies to repay againe? And the very ſame may be applied unto all mortall men: for we have our life at Gods hands, who upon a fatall neceſſitie, have lent and left the ſame unto us; neither is there any time fore-ſet or prefixed, within which we ought to yeeld the ſame; no more than the foreſaid banquers are limited to ſome appointed day, on which they are bound to deliver up thoſe ſtocks of money which be put into their hands; but unknowen and uncerteine it is when they ſhall be called unto, for to render the ſame to the owners. He therefore who is exceeding much diſpleaſed, & angrie, when he perceiveth himſelfe readie to die; or when his children have changed this life; is it not evident that he hath forgotten, both that himſelfe is a man, and alſo that he begot children mortall? for ſurely it is no part of a man whoſe underſtanding is cleere and entire, to be ignorant in this point, namely that man is a mortall creature, or that he is borne upon this condition, once to die: and therefore if dame *Niobe*, according as fables recount unto us, had beene alwaies furniſhed with this opinion and ſetled reſolution; That

The floure of age ſhe ſhould not aie
Enjoy, nor children ſee alway
About her freſh, in number many,
To keepe her ever company:
Nor ſweet ſun-ſhine continuallie
Behold, untill that ſhe muſt die.

ſhe would never have fared ſo, and fallen into ſuch deſpaire, as to deſire to be out of the world, for the unſupportable burden of her calamitie, and even to conjure the gods for to fetch her away, and plunge her into moſt horrible deſtructions. Two rules and precepts there are written in the temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos*, which of all others be moſt neceſſarie for mans life: the one is; Know thy ſelfe: and the other; Too much of nothing: for of theſe twaine depend all other leſſons, and theſe two accord and ſound very well together; for it ſeemeth that the one doth declare the other, and containe the force and efficacie one of the other; for in this rule; Know thy ſelfe, is compriſed; Nothing too much: likewiſe in this, a man doth comprehend the knowledge of himſelfe: and therefore *Ion* the poet ſpeaking of theſe ſentences, ſaith thus;

Know thy ſelfe; a word but ſhort,
Implies a worke not quickly done,
Of all the gods and heavenly ſort
None skils thereof but heavenly Jove *alone.*

And *Pindarus* writeth in this wiſe:

This ſentence briefe: Nothing exceſſively,
Wiſe men have prais'd alwaies exceedingly.

Whoſoever therefore ſetteth alwaies before the eies of his minde theſe two precepts, and holdeth them in ſuch reverence as the oracles of *Apollo* deſerve, he ſhall be able to apply them eaſily unto all the affaires and occurrents of humane life, and to beare all things modeſtly as it becommeth, both having a regard to his owne nature, and alſo endevouring neither to mount up too high with pride and vain-glorie, for any happie fortune that may befall, nor yet be dejected and caſt downe beyond meaſure, to mourning and lamentation upon infirmitie of fortune, or rather of the minde, or by reaſon of that inbred feare of death imprinted deepely in our hearts for want of knowledge and good conſideration of that which is ordinary, and cuſtomably hapneth in mans life, either through neceſſitie, or according to the decree of fatall deſtinie. Notable is that precept of the Pythagoreans:

What part thou haſt of griefe and woe, which unto man is ſent,
By hand of God, take well in woorth, and ſhew no diſcontent.

And the tragicall poet *Aeſchylus* ſaid very well:

Wiſe men and vertuous in all woe and diſtreſſe,
Againſt God will not murmure more or leſſe.

As alſo *Euripides*:

The man who yeelds unto neceſſitie,
Well skilled is in true divinitie:
And ſuch we count, and not unwoorthily
To beare themſelves among men moſt wiſely.

And in another place:

Who knows the way, what ever doth befall
With patience meekely to ſuffer all;
In my conceit, he may be thought right well,
In vertue and wiſedome all men to excell.

But contrariwiſe, moſt men in the world complaine and grumble at every thing; and whatſoever falleth out croſſe and contrary to their hope and expectation, they imagine the ſame to proceed alwaies from the malignitie of fortune and the gods; which is the reaſon that in all accidents they weepe, waile, and lament; yea, and they blame their owne froward and adverſe fortune: unto whom we may very well and with great reaſon reply in this maner:

No God it is, nor heavenly wight,
That works thy woe, and all this ſpight.

but even thine owne ſelfe, thy folly and errour proceeding from ignoraunce: and upon this falſe perſwaſion and erronious opinion it is, that theſe men complaine of all ſorts of death; for if any of their friends chaunce to die in a forreine countrey, they fetch a deepe ſigh in his behalfe, and cry out ſaying:

Alas poore wretch, wo's me for thee, that neither father thine,
Nor mother deere ſhall preſent be, to cloſe thy ſight-leſſe eien.

Dieth he in his owne native ſoile, and in the preſence of father and mother? they mourne and lament, for that being taken out of their hands, he hath left unto them nothing elſe behind, but a deepe impreſſion of griefe, in ſeeing him die before their eies: Is it his hap to depart out of this world in ſilence, and without giving any charge of ought concerning him or them? then they cry out amaine, and breake foorth into theſe words; as he did in *Homer*:

Alas the while, that no wiſe ſpeech and leſſon thou me gave,
Which while my breath and life doth laſt, I ſhould remembred have.

Againe, if he delivered any words unto them at the houre of his death, they will evermore have the ſame in their mouthes to kindle anew and refreſh their ſorow: went he ſuddenly, and never bad his friends farewell, when he departed? they lament and ſay: That he was raviſhed away and forcibly taken from them: if he languiſhed, and was long in dying, then they fal a complaining, and give out, that he conſumed and pined away, enduring much paine before hee died: to be ſhort, every occaſion & circumſtance whatſoever, is enough to ſtirre up their griefe, and miniſter matter to mainteine ſorowfull plaints. And who be they who have mooved and brought in all theſe outcries and lamentations, but Poets, and even *Homer* himſelfe, moſt of all other, who is the chiefe and prince of the reſt, who in this maner writeth:

Like as a father, in the fire of wofull funerals,

Burning the bones of his yoong ſonne, ſoone after his eſpouſals,
Sheds many teares for griefe of minde, and weepeth bitterly:
The mother likewiſe (tender heart) bewailes him piteouſly.
Thus he by his untimely death both parents miſerable,
Afflicts with ſorrowes manifold, and woes inexplicable:

But all this while it is not certeine whether it be wel and rightly done, to make this ſorrow; for ſee what followeth afterwards:

He was their onely ſonne, and borne to them in their olde age,
Sole heire of all, and to enjoy a goodly heritage.

And who knoweth, or is able to ſay, whether God in his heavenly providence and fatherly care of mankinde, hath taken ſome out of the world by untimely death, foreſeeing the calamities and miſeries which otherwiſe would have hapned unto them? and therefore we ought to thinke that nothing is befallen them which may be ſuppoſed odious or abominable:

For nothing grievous thought may be,
Which commeth by neceſſitie.

Nothing (I ſay) that hapneth to man, either by primitive cauſe immediatly, or by conſequence; aſwell in this regard, that often times moſt kinds of death preſerve men from more grievous aduerſities, and excuſe them for greater miſeries; as alſo for that it is expedient for ſome, never to have bene borne, and for others, to die in their very birth; for ſome, a little after they be entred into this life, and for others againe, when they are in their flower, and growen to the verie height and vigor of their age: all which ſorts of death, in what maner ſoever they come, men are to take in good part, knowing that whatſoever proceedeth from fatall deſtinie, can not poſſiblie be avoided; and beſides, reaſon would, that being well taught and inſtructed, they ſhould conſider and premeditate with themſelves, how thoſe whom we thinke to have bene deprived of their life before their full maturitie, go before us but a little while; for even the longeſt life that is, can be eſteemed but ſhort, and no more than the very minute and point of time, in compariſon of infinit eternitie: alſo, that many of them who mourned and lamented moſt, within a while have gone after thoſe whom they bewailed, and gained nothing by their long ſorow; onely they have in vaine afflicted and tormented themſelves: whereas, ſeeing the time of our pilgrimage here in this life is ſo exceeding ſhort, we ſhould not conſume our ſelves with heavineſſe and ſadneſſe, nor in moſt unhappie ſorrow and miſerable paines, even to the puniſhing of our poore bodies with injurious miſuſage; but endevour and ſtrive to take a better and more humane courſe of life, in converſing civilly with thoſe perſons who are not ready to be penſive with us, and fit to ſtirre up our ſorrow and griefe after a flattering ſort; but rather with ſuch as are willing & meet to take away or diminiſh our heavineſſe, with ſome generous and grave kinde of conſolation: and we ought to have ever in minde theſe verſes in *Homer*, which *Hector* by way of comfort delivered unto his wife *Andromache*, in this wiſe:

Unhappy wight, do not my heart vexe and ſollicit ſtill,
For no man ſhorten ſhall my daies, before the heavenly will:
And this (I ſay) Andromache, *that fatall deſtinie,*
No perſon good or bad, once borne, avoid can poſſibly.

And of this fatall deſtinie the ſame Poet ſpeaketh thus in another place:

No ſooner out of mothers wombe, are babes brought forth to light,
But deſtinie hath ſpun the thread for every mortall wight.

Theſe and ſuch like reaſons, if we would conceive and imprint before-hand in our mindes, we ſhould be free from this fooliſh heavineſſe, and delivered from all melancholy; and namely, conſidering how ſhort is the terme of our life betweene birth and death, which we ought therefore to ſpare and make much of, that we may paſſe the ſame in tranquillitie, and not interrupt it with carking cares and dolefull dumps, but laying aſide the marks and habits of heavineſſe, have a regard both to cheriſh our owne bodies, and alſo to procure and promote the welfare and good of thoſe who live with us. Moreover, it will not be amiſſe to call to minde and remember thoſe arguments and reaſons, which by great likelihood wee have ſometime uſed to our kinſefolke and friends, when they were afflicted with like calamities, when as by way of conſolation we exhorted and perſwaded them to beare the common accidents of this life with a common courſe of patience, and humane caſes, humanely. Neither muſt we ſhew our ſelves ſo far ſhort and faultie, as to have bene ſufficiently furniſhed for to appeaſe the ſorrow of others, and not be able by the remembrance of ſuch comforts, to do our ſelves good: we ought therefore preſently ly to cure the anguiſh of our heart with the ſovereigne remedies and medicinable drogues (as it were) of reaſon; and ſo much the ſooner, by how much better we may admit delay in any thing els than in diſcharging the heart of griefe and melancholie: for whereas the common proverbe and by-word in every mans mouth, pronounceth thus much:

Who loves delaies, and his time for to ſlacke,
Lives by the loſſe, and ſhall no ſorrows lacke.

Much more dammage (I ſupoſe) he ſhall receive, who deferreth and putteth off from day to day to be diſcharged of the grievous and adverſe paſſions of the minde. A man therefore is to turne his eies toward thoſe worthy perſonages who have ſhewed themſelves magnanimous and of great generoſitie in bearing the death of their children: as for example, *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, *Pericles* and *Demoſthenes* of *Athens*, *Dion* the Syracuſian, and king *Antigonus*, beſides many others, both in theſe daies and alſo in times paſt: of whom, *Anaxagoras* (as we reade in hiſtorie) having heard of his ſonnes death by one who brought him newes thereof, even at what time as he was diſputing in naturall philoſophie, and diſcourſing among his ſcholers and diſciples, pauſed a while, and ſtaied the courſe of his ſpeech, and ſaid no more but thus unto thoſe who were about him: Well I wiſt that I begat my ſonne to be a mortall man. And *Pericles* who for his paſſing eloquence and excellent wiſedome, was ſurnamed *Olympius*, that is to ſay, divine and heavenly; when tidings came to him that his two ſonnes *Paralus* and *Xantippus* had both changed this life, behaved himſelfe in this manner as *Protagoras* reporteth of him in theſe words: When his two ſonnes (quoth he) both yoong and beautifull, died within eight daies, one after the other; he never ſhewed any ſad countenance or heavie cheere, but tooke their death moſt patiently: for in truth he was a man at all times furniſhed with tranquillitie of ſpirit, whereby he daily received great frute and commoditie; not onely in reſpect of this happineſſe, that he never taſted of hearts griefe; but alſo in that he was better reputed among the people; for every man ſeeing him thus ſtoutly to take this loſſe and other the like croſſes, eſteemed him valiant, magnanimous, and of better courage than himſelfe; the one being privie to his owne heart, how he was woont to be troubled and afflicted in ſuch accidents: As for *Pericles* I ſay, immediately after the report of both his ſons departure out of this world, he ware a chaplet of floures neverthele ſſe upon his head, after the maner of his country, put on a white robe, made a ſolemne oration to the people, propounded good and ſage counſels to the Athenians, & incited them to war. Semblably *Xenophon* one of the followers & familiars of *Socrates*; when he offred ſacrifice one day unto the gods, being advertiſed by certaine meſſengers returned from the battel, that his ſonne *Gryllus* was ſlaine in fight; preſently put off the garland which was upon his head, and demaunded of them the manner of his death; and when they related unto him that he bare himſelfe valiantly in the field, and fighting manfully loſt his life, after he had the killing of many enemies; he tooke no longer pauſe for to repreſſe the paſſion of his mind by the diſcourſe of reaſon, but after a little while, ſet the coronet of flowers againe upon his head, and performed the ſolemnitie of ſacrifice; ſaying unto thoſe who had brought thoſe tidings; I never praied unto the gods that my ſonne ſhould be either immortall, or long lived, for who knoweth whether this might be expedient or no? but this rather was my praier, that they would vouchſafe him the grace to be a good man, and to love and ſerve his countrey well, the which is now come to paſſe accordingly. *Dion* likewiſe the Syracuſian, when he was ſet one day in conſultation, and deviſing with his friends, hearing a great noiſe within his houſe, and a loud outcry, demaunded what it was? and when he heard the miſchaunce that hapned; to wit, that a ſonne of his was fallen from the top of the houſe, and dead with the fall; without anie ſhew or ſigne at all of aſtoniſhment or trouble of mind, he commanded that the breathleſſe corps ſhould be delivered unto women, for to be interred according to the maner of the countrey; and as for himſelfe, he held on and continued the ſpeech that hee had begun unto his friends. *Demoſthenes* alſo the oratour is reported to have folowed his ſteps; after he had buried his onely and entirely beloved daughter, concerning whom, *Aeſchines* thinking in reprochfull wiſe to chalenge her father, ſaid thus: This man within a ſeven-night after his daughter was departed, before that he had mourned or performed the due obſequies according to the accuſtomed manner; being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and putting on white robes, ſacrificed an oxe unto the gods, and thus unnaturally he made no reckoning of her that was dead, his onely daughter, and ſhe that firſt called him father, wicked wretch that he is: this Rhetorician thus intending to accuſe and reproch *Demoſthenes*, uſed this manner of ſpeech, never thinking that in blaming him after this manner he praiſed him, namely, in that hee rejected and caſt behind him all mourning, and ſhewed that he regarded the love unto his native countrey, more than the naturall affection and compaſſion to thoſe of his owne bloud. As for king *Antigonus*, when he heard of the death of his ſonne *Alcyoneus*, who was ſlaine in a battell, he beheld the meſſengers of theſe wofull tidings, with a conſtant and undaunted countenaunce; but after he had muſed a while with ſilence, and held downe his head, he uttered theſe words: O *Alcyoneus*, thou haſt loſt thy life later than I looked for, ventring thy ſelfe ſo reſolutely as thou haſt done among thine enemies, without any care of thine owne ſafetie, or reſpect of my admonitions. Theſe noble perſonages, there is no man but doth admire and highly regard for their conſtance & magnanimitie; but when it commeth to the point and triall indeed, they cannot imitate them through the weakeneſſe and imbecillitie of mind, which proceedeth of ignorance, and want of good inſtructions: howbeit, there be many examples of thoſe who have right nobly and vertuouſly caried themſelves in the death and loſſe of their friends and neere kinſmen which we may reade in hiſtories, as well Greeke as Latin; but thoſe that I have rehearſed already may ſuffice (I ſuppoſe) to moove you for to lay away this moſt irkſome mourning, and vaine ſorrow that you take, which booteth not, nor can ſerve to any good: for that yoong men of excellent vertue, who die in their youth, are in the grace and favour of the gods, for being taken away in their beſt time, I have already ſhewed heeretofore, and now alſo will I addreſſe my ſelfe in this place as briefly, as poſſibly I can to diſcourſe, giving teſtimonie of the truth to this notable wiſe ſentence of *Menander*:

To whom the gods vouchſafe their love and grace,
He lives not long but ſoone hath runne his race.

But peradventure (my moſt loving and right deere friend) you may reply in this maner upon me: Namely, that yoong *Apollonius* your ſonne, enjoied the world at will, and had all things to his hearts deſire; yea, and more befitting it was, that you ſhould have departed out of this life, and beene enterred by him, who was now in the flower of his age, which had beene more anſwerable to our nature, and according to the courſe of humanitie. True it is I confeſſe, but haply not agreeable to that heavenly providence and government of this univerſall world: and verily in regard of him who is now in a bleſſed eſtate, it was not naturall for him to remaine in this life longer than the terme prefixed and limited unto him; but after he had honeſtly performed the courſe of his time, it was needfull and requiſit for him to take the way for to returne unto his deſtinie that called for him to come unto her: but you will ſay, that he died an untimely death; true, and ſo much the happier he is, in that he hath felt no more miſeries of this life: for as *Euripides* ſaid very well:

That which by name of life we call,
Indeed is travell continuall.

Certes, this ſonne of yours (I muſt needs ſay) is ſoone gone, and in the very beſt of his yeeres and flower of his age, a yoong man in all points entire and perfect, a freſh bacheler, affected, eſteemed and well reputed of all thoſe who kept him companie, loving to his father, kinde to his mother, affectionate to his kinſefolke and friends, ſtudious of good literature, and (to ſay all in a word) a lover of all men; reſpecting with reverence (no leſſe than fathers) thoſe friends, who were elder than himſelfe, making much of his equals and familiars, honoring thoſe who were his teachers; to ſtrangers aſwell as to citizens moſt civill and courteous; gracious and pleaſant to all; generally beloved, aſwell for his ſweet attractive countenance, as his lovely affabilitie. All this (I confeſſe) is moſt true; but you ought to conſider and take this withall: That he is tranſlated before us in very good time out of this mortall and tranſitorie life into everlaſting eternity, carying with him the generall praiſe and bleſſed acclamation of all men for his pietie and obſervance toward you, as alſo for your fatherly regard of him; and departed he is as from ſome banquet, before he is fallen into drunkenneſſe and follie, which hee could not have eſchewed, but it would have enſued upon olde age: and if the ſaying of ancient Poets and Philoſophers be true, as it ſeemeth verily to be, namely: That good men and thoſe that devoutly ſerve God, whenſoever they die, have honour and preferment in the other world, and a place allotted them apart, where their ſoules abide and converſe; ſurely you are greatly to hope very well, that your ſonne is canonized and placed in the number of thoſe bleſſed ſaints; concerning the ſtate of which happie wights deceaſed, *Pindarus* the Lyricke Poet, writeth in his canticles after this maner:

When we have here the ſhadie night,
The ſhining ſunne to them gives light:
The medowes by their citie ſide

With roſes red are beautified,
Shaded with trees which pleaſe the ſenſe,
With golden fruits and ſweet incenſe:
Some, horſes ride for exerciſe,
Diſporting in moſt comely wiſe;
Others delight in harmonie,
In muſicke and in ſymphonie.
They live where plentie everie houre
Of all delights doth freſhly floure;
Where altars of the gods do fume
In every coaſt, with ſweet perfume,
Of odors all moſt redolent,
Burning in fire farre reſplendent,
Which is maintein'd continually:
Thus they converſe right pleaſantly.

And a little after he proceedeth to another lamentable dittie, wherein ſpeaking of the ſoule, he uſeth theſe words:

Happie is their condition,
Whom death from all vexation
Exempted hath: all bodies die
Perforce, there is no remedie:
The ſoule, of perpetuitie
The image, from divinitie
Onely deriv'd, doth live alway,
And is not knowen for to decay:
Whiles limmes to wake and worke are preſt,
She takes her ſleepe and quiet reſt,
And doth by many dreames preſent
*To thoſe who ſleepe, * her owne judgement,*
Aſwell of things which her diſpleaſe,
As of ſuch as do her well pleaſe.
Or thus:
* *the due judgement,*
Aſwell for vertuous deeds well done,
As for foule facts which be miſdone.

And as for that divine Philoſopher *Plato*, he hath diſputed much, and alledged many reaſons in his * treatiſe of the ſoule, as touching the immortalitie thereof, like as in his books of policie, in the dialogue intituled *Menon*, in that alſo which beareth the name of *Gorgias*, and in divers places of many others: But as concerning thoſe diſcourſes which he hath expreſly made in his dialogue, I will give you an extract thereof apart by it ſelfe, according to your requeſt; and for this preſent I will deliver thoſe points which are to the purpoſe, and expedient to the matter in hand, to wit, what *Socrates* ſaid to *Callicles* the Athenian, a familiar friend and ſcholar of *Gorgias* the Rhetorician. Thus therefore ſaith *Socrates* in *Plato:* Give eare then, and liſten unto a moſt elegant ſpeech, which you (I ſuppoſe) will thinke to be a meere fable or tale, but I eſteeme an undoubted trueth, and as a true report I will relate it unto you: So it was, that (according to the narration of *Homer) Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, parted betweene themſelves, the empire which fell unto them from their father: now this law there was concerning men, during the reigne of *Saturne* (which alſo ſtood in force time out of minde, and remaineth even at this day among the gods) That looke what man ſoever lead a juſt & holy life, after his death he ſhould take his way directly to certain fortunate iſlands, there to remain in bliſſe & happineſſe, freed frō all miſery and infelicitie; but contrariwiſe, he that lived unjuſtly, without feare and reverence of the gods, ſhould goe to a certeine priſon of juſtice and puniſhment, named *Tartarus*, that is to ſay, Hell: now the judges who ſat judicially, and gave their doome of ſuch perſons, aſwell in *Saturnes* daies, as in the beginning alſo of the reigne of *Jupiter*, were thoſe men alive, who gave ſentence and judgement of other men living, even upon that very day wherein they were to depart this life: by reaſon wherof there paſſed many judgements, not good, until ſuch time as *Pluto* & other procurators or ſuperintendents of thoſe fortunate Iſles came and made report unto *Jupiter*, that

* Called *Phædo.*

there were thither ſent ſuch perſons as were not woorthy. Unto whom *Jupiter* made this anſwer: I will take order from hencefoorth, and provide that it ſhall be ſo no more: for the cauſe of this diſorder and abuſe in judgement is this; that they who are to be tried, come clad and arraied unto the barre, for to receive their doome, whiles they are yet living; yea, & many of them haply having filthie ſoules, are apparelled (as it were) with faire and beautifull bodies, with nobilitie of birth and parentage, yea, and adorned with riches; and whiles they ſtand before the tribunall to be judged, many there be who come to depoſe and give teſtimonie in their behalfe, that they lived well: the judges therefore (being dazzeled and amazed with theſe witneſſes and depoſitions, being themſelves alſo likewiſe arraied) do give ſentence, having before, their minds, their eies, eares, teeth, and whole bodie covered; no marvell therefore if theſe be impediments to impeach ſound and ſincere judgement, to wit, as well their owne veſture, as the raiment of the judges. Firſt and formoſt therefore, good heed would be had, that men may know no more before hand the houre of their death; for now they foreſee the terme and end of life: whereupon let *Prometheus* have firſt in charge, that from henceforth men may have no fore-knowledge of their dying day; and then all judgements heereafter ſhall paſſe indifferently of them that be all naked. For which purpoſe it were requiſit that they be all firſt dead, as well the parties in queſtion, as the judges themſelves; ſo that they come to heare cauſes and ſit in judgement with their ſoules onely, upon the ſoules likewiſe of thoſe who are departed; even ſo ſoone as they are ſeperated from the bodies, being deſtitute now and forlorne of all kinsfolke and friends to aſſiſt them, as having left behind them upon earth, all the veſture and ornaments which they were woont to have; by which meanes, the judgement of them may paſſe more juſt and right: which I knowing well enough, before you were acquainted therewith, have ordained mine owne ſonnes to be judges; namely for *Aſia* two, *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*; and one for *Europe*, to wit, *Aeacus*: Theſe therefore after they be dead, ſhall ſit in judgement within a meddow, at a quarrefour or croſſe-way, whereof the one leadeth to the fortunate iſles, the other to hell: *Rhadamanthus* ſhall determine of them in *Aſia*; *Aeacus* of thoſe in *Europe*; and as for *Minos* I wil grant unto him a preeminence in judgement above the reſt; in caſe there happen ſome matter unknowen to one of the other two, and eſcape their cenſure, he may upon weighing and examining their opinions, give his definitive ſentence, and ſo it ſhall be determined by a moſt ſincere and juſt doome, whether way each one ſhall goe. This is that O *Callicles* which I have heard, and beleeve to be moſt true; whereout I gather this concluſion in the end; that death is no other thing than the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body. Thus you ſee (ô *Apollonius* my moſt deere friend) what I have collected with great care and diligence, to compoſe for you ſake a conſolatorie oration or diſcourſe, which I take to be moſt neceſſarie for you, as well to aſſwage and rid away your preſent griefe, to appeaſe likewiſe, and cauſe to ceaſe this heavineſſe and mourning that you make, which of all things is moſt unpleaſant and troubleſome; as alſo to compriſe within it that praiſe and honour which (me thought) I owed as due unto the memoriall of your ſonne *Apollonius*, of all others exceedingly beloved of the gods: which honour in my conceit is a thing moſt convenient and acceptable unto thoſe, who by happie memorie, and everlaſting glorie are conſecrated to immortalitie. You ſhall doe your part therefore, and verie wiſely, if you obey thoſe reaſons which are therein conteined; you ſhall gratifie your ſonne likewiſe, and doe him a great pleaſure, in caſe you take up in time and returne from this vaine affliction (wherewith you puniſh and undoe both bodie and mind) unto your accuſtomed, ordinarie and naturall courſe of life: for like as whiles he lived with us he was nothing well appaied, and tooke no contentment to ſee either father or mother ſadde and deſolate; even ſo now, when he converſeth and ſolaceth himſelfe in all joy with the gods, doubtleſſe he cannot like well of this ſtate wherein you are. Therefore plucke up your heart, and take courage like a man of woorth, of magnanimitie, and one that loveth his children well: releaſe your ſelfe firſt, and then the mother of the yoong gentleman together with his kinsfolke and friends from this kind of miſerie, and take to a more quiet & peaceable maner of life, which will be both to your ſonne departed, and to all of us (who have regard of your perſon, as it becommeth us) more agreeable.

A CONSOLOTARIE LETTER, OR DISCOURSE SENT UNTO HIS OWNE WIFE, AS TOUCHING THE DEATH OF HER AND HIS DAUGHTER.

The Summarie.

Plutarch *being from home, and farre abſent, received newes concerning the death of a little daughter of his, a girle about two yeeres old, named* Timoxene, *a childe of a gentle nature, and of great hope: but fearing that his wife would apprehend ſuch a loſſe, too neere unto her heart; he comforteth her in this letter, and by giving teſtimonie unto her of vertue and conſtancie ſhewed at the death of other children, of hers more forward in age than ſhe was; he exhorteth her likewiſe to patience and moderation in this newe occurrence and triall of hers; condemning by ſundry reaſons the exceſſive ſorrow, and unwoorthy faſhion of many fond mothers, ſhewing withall, the inconveniences, that ſuch exceſſive heavineſſe draweth after it. Then continuing his conſolation of her, he declareth with what eie we ought to regard infants and children aſwell before, as during and after life; how happie they be, who can content themſelves and reſt in the will and pleaſure of God; that the bleſſings paſt, ought to dulce and mitigate the calamities preſent, to ſtay us alſo that we proceed not to that degree and height of infortunitie, as to make account onely of the miſadventures and diſcommodities hapning in this our life. Which done, he anſwereth to certeine objections which his wife might propoſe and ſet on foot; and therewith delivereth his owne advice as touching the incorruption and immortalitie of mans ſoule (after he had made a medly of divers opinions which the ancient Philoſophers held as touching that point); and in the end concludeth: That it is better and more expedient to die betimes, than late: which poſition of his, he confirmeth by an ordinance preciſely obſerved in his owne countrey, which expreſly forbad to mourne and lament for thoſe who departed this life in their childhood.*

A CONSOLATORIE LETTER or Diſcourſe, ſent unto his owne wife, as touching the death of her and his daughter.

PLUTARCH *unto his wife: Greeting.*

The meſſenger whom you ſent of purpoſe, to bring me word as touching the death of our little daughter, went out of his way (as I ſuppoſe) and ſo miſſed of me, as he journeyed toward *Athens*; howbeit, when I was arrived at *Tanagra*, I heard that ſhe had changed this life. Now, as concerning the funerals and enterring of her, I am verily perſwaded, that you have already taken ſufficient order, ſo as that the thing is not to doe; and I pray God, that you have performed that duetie in ſuch ſort, that neither for the preſent, nor the time to come, it worke you any grievance & diſpleaſure: but if haply you have put off any ſuch complements (which you were willing enough of your ſelfe to accompliſh) untill you knew my minde and pleaſure, thinking that in ſo doing, you ſhould with better will and more patiently beare this adverſe accident; then I pray you, let the ſame be performed without all curioſitie and ſuperſtition; and yet I muſt needs ſay, you are as little given that way as any woman that I know: this onely I would admoniſh you, deare heart, that in this caſe, you ſhew (both in regard of your ſelfe and alſo of me) a conſtancie and tranquillitie of minde: for mine owne part, I conceive and meaſure in mine owne heart, this loſſe, according to the nature and greatneſſe thereof, and ſo I eſteeme of it accordingly; but if I ſhould finde, that you tooke it impatiently, this would be much more grievous unto me, and wound my heart more, than the calamitie it ſelfe that cauſeth it; and yet am not I begotten and borne either of an oake or a rocke; whereof you can beare me good witneſſe, knowing that wee both together have reared many of our children at home in houſe, even with our owne hands; and how I loved this girle moſt tenderly, both for that you were very deſirous (after foure ſonnes, one after another in a row) to beare a daughter, as alſo for that in regard of that fancie, I tooke occaſion to give her your name: now, beſides that naturall fatherly affection, which men cōmonly have toward little babes, there was one particular propertie that gave an edge thereto, and cauſed me to love her above the reſt; and that was a ſpeciall grace that ſhe had, to make joy and pleaſure, and the ſame without any mixture at all of curſtneſſe or frowardneſſe, and nothing given to whining and complaint; for ſhe was of a woonderfull kinde and gentle nature, loving ſhe was againe to thoſe that loved her, and marvellous deſirous to gratifie and pleaſure others; in which regards, ſhe both delighted me, and alſo yeelded no ſmall teſtimonie of rare debonairitie that nature had endued her withall; for ſhee would make pretie meanes to her nourſe, and ſeeme (as it were) to intreat her to give the breſt or pap, not onely to other infants, like her ſelfe, her play-feeres, but alſo to little babies and puppets, and ſuch like gauds as little ones take joy in, and wherewith they uſe to play; as if upon a ſingular courteſie and humanitie ſhee could finde in her heart to communicate and diſtribute from her owne table, even the beſt things that ſhee had, among them that did her any pleaſure. But I ſee no reaſon (ſweet wife) why theſe lovely qualities and ſuch like, wherein we tooke contentment and joy in her life time, ſhould diſquiet and trouble us now, after her death, when we either thinke or make relation of them: and I feare againe, leſt by our dolour and griefe, we abandon and put cleane away all the remembrance thereof, like as *Clymene* deſired to do, when ſhe ſaid:

I hate the bow ſo light of Cornel tree:
All exerciſe abroad, farewell for me.

as avoiding alwaies and trembling at the remembrance and commemoration of her ſonne, which did no other good but renew her griefe and dolour; for naturally we ſeeke to flee all that troubleth and offendeth us. We ought therefore ſo to demeane our ſelves, that as whiles ſhe lived, we had nothing in the world more ſweet to embrace, more pleaſant to ſee, or delectable to heare than our daughter; ſo the cogitation of her, may ſtill abide and live with us all our life time, having by many degrees our joy multiplied more than our heavineſſe augmented: if it be meet and fit that the reaſons and arguments which wee have often times delivered to others, ſhould profit us when time and occaſion requireth, and not lie ſtill and idle for any good wee have by them, nor challenge and accuſe us, for that in ſtead of joies paſt, we bring upon our ſelves many more griefs by farre. They that have come unto us, report thus much of you, and that with great admiration of your vertue, that you never put on mourning weed, nor ſo much as changed your robe, & that by no meanes you could be brought to disfigure your ſelfe or any of your waiting maidens and women about you, nor offer any outrage or injurie to them in this behalfe; neither did you ſet out her funerals with any ſumptuous panegyricall pompe, as if it had bene ſome ſolemne feaſt, but performed every thing ſoberly and civilly, after a ſtill maner, accompanied onely with our kinſefolke and friends. But my ſelfe verily made no great woonder (that you who never tooke pride and pleaſure to be ſeene, either in theater or in publike proceſſion, but rather alwaies eſteemed all ſuch magnificence ſo vaine, and ſumptuoſitie ſuperfluous, even in thoſe things that tended to delight) have obſerved the moſt ſafe way of plainneſſe and ſimplicitie, in theſe occaſions of ſorrow and ſadneſſe. For a vertuous and chaſte matrone ought not onely to keepe herſelfe pure and inviolate in Bacchanall feaſts; but alſo to thinke thus with herſelfe, that the turbulent ſtormes of ſorrow, and paſſionate motions of anguiſh had no leſſe need of continencie to reſiſt and withſtand, not the naturall love and affection of mothers to their children, as many thinke, but the intemperance of the mind. For we allow and graunt unto this naturall kindneſſe, a certaine affection to bewaile, to reverence, to wiſh for, to long after, and to beare in minde thoſe that are departed; but the exceſſive and inſatiable deſire of lamentations, which forceth men and women to loud out-cries, to knocke, beat, and mangle their owne bodies, is no leſſe unſeemely and ſhamefull, than incontinence in pleaſures: howbeit, it ſeemeth by good right to deſerve excuſe and pardon, for that in this undecencie, there is griefe and bitterneſſe of ſorrow adjoined, whereas in the other, pleaſure and delight: for what is more abſurd and ſenceleſſe, than to ſeeme for to take away exceſſe of laughter and mirth; but contrariwiſe to give head unto ſtreames of teares which proceed from one fountain, and to ſuffer folke to give themſelves over to weeping and lamentation as much as they will; as alſo that which ſome uſe to doe, namely, to chide and rebuke their wives for ſome ſweet perfumes, odoriferous pomanders, or purple garments, which they are deſirous to have; and in the meane while permit them, to teare their haire in time of mourning, to ſhave their heads, to put on blacke, to ſit unſeemely upon the bare ground, or in aſhes, and in moſt painfull manner to crie out upon God and man; yea and that which of all others is woorſt, when their wives chaſtiſe exceſſively, or puniſh unjuſtly their ſervants, to come betweene and ſtaie their hands; but when they rigorouſly and cruelly torment themſelves, to let them alone and neglect them in thoſe croſſe accidents, which contrariwiſe had need of facilitie and humanitie? But betweene us twaine, ſweet heart, there was never any need of ſuch fraie or combat, and I ſuppoſe there will never be. For to ſpeake of that frugalitie which is ſeene in plaine and ſimple apparell, or of ſobrietie in ordinary diet, and tending of the bodie; never was there any philoſopher yet converſing with us in our houſe, whom you put not downe and ſtrucke into an extraordinarie amaze, nor ſo much as a citizen whom you cauſed not to admire (as a ſtrange and woonderfull ſight, whether it were in publicke ſacrifices, or in frequent theaters, and ſolemne proceſſions) your rare ſimplicitie: ſemblably, heeretofore you ſhewed great conſtancie upon the like conflict and accident at the death of your eldeſt ſonne; and againe when that gentle and beautifull *Charon* departed from us untimely, in the prime of his yeeres; and I remember very well that certaine ſtrangers who journeied with me along from the ſea ſide, (at what time as word was brought of my ſonnes death) came home with others to my houſe, who ſeeing all things there ſetled, nothing out of order, but all ſilent and quiet (as they themſelves afterward made report) began to thinke that the ſaid newes was falſe, and no ſuch calamitie had hapned; ſo wiſely had you compoſed all matters within houſe, when as iwis, there was good occaſion given that might have excuſed ſome diſorder and confuſion; and yet this ſonne you were nurſe unto your ſelfe, and gave it ſuck at your owne pappe; yea, and endured the painfull inciſion of your breſt, by reaſon of a cancerous hard tumour that came by a contuſian. Oh, the generoſitie of a vertuous dame, and behold the kindneſſe of a mother toward her children! whereas you ſhall ſee many other mothers to receive their yoong babes at the hands of their nurſes, to dandle & play withall forſooth, in mirth & paſtime; but afterwards the ſame women (if their infants chance to die) give themſelves over to al vain mourning, & bootleſſe ſorow, which proceedeth not doubtleſſe from good will indeed; (for ſurely heartie affection is reaſonable, honeſt and conſiderate) but rather from a fooliſh opinion mingled with a little naturall kindneſſe; and this is it that engendreth ſavage, furious, & implacable ſorowes. And verily *Aeſope* (as it ſhould ſeeme) was not ignorant heereof, for he reporteth this narration: That when *Jupiter* made a dole or diſtribution of honors among the gods and goddeſſes; *Sorrow* came afterwards and made ſute likewiſe to be honored, and ſo he beſtowed upon her, teares, plaints, and lamentations; but for them onely who are willing thereto, and ready to give her intertainment. And I aſſure you, this they commonly doe at the very beginning; for everie one of his owne accord bringeth in and admitteth ſorrow unto him, who (after ſhe is once entertained, and in proceſſe of time well ſetled, ſo that ſhe is become domeſticall and familiar) will not be driven out of dores nor be gone, if a man would never ſo faine; and therefore reſiſtance muſt be made againſt her, even at the verie gate, neither ought we to abandon our hold, and quit the fort, renting our garments, tearing or ſhearing our haires, or doing other ſuch things, as ordinarily happen every day; cauſing a man to be confuſed, ſhamefull, and diſcouraged, making his heart baſe, abject and ſhut up, that he cannot enlarge it, but remaine poore and timorous; bringing him to this paſſe, that he dare not be merrie, ſuppoſing it altogether unlawfull to laugh, to come abroad and ſee the ſunne light, to converſe with men, or to eate or drinke in companie; into ſuch a captivitie is he brought through ſorrow and melancholie: upon this inconvenience after it hath once gotten head, there followeth the neglect of the bodie, no care of annointing or bathing, and generally a retchleſſeneſſe and contempt of all things belonging to this life; whereas contrariwiſe and by good reaſon, when the mind is ſicke or amiſſe, it ſhould be helped and ſuſtained by the ſtrength of an able and cheerefull body: for a great part of the ſoules griefe is allaied, and the edge thereof as it were dulled, when the bodie is freſh and diſpoſed to alacritie, like as the waves of the ſea be laid even, during a calme and faire weather: but contrariwiſe, if by reaſon that the bodie be evill entreated, and not regarded with good diet and choiſe keeping, it become dried, rough, and hard, in ſuch ſort, as from it there breathe no ſweet and comfortable exhalations unto the ſoule, but all ſmoakie and bitter vapors of dolour, griefe, and ſadneſſe annoy her; then is it no eaſie matter for men (be they never ſo willing and deſirous) to recover themſelves, but that their ſoules being thus ſeized upon by ſo grievous paſſions, will be afflicted and tormented ſtil. But that which is moſt dangerous and dreadfull in this caſe, I never feared in your behalfe,(to wit) That fooliſh women ſhould come & viſit you, and then fall a weeping, lamenting, and crying with you; a thing (I may ſay to you) that is enough to whet ſorrow, and awaken it if it were aſleepe, not ſuffring it either by it ſelfe, or by meanes of helpe and ſuccour from another, to paſſe, fade, & vaniſh away; for I know verie well what adoe you had, & into what a conflict you entred about the ſiſter of *Theon,* when you would have aſſiſted her & reſiſted other women who came into her with great cries & loud lamentations, as if they brought fire with them, in al haſte to maintaine & encreaſe that which was kindled already. True it is indeed, that when a friends or neighbors houſe is ſeene on fire, every man runneth as faſt as he can to helpe for to quench the ſame; but when they ſee their ſoules burning in griefe and ſorrow, they contrariwiſe bring more fewel & matter ſtil to augment or keepe the ſaid fire: alſo if a man be diſeaſed in his eies, he is not permitted to handle or touch them with his hands, eſpecially if they be bloud-ſhotten, and poſſeſſed with any inflammation; whereas he who ſits mourning and ſorrowing at home in his houſe, offereth and preſenteth himſelfe to the firſt commer, and to every one that is willing to irritate, ſtirre, and provoke his paſſion, (as it-were a floud or ſtreame that is let out and ſet a running) inſomuch as where before the grievance did but itch or ſmart a little, it now beginnes to ſhoot, to ake, to be fell and angrie, ſo that it becommeth a great and dangerous maladie in the end: but I am verily perſwaded (I ſay) that you know how to preſerve your ſelfe from theſe extremities. Now over and beſides, endevour to reduce and call againe to mind the time when as we had not this daughter, namely, when ſhe was as yet unborne; how we had no cauſe then to complaine of fortune; then, ſee you joine (as it were with one tenon) this preſent, with that which is paſt, ſetting the caſe as if we were returned againe to the ſame ſtate wherein we were before: for it will appeere (my good wife) that we are diſcontented that ever ſhe was borne, in caſe we make ſhew that we were in better condition before her birth, than afterwards; not that I wiſh we ſhould aboliſh out of our remembrance the two yeeres ſpace between her nativitie and deceaſe; but rather count and reckon it among other our pleaſures and bleſſings, as during which time, we had the fruition of joy, mirth, and paſtime, and not to eſteeme that good which was but little and endured a ſmall while, our great infortunitie; nor yet ſeeme unthankfull to fortune, for the favour which ſhe hath done unto us, becauſe ſhe added not thereto that length of life which we hoped and expected. Certes to reſt contented alwaies with the gods; to thinke and ſpeake of them reverently as it becommeth; not to complaine of fortune, but to take in good woorth whatſoever it pleaſeth her to ſend, bringeth evermore a faire and pleaſant frute: but he who in theſe caſes, putteth out of his remembrance the good things that he hath, tranſporting and turning his thoughts and cogitations from obſcure and troubleſome occurrents, unto thoſe which be cleere and reſplendent; if he doe not by this meanes utterly extinguiſh his ſorrow, yet at leaſtwiſe by mingling and tempring it with the contrary, he ſhall be able to diminiſh or elſe make it more feeble: for like as a ſweet odor and fragrant ointment delighteth and refreſheth alwaies the ſenſe of ſmelling, and beſides is a remedie againſt ſtinking ſavours; even ſo the cogitation of theſe benefits which men have otherwiſe received, ſerveth as a moſt neceſſarie and preſent ſuccour in time of adverſitie unto as many as refuſe not to remember and call to minde their joies paſſed, and who never at all for any accident whatſoever complaine of fortune; which we ought not to doe in reaſon and honeſtie, unleſſe we would ſeeme to accuſe and blame this life which we enjoy, for ſome croſſe or accident; as if we caſt away a booke if it have but one blur or blot in it, being otherwiſe written throughout moſt cleane and faire; for you have heard it oftentimes ſaid; that the beatitude of thoſe who are departed, dependeth upon the right and ſound diſcourſes of our underſtanding, and the ſame tending to one conſtant diſpoſition; as alſo; that the chaunges and alterations of fortune beare no great ſway, to inferre much declination or caſualitie in our life: but if we alſo as the common ſort, muſt be ruled and governed by externall things without us, if we reckon and count the chaunces and caſualties of fortune, and admit for judges of or felicitie our miſerie, the baſe and vulgar ſort of people; yet take you no heed to thoſe teares, plaints, and moanes that men or women make who come to viſit you at this preſent, who alſo (upon a fooliſh cuſtome & as it were of courſe) have them ready at command for every one; but rather conſider this with your ſelfe; how happie you are reputed, even by thoſe who come unto you, who would gladly and with all their hearts be like unto you, in regard of thoſe children whom you have, the houſe and family which you keepe, & the life that you leade; for it were an evill thing to ſee others deſire to be in your eſtate and condition for all the ſorrow which now afflicteth us, and your ſelfe in the meane time complaining and taking in ill part the ſame, and not to be ſo happy and bleſſed, as to find and feele (even by this croſſe that now pincheth you, for the loſſe of one infant) what joy you ſhould take, and how thankefull you ought to be for thoſe who remaine alive with you: for heerein you ſhould reſemble very well, thoſe Criticks, who collect and gather together all the lame and defective verſes of *Homer*, which are but few in number; and in the meane time, paſſe over an infinite ſort of others, which were by him moſt excellently made. In this maner (I ſay) you did, if you would ſearch narrowly, and examine every particular miſhap in this life, and finde fault therewith; but all good bleſſings in groſe, let go by, and never once reſpect the ſame; which to do, were much like unto the practiſe of thoſe covetous miſers, worldlings and peni-fathers, who carke and care, puniſh both bodie and minde, untill they have gathered a great deale of good together, and then enjoy no benefit or uſe thereof; but if they chance to forgo any of it, they keepe a piteous wailing and wofull lamentation.

Now if haply you have compaſſion and pitie of the poore girle, in that ſhe went out of this world a maiden unmarried, and before that ſhe bare any children; you ought rather on the contrarie ſide, to rejoice and take delight in your ſelfe above others, for that you have not failed of theſe bleſſings, nor bene diſappointed either of the one or the other: for who would holde and mainteine; that theſe things ſhould be great to thoſe who be deprived of them; and but ſmall to them, who have and enjoy the ſame? As for the childe, who doubtleſſe is gone into a place where ſhe feeleth no paine, ſurely ſhe requireth not at our hands that we ſhould afflict & grieve our ſelves for her ſake: for what harme is there befallen unto us by her, if ſhe her ſelfe now feele no hurt? And as for the loſſes of great things indeed, ſurely they yeeld no ſenſe at all of dolor, when they are come once to this point, that there is no more need of them, or care made for thē. But verily, thy daughter *Timoxena* is bereft, not of great matters, but of ſmall things; for in trueth, ſhe had no knowledge at all, but of ſuch, neither delighted ſhe in any, but in ſuch: ſeeing then, that ſhe had no perceivance nor thought of thoſe things, how can ſhe properly and truely be ſaid to be deprived thereof?

Moreover, as touching that which you heard of others, who are woont to perſwade many of the vulgar ſort, ſaying: That the ſoule once ſeparate from the bodie, is diſſolved, and feeleth no paine or dolor at all: I am aſſured, that you yeeld no credit and beliefe to ſuch poſitions; aſwell in regard of thoſe reaſons and inſtructions which you have received by tradition from our anceſtors, as alſo of thoſe ſacred and ſymbolical myſteries of *Bacchus*, which we know wel enough, who are of that religious confraternitie, and profeſſed therein. Being grounded therefore in this principle, and holding it firmely for an undoubted trueth: That our ſoule is incorruptible and immortall; you are to thinke, that it fareth with it, as it doth with little birds that are caught by the fowler alive, and came into mens hands: for if it have bene kept and nouriſhed daintily a long time within the bodie, ſo that it be inured to be gentle and familiar unto this life, to wit, by the management of ſundry affaires and long cuſtome, it returneth thither againe, and reentreth a ſecond time (after many generations) into the bodie; it never taketh reſt nor ceaſeth, but is inwrapped within the affections of the fleſh, and entangled with the adventures of the world, and calamities incident to our nature: for I would not have you to thinke that olde age is to be blamed and reproched for riuels and wrinckles, nor in regard of hoarie white haires, ne yet for the imbecillitie and feebleneſſe of the body; but the worſt and moſt odious thing in it, is this: That it cauſeth the ſoule to take corruption by the remembrance of thoſe things whereof it had experience whiles it ſtaied therein, and was too much addicted and affectionate unto it, whereby it bendeth and boweth, yea, and reteineth that forme or figure which it tooke of the bodie, by being ſo long devoted thereto; whereas that which is taken away in youth, pretendeth a better eſtate and condition, as being framed to a gentler habit, more ſoft, tractable and leſſe compact, putting on now a naturall rectitude, much like as fire, which being quenched, if it be kindled againe, burneth out, and recovereth vigor incontinently: which is the cauſe that it is farre better

Betimes to yeeld up vitall breath,
And ſoone to paſſe the gates of death,

before that the ſoule have taken too deepe an imbibition or liking of terrene things here below, and ere it be made ſoft and tender with the love of the bodie, and (as it were) by certeine medicines and forcible charmes united and incorporate into it. The trueth hereof may appeare yet better, by the faſhions and ancient cuſtomes of this countrey; for our citizens (when their children die yong) neither offer mortuaries, nor performe any ſacrifices & ceremonies for them, as others are wont to do for the dead: the reaſon is, becauſe they have no part of earth nor earthly affections; neither doe they keepe about their tombs and ſepulchres, nor lay forth the dead corps abroad to be ſeene of men, nor ſit neere unto their bodies: for our lawes and ſtatutes doe not permit and ſuffer any mourning at all for thoſe that ſo depart in their minoritie, as being a cuſtome not holy and religious; for that wee are to thinke they paſſe into a better place and happier condition. Which ordinances and cuſtomes, ſince it is more dangerous not to give credit unto, than beleeve, let us carie and demeane our ſelves according as they command, for outward order; as for within, all ought to be more pure, wiſe and uncorrupt.

HOW IT COMMETH, THAT THE DIVINE IUSTICE DEFERRETH OTHER-WHILES THE PUNISHMENT OF WICKED PERSONS,

The Summarie.

Foraſmuch as the order of all conſiderate juſtice importeth and requireth, that good men ſhould be mainteined and cheriſhed, but contrariwiſe wicked perſons repreſſed and puniſhed for their leud acts: the Epicureans (drunken & intoxicate with falſe ſuppoſals, ſeeing in the conduct of this worlds affaires, ſome that be honeſt and vertuous, diſtreſſed and oppreſſed by divers devices and practiſes; whereas others againe, who be naught and vicious, continue in repoſe, without any chaſtiſement at all for their miſdemeanors) would needs take from God the diſpoſe and government of humane affaires, holding and mainteining this point: That all things roll and run at a venture, and that there is no other cauſe of the good and evill accidents of this life, but either fortune or els the will of man. Now among other arguments which they have to confirme themſelves in this unhappie and impious opinion, the patience and long ſuffering of the divine juſtice, is one of the principall; concluding thereby very fondly, that (conſidering malefactors are thus ſupported and ſeene to eſcape all chaſtiſement) there is no Deitie or Godhead at all, which regardeth men, either to reward them for vertue, or to puniſh and do vengeance for their iniquity and tranſgreſſion. Plutarch *therefore, having to deale in his time with ſuch dangerous ſpirits, confuteth them in this treatiſe, which of all others is moſt excellent, and deſerveth to be read and peruſed over againe in theſe wretched daies, wherein Epicuriſme beareth up the head as high as at any time ever before. True it is (I confeſſe) that Theologie and Divinitie is able to furniſh us with reaſons and anſweres more firme and effectuall (without compariſon) than all the Philoſophie of Pagans whatſoever: howbeit, for all that, there is here ſufficient to be found (as touching this point) for to ſtoppe the mouthes of thoſe who have any remnant of ſhame, honeſtie or conſcience behinde in them. This preſent treatiſe may very well be divided into two principall parts: in the former,* Epicurus *being brought in to diſpute againſt divine providence, and ſo departing without ſtay for anſwere, other Philoſophers deliberate to be reſolved of this point in his abſence: and before that they refute his objection, two of them doe amplifie and exaggerate the ſame at large: which done, our authour taketh the queſtion in hand, and by ſeven forcible arguments or firme anſweres, refelleth the blaſphemie of the Epicureans, proving by ſundry arguments, enriched with ſimilitudes, ſentences, examples and notable hiſtories, that wicked perſons never continue unpuniſhed, but that the vengeance of God accompanieth* *quickly and continually their miſdeeds. In the ſecond part, they debate a certeine queſtion depending of the precedent objection, to wit, Wherefore children be chaſtiſed for the ſinnes of their fathers and anceſtors? and there was a certeiue Philſopher, named* Timon, *who handled this matter, taxing after an oblique maner, the juſtice of God, which* Plutarch *mainteineth and defendeth; ſhewing by divers reaſons, that whatſoever* Timon *had alledged, was meere falſe; and that God did no injurie at all unto thoſe children, in withdrawing his grace and favour from them, and chaſtiſing them ſo, together with their parents, finding them likewiſe culpable for their part. But in this place, our authour anſwereth not ſufficiently and to the purpoſe; as being ignorant of originall ſinne, and the univerſall corruption of* Adams *children, which enwrappeth them all in the ſame condemnation, although ſome are farther gone in ſinfull life, according as they be growen to more yeeres, and ſo augment their puniſhment; inſomuch as we may well marvell at this, that a poore Pagan hath ſo farre proceeded in this point of Theologie; and Chriſtians have ſo much greater occaſion to looke unto themſelves, in the mids of this light which directeth them, conſidering how this man could ſee ſo cleere in darkeneſſe, which appeareth ſufficiently in the end of this diſcourſe; where he intermedleeh certaine fables as touching the ſtate of our ſoules after they be parted from the bodies.*

HOW IT COMMETH, THAT the divine juſtice deferreth otherwhiles the puniſhment of wicked perſons.

AFter that *Epicurus* had made this ſpeech (ô *Cynius*) and before that any one of us had anſwered him, by that time that we were come to the end of the gallerie or walking place, he went his way out of our ſight, and ſo departed; and we woondering much at this ſtrange faſhion of the man, ſtood ſtill a pretie while in ſilence, looking one upon another, and ſo we betooke our ſelves to our walking againe, as before: then *Patrocleas* began firſt to moove ſpeech and conference, ſaying in this maner: How now my maſters! if you thinke ſo good, let us diſcuſſe this queſtion, and make anſwere in his abſence, to thoſe reaſons which he hath alledged, aſwell as if he were preſent in place: hereupon *Timon* tooke occaſion to ſpeake, and ſaid: Certes it were not well done of us, to let him eſcape ſo without revenge, who hath left his dart ſticking in us; for captaine *Braſidas* (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) being wounded with the ſhot of a javelin, drew it out of his bodie his owne ſelfe, and therewith ſmote his enemie who had hurt him, ſo as he killed him outright: as for us, we need not ſo greatly to be revenged of thoſe who have let flie among us, ſome raſh, fooliſh and falſe ſpeeches; for it will be ſufficient, to ſhake the ſame off, and ſend them backe againe, before our opinion take holde thereof. And what was it, I pray you (quoth I) of all that which he delivered, that moved you moſt? for the man handled many things confuſedly together, and nothing at all in good order, but kept a prating and babling againſt the providence of God, facing and inveighing moſt bitterly and in reprochfull tearmes, as if he had bene in a fit of anger and rage. Then *Patrocleas*: That which he uttered as touching the long delay and ſlackneſſe of divine juſtice in puniſhing the wicked, in my conceit was a great objection and troubled me much, and to ſay a truth, their reaſons and words which he delivered have imprinted in me a new opinion, ſo as now I am become a novice, and to begin againe to learne. True it is that long ſince I was diſcontented in my heart to heare *Euripides* ſpeake in this wiſe;

He putteth off from day to day,
Gods nature is, thus to delay.

For it were not meet and decent, that God ſhould be ſlow in any action whatſoever, and leaſt of all in puniſhing ſinners; who are themſelves nothing ſlothfull, nor make delaie in perpetrating wicked deeds, but are caried moſt ſpeedily and with exceeding violence of their paſſions, pricked forward to do wrong and miſchiefe. And verily when puniſhment enſueth hard after injury and violence committed; there is nothing as (*Thucydides* ſaith) that ſo ſoone ſtoppeth up the paſſage againſt thoſe who are moſt prone and ready to runne into all kinde of wickedneſſe; for there is no delay of paiment that ſo much enfeebleth the hope, and breaketh the heart of a man wronged and offended, nor cauſeth him to be ſo inſolent and audacious, who is diſpoſed to miſchieſe,as the deferring of juſtice and puniſhment: whereas contrariwiſe the corrections, & chaſtiſements, that follow immediately upon leud acts, and meet with the malefactours betimes,are a meanes both to repreſſe all future outrage in offenders, and alſo to comfort and pacifie the heart of thoſe who are wronged. For mine owne part the ſaying of *Bias* troubleth me many times, as often as I thinke upon it, for thus he ſpake unto a notorious wicked man: I doubt not but thou ſhalt one day ſmart for this geere, and pay for thy leudneſſe; but I feare I ſhall never live to ſee it. For what good unto the Meſſenians being ſlaine before, did the puniſhment of *Ariſtocrates,* who having betraied them in the battell of *Cypres*, was not detected and diſcovered for his treaſon in twentie yeeres after, during which time, he was alwaies king of *Arcadia,* and being at the laſt convicted for the ſaid treacherie, ſuffred puniſhment for his deſerts? meane while, thoſe whom he had cauſed to be maſſacred, were not in the world to ſee it. Or what comfort and conſolation received the Orchomenians, who loſt their children, kinsfolke, and friends, through the treaſon of *Lyciſcus*, by the maladie which long after ſeized upon him, eating & conſuming al his bodie? who ever as he dipped and bathed his feet in the river water, kept a ſwearing and curſing, that he thus rotted and was eaten away, for the treachery which moſt wickedly he had committed? And at *Athens* the childrens children of thoſe poore wretches who were killed within the privileged place of ſanctuarie, could never ſee the vengeance of the gods which afterwards fell upon thoſe bloudie and ſacrilegious caitifes, whoſe dead bodies and bones being excommunicate, were baniſhed, and caſt out beyond the confines of their native countrey. And therefore me thinkes *Euripides* is very abſurd, when to divert men from wickedneſſe he uſeth ſuch words as theſe:

Juſtice (feare not) will not thee overtake,
To pierce thy heart, or deepe wound ever make
In liver thine; nor any mortall wight
Beſides, though leud he be, and doe no right.
But ſlow ſhe goes, and ſilent to impeach
And chaſtiſe ſuch, if ever them ſhe reach.

For I aſſure you, it is not like, that wicked & ungracious perſons uſe any other perſwaſions, but even the very ſame to incite, move and encourage themſelves to enterpriſe any leud and wicked acts, as making this account and reckoning, that injuſtice will quickly yeeld her frute ripe in due time, and the ſame evermore certaine: whereas puniſhment commeth late and long after the pleaſure and fruition of the ſaid wickedneſſe. When *Patrocleas* had diſcourſed in this wiſe, *Olympiacus* tooke the matter in hand and ſaid unto him: Marke moreover (ô *Patrocleas*) what inconvenience and abſurditie followeth upon this ſlowneſſe of divine juſtice, and prolonging the puniſhment of malefactors? for it cauſeth unbeliefe in men, and namely, that they are not perſwaded that it is by the providence of God that ſuch be puniſhed; & the calamitie that cõmeth upon wicked ones, not preſently upon every ſinful act that they have committed, but long time after, is reputed by them infelicitie, and they call it their fortune, and not their puniſhment; whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that they have no benefit thereby, nor be any whit better; for howſoever they grieve and be diſcontented at the accidents which befall unto them, yet they never repent for the leud acts they have before committed. And like as in puniſhment among us, a little pinch, ſtripe, or laſh given unto one for a fault or error, preſently upon the dooing thereof, doth correct the partie, and reduce him to his dutie; whereas the wrings, ſcourgings, knocks, and ſounding thumps, which come a good while after; ſeeme to be given upon ſome occaſion beſide, and for another cauſe rather than to teach; and therefore well may they put him to paine and griefe, but inſtruction they yeeld none; even ſo naughtineſſe rebuked and repreſſed, by ſome preſent chaſtiſement, every time that it treſpaſſeth and tranſgreſſeth, howſoever it be painfull at firſt, yet in the end it bethinketh it ſelfe, learneth to be humbled, and to feare God as a ſevere juſticier, who hath an eie upon the deeds and paſſions of men, for to puniſh them incontinently, and without delay; whereas this juſtice and revenge which commeth ſo ſlowly, and with a ſoft pace (as *Euripides* ſaith) upon the wicked and ungodly perſons, by reaſon of the long intermiſſion, the inconſtant and wandring incertitude, and the confuſed diſorder reſembleth chance and adventure more than the deſſeigne of any providence: inſomuch as I cannot conceive or ſee what profit can be in theſe grindſtones (as they call them) of the gods, which are ſo long a grinding; eſpecially, ſeeing that the judgement and puniſhment of ſinners is thereby obſcured, and the feare of ſinne made ſlight, and of no reckoning. upon the deliverie of theſe words, I began to ſtudie and muſe with my ſelfe: then *Timon*: Would you (quoth he) he) that I ſhould cleere this doubt once for all, and ſo make an end of this diſputation? or permit him firſt to diſpute and reaſon againſt theſe oppoſitions? And what need is there (anſwered I) to come in with a third wave for to overflow and drowne at once our ſpeech and diſcourſe, if he be not able to refute the former objections, nor to eſcape and avoid the chalenges alreadie made. Firſt and formoſt therefore to begin at the head, and (as the manner is, to ſay) at the goddeſſe *Veſta*, (for the reverent regard and religious feare that the Academick philoſophers profeſſe to have unto God, as an heavenly father) we utterly diſclaime, and refuſe to ſpeake of the Deitie, as if we knew for certaintie what it is: for it were a greater preſumption in us who are but mortall men, to enterpriſe any ſet ſpeech or diſcourſe as touching gods or demi-gods, than for one who is altogether ignorant in ſong, to diſpute of muſick, or for them who never were in campe, nor ſaw ſo much as a battell fought, to put themſelves forward to diſcourſe of armes and warfare; taking upon us, (unskilfull as we are, and void of art) a fantaſticall knowledge, grounded onely upon ſome light opinion, and conjecture of our owne, as if we were right cunning workemen and artiſanes: for it is not his part, who is not ſtudied in the arte of Phyſick, to geſſe at the reaſon and conſideration that the phyſician or chirurgian had, why he made inciſion no ſooner in his patient, but ſtaied long ere he proceeded thereto? or wherfore he bathed him not yeſterday, but to day? ſemblably, it is neither eaſie nor ſafe for a mortall man to ſpeake otherwiſe of the gods, than of thoſe who knew well enough the due time and opportunitie to miniſter a meet and convenient medicine, unto vice and ſinne; and exhibit puniſhment to every treſpaſſe, as an appropriate drouge, or confection to cure and heale ech maladie; notwithſtanding that the ſame meaſure and quantitie be not common to all delinquents, nor one onely time and the ſame, is alwaies meet therefore. Now that the phyſicke or medicine of the ſoule, which is called Right and Juſtice, is one of the greateſt ſciences that are; *Pindarus* himſelfe beſides an infinit number of others, beareth witneſſe; when he calleth the Lord and governour of the world, to wit, God, a moſt excellent and perfect artificer, as being the author and creatour of juſtice, unto whom it appertaineth to define and determine, when, in what manner, and how far foorth, it is meet and reaſonable to chaſtice and puniſh each offender. *Plato* likewiſe ſaith: That *Minos* the ſonne of *Jupiter* (was in this ſcience) the diſciple of his father; giving us heereby to underſtand, that it is not poſſible for one to carie himſelfe well in the execution of juſtice, nor to judge a right of him that doth as he ought; unleſſe he have before learned that ſcience, and be throughly skilfull therein. Furthermore, the poſitive lawes which men have eſtabliſhed, ſeeme not alwaies to be grounded upon reaſon, or to ſound and accord in all reſpects with abſolute equitie and juſtice; but ſome of their ordinances be ſuch, as in outward appearance may be thought ridiculous, and woorthy of mockerie; as for example. At *Lacedæmon* the high controllers called *Ephori*, ſo ſoone as they be enſtalled in their magiſtracie, cauſe proclamation to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, that no man ſhould weare muſtaches, or nouriſh the haire on their upper lips; alſo that willingly every man ſhould obey the lawes, to the end that they might not be hard or grievous unto them. The Romans alſo, when they affranchiſe any ſlave, and make him free; caſt upon their bodies a little ſmall rodde or wande: likewiſe when they draw their laſt wils or teſtaments, inſtitute ſome for their heires, whom it pleaſeth them, but to others they leave their goods to ſell; a thing that carieth no ſenſe nor reaſon with it. But yet more abſurd and unreaſonable is that ſtatute of *Solons* making, wherein it was provided: That what citizen ſoever, in a civill ſedition, ranged not himſelfe to a ſide, nor tooke part with one or other faction, ſhould be noted with infamie, and diſabled for being capable of any honorable dignitie. In one word, a man may alledge an infinit number of abſurdities beſides, contained in the civill lawes; who neither knoweth the reaſon of the lawgiver that wrot them, nor the cauſe why they were ſet downe. If then it be ſo difficult to conceive and underſtand the reaſons which have mooved men thus to doe, is it any marvell that we are ignorant of the cauſe, why God chaſtiſeth one man ſooner and another later? howbeit, this that I have ſaid, is not for any pretence of ſtarting backe and running away, but rather for to crave leave and pardon, to the end that our ſpeech having an eie thereto, (as unto an haven and place of refuge;) might be the more hardie, with boldneſſe to raunge foorth ſtill in probabilities, to the matter in doubt and queſtion: But I would have you to conſider firſt, that (according to the ſaying of *Plato*) God having ſet himſelfe before the eies of the whole world, as a perfect pattern and example of all goodneſſe, doth unto as many as can follow and imitate his divinitie, infuſe humane vertue, which is in ſome ſort conformable and like unto him; for the generall nature of this univerſall world, being at the firſt a confuſed and diſordered *Chaos*, obtained this principle and element, for to change to the better, and by ſome conformitie and participation of the Idea of divine vertue, to become this beautifull frame of the world: And even the verie ſame man ſaith moreover: That nature hath raiſed our eie-ſight on high, and lightned the ſame, that by the view and admiration of thoſe celeſtiall bodies which moove in heaven, our ſoule might learne to embrace and be accuſtomed to love that which is beautifull and in good order, as alſo to be an enemie unto irregular and inordinate paſſions; yea, and to avoid doing of things raſhly and at adventure, which in truth is the very ſource of all vice and ſinne; for there is nothing in the world wherein a man may have a greater fruition of God, than by the example and imitation of his good and decent qualities, to become honeſt and vertuous: wherefore if we perceive him to proceed ſlowly, and in tract of time to lay his heavie hand upon the wicked, and to puniſh them, it is not for any doubt or feare that he ſhould doe amiſſe, or repent afterward if he chaſticed them ſooner, but by waining us from all beaſtly violence, & haſtineſſe in our puniſhments, to teach us not immediately to flie upon thoſe who have offended us, at what time as our bloud is moſt up, and our choler ſet on a light fire,

When furious yre in hart ſo leapes and boiles,
That wit and reaſon beare no ſway the whiles.

making haſte as it were to ſatisfie ſome great hunger, or quench exceeding thirſt, but (by imitating his clemencie, and his maner of prolonging and making delay) to endevor for to execute juſtice in all order, at good leiſure, and with moſt carefull regard; taking to counſell Time, which ſeldome or never is accompanied with repentance: for as *Socrates* was wont to ſay: Leſſe harme and danger there is, if a man meet with troubled and muddie water, and intemperately take and drinke thereof, than whiles his reaſon is confounded, corrupt, and full of choler and furious rage, to be ſet altogether upon revenge, and runne haſtily vpon the puniſhment of another bodie, even one who is of his owne kinde and nature, before the ſame reaſon be ſetled againe, clenſed and fully purified. For it is nothing ſo as *Thucydides* writeth: That vengeance the neerer it is unto the offence, the more it is in the owne kind; but cleane contrary, the farther off it is, and longer delaied, the better it apprehendeth and judgeth of that which is fit and decent. For according as *Melanthius* ſaith:

When anger once diſlodged hath the wit,
Foule worke it makes, and outrage doth commit.

even ſo reaſon performeth all juſt and honeſt actions, when it hath chaſed and removed out of the way, ire and wrath: and therefore men are mollified, appeaſed, and become gentle by examples of men, when they heare it reported, how *Plato*, when hee lifted up his ſtaffe againſt his page, ſtood ſo a good while, and forbare to ſtrike; which hee did (as he ſaid) for to repreſſe his choler. And *Archytas*, when he found ſome great negligence and diſorder at his ferme-houſe in the countrey, in his houſhold ſervants, perceiving himſelfe moved and diſquieted therewith, inſomuch as he was exceeding angrie, and readie to flie upon them, proceeded to no act, but onely turning away and going from them, ſaid thus: It is happie for you, that I am thus angrie with you. If then it be ſo, that ſuch memorable ſpeeches of ancient men, and woorthy acts reported by them, are effectuall to repreſſe the bitterneſſe and violence of choler; much more probable it is, that we (ſeeing how God himſelfe, although he ſtandeth not in feare of any perſon, nor repenteth of any thing that he doth, yet putteth off his chaſtiſements, and laieth them up a long time) ſhould be more wary and conſiderate in ſuch things, and eſteeme, that clemencie, long ſufferance and patience is a divine part of vertue that God doth ſhew and teach us, which by puniſhment doth chaſtiſe and correct a few, but by proceeding thereto ſlowly, doth inſtruct, admoniſh and profit many. In the ſecond place, let us conſider, that judiciall and exemplarie proceſſe of juſtice practiſed by men, intendeth and aimeth onely at a counterchange of paine and griefe, reſting in this point: That he who hath done evill, might ſuffer likewiſe; proceeding no farther at all: and therefore baying and barking (as it were) like dogges at mens faults and treſpaſſes, they follow upon them, and purſue after all actions by tract and footing: but God (as it ſhould ſeeme, by all likelihood) when hee ſetteth in hand in juſtice to correct a ſinfull & diſeaſed ſoule, regardeth principally the vicious paſſions thereof, if haply they may be bent & wrought ſo, as they will incline & turne to repentance; in which reſpect he ſtaieth long before that he inflict any puniſhment upon delinquents, who are not altogether paſt grace incorrigible; for conſidering withall, and knowing as he doth, what portion of vertue, ſoules have drawen from him in their creation, at what time as they were produced firſt and came into the world; as alſo how powerfull and forcible is the generoſitie thereof, and nothing weake and feeble

ble in it ſelfe; but that it is cleane contrary to their proper nature, to bring forth vices, which are engendered either by ill education, or els by the contagious haunt of leaud company; and how afterward, when they be well cured and medicined (as it falleth out in ſome perſons) they ſoone returne unto their owne naturall habitude, and become good againe: by reaſon heereof, God doth not make haſte to puniſh all men alike, but looke what he knoweth to be incurable, that he quickly riddeth away out of this life, and cutteth it off, as a very hurtfull member to others, but yet moſt harmefull to it ſelfe, if it ſhould evermore converſe with wickedneſſe; but to ſuch perſons in whom (by all likelihood) vice is bred and ingendred, rather through ignorance of goodneſſe, than upon any purpoſe and will to chuſe naughtineſſe, hee giveth time and reſpit for to change and amend: howbeit, if they perſiſt ſtill, and continue in their leaud waies, hee paieth them home likewiſe in the end, and never feareth that they ſhall eſcape his hands one time or other, but ſuffer condigne puniſhment for their deſerts. That this is true, conſider what great alterations there happen in the life and behaviour of men, and how many have beene reclaimed and turned from their leaudneſſe; which is the reaſon that in Greeke our behaviour and converſation is called partly Τροπος. that is to ſay, A converſion; and in part ἦθος. the one, becauſe mens maners be ſubject to change and mutation; the other, for that they be ingendered by uſe or cuſtome; and the impreſſion thereof being once taken, they remaine firme and ſure: which is the cauſe alſo (as I ſuppoſe) that our ancients in olde time attributed unto king *Cecrops* a double nature and forme, calling him Double; not for that (as ſome ſaid) of a good, clement and gracious prince, he became a rigourous, fell and cruell tyrant, like a dragon; but contrariwiſe, becauſe (having bene at the firſt perverſe, crooked and terrible) he proved afterward, a milde and gentle lord: and if we make any doubt hereof in him, yet we may be ſure (at leaſtwiſe) that *Gelon* and *Hiero* in *Sicilie*, yea, and *Piſiſtratus* the ſonne of *Hipocrates*, all uſurpers (who atteined to their tyrannicall dominion by violent and indirect meanes) uſed the ſame vertuouſly: and howſoever they came unto their ſovereigne rule by unlawfull and unjuſt meanes, yet they grew in time to be good governours, loving and profitable to the common weale, and likewiſe beloved and deare unto their ſubjects; for ſome of them having brought in and eſtabliſhed moſt excellent lawes in the countrey, and cauſed their citizens and ſubjects to be induſtruous and painfull in tilling the ground; made them to be civill, ſober and diſcreet, whereas before, they were given to be ridiculous, as noted for their laughter and laviſh tongues; to be true labourers alſo, and painfull, who had bene idle and playfull. And as for *Gelon*, after he had moſt valiantly warred againſt the Carthaginians, and defaited them in a great battell; when they craved peace, would never grant it unto them, unleſſe this might be compriſed among the articles and capitulations: That they ſhould no more ſacrifice their children unto *Saturne*. In the citie alſo of *Megalopolis* there was a tyrant named *Lydiades*, who in the mids of his uſurped dominion repented of his tyrannie, and made a conſcience thereof, deteſting that wrongfull oppreſſion wherein he held his ſubjects, in ſuch ſort, as he reſtored his citizens to their ancient lawes and liberties, yea, and afterwards died manfully in the field, fighting againſt his enemies in the defence of his countrey. Now if any one had killed *Miltiades* at the firſt, whiles he exerciſed tyrannie in *Cherſoneſus*; or if another had called judicially into queſtion *Cimon*, enditing him for keeping his owne ſiſter, and ſo being condemned of inceſt, had cauſed him to be put to death; or disfranchiſed and baniſhed *Themiſtocles* out of the citie, for his looſe wantonneſſe and licentious inſolencie ſhewed publickly in the Common place, as *Alcibiades* afterwards was ſerved and proſcribed, for the like exceſſe and riot committed in his youth:

Where had bene then that famous victorie
Atchieved on the plaines of Marathon?
Where had bene that renowmed chivalrie
Performed neere the ſtreame Eurymedon?
Or at the mount, faire Artemiſion?
Where Athens *youth (as poet* Pindare *ſaid)*
Freedome firſt, the glorious ground-worke laid?

For ſo it is, that great natures and high minds can bring foorth no meane matters; nor the vehement force of action which is in them remaine idle, ſo lively and ſubtile it is, but they wave to and fro continually, as if they were toſſed by tempeſt and winde upon the ſea, untill ſuch time as they come to be ſetled in a conſtant firme, and permanent habitude of maners: like as therefore, he who is altogether unskilfull of husbandrie and tillage, maketh no reckoning at all of a ground which he ſeeth full of rough buſhes and thickets, beſet with ſavage trees, and overſpred with ranke weeds; wherein alſo there be many wilde beaſts, many rivers, and by conſequence, great ſtore of mudde and mire: but contrariwiſe, an expert huſband, and one who hath good judgement, and can diſcerne the difference of things, knoweth theſe and all ſuch ſignes, to betoken a fertile and plentifull ſoile; even ſo great wits and hautie ſpirits, doe produce and put foorth at the firſt, many ſtrange, abſurd, and leud pranks, which we not able to endure, thinke, that the roughneſſe & offenſive pricks thereof, ought immediately to be cropt off and cut away: but he who can judge better (conſidering what proceedeth from thence good and generous) attendeth and expecteth with patience, the age and ſeaſon, which is cooperative with vertue and reaſon, againſt which time, the ſtrong nature in ſuch, is for to bring foorth and yeeld her proper and peculiar frute. And thus much may ſuffice of this matter.

But to proceed forward: Thinke you not that ſome of the Greeks have done well and wiſely, to make a tranſcript of a law in *Egypt*, which commaundeth; that in caſe a woman who is attaint and convicted of a capital crime, for which in juſtice ſhe ought to die, be with childe, ſhe ſhould be kept in priſon untill ſhe were delivered? Yes verily, they all anſwered? Well then (quoth I) Set caſe there be ſome one who hath no children conceived in his wombe to bring foorth, but breedeth ſome good counſell in his head, or conceiveth a great enterpriſe in his minde, which he is to bring to light, and effect in time, either by diſcovering an hidden miſchiefe, or ſetting abroad an expedient and profitable counſell, or inventing ſome matter of neceſſarie conſequence: Thinke you not that he did better, who deferred the execution of ſuch an ones puniſhment & ſtay untill the utilitie that might grow by him were ſeene, than he who inconſiderately & in all haſte proceedeth to take revenge, & prevent the opportunitie of ſuch a benefit? Certes, for mine owne part, I am fully of that minde: and even we no leſſe, anſwered *Patrocleas*. Well then (quoth I) it muſt needs be ſo; for marke thus much: If *Dionyſius* had beene puniſhed for his uſurped rule, in the beginning of his tyrannie; there ſhould not one Grecian have remained inhabitant in *Sicilie*, for the Carthaiginans would have held the ſame and driven them al out: like as it muſt needs have befallen to the citie *Apollonia*, to *Anactorium*, and the *Cherſoneſe* or demie iſland *Leucadia*, if *Periander* had ſuffered puniſhment at firſt, and not a long time after, as he did. And I ſuppoſe verily that the puniſhment and revenge of *Caſſander* was put off and prolonged of purpoſe, untill by that meanes the citie of *Thebes* was fully reedified and peopled againe. And many of thoſe mercenary ſoldiers and ſtrangers, who ſeized and held this temple wherein we are, during the time of the ſacred warre, paſſed under the conduct of *Timoleon* into *Sicilie*, who after they had defaited in battell, the Carthaginians, and withall ſuppreſſed & aboliſhed ſundrie tyrannies, they came to a wretched end, wicked wretches as they were. For God in great wiſedome and providence, otherwhiles maketh uſe of ſome wicked perſons, as of butchers and common excutioners, to torment and puniſh others, as wicked as they or woorſe, whom afterwards he deſtroieth; and thus in mine opinion he dealeth with moſt part of tyrants. For like as the gall of the wild beaſt *Hyæna*, and the rendles or rennet of the Sea-calfe, as alſo other parts of venemous beaſts and ſerpents, have one medicinable propertie or other, good to heale ſundry maladies of men; even ſo God ſeeing ſome people to have need of bitte and bridle, and to be chaſtiſed for their enormities, ſendeth unto them ſome inhumane tyrant, or a rigorous and inexorable lord to whip and ſcourge them, and never giveth over to afflict and vexe them, untill he have purged and cleered them of that maladie wherewith they were infected. Thus was *Phalaris* the tyrant a medicine to the Agrigentines: thus *Marius* was ſent as a remedie to cure the Romanes: as for the Sicyonians, even god himſelfe *Apollo* foretold them by oracle: That their citie had need of certaine officers to whippe and ſcourge them, at what time as they would perforce take from the Cleoneans, a certain yong boy named *Teletias*, who was crowned in the ſolemnitie of the Pythian games, pretending that he was their citizen, and borne among them, whom they haled and pulled in ſuch ſort, as they diſmembred him: But theſe Sicyonians met afterwards with *Orthagoras* that tyrannized over them; and when he was gone, they were plagued alſo with *Myron* and *Cliſthenes*, and their favorites, who held them in ſo ſhort, that they kept them from all outrages, and ſtaied their inſolent follies: whereas the Cleoneans, who had not the like purgative medicine to cure them, were ſubverted and through their miſdemeanor come to nothing. Marke well therefore that which *Homer* in one place ſaith:

> *His ſonne he was, and in all kind of valour did ſurmount*
> *His father farre, who was (to ſay a truth) of baſe account.*

And yet this ſonne of *Copreus* never performed (in all his life) any memorable act, beſeeming a man of woorth and honour: whereas the ofspring of *Siſyphus*, the race of *Antolycus*, and the poſteritie of *Phlegyas* flouriſhed in glorie, and all maner of vertue among great kings and princes. At *Athens* likewiſe, *Pericles* deſcended from an houſe excommunicate and accurſed: And ſo at *Rome Pompeius* ſurnamed *Magnus*, that is, the Great, had for his father one *Strabo*, a man whom the people of *Rome* ſo hated, that when he was dead, they threw his corps out of the biere wherein it was caried foorth to buriall, and trampled it under their feet. What abſurditie then were it, if as the huſbandman never cutteth up or ſtocketh the thorne or buſh, before he hath gathered the tender ſprouts and buds thereof: nor they of *Libya* burne the boughes of the plant *Ledrom*, untill they have gotten the aromaticall gumme or liquor out of it called *Ladanum*; even ſo God never plucketh up by the root, the race of any noble and roiall familie (wicked and wretched though they be) before it hath yeelded ſome good and profitable frute: for it had bene farre better and more expedient for the men of *Phocis*, that ten thouſand beefs and as many horſes of *Iphitus* had died; that the Delphians likewiſe had loſt much more gold and ſilver by farre, than that either *Ulyſſes* or *Æſculapius* ſhould not have bene borne; or others in like caſe, whoſe parents being wicked and vicious, were themſelves honeſt and very profitable to the commonwealth. Are we not then to thinke, that it were far better to puniſh in due time and maner convenient, than to proceed unto revenge haſtily and out of hand? like as that was of *Callippus* the Athenian, who making ſemblance of friendſhip unto *Dion*, ſtabbed him at once with his dagger, and was himſelfe afterwards killed with the ſame, by his friends? as alſo that other of *Mitius* the Argive, who was murdered in a certeine commotion and civill broile: for it hapned ſo, that in a frequent aſſembly of the people, gathered together in the market place, for to beholde a ſolemne ſhew, a ſtatue of braſſe fell upon the murderer of *Mitius*, and killed him outright. And you have heard (I am ſure) ô *Patrocleas* (have you not?) what befell unto *Beſſus* the Pœonian, and *Ariſton* the Oeteian, two colonels of mercenarie and forren ſouldiers? No verily (quoth he) but I would gladly know: This *Ariſton* (quoth I) having ſtollen and caried away out of this temple, certeine jewels and coſtly furniture of queene *Eriphyle*, which of long time had there bene kept ſafe, by the grant and permiſſion of the tyrants who ruled this citie, carried them as a preſent to his wife; but his ſonne being on a time (upon ſome occaſion) diſpleaſed and angrie with his mother, ſet fire on the houſe, and burnt it with all that was within it. As for *Beſſus*, who had murdered his owne father, he continued a good while not detected, untill ſuch time, as being one day at ſupper with certeine of his friends that were ſtrangers, with the head of his ſpeare he pierced and caſt downe a ſwallowes neaſt, and ſo killed the yong birds within it: and when thoſe that ſtood by, ſeemed (as good reaſon there was) to ſay unto him: How commeth this to paſſe, good ſir? and what aile you, that you have committed ſo lewd and horrible an act? Why (quoth he againe) doe theſe birds crie aloud and beare falſe witneſſe againſt me, teſtifying that I have murdered mine owne father? hee had no ſooner let fall this word, but thoſe who were preſent tooke holde thereof, and wondering much thereat, went directly to the king, and gave information of him; who made ſo diligent inquiſition, that the thing upon examination was diſcovered, and *Beſſus* (for his part) puniſhed accordingly for a parricide. Thus much (I ſay) have we related, that it may be held as a confeſſed trueth and ſuppoſition, that wicked men otherwhiles have ſome delay of their puniſhment: as for the reſt, you are to thinke that you ought to hearken unto *Heſiodus* the Poet, who ſaith not as *Plato* did, that the puniſhment of ſinne doth follow ſinne hard at the heeles, but is of the ſame time and age, as borne and bred in one place with it, and ſpringing out of the very ſame root and ſtocke: for theſe be his words in one place:

Bad counſell who deviſeth firſt,
Unto himſelfe ſhall finde it worſt.

And in another:

Who doth for others miſchiefe frame,
To his owne heart contrives the ſame.

The venimous flies Cantharides are ſaid to conteine in themſelves a certeine remedie, made and compounded by a cōtrarietie or antipathie in nature, which ſerveth for their owne counterpoiſon; but wickedneſſe ingendering within it ſelfe (I wot not what) diſpleaſure and puniſhment, not after a ſinfull act is committed, but even at the very inſtant of committing, it beginneth to ſuffer the paine due to the offence: neither is there a malefactour, but when he ſeeth others like himſelfe puniſhed in their bodies, beareth forth his owne croſſe; whereas miſchievous wickedneſſe frameth of her ſelfe, the engines of her owne torment, as being a wonderfull artiſan of a miſerable life, which (together with ſhame and reproch) hath in it lamentable calamities, many terrible frights, fearefull perturbations and paſſions of the ſpirit, remorſe of conſcience, deſperate repentance, and continuall troubles and unquietneſſe. But ſome men there be, who for all the world reſemble little children, that beholding many times in the theater, leaud and naughtie perſons arraied in cloth of golde, rich mantles, and robes of purple, adorned alſo with crownes upon their heads, when they either dance or play their parts upon the ſtage, have them in great admiration, as reputing them right happie, untill ſuch time as they ſee them how they be either pricked and pierced with goads, or ſending flames of fire out of thoſe gorgeous, coſtly and ſumptuous veſtments. For to ſay a trueth, many wicked perſons, who dwel in ſtately houſes, are deſcended from noble parentage, ſit in high places of authoritie, beare great dignities and glorious titles, are not knowen (for the moſt part) what plagues and puniſhments they ſuſteine, before they be ſeene to have their throats cut, or their necks broken, by being caſt downe headlong from on high; which a man is not to tearme puniſhments ſimply, but rather the finall end and accompliſhment thereof. For like as *Herodicus* of *Selymbria*, being fallen into an incurable phthiſicke or conſumption, by the ulcer of his lungs, was the firſt man (as *Plato* ſaith) who in the cure of the ſaid diſeaſe, joined with other Phyſicke, bodily exerciſe, and in ſo doing, drew out and prolonged death, both to himſelfe and to all others who were likewiſe infected with that maladie; even ſo may we ſay, that wicked perſons (as many as ſeeme to have eſcaped a preſent plague, and the ſtroke of puniſhment out of hand) ſuffer in truth, the paine due for their ſinfull acts, not in the end onely and a great time after, but ſuſteine the ſame a longer time: ſo that the vengeance taken for their ſinfull life is nothing ſlower, but much more produced and drawen out to the length; neither be they puniſhed at the laſt in their olde age, but they waxe olde rather in puniſhment, which they have endured all their life. Now when I ſpeake of long time, I meane it in regard of our ſelves; for in reſpect of the gods, the whole race of mans life (how long ſoever it be thought) is a matter of nothing, or no more than the very moment and point of the inſtant. For ſay, that a malefactour ſhould ſuffer the ſpace of thirtie yeres for ſome hainous fact that he hath committed, it is all one, as if a man ſhould ſtretch him upon the racke, or hang him upon a jibbet in the evening toward night, and not in the morning betimes; eſpecially, ſeeing that ſuch an one (all the while that he liveth) remaineth cloſe and faſt ſhut up (as it were) in a ſtrong priſon or cage, out of which he hath no meanes to make an eſcape and get away. Now if in the meane while they make many feaſts, manage ſundry matters, and enterpriſe divers things; if they give preſents and largeſſes abroad; and ſay they give themſelves to their diſports and pleaſures; it is even as much, and all one, as when malefactours (during the time they be in priſon) ſhould play at dice or cockall game, having continually over head the rope hanging, which muſt ſtrangle them: for otherwiſe, we might aſwell ſay, that priſoners condemned to die, ſuffer no puniſhment all the whiles they lie in hard and colde yrons, nor untill the executioner come and ſtrike the head from the ſhoulders; or that he who by ſentence of the judges hath drunke the deadly potion of hemlocke, is not puniſhed, becauſe he walketh ſtil, and goeth up and downe alive, waiting untill his legs become heavie, before the generall colde and congelation ſurpriſe him, and extinguiſh both ſenſe and vitall ſpirits, in caſe it were ſo, that we eſteeme and call by the name of puniſhment, nothing but the laſt point and extremity thereof; letting paſſe and making no reckoning at all of the paſſions, feares, painfull pangues, expectance of death, pricks and ſorrowes of a penitent conſcience, wherewith every wicked perſon is troubled and tormented: for this were as much as to ſay, that the fiſh which hath ſwallowed downe the hooke, is not caught, untill we ſee the ſaid fiſh cut in pieces, or broiled, roaſted and ſodden by the cooke. Certes every naughty perſon is preſently become priſoner unto juſtice, ſo ſoone as he hath once committed a ſinfull act, and ſwallowed the hooke together with the bait of ſweetneſſe and pleaſure, which he taketh in leaudneſſe and wrongfull doing; but when the remorſe of conſcience imprinted in him, doth pricke, he feeleth the very torments of hell, and can not reſt;

But as in ſea the Tuny fiſh doth ſwiftly croſſe the waves,
And travers ſtill while tempeſt laſts, ſo he with anguiſh raves.

For this audacious raſhneſſe and violent inſolence (proper unto vice) is verie puiſſant, forward, and readie at hand, to the effecting and execution of ſinfull acts; but afterwards, when the paſſion (like unto a winde) is laied, and beginnes to faile, it becommeth weake, baſe and feeble, ſubject to an infinite number of feares and ſuperſtitions; in ſuch ſort, as that *Steſichorus* the Poet ſeemeth to have deviſed the dreame of queene *Clytemneſtra*, very conformable to the trueth, and anſwerable to our daily experience, when he bringeth her in, ſpeaking in this maner:

Me thought I ſaw a dragon come apace,
*Whoſe * creſt aloſt on head * with bloud was ſtein'd;*
With that anon there did appeare in place
Pliſthenides *the king, who that time reign'd.*

* κάρα * βεβροτωμένος ἄκρον. which ſome interpret: *Having a mans head.*

For the viſions by night in dreames, the fantaſticall apparitions in the day time, the anſwers of oracles, the prodigious ſignes from heaven, and in one word, whatſoever men think to be done immediately by the will and finger of God, are woont to ſtrike great troubles and horrors into ſuch perſons ſo affected, and whoſe conſciences are burdened with the guilt and privitie of ſinne. Thus the report goeth of *Apollodorus*, that he dreamed upon a time, how he ſaw himſelfe firſt flaied by the Scythians, then cut as ſmall as fleſh to the pot, and ſo boiled; he thought alſo that his heart ſpake ſoftly frō out of the cauldron, and uttered theſe words: I am the cauſe of all theſe thy evils: and againe, he imagined in his ſleepe, that his own daughters, all burning on a light flaming fire, ran round about him in a circle. Semblably *Hipparchus* the ſonne of *Piſiſtratus*, a little before his death, dreamed that *Venus* out of a certaine viall ſprinkled bloud upon his face. The familiar friends likewiſe of king *Ptolomæus*, ſurnamed *Ceraunos*, that is to ſay, Lightning, thought verily in a dreame that they ſaw *Seleucus* accuſe and indite him judicially before wilde wolves, and greedie geires that were his judges, where he dealt and diſtribued a great quantitie of fleſh among his enemies. *Pauſanias* alſo at *Bizantium*, ſent for *Cleonice*, a virgin and gentlewoman free borne, of a worſhipfull houſe; intending perforce to lie with her all night, and abuſe her body; but being halfe a ſleepe when ſhe came to his bed, he awakened in a fright, and ſuſpecting that ſome enemies were about to ſurpriſe him, killed her outright; whereupon ever after he dreamt ordinarily, that he ſaw her, and heard her pronounce this ſpeech:

To judgement ſeat, approch thou neere I ſay,
Wrong dealing is to men moſt hurtfull ay.

Now when this viſion as it ſhould ſeeme ceaſed not to appeere unto him night by night; he embarked and ſailed into *Heraclea*, to a place where the ſpirits and ghoſts of thoſe that are departed be raiſed and called up, where after he had offered certaine propitiatorie ſacrifices, and powred foorth funerall effuſions, which they uſe to caſt upon the tombes of the dead; he wrought ſo effectually, that the ghoſt of *Cleonice* appeared; and then ſhe ſaid unto him, that ſo ſoone as he was arrived at *Lacedæmon*, he ſhould have repoſe and an end of all his troubles: and ſo in very truth, no ſooner was he thither come, but he ended his life and died. If therefore the ſoule had no ſenſe after it is departed out of the bodie, but commeth to nothing; and that death were the finall end and expiration aſwell of thankefull recompenſes, as of painfull puniſhments, a man might ſay of wicked perſons who are quickly puniſhed, and die ſoone after that they have committed any miſdeeds; that God dealeth very gently and mildly with them: For if continuance of time, and long life bringeth to wicked perſons no other harme; yet a man may at leaſtwiſe ſay thus much of them, that having knowne by prooſe, and found by experience, that injuſtice is an unfrutefull, barren, and thankleſſe thing, bringing foorth no good thing at all, nor ought that deſerveth to be eſteemed after many travels and much paines taken with it; yet the verie feeling and remorſe of conſcience for their ſinnes, diſquieteth and troubleth the mind, and turneth it upſide downe. Thus we reade of king *Lyſimachus*, that being forced through extreame thirſt, he delivered his owne perſon, and his whole armie into the hands of the Getes; and when being their priſoner, hee had drunke and quenched his thirſt, he ſaid thus: O what a miſerie is this, and wretched caſe of mine, that for ſo ſhort and tranſitorie a pleaſure, I have deprived my ſelfe of ſo great a kingdome, and all my roiall eſtate. True it is, that of all things it is an exceeding hard matter to reſiſt the neceſſitie of a naturall paſſion; but when as a man for covetouſneſſe of money, or deſire of glorie, authoritie, & credit among his countrimen and fellow-citizens, or for fleſhly pleaſures, falleth to commit a foule, wicked, and execrable fact, and then afterwards in time, when as the ardent thirſt and furious heat of his paſſion is paſt, ſeeing that there abide and continue with him, the filthy, ſhamefull, and perilous perturbations onely of injuſtice and ſinfulneſſe; but nothing at all that is profitable, neceſſarie, or delightſome; is it not very likely and probable, that he ſhall eftſoones, and oftentimes recall into this thought, and conſideration? how being ſeduced and caried away by the meanes of vain-glory, or diſhoneſt pleaſures, (things baſe, vile, and illiberall) he hath perverted and overthrowen the moſt beautifull and excellent gifts that men have, to wit, right, equitie, juſtice, and pietie; and in ſtead thereof, hath filed and polluted his life, with ſhame, trouble, and danger? For like as *Simonides* was woont to ſay in mirth: That he found one coffer of ſilver and money alwaies full; but that other of favors, thanks, and benefits, evermore emptie; even ſo wicked men, when they come to examine and peruſe aright the vice that is in themſelves, they finde it preſently (for one pleaſure which is accompanied with a little vaine and gloſing delight) void altogether and deſtitute of hope; but fully repleniſhed with feares, cares, anxieties, the unpleaſant remembrance of miſdemeanors paſt, ſuſpicion of future events, and diſtruſt for the preſent: much after the manner as we do heare ladie *Ino* in the theaters, repenting of thoſe foule facts which ſhe had committed, and ſpeaking theſe words upon the ſtage:

How ſhould I now, my friends and ladies deere
Begin to keepe the houſe of Athamas,
Since that all whiles that I have lived heere,
Nought hath beene done by me that decent was?

Or thus:

How may I keepe, ô ladies deere alas,
The houſe againe of my lord Athamas,
As who therein had not committed ought
Of thoſe leud parts which I have done and wrought.

For ſemblably it is meet that the minde and ſoule of every ſinfull and wicked perſon ſhould ruminate and diſcourſe of this point in it ſelfe after this maner: After what ſort ſhould I forget and put out of remembrance the unjuſt and leud parts which I have committed? how ſhould I caſt off the remorſe of conſcience from me? and from hencefoorth begin to turne over a new leafe, & lead another life: for ſurely with thoſe in whom wickedneſſe beareth ſway, & is predominant, there is nothing aſſured, nothing firme & conſtant, nothing ſincere and ſound; unleſſe haply we will ſay and maintaine; that wicked perſons and unjuſt, were ſome Sages and wiſe philoſophers. But we are to thinke, that where avarice reigneth & exceſſive concupiſcence, and love of pleaſure, or where extreme envie dwelleth, accompanied with ſpight and malice; there if you mark and looke well about, you ſhall finde ſuperſtition lying hidden among, ſloth and unwillingneſſe to labour, feare of death, lightneſſe and quicke mutabilitie in changing of minde and affection, together with vaine glory proceeding of arrogancie: thoſe who blame them, they feare, ſuch as praiſe them, they dread and ſuſpect; as knowing well how they are injured and wronged by their deceitful ſemblance, and yet be the greateſt enemies of the wicked, for that they commend ſo readily, and with affection, thoſe whom they ſuppoſe, and take to be honeſt: for in vice and ſinne (like as in bad iron) the hardneſſe is but weak and rotten, & the ſtiffeneſſe alſo brittle & eaſie to be broken: and therefore wicked men (learning in proceſſe of time, better to know themſelves what they are) after they come once to the full conſideration thereof, are diſpleaſed, and diſcontented, they hate themſelves, and deteſt their owne leud life: for it is not likely that if a naughtie perſon otherwiſe (though not in the higheſt degree, who hath regard to deliver again a pawne or piece of money left in his hands to keepe; who is ready to be ſuretie for his familiar friend, & upon a braverie and glorious minde, hath given largeſſes, and is preſt to maintaine & defend his countrey, yea, and to augment and advance the good eſtate thereof) ſoone repent and immediately be grieved for that which he hath done, by reaſon that his mind is ſo mutable, or his will ſo apt to be ſeduced by an opinion or conceit of his: conſidering that even ſome of thoſe who have had the honor to be received by the whole bodie of the people in open theater, with great applauſe and clapping of hands, incontinently fall to ſigh to themſelves, and groane againe, ſo ſoone as avarice returneth ſecretly, in place of glorious ambition: thoſe that kill and ſacrifice men to uſurpe and ſet up their tyrannies, or to maintaine and compaſſe ſome conſpiracies, as *Apollodorus* did; circumvent and defraud their friends of their goods and monies, which was the practiſe of *Glaucus*, the ſonne of *Epicydes*, ſhould never repent their miſdeeds, nor grow into a deteſtation of themſelves, nor yet be diſpleaſed with that they have done: For mine owne part, I am of this opinion (if it be lawfull ſo to ſay) That all thoſe who commit ſuch impieties and miſdemeanors, have no need either of God or man to puniſh them; for their owne life onely being ſo corrupt, and wholy depraved and troubled with all kind of wickedneſſe, is ſufficient to plague and torment them to the full: But conſider (quoth I) whether this diſcourſe ſeeme not already to proceed farther, and be drawen out longer than the time will permit. Then *Timon* anſwered: It may well ſo be, if peradventure we regard the length and prolixitie of that which followeth and remaineth to be diſcuſſed; as for my ſelfe, I am now ready to riſe as it were out of an ambuſh, and to come as a freſh and new champion with my laſt doubt and queſtion, foraſmuch as me thinks, we have debated enough already upon the former: for this would I have you to thinke, that although we are ſilent and ſay nothing, yet we complaine as *Euripides* did, who boldly chalenged and reproched the gods, for that

The parents ſinne, and their iniquitie,
They turne on children and poſteritie.

For ſay that themſelves, who have committed a fault, were puniſhed, then is there no more need to chaſtiſe others, who have not offended, conſidering it were no reaſon at all to puniſh twiſe for one fault the delinquents themſelves: or be it ſo, that through negligence they having omitted the puniſhment of wicked perſons and offenders, they would long after make them to pay for it who are innocent; ſurely they doe not well, by this injuſtice to make amends for the ſaid negligence. Lke as it is reported of *Aeſope*, who in times paſt came hither to this city, being ſent from king *Crœſus* with a great ſumme of golde, for to ſacrifice unto god *Apollo* in magnificent wiſe, yea, and to diſtribute among all the citizens of *Delphos*, * foure pounds a piece: but it fortuned ſo, that he fell out with the inhabitants of the city upon ſome occaſion, and was exceeding angry with them, inſomuch as he performed in deed the ſacrifice accordingly, but the reſt of the money which he ſhould have dealt among the people, he ſent backe againe to the city of *Sardis*, as if the Delphians had not bene worthy to enjoy the kings liberalitie; whereupon they taking great indignation, laied ſacriledge to his charge, for deteining (in ſuch ſort) that ſacred money; and in trueth, after they had condemned him thereof, they pitched him downe headlong from that high rocke, which they call *Hyampia*: for which act of theirs, god *Apollo* was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he ſent upon their land ſterilitie and barenneſſe, beſides many and ſundry ſtrange and unknowen diſeaſes among them, ſo as they were conſtreined in the end, to goe about in all the publicke feaſts and generall aſſemblies of the Greeks, of purpoſe, to make proclamation by ſound of trumpet: That whoſoever hee was (kinſeman or friend of *Aeſope*) that would require ſatiſfaction for his death, ſhould come foorth, and exact what penaltie he would deſire: and thus they ceaſed not continually to call upon them; untill at length, and namely, in the third generation after, there preſented himſelfe a certeine Samian, named *Idmon*, who was nothing at all of kin to *Aeſope*, but onely one of their poſteritie, who at the firſt had bought him for a ſlave in open market, within the iſle of *Samos*; and the Delphians having in ſome meaſure made ſatiſfaction and recompenſe unto him, were immediatly delivered from their calamities: and it is ſaid, that from that time forward, the execution of ſacrilegious perſons, was tranſlated from the foreſaid rocke *Hyampia*, unto the cliffe of *Nauplia*. And verily, even thoſe, who of all others moſt admire *Alexander the Great*, & celebrate his memorial, of which nūber we alſo confeſſe our ſelves to be, can in no wiſe approve that which he did unto the Branchides, when he raſed their citie to the very ground, & put all the inhabitants thereof to the ſword, without reſpect either of age or of ſex, for that their anceſtours in olde time had betraied and delivered up by treaſon, the temple of *Miletum*. And *Agathocles* the tyrant of *Syracuſa*, who laughed and ſcoffed at the men of *Corphu*: for when they demanded of him the occaſion why hee forraied their iſle, made them this anſwere: Becauſe (quoth hee) your forefathers in times paſt, received and enterteined *Ulyſſes*. Semblably, when the iſlanders of *Ithaca* made complaint unto him of his ſouldiers, for driving away their ſheepe: Why? (quoth he) your king, when he came one time into our iſland, not onely tooke away our ſheepe, but alſo put out the eie even of our ſhepheard. Thinke you not then that *Apollo* dealt more abſurdly and unjuſtly than all theſe, in deſtroying the Pheneotes at this day, in ſtopping up the mouth of that bottomleſſe pit that was wont to receive and ſoake up all the waters which now doe overflow their whole countrey; becauſe that a thouſand yeeres agoe (by report) *Hercules* having taken away from the Delphians, that ſacred trefeet, from which the oracles were delivered, brought the ſame to the citie *Pheneum*? And as for the Sybarites, he anſwered them directly: That their miſeries ſhould then ceaſe, when they had appeaſed the ire of *Juno Leucadia*, by three ſundry mortalities. Certes, long agoe it is not, ſince that the Locrians deſiſted and gave over ſending every yeere their daughters, virgins, unto *Troie*,

Who there went bare-foot, and did ſerve
all day from morne to night,
In habit of poore wretched ſlaves,
in no apparell dight;
No coife, no caule, nor honeſt veile,
were they allow'd to weare
In decent wiſe, for womanhood,

* *μνᾶς τέσσαρας.*

though aged now they were:
Reſembling ſuch as never reſt,
but Pallas *temple ſweepe,*
And ſacred altar dayly cleanſe,
where they do alway keepe.

and all for the laſcivious wantonneſſe and incontinence of *Ajax*. How can this be either juſt or reaſonable, conſidering that we blame the very Thracians, for that (as the report goes) they uſe ſtill (even at this day) to beat their wives in revenge of *Orpheus* death? Neither do we commend the barbarous people, inhabiting along the river *Po*, who (as it is ſaid) do yet mourne and weare blacke, for *Phaeton* his fall. Yet (in my conceit) it is a thing rather ſottiſh and ridiculous, that whereas the men who lived in *Phaeton* his time, made no regard of his ruine: thoſe that came five (yea, and ten) ages after his wofull calamitie, ſhould begin to change their raiment for his ſake, and bewaile his death: for ſurely, herein there is nothing at all to be noted, but meere folly; no harme, no danger or abſurditie (otherwiſe) doth it conteine. But what reaſon is it, that the wrath and judgement of the gods, hidden (upon a ſudden) at the very time of ſome hainous fact committed (as the propertie is of ſome rivers) ſhould breake out, and ſhew it ſelfe afterwards, upon others, yea, and end with ſome extreame calamities? He had no ſooner pauſed awhile, and ſtaied the current of his ſpeech: but I doubting whereto his words would tend, and fearing leſt he ſhould proceed to utter more abſurdities and greater follies, preſently made this replie upon him: And thinke you, ſir, indeed, that all is true that you have ſaid? What if all (quoth he) be not true, but ſome part thereof onely, thinke you not yet, that the ſame difficultie in the queſtion ſtill remaineth? Even ſo peradventure (quoth I) it fareth with thoſe who are in an extreame burning fever, who whether they have more or leſſe clothes upon them, feele evermore within them the ſame exceſſive heat of the ague; yet for to comfort and refreſh them a little, and to give them ſome eaſe, it is thought good to diminiſh their clothes, and take off ſome of them. But if you are not ſo diſpoſed, let it alone, you may do your pleaſure; howbeit, this one thing I will ſay unto you, that the moſt part of theſe examples reſemble fables and fictions, deviſed for pleaſure: Call to mind therefore and remembrance, the feaſt celebrated of late in their honour, who ſometime received the gods into their houſes, and gave them intertainment; alſo that beautifull & honorable portion ſet by apart, which by the voice of an herald was publiſhed expreſly to be for the poſterity deſcended from *Pindarus*, and record with your ſelfe how honorable and pleaſant a thing this ſeemeth unto you. And who is there (quoth he) that would not take pleaſure to ſee this preeminence and preference of honour ſo naturall, ſo plaine, and ſo auncient, after the maner of the old Greeks, unleſſe he be ſuch an one, as (according to the ſame *Pindarus*)

Whoſe heart all black of metall forg'd twis
And by cold flame, made ſtiffe and hardened is.

I omit (quoth I) to ſpeake of the like ſolemne commendation publiſhed in *Sparta*, which enſued ordinarily after the Lesbian ſong, or canticle in the honor and memoriall of that auncient *Terpander*: for it ſeemeth, that there is the ſame reaſon of them both: But you who are of the race of *Opheltes*, and thinke your ſelfe woorthy to be preferred before all others, not Bæotians onely, but Phocæans alſo; and that in regard of your ſtock-father *Daiphantus*, have aſſiſted and ſeconded me, when I maintained before the Lycormians and Satilaians (who claimed the priviledge and honor of wearing coronets due by our lawes and ſtatutes unto the progenie of *Hercules*) That ſuch dignities and prerogatives ought inviolably to be preſerved and kept for thoſe indeed who deſcend in right line from *Hercules*, in regard of his beneficiall demerites which in times paſt he heaped upon the Greeks, and yet during his life, was not thought woorthy of reward and recompence: You have (quoth he) revived the memorie of a moſt pleaſant queſtion to be debated, and the ſame marvelous well beſeeming the profeſſion of Philoſophie: But I pray you my very good friend (quoth I unto him,) forbeare this vehement and accuſatorie humour of yours, and be not angry, if haply you ſee that ſome becauſe they be borne of leud and wicked parents, are puniſhed; or elſe doe not rejoice ſo much, nor be ready to praiſe, in caſe you ſee nobilitie alſo of birth to be ſo highly honored: for if we ſtand upon this point, and dare avow, that recompence of vertue ought by right and reaſon to continue in the line and poſteritie; we are by good conſequence to make this account, that puniſhment likewiſe ſhould not ſtay and ceaſe together with miſdeeds committed, but reciprocally fall upon thoſe that are deſcended of miſdoers and malefactors: for he who willingly ſeeth the progenie of *Cimon*, honored noured at *Athens,* and contrariwiſe is offended and diſpleaſed in his heart, to ſee the race of *Lachares,* or *Ariſton* baniſhed & driven out of the citie;(he I ſay) ſeemeth to be too ſoft, tender, and paſſing effeminate, or rather to ſpeake more properly, over-contentious and quarrelſome, even againſt the gods, complaining and murmuring of the one ſide; if the children, & childrens children of an impious & wicked perſon do proſper in the world: and contrariwiſe is no leſſe given to blame and find fault, if he doe ſee the poſterity of wicked and ungracious men to be held under, plagued, or altogether deſtroied from the face of the earth; accuſing the gods if the children of a naughtie man be afflicted even as much as if they had honeſt perſons to their parents: But as for theſe reaſons alledged, make you this reckoning, that they be bulwarks and rampars for you, oppoſed againſt ſuch bitter & ſharpe accuſers as theſe be. But now taking in hand again the end (as it were) of a clew of thread, or a bottom of yearne, to direct us as in a darke place, and where there be many cranks, turnings and windings to and fro (I meane the matter of gods ſecret judgements) let us conduct and guide our ſelves gently and warily, according to that which is moſt likely & probable, conſidering that even of thoſe things which we daily manage, and doe our ſelves, we are not able to ſet downe an undoubted certaintie: as for example; who can yeeld a ſound reaſon, wherefore we cauſe and bid the children of thoſe parents who died either of the phthiſick and conſumption of the lungs, or of the dropſie, to ſit with their feet drenched in water, until the dead corps be fully burned in the funeral fire? For an opiniõ there is, that by this meanes the ſaid maladies ſhall not paſſe unto them as hereditarie, nor take hold of their bodies? as alſo, what the cauſe ſhould be, that if a goat hold in her mouth the herbe called *Eryngites,* that is to ſay, Sea-holly, the whole flocke will ſtand ſtill, untill ſuch time as the goat-herd come and take the ſaid herbe out of her mouth? Other hidden properties there be, which by ſecret influences and paſſages from one to another, worke ſtrange effects, and incredible, as well ſpeedily, as in longer tract of time: and in very truth, we woonder more at the intermiſſion and ſtay of time betweene, than we doe of the diſtance of place, and yet there is greater occaſion to marvell thereat: as namely, that a peſtilent maladie which began in *Aethiopia*, ſhould raigne in the citie of *Athens,* and fill every ſtreet and corner thereof, in ſuch ſort, as *Pericles* died, and *Thucydides* was ſicke thereof; than that when the Phocæans and Sybarits had committed ſome hainous ſins, the puniſhment therefore ſhould fall upon their children, & go through their poſteritie? For ſurely theſe powers and hidden properties have certaine relations and correſpondences from the laſt to the firſt; the cauſe whereof, although it be unknowen to us, yet it ceaſeth not ſecretly to bring foorth her proper effects. But there ſeemeth to be verie apparent reaſon of juſtice, that publicke vengeance from above ſhould fall upon cities many a yeere after; for that a citie is one entire thing, and a continued body as it were, like unto a living creature, which goeth not beſide or out of it ſelfe for any mutations of ages, nor in tract and continuance of time, changing firſt into one, and then into another by ſucceſſion, but is alwaies uniforme and like it ſelfe, receiving evermore, and taking upon it, all the thanke for well doing, or the blame for miſdeeds, of whatſoever it doth or hath done in common, ſo long as the ſocietie that linketh & holdeth it together maintaineth her unitie: for to make many, yea & innumerable cities of one, by dividing it according to ſpace of time, were as much as to go about to make of one man many, becauſe he is now become old, who before was a yong youth, & in times paſt alſo a very ſtripling or ſpringall: or elſe to ſpeake more properly, this reſembleth the deviſes of *Epicharmus,* wherupon was invented that maner of Sophiſters arguing, which they cal the Croiſſant argument; for thus they reaſon: He that long ſince borrowed or tooke up mony, now oweth it not, becauſe he is no more himſelfe, but become another: & he that yeſterday was invited to a feaſt, cõmeth this day as an unbidden gueſt, cõſidering that he is now another man. And verily, divers ages make greater difference in ech one of us, than they do commonly in cities and States: for he that had ſeene the citie of *Athens* thirtie yeeres agoe, and came to viſit it at this day, would know it to be altogether the very ſame that then it was; inſomuch as the maners, cuſtomes, motions, games, paſtimes, ſerious affaires, favours of the people, their pleaſures, diſpleaſures and anger at this preſent, reſemble wholly thoſe in ancient time: whereas if a man be any long time out of ſight, hardly his very familiar friend ſhall be able to know him, his countenance will be ſo much changed; and as touching his maners and behaviour, which alter and change ſo ſoone upon every occaſion, by reaſon of all ſorts of labour, travell, accidents and lawes, there is ſuch varietie and ſo great alteration, that even he who is ordinarily acquainted and converſant with him, would marvell to ſee the ſtrangeneſſe and noveltie thereof; and yet the man is held and reputed ſtill the ſame, from his nativitie unto his dying day: and in like caſe, a citie remaineth alwaies one and the ſelfe ſame; in which reſpect we deeme it great reaſon, that it ſhould participate aſwell the blame and reproch of anceſtours, as enjoy their glorie and puiſſance, unleſſe we make no care to caſt all things in the river of *Heraclitus*, into which (by report) no one thing entreth twiſe, for that it hath a propertie to alter all things and change their nature. Now if it be ſo, that a citie is an united and continued thing in it ſelfe, we are to thinke no leſſe of a race and progenie, which dependeth upon one and the ſame ſtocke, producing and bringing foorth a certeine power and communication of qualities, and the ſame doth reach and extend to all thoſe who deſcend from it: neither is the thing ingendred of the ſame nature that a piece of worke is, wrought by art, which incontinently is ſeparate from the workeman, for that it is made by him, and not of him; whereas contrariwiſe, that which is naturally engendred, is formed of the very ſubſtance of that which ingendred it, in ſuch ſort as it doth carie about it ſome part thereof, which by good right deſerveth either to be puniſhed or to be honoured even in it ſelfe. And were it not, that I might be thought to jeſt & ſpeake in game and not in good earneſt, I would aver and pronounce aſſuredly, that the Athenians offered more wrong and abuſe unto the braſen ſtatue of *Caſſander*, which they cauſed to be defaced and melted; and likewiſe the dead corps of *Dionyſius* ſuffered more injurie at the hands of the Syracuſians, which after his death they cauſed to be carried out of their confines, than if they had proceeded in rigor of juſtice againſt their of-ſpring and poſterity; for the ſaid image of *Caſſander* did not participate one whit of his nature; and the ſoule of *Dionyſius* was departed a good while before out of his bodie: whereas *Niſeus*, *Apollocrates*, *Antipater*, *Philip* & all ſuch other, deſcended from vicious & wicked parents, reteined ſtill the chiefe and principall part which is in them inbred, and remaineth not quiet, idle and doing nothing, but ſuch as whereby they live and are nouriſhed, whereby they negociate, reaſon and diſcourſe: neither ought it to ſeeme ſtrange and incredible, that being of their iſſue, they ſhould likewiſe reteine their qualities and inclinations. In ſumme, I ſay and affirme, that like as in Phyſicke, whatſoever is holeſome and profitable, the ſame is alſo juſt; and woorthy were he to be laughed at and mocked, that calleth him unjuſt, who for the *Sciatica* or diſeaſe of the huckle-bone, would cauterize the thumbe; or when the liver is impoſtumate, ſcarifie the bellie; and if kine or oxen be tender and ſoft in the clees, anoint the extremities and tips of their hornes; even ſo he deſerveth to be ſcorned and reproved as a man of a ſhallow conceit, who in chaſtiſement of vice, eſteemeth any other thing juſt, than that which may cure and heale the ſame; or who is offended and angry, if a medicine be applied, or a courſe of Phyſicke uſed into ſome parts for curing others; as they do who open a veine for to heale the inflammation of the eies: ſuch an one (I ſay) ſeemeth to ſee and perceive no further than his owne outward ſenſes leade him, and remembreth not well, that a ſchoolemaſter often times in whipping one of his ſcholars, keepeth all the reſt in awe and good order; and a great captaine and generall of the field, in putting to death for exemplarie juſtice, one ſouldier in every ten, reformeth all beſides, and reduceth them to their duetie; and even ſo there happen not onely to one part by another, but alſo to one ſoule by another, certeine diſpoſitions, aſwell to worſe and impairing, as to better and amendment, yea, and much more than to one body by the meanes of another; for that there, to wit, in a bodie, there muſt (by all likelihood) be one impreſſion and the ſame alteration; but here, the ſoule (which often times is led and caried away by imagination, either to be confident, or diſtruſtfull and timorous) fareth better or woorſe accordingly. And as I was going forward to ſpeake, *Olympiacus* interrupting my ſpeech: By theſe words of yours (quoth he) you ſeeme to ſet downe as a ſuppoſall, a ſubject matter of great conſequence and diſcourſe, to wit, the immortalitie of the ſoule, as if it remained ſtill after the ſeparation from the body: Yea mary (quoth he) & even this have I inferred by that which you do now grant, or rather have granted heretofore; for our diſcourſe hath bene from the beginning proſecuted to this preſuppoſed point: That God dealeth & diſtributeth to every of us according as we have deſerved. And how (quoth he) doth this follow neceſſarily, that in caſe God doth behold all humane affaires, & diſpoſe of every particular thing here upon earth, the ſoules therfore ſhould become either immortal & incorruptible, or els continue in their entire eſtate long after death? O good ſir (quoth I) be content; is God (thinke you) ſo baſe minded, or imploied in ſo ſmall & trifling matters, and having ſo little to do, that (when we have no divine thing in us, nor ought that in any ſort reſembleth him, or is firme and durable, but that we continually decay, fade and periſh like unto the leaves of trees (as *Homer* ſaith) and that in a ſmall time) he ſhould all on a ſudden make ſo great account of us (like to thoſe women, who cheriſh and keepe the gardens (as they ſay) of *Adonis* within brittle pots and pannes of earth) as to make our ſoules, for one day to flouriſh and looke greene within our fleſhly body, which is not capable of any ſtrong root of life, and then within a while after, ſuffer them to be extinguiſhed and to die upon the leaſt occaſion in the world? But if you pleaſe, let us paſſe other gods, and conſider wee a little this our God onely, him I meane, who is honoured and invocated in this place, namely, whether hee (knowing that the ſoules of the dead are preſenly exhaled and vaniſhed away to nothing, like unto a vapour or ſmoake, breathing forth of our bodies) doth ordeine incontinently oblations to be offered, and propitiatorie ſacrifices to be made for the departed? and whether he demand not great honors, worſhip and veneration in the memoriall of the dead? or whether hee doth it to abuſe and deceive thoſe that beleeve accordingly? For I aſſure you, for my part I will never graunt that the ſoule dieth, but remaineth ſtil after death, unleſſe ſome one or other (as by report *Hercules* did in old time) come firſt and take away the propheticall ſtoole or trefeet of *Pythius*, and deſtroy the oracle for ever rendring any more anſwers, as it hath delivered even unto theſe our daies, ſuch as by report was given in old time to *Corax* the Naxian in theſe words:

> *Impietie great it is for to beleeve,*
> *That ſoules doe die, and not for ever live.*

Then *Patrocles*: What prophecie (quoth he) was this? and who was that *Corax*? for ſurely the thing it ſelfe, & that very name, be both of them ſtrange and unknowen to me: That cannot be (quoth I) but thinke better of the matter; for it is long of me who have uſed his ſurname in ſtead of his proper name; for I mean him who ſlew *Archilochus* in battel, whoſe name indeed was *Callondas*, but men ſurnamed him *Corax*: This mā was at the firſt rejected by the propheteſſe *Pythia*, as a murderer who had killed a worthy perſonage conſecrated & devoted unto the Muſes; but afterwards having uſed certaine humble praiers & requeſts, together with divers allegatious of excuſe, pretēding to juſtifie his fact, in the end he was enjoined by the oracle, to go to the houſe & habitation of *Tettix*, & there by certaine expiatorie ſacrifices & oblations, to appeaſe & pacifie the ghoſt of *Archilochus*; now this houſe of *Tettix* was the cape or promontory *Tænarus*; for it is ſaid, that *Tettix* the Cādian, arriving with his fleet in times paſt, at the head of *Tænarus*; there built a citie, & inhabited it, neere unto the place where the maner was to conjure ſpirits, & raiſe the ghoſts of thoſe that were departed: The ſemblable anſwer being made to thoſe of *Sparta*, namely, that they ſhould make meanes to pacifie the ſoule of *Pauſanias*, they ſent as farre as into *Italy* for ſacrificers exorciſts, who had the skil to conjure ſpirits, & they with their ſacrifices chaſed his ghoſt out of the temple: This is one reaſon therefore (quoth I) that doth confirme and proove, that both the world is governed by the providence of God, and alſo, that the ſoules of men do continue after death: neither is it poſſible that we ſhould admit the one, & denie the other: If it be ſo then that the ſoule of man hath a ſubſiſtence & being after death; it is more probable & ſoundeth to greater reaſon, that it ſhould then either taſte of paine for puniſhment, or enjoy honor for reward: for during this life here upon earth, it is in continuall combat in maner of a champion; but after al combats performed & finiſhed, then ſhe receiveth according to her deſerts. Now as touching thoſe honors or puniſhments which it receiveth in that other world, being alone by her-ſelfe, and ſeparate from the bodie, the ſame concern and touch us nothing at all, who remaine alive; for either we know them not, or give no beliefe thereto; but ſuch as be either conferred or inflicted upon their children or poſteritie, for that they be apparant and evident to the world, thoſe doe containe and curbe wicked men, that they doe not execute their malicious deſſeignes: And conſidering that there is no puniſhment more ignominous, or that commeth neerer to the quicke, and toucheth the heart more, than for men to ſee their ofspring, or thoſe that depend upon them, afflicted for their ſake & puniſhed for their faults; & that the ſoule of a wicked perſon, enemie to God and to all good lawes, ſeeth after his death, not his images & ſtatues, or any enſignes of honor overthrowne, but his owne children, his friends & kinsfolk ruinate, undone & perſecuted with great miſeries & tribulations, ſuffring grievous puniſhment for it; there is no man I thinke, but would chuſe rather to forgoe all the honors of *Jupiter*, if he might have them, than to become again either unjuſt or intemperate & laſcivious. And for the better teſtimonie & truth hereof, I could relate unto you a narration which was delivered unto me not long ſince, but that I am afraid you will take it for a fabuolus tale, deviſed to make ſport: In regard wherof I hold it better to alledge unto you nothing but ſubſtantial reaſons, and arguments grounded upon very good likelihood and probabilitie. Not ſo (quoth *Olympiacus)* in any caſe; but rehearſe unto us the narration which you ſpeake of: And when others alſo requeſted the ſame at my hands: Suffer me yet firſt (quoth I) to ſet abroad thoſe reaſons which carie ſome good ſhew of truth, and then afterwards, if you thinke well of it, I will recite the fable alſo, if ſo be it is a fable: As for *Bion* when he ſaith, that God in puniſhing the children of wicked men and ſinners for their fathers, is much more ridiculous than the phyſician, who for the maladie of father or grandſire, goeth about to miniſter medicine unto the child or nephew; ſurely this compariſon faulteth heerein, that things be partly ſemblable, and in part divers and unlike; for if one be cured of a diſeaſe by medicinable meanes, this doth not by and by heale the maladie or indiſpoſition of another: For never was there man yet being ſicke of a feaver, or troubled with bleered and impoſtumate eies, became cured by ſeeing an ointment applied, or a ſalve laid unto another: But contrariwiſe, the puniſhment or execution of juſtice upon malefactors, is for this cauſe done publikely before all the world, that juſtice being miniſtred with reaſon and diſcretion, ſhould effect thus much, namely to keepe in, and retaine ſome by the chaſticement and correction of others: But that point wherein the foreſaid compariſon of *Bion* anſwereth to our matter in queſtion, himſelfe never underſtood; for many times it falleth out, that a man being fallen ſicke of a dangerous diſeaſe, howbeit not incurable, yet through his intemperance and diſorder afterwards, ſuffreth his bodie to grow into greater weakneſſe and decay, untill at laſt he dieth: whereupon his ſonne after him being not actually ſurpriſed with the ſame diſeaſe, but onely diſpoſed thereto, a learned phyſician, ſome truſtie friend, or an expert annointer, and maſter of exerciſes, perceiving ſo much, or rather indeed a kind friend and gentle maſter & governor, who hath a carefull eie over him, taketh him in hand, bringeth him to an exquiſite maner of auſtere diet, cutteth off all ſuperfluity of viands, deintie cates, & banketting diſhes, debarreth him of unſeaſonable drinkings, and the company of women, purgeth him continually with ſoveraigne medicines, keepeth his body downe by ordinarie labour and exerciſe, and ſo doth diſſipate and diſpatch the firſt beginning and ſmall inclination to a dangerous diſeaſe, in not permitting it to have head & to grow forward to any greatneſſe: And is not this an uſual practiſe among us to admoniſh thoſe who are borne of ſickly and diſeaſed parents, to take good heed unto themſelves, and not to neglect their indiſpoſition, but betimes and even at the very firſt to endevor for to remoove and rid away the root of ſuch inbred maladies, which they bring with them into the world? for ſurely it is an eaſie matter to expell and drive out, yea and to conquer and overcome the ſame, by prevention in due time: Yes verily anſwered they all. Well then (quoth I) we commit no abſurditie, nor doe any ridiculous thing, but that which is right, neceſſarie and profitable, when we ordeine and preſcribe for the children of thoſe who are ſubject to the falling ſickneſſe, to madneſſe, phreneſie and the gout, exerciſes of the bodie, diets, regiments of life, and medicines appropriate for thoſe maladies, not when they are ſicke thereof, but by way of precaution, to prevent that they ſhould not fall into them: for the bodie ingendred of a corrupt and diſeaſed bodie, neither needeth nor deſerveth any puniſhment, but phyſicke rather by good medicines and carefull attendance; which diligence and heedfull regard, if any one upon wantonneſſe, nicetie and delicacie doe call chaſtiſement, becauſe it depriveth a man of pleaſures and delights, or haply inferreth ſome pricke of dolour and paine, let him goe as he is, we paſſe not for him. Now if it be expedient to cure and medicine carefully one body iſſued and deſcended from another that is corrupt, is it meet and convenient to let go the reſemblance of an hereditarie vice, which beginneth to bud and ſprout in a yoong man, to ſtay and ſuffer it (I ſay) to grow on ſtill, burgen and ſpread into all affections, untill it appeare in the view of the whole world? for as *Pindarus* ſaith:

The fooliſh heart doth bring forth from within,
Her hidden fruit, corrupt and full of ſin.

And thinke you not that in this point God is wiſer than the Poet *Heſiodus*, who admoniſheth us and giveth counſell in this wiſe:

No children get, if thou be newly come
From dolefull grave or heavie funerall:
But ſpare not when thou art returned home
From ſolemne feaſt of Gods celeſtiall.

as if he would induce men to beget their children, when they be jocund, freſh and mery, for that the generation of them received the impreſſion, not of vertue and vice onely, but alſo of joy, ſadneſſe, & all other qualities: howbeit, this is not a worke of humane wiſdome (as *Heſiodus* ſuppoſeth) but of God himſelfe, to diſcern & foreknow perfectly either the conformities or the diverſities of mens natures, drawen from their progenitors, before ſuch time as they breake forth into ſome great enormities, whereby their paſſions & affections be diſcovered what they are: for the yong whelps of beares, wolves, apes & ſuch like creatures, ſhew preſently their naturall inclination, on, even whiles they be very yong, becauſe it is not diſguiſed or masked with any thing; but the nature of man caſting it ſelfe, and ſetling upon maners, cuſtomes, opinions & lawes, concealeth often times the ill that it hath, but doth imitate & counterfeit that which is good and honeſt; in ſuch ſort as it may be thought either to have done away cleane all the ſtaine, blemiſh & imperfection of vices inbred with it, or els to have hidden it a long time, being covered with the vaile of craft & ſubtiltie, ſo as we are not able, or at leaſtwiſe have much adoe to perceive their malice, by the ſting, bit & pricke of every ſeveral vice. And to ſay a truth, herein are we mightily deceived; that we thinke men are become unjuſt then only and not before; when they do injurie; or diſſolute, when they play ſome inſolent and looſe part; cowardly minded, when they run out of the field; as if a man ſhould have the cōceit, that the ſting in a ſcorpion was then bred & not before, when he gave the firſt pricke; or the poiſon in vipers was ingendred then only, when they bit or ſtung; which ſurely were great ſimplicitie and meere childiſhneſſe: for a wicked perſon becommeth not then ſuch an one, even when he appeareth ſo, and not before; but hee hath the rudiments and beginnings of vice and naughtineſſe imprinted in himſelfe, but hee ſheweth and uſeth the ſame, when he hath meanes, fit occaſion, good opportunitie, and might anſwerable to his minde; like as the thiefe ſpieth his time to robbe, and the tyrant to violate and breake the lawes. But God, who is not ignorant of the nature and inclination of every one, as who ſearcheth more into the ſecrets of the heart and minde than into the body, never waiteth and ſtaieth untill violence be performed by ſtrength of hand; impudencie bewraied by malepart ſpeech; or intemperance and wantonneſſe perpetrated by the naturall members and privie parts, ere he puniſh: for he is not revenged of an unrighteous man, for any harme and wrong that he hath received by him; nor angry with a thiefe or robber, for any forcible violence which he hath done unto him; ne yet hateth an adulterer, becauſe he hath ſuffered abuſe or injurie by his meanes; but many times he chaſtiſeth by way of medicine, a perſon that committeth adulterie; a covetous wretch and a breaker of the lawes; whereby otherwhiles he riddeth them of their vice, and preventeth in them (as it were) the falling ſickneſſe before the fit ſurpriſe them. Wee were erewhile offended and diſpleaſed, that wicked perſons were over-late and too ſlowly puniſhed; and now diſcontented we are, & complaine, for that God doth repreſſe & chaſtiſe the evill habit and vicious diſpoſition of ſome, before the act committed; never conſidering and knowing, that full often a future miſchiefe is worſe and more to be feared, than the preſent; and that which is ſecret and hidden, more dangerous than that which is open and apparent. Neither are we able to comprehend and conceive by reaſon, the cauſes wherefore it is better otherwhiles to tolerate and ſuffer ſome perſons to be quiet, who have offended and tranſgreſſed already; and to prevent or ſtay others, before they have executed that which they intend: like as (in very trueth) wee know not the reaſon, why medicines and phyſicall drogues (being not meet for ſome who are ſicke) be good and holſome for others, though they are not actually diſeaſed, yet haply in a more dangerous eſtate than the former. Hereupon it is, that the gods turne not upon the children and poſterity, all the faults of their fathers and anceſtours: for if it happen, that of a bad father there deſcend a good ſonne, like as a ſickly and craſie man may beget a ſound, ſtrong and healthfull childe, ſuch an one is exempt from the paine and puniſhment of the whole houſe and race, as being tranſlated out of a vicious familie, and adopted into another: but, that a yoong ſonne (who ſhall conforme himſelfe to the hereditarie vice of his parents) is liable to the puniſhment of their ſinfull life, aſwell as he his bound to pay their debts by right of ſucceſſion and inheritance. For *Antigonus* was not puniſhed for the ſinnes of his father *Demetrius*; nor (to ſpeake of leaud perſons) *Phileus* for *Augeas*, ne yet *Neſtor* for *Neleus* his ſake; who albeit they were deſcended from moſt wicked fathers, yet they prooved themſelves right honeſt: but all ſuch, as whoſe nature loved, embraced and practiſed that which came unto them by deſcent and parentage; in thoſe (I ſay) divine juſtice is wont to perſecute and puniſh that which reſembleth vice and ſinne: for like as the werts, blacke moales, ſpots and freckles of fathers, not appearing at all upon their owne childrens ſkinne, begin afterwards to put foorth and ſhew themſelves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their ſonnes and daughters: And there was a *Grecian* woman, who having brought foorth a blacke infant, and being troubled therefore, and judicially accuſed for adultrie, as if ſhee had beene conceived by a blacke-moore, ſhee pleaded and was found to have beene herſelfe deſcended from an Aethiopian, in the fourth degree remooved: As alſo it is knowen for certaine, that of the children of *Python* the Niſibian who was deſcended from the race and line of thoſe old Spartans, who were the firſt lords and founders of *Thebes*, the yoongeſt, and he that died not long ſince, had upon his body the print and forme of a ſpeare, the very true and naturall marke of that auncient line; ſo long and after the revolution of ſo many yeeres; there ſprang and came up againe as it were out of the deepe, this reſemblance of the ſtocke and kinred: even ſo it falleth out many times, that the firſt generations and deſcents, doe hide and after a ſort drowne thoſe qualities and affections of the minde which are affected and appropriate to ſome kinred; but afterwards, at one time or other, put them foorth, and drive them outward to appeere in thoſe that follow, and the ſame doe repreſent that which is proper to each race, as well in vertue as vice. Now when I had finiſhed this ſpeech, I held my peace; and with that *Olympicus* ſmiled and ſaid: Wee would not have you to thinke (quoth he) that we commend you, as having ſufficiently proved your diſcourſe by demonſtration, leſt we might ſeeme to have forgotten or to neglect the tale or narration which you promiſed to relate unto us: Mary then will we give our ſentence and opinion thereof, when we ſhall likewiſe have heard the ſame. Thus therfore I began againe to enter into ſpeech, and follow my intended purpoſe. There was one *Theſpeſius*, of the city of *Soli* in *Cilicia*, a great friend and familiar of *Protogenes*, who ſometime here converſed with us, who having led his youthful daies very looſely, within a ſmall time had waſted and conſumed all his goods, whereby he was fallen for a certaine ſpace to extreme want and neceſſitie, which brought him alſo to a leud life, inſomuch as he proved a very badde man; and repenting his former follies and diſpenſe, began to make ſhifts, and ſeeke all meanes to recover his ſtate againe; much like unto thoſe looſe and laſcivious perſons, who making no account of their lawfull and eſpouſed wives, nor caring at all for them whiles they have them; afterwards, when they have caſt them off, and put them away, ſeeing them wedded unto others, ſollicite them to yeeld their bodies, & give the attempt to force and corrupt them moſt wickedly: Thus he forbare no leud, indirect, and ſhamefull practiſes, ſo they turned to his gaine and profit, and within a little while, he gat together not great ſtore of goods, but procured to himſelfe a bad name of wicked dealing, much ſhame, and infamie: But the thing that made him famous, and ſo much ſpoken of; was the anſwer delivered unto him from the oracle of *Amphilochus*, for thither had he ſent, as it ſhould ſeeme, to know whether he ſhould live the reſt of his life better than he had done before? Now the oracle returned this anſwer: That it would be better with him after he was dead; which in ſome ſort hapned unto him not long after: For being fallen from an high place with his head forward, without any limme broken, or wound made; onely with the fall, the breath went out of his body, and there hee lay for dead; and three daies after, preparation being made for his funerals, caried foorth he was to be buried; but behold all on a ſudden, he revived, and quickly came to himſelfe againe; whereupon there enſued ſuch a change and alteration in his life, that it was wonderfull; for by the report and teſtimonie of all the people of *Cicilia*, they never knew man of a better conſcience in all his affaires and dealings, whiles he did negotiate and dwell among them; none more devout and religious to God-ward, none more faſt and ſure to his friends, none bitterer to his enemies; inſomuch, as they who were moſt inward with him, and had kept his company familiarly a long time, were very deſirous & earneſt with him, to know the cauſe of ſo ſtrange and ſudden alteration; as being perſwaded that ſo great amendment of life (ſo looſe & diſſolute as it was before) could not come by meere chaunce and caſualtie, (as in truth it did,) according as himſelfe made relation unto the ſaid *Protogenes*, and other ſuch familiar friends of his; men of good woorth & reputation; for thus he reported unto them & ſaid: That when the ſpirit was out of his bodie, he fared at the firſt (as he thought himſelfe) like unto a pilot, flung out of his ſhip, and plunged into the bottome of the ſea; ſo woonderfully was he aſtoniſhed at this chaunge; but afterwards when as by little & little he was raiſed up againe and recovered, ſo that he was ware that he drew his breath fully, and at libertie, he looked round about him, for his ſoule ſeemed as if it had beene one eie fully open; but he beheld nothing that he was woont to view, onely he thought that he ſaw planets and other ſtarres of an huge bigneſſe, diſtant an infinit way a ſunder, and yet for multitude innumerable, caſting from them a woonderfull light, with a colour admirable, and the ſame glittering and ſhining moſt reſplendent, with a power and force incredible, in ſuch ſort, as the ſaid ſoule being gently and eaſily caried, as in a chariot, with this ſplendor and radiant light, as it were upon the ſea in a calme, went quickly whether ſoever ſhe would; but letting paſſe a great number of things woorthy there to be ſeene; he ſaid that he beheld how the ſoules of thoſe that were departed this life, as they roſe up and aſcended, reſembled certaine ſmall firie bubbles, and the aire gave way and place unto them as they mounted on high; but anon when theſe bubbles by little and little braſt in ſunder, the ſoules came foorth of them, and appeered in the forme and ſhape of men and women, very light and nimble, as diſcharged from all poiſe to beare them downe: howbeit, they did not move and beſtir themſelves all alike and after one ſort; for ſome leaped with a wonderful agilitie, and mounted directly and plumbe upright; others turned round about together like unto bobins or ſpindles, one while up and another while downe, ſo as their motion was mixt and confuſed, and ſo linked together, that uneth for a good while and with much adoe, they could be ſtaied and ſevered aſunder. As for theſe ſoules and ſpirits, many of them he knew not (as hee ſaid) who they were; but taking knowledge of two or three among them who had bene of his olde acquaintance, hee preſſed forward to approch neere and to ſpeake unto them: but they neither heard him ſpeake, nor in deed were in their right ſenſes; but being after a ſort aſtonied and beſide themſelves, refuſed once to be either ſeene or felt, wandering and flying to and fro apart at the firſt; but afterwards, encountring and meeting with a number of others diſpoſed like unto themſelves, they cloſed and clung unto them, and thus lincked and coupled together, they mooved here and there diſorderly without diſcretion, and were carried every way to no purpoſe, uttering I wot not what voices, after a maner of yelling or a blacke-ſanctus, not ſignificant nor diſtinct, but as if they were cries mingled with lamentable plaints and dreadfull feare. Yet there were others to be ſeene aloft in the upmoſt region of the aire, jocund, gay and pleaſant, ſo kinde alſo an courteous, that often times they would ſeeme to approch neere one unto another, turning away from thoſe other that were tumultuous and diſorderly; and as it ſhould ſeeme, they ſhewed ſome diſcontentment, when they were thronged and hudled cloſe together; but well appaied and much pleaſed, when they were enlarged and ſevered at their liberty. Among theſe (by his owne ſaying) he had a ſight of a ſoule belonging to a kinſman and familiar friend of his, & yet he knew him not certeinly, for that he died whiles himſelfe was a very childe; howbeit, the ſaid ſoule comming toward him, ſaluted him in theſe tearmes: God ſave you *Theſpeſius*: whereat he marvelled much, and ſaid unto him: I am not *Theſpeſius*, but my name is *Aridæus*: True in deed (quoth the other) before-time you were ſo called, but from henceforth * *Theſpeſius* ſhall be your name; for dead you are not yet, but by the providence of God and permiſſion of Deſtinie, you are hither come, with the intellectuall part of the ſoule; and as for all the reſt, you have left it behinde, ſticking faſt as an anchor to your bodie: and that you may now know this and evermore heereafter, take this for a certeine rule and token: That the ſpirits of thoſe who are departed and dead indeed, yeeld no ſhadow from them; they neither wincke nor yet open their eies. *Theſpeſius* hearing theſe words, began to plucke up his ſpirits ſo much the more, for to conſider and diſcourſe with himſelfe: looking therefore every way about him, he might perceive that there accompanied him a certeine ſhadowy and darke lineature, whereas the other ſoules ſhone round about, and were cleere and tranſparent within forth, howbeit, not all alike; for ſome yeelded from them pure colour, uniforme and equall, as doth the full moone when ſhe is at the cleereſt; others had (as it were) ſcales or cicatrices, diſperſed here and there by certeine diſtant ſpaces betweene; ſome againe, were wonderfull hideous and ſtrange to ſee unto, all to be ſpecked with blacke ſpots, like to ſerpents ſkinnes; and others had light ſcarifications and obſcure riſings upon their viſage. Now this kinſman of *Theſpeſius* (for there is no danger at all to tearme ſoules by the names which men had whiles they were living) diſcourſed ſeverally of ech thing, ſaying: That *Adraſtia* the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Neceſsitie*, was placed higheſt and above the reſt, to puniſh and to be revenged of all ſorts of crimes and hainous ſinnes; and that of wicked and ſinfull wretches, there was not one (great or ſmall) who either by force or cunning could ever ſave himſelfe and eſcape puniſhment: but one kinde of paine and puniſhment (for three ſorts there be in all) belonged to this gaoler or executioner, and another to that; for there is one which is quicke and ſpeedie, called ποινὴ· that is, Penaltie, and this taketh in hand the execution and chaſtiſement of thoſe, who immediatly in this life (whiles they are in their bodies) be puniſhed by the bodie, after a milde and gentle maner, leaving unpuniſhed many light faults, which require onely ſome petie purgation; but ſuch as require more ado to have their vices and ſinnes cured, God committeth them to be puniſhed after death to a ſecond tormentreſſe, named *Dice*, that is to ſay, Revenge; mary thoſe who are ſo laden with ſinnes, that they be altogether incurable, when *Dice* hath given over and thruſt them from her, the third miniſtreſſe of *Adraſtia*, which of all other is moſt cruell, and named *Erinnys* runneth after, chaſing and purſuing them as they wander and runne up and downe; theſe (I ſay) ſhe courſeth and hunteth with great miſerie and much dolor, untill ſuch time as ſhe have overtaken them all and plunged them into a bottomleſſe pit of darkeneſſe inenarrable and inviſible. Now of theſe three ſorts of puniſhments, the firſt which is executed by *Pœne*, in this life reſem-

3

* That is to ſay, *Divine*.

bleth that which is uſed in ſome barbarous nations : for in *Perſia*, when any are by order of law and judicially to be puniſhed, they take from them their copped caps or high pointed turbants, and other robes, which they plucke and pull haire by haire, yea, and whip them before their faces, and they themſelves ſhedding teares and weeping, crie out piteouſly and beſeech the officers to ceaſe and give over; ſemblably, the puniſhments inflicted in this life in bodie or goods, are not exceeding ſharpe nor come very nere to the quick, neither do they pierce & reach unto the vice and ſinne it ſelfe, but the moſt part of them are impoſed according to a bare opinion onely, and the judgement of outward naturall ſenſe. But if it chance (quoth he) that any one eſcape hither unpuniſhed, and who hath not bene well purged there before, him *Dice* taketh in hand all bare and naked as he is, with his ſoule diſcovered and open, as having nothing to hide, palliate and maske his wickedneſſe, but lying bare and expoſed to the view thorowout, and on every ſide, ſhe preſenteth and ſheweth him firſt to his parents, good and honeſt perſons (if haply they were ſuch) declaring how abominable he is, how degenerate and unwoorthy of his parentage; but if they alſo were wicked, both he and they ſuſteine ſo much more grievous puniſhment, whiles he is tormented in ſeeing them, and they likewiſe in beholding him how he is puniſhed a long time, even untill every one of his crimes and ſinnes be diſpatched and rid away with moſt dolourous and painfull torments, ſurpaſſing in ſharpneſſe and greatneſſe, all corporall griefs, by how much a true viſion indeed is more powerfull and effectuall than a vaine dreame or fantaſticall illuſion: whereupon, the wales, marks, ſcarres and cicatrices of ſinne and vice remaine to be ſeene, in ſome more, in others leſſe. But obſerve well (quoth he) and conſider the divers colours of theſe ſoules of all ſorts; for this blackiſh and foule duskiſh hew, is properly the tincture of avarice and niggardiſe; that which is deepe red and fierie, betokeneth cruelty and malice; whereas, if it ſtand much upon blew, it is a ſigne that there, intemperance and looſeneſſe in the uſe of pleaſures, hath remained a long time, and will be hardly ſcowred off, for that it is a vile vice: but the violet colour and ſweetiſh withall, proceedeth from envie, a venimous and poiſoned colour, reſembling the inke that commeth from the cuttle fiſh, for in life, vice when the ſaile is altered and changed by paſſions, and withall doth turne the body, putteth foorth ſundry colours: but heere it is a ſigne that the purification of the ſoule is fully finiſhed, when as all theſe tinctures are done away quite, whereby the ſoule may appeare in her native hew, all freſh, neat, cleare and lightſome: for ſo long as any one of theſe colours remaineth, there will be evermore ſome recidivation and returne of paſſions and affections, bringing certaine tremblings, beatings as it were of the pulſe, and a panting in ſome but weake and feeble, which quickly ſtaieth, and is ſoone extinguiſhed; and in other more ſtrong, quicke, and vehement: Now of theſe ſoules, ſome there be which after they have beene well and throughly chaſtiſed, and that ſundry times, recover in the end a decent habitude and diſpoſition; but others againe are ſuch, as the vehemence of their ignoraunce, and the flattering ſhew of pleaſures and luſtfull deſire, tranſporteth them into the bodies of brute beaſts; for the feebleneſſe and defect of their underſtanding, and their ſloth and ſlackneſſe to contemplate and diſcourſe by reaſon, maketh them to incline and creepe to the active part of generation; but then they find and perceive them ſelves deſtitute of a laſcivious organ or inſtrument, whereby they may be able to execute and have the fruition of their appetite, and therefore deſire by the meanes of the bodie to enjoy the ſame: foraſmuch as, here there is nothing at all but a bare ſhadow, and as one would ſay, a vaine dreame of pleaſure, which never commeth to perfection and fulneſſe. When hee had thus ſaid, he brought and lead me away, moſt ſwiftly, an infinit way; howbeit, with eaſe, and gently, upon the raies of the light, as if they had beene wings, unto a certaine place, where there was a huge wide chinke, tending downward ſtill, and thither being come, he perceived that he was forlorne and forſaken of that powerfull ſpirit that conducted and brought him thither; where he ſaw that other ſoules alſo were in the ſame caſe; for being gathered and flocked together like a ſort of birds, they flie downward round about this gaping chawne, but enter into it directly they durſt not; now the ſaid chinke reſembled for al the world within, the caves of *Bacchus*, ſo tapiſſed and adorned they were with the verdure of great leaves and branches, together with all varietie of gaie flowers, from whence aroſe and breathed foorth a ſweet and milde exhalation, which yeelded a delectable and pleaſant ſavour, woonderfull odoriferous, with a moſt temperate aire, which no leſſe affected them that ſmelled thereof, than the ſent of wine contenteth thoſe who love to drinke: in ſuch ſort as the ſoules feeding and feaſting themſelves with theſe fragrant odors, were very cheerefull, jocund, and merrie; ſo as round about the ſaid place, there was nothing but paſtime, joy, ſolace, mirth, laughing and ſinging, much after the manner of men that rejoice one with another, and take all the pleaſure and delight that poſſibly they can. And he ſaid moreover, that *Bacchus* by that way mounted up into the ſocietie of the gods, and afterwards conducted *Semele*; and withall, that it was called, the place of *Lethe*, that is to ſaie, Oblivion: Whereupon he would not let *Theſpeſius*, though he were exceeding deſirous, to ſtay there, but drew him away perforce; inſtructing him thus much, and giving him to underſtand, that reaſon and the intelligible part of the minde is diſſolved, and as it were melted and moiſtened by this pleaſure; but the unreaſonable part which ſavoreth of the bodie, being watered and incarnate therewith, reviveth the memorie of the bodie; and upon this remembrance, there groweth and ariſeth a luſt and concupiſcence, which haleth and draweth unto generation (for ſo he called it) to wit, a conſent of the ſoule thereto, weighed downe and aggravated with overmuch moiſture: Having therefore traverſed another way as long as the other, he was ware that he ſaw a mightie ſtanding boll, into which divers rivers ſeemed to fall and diſcharge themſelves, whereof one was whiter than the fome of the ſea, or driven ſnow, another of purple hue or ſcarlet colour, like to that which appeereth in the raine-bow; as for others, they ſeemed a farre off to have every one of them their diſtinct luſtre, and ſeverall tincture: But when they approched neere unto them, the foreſaid boll, after that the aire about was diſcuſſed and vaniſhed awaie, and the different colours of thoſe rivers no more ſeene, left the more flouriſhing colour, except onely the white: Then he ſaw there three Dæmons or Angels, ſitting together in triangular forme, medling and mixing the rivers together, with certaine meaſures. And this guid of *Theſpecius* ſoule ſaid morever, that *Orpheus* came ſo farre when he went after his wife; but for that he kept not well in minde, that which he there ſaw, he had ſowen one falſe tale among men; to wit: That the oracle at *Delphi* was common to *Apollo*, and the Night, (for there was no commerce or fellowſhip at all betweene the night and *Apollo*) But this oracle (quoth he) is common to the moone and the night, which hath no determinate and certaine place upon the earth, but is alwaies errant and wandring among men, by dreames and apparitions; which is the reaſon that dreames compounded and mingled as you ſee, of falſhood and truth, of varietie and ſimplicity, are ſpread and ſcattered over the world. But as touching the oracle of *Apollo*, neither have you ſeene it (quoth he) nor ever ſhalbe able to ſee; for the terrene ſubſtance or earthly part of the ſoule, is not permitted to ariſe & mount up on high, but bendeth downward, being faſtened unto the bodie: And with that he approched at once neerer, endevoring to ſhew him the ſhining light of the threefeet or three-footed ſtoole, which (as he ſaid) from the boſome of the goddeſſe *Thenis*, reached as farre as to the mount *Pernaſus*: And having a great deſire to ſee the ſame, yet he could not, his eies were ſo dazeled with the brightneſſe thereof; howbeit, as he paſſed by, a loud and ſhrill voice he heard of a woman, who, among other things delivered in metre, uttered alſo as it ſhould ſeeme by way of propheſie, the very time of his death: And the Dæmon ſaid, it was the voice of *Sibylla*; for ſhe being caried round in the globe and face of the moone, did foretell and ſing what was to come; but being deſirous to heare more, he was repelled and driven by the violence of the moone as it were with certaine whirle-puffes, cleane a contrarie way; ſo he could heare and underſtand but few things, and thoſe very ſhort; namely the accident about the hill * *Veſuvius*, and how *Dicæarchia* ſhould be conſumed and burnt by caſuall fire, as alſo a clauſe or peece of a verſe, as touching the emperour who then reigned, to this effect:

A gracious prince he is, but yet muſt die,
And empire leave by force of maladie.

After this they paſſed on forward to ſee the paines and torments of thoſe who were puniſhed; and there at firſt they beheld all things moſt piteous and horrible to ſee to; for *Theſpeſius* who doubted nothing leſſe, mette in that place with many of his friends, kinſfolke, and familiar companions, who were in torment, and ſuffering dolorous paines, and infamous puniſhment, they moned themſelves, lamenting, calling and crying unto him; at the laſt he had a ſight of his owne father, riſing out of a deepe pit, full he was of pricks, gaſhes, and wounds, and ſtretching foorth his hands unto him, was (mauger his heart) forced to breake ſilence, yea and compelled by thoſe who had the charge and ſuperintendence of the ſaid puniſhments, to confeſſe with a loud and audible voice, that he had beene a wicked murderer of certaine ſtrangers, and gueſts whom he had lodged in his houſe; for perceiving that they had ſilver and gold about them, he had wrought their death by the meanes of poiſon: and albeit he had not beene detected thereof in his life time, whiles he was upon the earth, yet here was he convicted and had ſuſteined already part of his puniſhment, and expected to endure the reſt afterwards. Now *Theſpe-*

ſius

* Or *Leſbius*.

ſius durſt not make ſute nor intercede for his father, ſo affrighted he was and aſtonied; but deſirous to withdraw himſelfe and be gone, he loſt the ſight of that courteous and kind guide of his, which all this while had conducted him, and he ſaw him no more: but hee might perceive other horrible and hideous ſpirits, who enforced and conſtrained him to paſſe farther, as if it were neceſſarie that he ſhould traverſe ſtill more ground: ſo he ſaw thoſe who were notorious malefactours, in the view of every man (or who in this world had bene chaſtiſed) how their ſhadow was here tormented with leſſe paine, and nothing like to others, as having bene feeble and imperfect in the reaſonleſſe part of the ſoule, and therefore ſubject to paſſions and affections; but ſuch as were diſguiſed and cloaked with an outward apparence and reputation of vertue abroad, and yet had lived covertly and ſecretly at home in wickedneſſe, certeine that were about them, forced ſome of them to turne the inſide outward, and with much paine and griefe to lay themſelves open, to bend and bow, and diſcover their hypocritall hearts within, even againſt their owne nature, like unto the ſcolopenders of the ſea, when they have ſwallowed downe an hooke, are wont to turne themſelves outward: but others they flaied and diſplaied, diſcovering plainly and openly, how faulty, perverſe and vicious they had bene within, as whoſe principall part of the reaſonable ſoule, vice had poſſeſſed. He ſaid moreover, that he ſaw other ſouls wound and enterlaced one within another, two, three and more togither, like to vipers and other ſerpents, and theſe not forgetting their olde grudge and malicious ranker one againſt another, or upon remembrance of loſſes and wrongs ſuſteined by others, fell to gnawing and devouring ech other. Alſo, that there were three parallel lakes ranged in equall diſtance one from the other; the one ſeething and boiling with golde, another of lead exceeding cold, and a third, moſt rough, conſiſting of yron: and that there were certeine ſpirits called Dæmons, which had the overlooking and charge of them; and theſe, like unto mettall-founders or ſmithes, with certeine inſtruments either plunged in, or els drew out, ſoules. As for thoſe who were given to filthie lucre, and by reaſon of inſatiable avarice, committed wicked parts, thoſe they let downe into the lake of melted golde, and when they were once ſet on a light fire, and made tranſparent by the ſtrength of thoſe flames within the ſaid lake, then plunged they were into the other of lead; where after they were congealed and hardened in maner of haile, they tranſported them anew into the third lake of yron, where they became exceeding blacke and horrible, and being crackt and broken, by reaſon of their drineſſe and hardneſſe, they changed their forme, and then at laſt (by his ſaying) they were throwen againe into the foreſaid lake of gold, ſuffering by the meanes of theſe changes and mutations, intolerable paines. But thoſe ſoules (quoth he) who made the greateſt moane unto him, and ſeemed moſt miſerably (of all others) to be tormented, were they, who thinking they were eſcaped and paſt their puniſhment, as who had ſuffered ſufficiently for their deſerts at the hands of vengeance, were taken againe, and put to freſh torments; and thoſe they were, for whoſe ſinnes their children and others of their poſteritie ſuffered puniſhment: for whenſoever one of the ſoules of theſe children or nephewes in lineall deſcent, either met with them, or were brought unto them, the ſame fell into a fit of anger, crying out upon them, ſhewing the marks of the torments and paines that it ſuſteined, reproching and hitting them in the teeth therefore; but the other making haſte to flie and hide themſelves, yet were not able ſo to doe; for incontinently the tormentors followed after and purſued them, who brought them backe againe to their puniſhment, crying out, and lamenting for nothing ſo much, as that they did foreſee the torment which they were to ſuffer, as having experience thereof alreadie. Furthermore, he ſaid that he ſaw ſome, and thoſe in number many, either children or nephewes, hanging together faſt, like bees or bats, murmuring and grumbling for anger, when they remembred and called to minde what ſorrowes and calamities they ſuſteined for their ſake. But the laſt thing that he ſaw, were the ſoules of ſuch as entred into a ſecond life and new nativitie, as being turned and tranſformed forcibly into other creatures of all ſorts, by certeine workemen appointed therefore, who with tooles for the purpoſe and many a ſtroake, forged and framed ſome of their parts new, bent and wreſted others, tooke away and aboliſhed a third ſort; and all, that they might ſort and be ſutable to other conditions and lives: among which he eſpied the ſoule of *Nero* afflicted already grievouſly enough otherwiſe, with many calamities, pierced thorow every part with ſpikes and nailes red hote with fire: and when the artiſans aforeſaid tooke it in hand to tranſforme it into the ſhape of a viper, of which kind (as *Pindarus* ſaith) the yong ones gnaweth thorow the bowels of the dam to come into the world, and to deuoure it, he ſaid that all on a ſudden there ſhone forth a great light, out of which there was heard a voice giving commandement that they ſhould metamorphoze and tranſfigure it into the forme of another kinde of beaſt, more tame and gentle, forging a water creature of it, chanting about ſtanding lakes and mariſhes; for that he had bene in ſome ſort puniſhed already for the ſinnes which hee had committed, and beſides, ſome good turne is due unto him from the gods, in that of all his ſubjects, he had exempted from taxe, tallage and tribute, the beſt nation and moſt beloved of the gods, to wit, the Greeks. Thus farre foorth, he ſaid, he was onely a ſpectatour of theſe matters; but when he was upon his returne, he abid all the paines in the world, for very feare that he had; for there was a certaine woman, for viſage and ſtately bigneſſe, admirable, who tooke holde on him, and ſaid: Come hither, that thou maieſt keepe in memorie all that thou haſt ſeene, the better: wherewith ſhe put forth unto him a little rod or wand all fierie, ſuch as painters or enamellers uſe, but there was another that ſtaied her; and then he might perceive himſelfe to be blowen by a ſtrong and violent winde with a trunke or pipe, ſo that in the turning of an hand he was within his owne bodie againe, and ſo began to looke up with his eies in maner, out of his grave and ſepulchre.

THAT BRVTE BEASTES HAVE USE OF REASON;

A diſcourſe in maner of a dialogue, *named* GRYLLUS.

The Summarie.

They who have given out that man is a living creature endued with reaſon, have in few words expreſſed that which every one of us ought principally to conſider in him: But for want of declaring what this word reaſon doth import, themſelves for the moſt part have not well underſtood this definition, but aſmuch as in them is, reduced the condition of men to a woorſe eſtate, than that of brute beaſts: For albeit mans bodie mooved and governed by his immortall ſoule, hath many excellent advantages above beaſts; yet if reaſon the guide of the ſoule have no other helpe than of her ſelfe, certes, it may be well and truely ſaid; that man is the moſt miſerable creature in the world: And heerein it is, that Philoſophers deſtitute of the light of gods word, are become and ſo remaine farre ſhort, as being ignorant of Adams *fall, originall ſinne, and the hereditarie ſource and ſpring of ſo many defects and imperfections which proceed from the underſtanding and the will, ſo much depravate and corrupt in us by ſinne, that when we are to raunge and reduce reaſon, to her true devoir and dutie in deed; namely, to know and ſerve God, according as he commandeth, ſhe is ſtarke blinde, yea and a very enemie herſelfe to that good grace which is offred unto her. By reaſon therefore, which maketh the difference betweene us and brute beaſts, we are to underſtand the true knowledge of God, for to ſerve and glorifie him according to the tenour of his word all the daies of our life; this is called true religion, of which if man be deſtitute, according to the ſentence of our Saviour: It booteth not him to have gained the whole world, if he loſe his owne ſoule: as alſo; That it were better for a ſcandalous man, and him by whom offence commeth, never to have bene borne, or at leaſt wiſe ſoone exterminate and rooted out: Likewiſe, that whoſoever is proud of himſelfe, and forgetteth his God, is no more a man, but reſembleth brute beaſts, whoſe ſoule periſheth together with the bodie. But to enter no farther into this Theologicall diſcouſe we ſee in this preſent dialogue ſomewhat thereof, & that the intention of* Plutarch *was to ſhew that the intelligence and cogitation of God, is the onely true priviledge prerogative and advantage which men have above beaſts: howbeit, left he hath this worke imperfect, even in that very point, which of all other is hardeſt, and impoſſible to be prooved by him or his like: for what ſound underſtanding, apprehenſion, or conceit could they have of God, who knew not at all the true God? So then, it may be* *ſaid that this parcell or remnant of the diſputation, conteineth a forme of proceſſe againſt all Pagans and Atheiſts, to proove that brute beaſts excell them, and be in more happie eſtate than they. As touching the diſcourſe it ſelfe, to the end that it might not be odious, in caſe he had handled it as his owne invention, he helpeth himſelfe with the fabulous tale of* Circe*, who transformed into beaſts the companions of* Ulyſſes*: By which allegorie, the Philoſophers and Poets implie and teach thus much, that worldly pleaſure doth make al perſons brutiſh, ſave onely the wiſe, who uſe & enjoy goods, honors, & delights, with a ſtaied mind & ſpirit ſetled, & which never miſſeth, nor cōmeth ſhort or wide of the marke that it ſhooteth at: He bringeth in therefore* Ulyſſes*, conferring by the leave and permiſsion of* Circe*, with a Greeke named* Gryllus*, tranſmuted and turned into a ſwine: and the chiefe point of their diſputation is this: Whether the life of man is better to be eſteemed than that of beaſts?* Gryllus *for to vphold and maintaine his cauſe, treateth of fower points principally: Firſt of the vertue in generall; ſecondly of the valor and fortitude; in the third place of the temperance; and laſt of all, the wiſedome of beaſts; prooving againſt* Ulyſſes*, and that by divers arguments ſet out and marked in order, that beaſts have the ſtart and vantage of men in all theſe points; and leaving the Reader to make the concluſion; he ſheweth ſufficiently, that if men have no other approch to reſt upon, than a naturall habitude of an earthly vertue, and can aſſure the repoſe of their conſciences upon nothing but upon humane valliance, temperance, and wiſedome, they doe but goe in the companie of beaſts, or rather come behind them. Thus you ſee why our author maketh* Ulyſſes *to enter into a diſcourſe as touching the knowledge of God: But whether it were that his other affaires and occupations or the iniquitie of time hath deprived us of the reſt, this treatiſe or dialogue hath beene cut off in that very place, where it deſerved and required to be more throughly and lively proſecuted: And this which remaineth and is come unto our hands, may ſerve all men in good ſtead for their inſtruction and learning, not to glory and vaunt themſelves, but in the mercy of him, who calleth them to a better life, wherein brute beaſts, (created onely for our uſe, and for the preſent life, with which they periſh for ever) have no part nor portion at all.*

THAT BRUTE BEASTES have uſe of reaſon.

The perſonages that diſcourſe in this Dialogue, ULYSSES, CIRCE, GRYLLUS.

ULYSSES.

ME thinks dame *Circe* that I have ſufficiently conceived, and firmely imprinted theſe matters in my memorie. Now would I gladly aske the queſtion, and know of you, whether among thoſe men which be transformed into wolves and lions, you have any Greeks or no?

CIRCE.

Yes mary have I, and thoſe very many, deere heart *Ulyſſes*; but wherefore demaund you this queſtion?

ULYSSES.

Becauſe I am perſwaded, it will be greatly for mine honour among the Greeks, if by your gracious favour I may obtaine thus much, as at your hands to receive them men againe, and ſave them, ſtrangers though they be, as well as my companions; nor ſo neglect their ſtate, as to ſuffer them againſt nature to age & waxe old in the bodies of wilde beaſts, leading a life ſo miſerable, ignominous, and infamous.

CIRCE.

See the ſimplicitie of this man; he would through his folly, that his ambitious minde ſhould procure damage and calamity not to himſelfe onely and his friends, but alſo to thoſe who are meere aliens, and nothing belonging to him?

ULYSSES.

I perceive very well (ô *Circe*) that you are about the tempering and brewing of another cup and potion of words, to bewitch me; for certainly you ſhould make a very beaſt of me in deed, if I would ſuffer my ſelfe to be perſwaded, that it were a detriment or loſſe to become a man againe of a brute beaſt.

CIRCE.

Why? have you not already done woorſe for your ſelfe than ſo, and committed greater abſurdities? conſidering that letting goe a life immortall, and not ſubject to old age, which you might enjoy if you would make your abode and dwell with me; you will needs goe in all the haſte to a woman mortall, and (as I dare well ſay) very aged by this time, and that through ten thouſand dangers, which yet you muſt endure, promiſing your ſelfe, that you ſhall thereby be better regarded, more honored and renowned from hence foorth, than now you are; and in the meane while you conſider not that you ſeeke after a vaine felicitie, and the image or ſhadow onely for the thing indeed.

ULYSSES.

Well *Circe*, I am content that it be ſo as you ſay; for why ſhould we ſo often conteſt and debate thus about the ſame ſtill? But I pray you of all loves, unbinde and let looſe theſe poore men for my ſake, and give them me.

CIRCE.

Nay, that I will not, I ſweare by *Hecate*: You ſhall not come ſo eaſily by them; for I tell you they be no meane perſons, and of the common ſort: But you were beſt to aske them firſt if they themſelves be willing thereto or no? And if they anſwer nay? then, like a noble valiant gentleman as you are, deale with them effectually, and induce them thereto: But in caſe you cannot with all your reaſons bring them to it, and that they be able to convince you by force of argument, let it ſuffice you that you have adviſed your ſelfe and your friends but badly.

ULYSSES.

Is it ſo indeed good lady? and are you about to mocke and make a foole of me? For how can they either yeeld or receive reaſon in conference, ſo long as they be aſſes, ſwine and lions, as they are.

CIRCE.

Goe to ſir, moſt ambitious man that you are; let that never trouble you; for I will uphold them ſufficient both to heare and underſtand whatſoever you ſhall alledge unto them, yea, and able to reaſon and diſcourſe with you: Or rather, I paſſe not much if one of them for all his fellowes ſhall both demaund and anſwer: Lo heare is one, deale with him as it pleaſeth you.

ULYSSES.

And by what name ſhall we call him, *Circe?* or who might he be, when he was a man?

CIRCE.

What matters that? and what maketh it to the diſputation and queſtion in hand? Howbeit, name him if you thinke good, *Gryllus*: And to the end that you ſhould not thinke, that for to gratifie or doe me a pleaſure, he may ſeeme to reaſon croſſe and againſt your minde, I will for the time retire my ſelfe out of the place.

GRYLLUS.

God ſave you *Ulyſſes*.

ULYSSES.

And you alſo gentle *Gryllus*.

GRYLLUS.

What is your will with me, and what would you demaund of me?

ULYSSES.

I wot well that you and the reſt were ſometimes men, and therefore I have great ruth and pitie to ſee you all in this eſtate, but as good reaſon is, it grieveth me moſt for the Greeks, that they are fallen into this calamity: But ſo it is, that even now I requeſted *Circe*, to looſen as many of you as be willing thereto, and after ſhe hath reſtored them to their auncient ſhape, to give them leave to goe with me.

GRYLLUS.

Peace *Ulyſſes*, and ſay not a word more I beſeech you; for we all have you in contempt now, ſeeing that you have bene taken and named all this whiles for a ſingular man, and ſeemed far to ſurpaſſe all others in wiſedome, whereas there is little or no cauſe thereof; in that you have bene afraid even of this, to change from the woorſe to the better; and never conſidered, that as children abhorre the medicines and drogues that Phyſicians ordeine, and refuſe to learne thoſe ſciences and diſciplines, which of ſickly, diſeaſed and fooliſh, might make them more healthie, ſound, & wiſe; even ſo you have rejected & caſt behind you this oportunitie to be transformed and changed from one to another; and even ſtill you tremble and dare not venture to keepe company companie and lie with *Circe*, for dread and feare, leſt ere you be aware, ſhe ſhould make of you either a ſwine, or a woolfe; and you would perſwade us, that whereas we live now in abundance, and enjoy the affluence of all good things, we ſhould quit the ſame, and withall, abandon and forſake her who hath procured us this happineſſe, and all to goe away with you, when we are become men againe; that is to ſay, the moſt wretched creatures in the world.

ULYSSES.

It ſeemeth *Gryllus* that the potion which you dranke at *Circes* hands, hath not onely marred the forme and faſhion of your bodie, but alſo ſpoiled your wit and underſtanding; having intoxicate your braine, and filled your head with corrupt, ſtrange, and monſtrous opinions for ever; or els ſome pleaſure that you have taken by the acquaintance of this body ſo long, hath cleane bewitched you.

GRYLLUS.

Nay iwis, good ſir, it is neither ſo nor ſo, if it pleaſe you ô king of the Cephallenians; but if you be diſpoſed to argue with reaſon, rather than to wrangle with opprobrious tearmes, we will ſoone bring you to another opinion, and proove by ſound arguments, upon the experience which we have of the one life and the other, that there is great reaſon why we ſhould love and embrace this preſent ſtate above the former.

ULYSSES.

For mine owne part I am readie to give you the hearing.

GRYLLUS.

And I as willing likewiſe to deliver my minde: But firſt and formoſt, begin I will to ſpeake of vertues, upon which I ſee you ſtand ſo much, and in regard whereof, you woondrouſly pleaſe your ſelves, as who would be thought in juſtice, in wiſedome, in magnanimitie and other vertues, to excell and farre ſurpaſſe all brute beaſts: Anſwer me therefore I beſeech you, the wiſeſt man of all other, to this point: For I have heard ſay, that upon a time you made relation unto *Circe* of the Cyclopes countrey, how the ſoile there is naturally ſo good and fertill, that without plowing, ſowing, or planting at all, it bringeth foorth of it ſelfe all ſorts of fruit: Tell me I ſay, whether you eſteeme better of it (ſo frutefull as it is) or of *Ithaca* a rough and mountaine region, good onely for to breed goats in, and which hardly and with great labour yeeldeth unto thoſe that till it, ſmall ſtore (God wot) of poore and leane frutes, which will not quit for the coſt and paines? But take heed it grieve you not to anſwer contrarie to your minde, for the love that you beare unto your native countrey.

ULYSSES.

I love verily (for I muſt not lie) yea, and I imbrace and holde moſt deare, mine owne countrey and place of nativitie: howbeit, I praiſe and admire that other region of theirs.

GRYLLUS.

Why then belike, the caſe ſtands thus, and this we are to ſay, that the wiſeſt man is of opinion, that there be ſome things which are to praiſe and commend, and other things to chuſe and love: and verily, I thinke that your judgement is the ſame of the ſoule; for the like reaſon there is of it and a land or plot of ground, namely, that the ſoule is better, which without any travell or labour, bringeth forth vertue, as a fruit ſpringing and growing of it ſelfe.

ULYSSES.

Well: be it ſo as you ſay.

GRYLLUS.

You grant then and confeſſe already, That the ſoule of brute beaſts is by nature more kinde, more perfect and better diſpoſed to yeeld vertue, conſidering that without compulſion, without commandement, or any teaching, which is as much to ſay, as without tillage and ſowing it bringeth forth and nouriſheth that vertue which is meet and convenient for every one.

ULYSSES.

And what vertue is that (my good friend *Gryllus*) whereof beaſts be capable?

GRYLLUS.

Nay, what vertue are they not capable of? yea, and more than the wiſeſt man that is. But firſt, conſider we (if you pleaſe) valour and fortitude, whereupon you beare your ſelfe and vaunt ſo highly, neither are you abaſhed and hide your ſelfe for feare, but are very well pleaſed when as men ſurname you, Hardie, Bolde, and a Winner of cities; whereas you have (moſt wicked wretch that you are) circumvented and deceived men, who know no other way of making war, but that which is plaine and generous, and who were altogether unſkilfull of fraud, guile and leaſing, by your wily ſhifts and ſubtill pranks, attributing the name of vertue unto cunning caſts, the which in deed knoweth not what deceit and fraud meaneth. But you ſee the combats of beaſts aſwell againſt men as when they fight one againſt another, how they are performed without any craftineſſe or ſleight, onely by plaine hardineſſe and cleane ſtrength, and as it were upon a native magnanimitie, they defend themſelves, and be revenged of their enemies: and neither by enforcement of lawes, nor for feare to be judicially reprooved and puniſhed for cowardiſe, but onely through inſtinct of nature avoiding the ſhame and diſgrace to be conquered, they endure and holde out fight to the very extremitie, and all to keepe themſelves invincible: for ſay they be in body the weaker, yet they yeeld not for all that, nor are faint-hearted and give over, but chuſe to die in fight: and many of them there be, whoſe courage and generoſitie, even when they are readie to die, being retired into ſome one corner of their bodie, and there gathering it ſelfe, reſiſteth the killer, it leapeth and fretteth ſtill, untill ſuch time as, like a flame of fire, it be quenched and put out once for all: they can not skill of praying and intreating their enemie, they crave no pardon and mercy; and it were ſtrange in any of them, to confeſſe that they are overcome; neither was it ever ſeene that a lion became a ſlave unto a lion, or one horſe unto another in regard of fortitude, like as one man to another, contenting himſelfe and willingly embracing ſervitude as next couſin and a ſurname appropriate unto cowardiſe. And as for thoſe beaſts which men have ſurpriſed and caught by ſnares, traps, ſubtill ſleights and devices of engins, ſuch if they be come to their growth and perfect age, reject all food, refuſe nouriſhment, yea, and endure thirſt, to ſuch extremitie, that they chuſe to die and ſeeke to procure their owne death, rather than to live in ſervitude; but to their yoong ones and whelps, which for their tender age be tractable, pliable, and eaſie to be led which way one will, they offer ſo many deceitfull baits to entice and allure them with their ſweetneſſe, that they have no ſooner taſted thereof, but they become enchanted and bewitched therewith: for theſe pleaſures, and this delicate life, contrary to their nature, in tract of time cauſeth them to be ſoft and weake, receiving that degeneration (as it were) and effæminate habit of their courage, which folke call tameneſſe, and in deed but baſeneſſe and defect of their naturall generoſitie: whereby it appeareth, that beaſts by nature are bred and paſſing well diſpoſed to be audacious and hardie; whereas contrariwiſe, it is not kindly for men to be ſo much as bolde of ſpeech and reſolute in ſpeaking their mindes. And this you may (good *Ulyſſes*) learne and know eſpecially by this one argument: for in all brute beaſts, nature ſwaieth indifferently and equally of either ſide, as touching courage and boldneſſe, neither is the female in that point inferior to the male, whether it be in ſuſteining paine and travell for getting of their living, or in fight for defence of their little ones. And I am ſure you heard of a certeine Cromyonian ſwine, what foule worke ſhe made, being a beaſt of the fæmale ſex, for *Theſeus*, & how ſhe troubled him; as alſo of that monſtrous Sphinx, which kept upon the rocke *Phicion*, and held in awe all that tract underneath and about it: for ſurely all her craft and ſubtilty in deviſing ridles, and propoſing darke queſtions, had booted her nothing, in caſe ſhe had not beene withall, of greater force and courage than all the Cadmeians. In the very ſame quarter was (by report) the fox of *Telmeſus*, a wily and craftie beaſt. And it is given out, that neere unto the ſaid place, was alſo the fell dragon which fought in ſingle fight hand to hand with *Apollo*, for the Seignorie of the oracle at *Delphi*. And even your great king *Agamemnon*, tooke that brave mare *Aethe*, as a gift, of an inhabitant of *Sycion*, for his diſpenſation and immunity, that he might not be preſt to the warres: wherein he did well and wiſely in mine opinion, to preferre a good and couragious beaſt, before a coward and daſtardly man: and you your own ſelfe (*Ulyſſes*) have ſeene many times lioneſſes and ſhe libbards, how they give no place at all to their males in courage and hardineſſe, as your lady *Penelope* doth, who gives you leave to be abroad in warfarre, whiles ſhe ſits at home cloſe by the herth, and by the fire ſide, and dares not doe ſo much as the very ſwallowes, in repelling thoſe back who come to deſtroy her and her houſe, for all ſhe is a Laconian woman borne: What ſhould I tell you of the Carian or Mæonian women? for by this that hath beene ſaid already, it is plaine and evident, that men naturally are not endued with proweſſe, for if they were, then ſhould women likewiſe have their part with them in vertue and valour: And thereupon I inferre and conclude that you and ſuch as you are, exererciſe a kind of valiance (I muſt needs ſay) which is not voluntarie nor naturall, but conſtreined by force of lawes, ſubject and ſervile to (I wot not what) cuſtomes reprehenſions; and you meditate I ſay and practiſe for vain-glorious opinion, fortitude, gaily ſet out with trim words; you ſuſtaine travels and perils, not for that you ſet light by them, nor for any hardineſſe and confidence in your ſelves, but becauſe you are afraid leſt others ſhould goe before you, and be eſteemed greater than you. And like as heere among your mates at ſea, he that firſt riſeth to his buſineſſe of rowing, laieth hand and ſeizeth upon the lighteſt oare that he can meet with, doth it not, for that he deſpiſeth it, but becauſe he avoideth and is affraid to handle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knocke of a baſton or cudgel, becauſe he would not receive any wound by the ſword: as alſo, he that reſiſteth an enemie, for to avoid ſome ignominous infamie of death, is not to be ſaid valiant in reſpect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even ſo the valour in you, is nothing els but a wiſe and warie cowardiſe, and your proweſſe and boldneſſe, is no better than timerouſneſſe, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be briefe, if you thinke your ſelves to be more hardie and valiant than beaſts, how commeth it, that your Poets tearme thoſe who fight manfully againſt their enemies, λυκόφρονας. that is, wolves for courage; θυμολέοντας. that is, lion-hearted: and συὶ ἰκέλους ἀλκήν. that is, reſembling the wilde boare in animoſitie and force: but never doth any of them call a lion, ἀνθρωπόθυμον. that is, as valiant as a man: or a wild boare, ἀνδρὶ εἴκελον ἀλκήν. that is, comparable to a man in courage and ſtrength. Yet I wot well, when they would ſpeake exceſſively in compariſon, their maner is, to call men that are ſwift in running, ποδήνεμος. that is, light-footed like the winde: and thoſe who be faire ad beautifull, θεοειδεῖς. that is, angelicall, or to ſee to, like unto angels: and even ſo, they compare and reſemble brave warriours in the higheſt degree, unto beaſts, who in that caſe are much more excellent than men: the reaſon is this, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the ſteele, the file, yea, the very whetſtone that giveth the edge unto fortitude; and this doe brute beaſts bring with them pure and ſimple unto fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with ſome diſcourſe of reaſon, as if wine were delaied with a little water, it is gone and to ſeeke in the greateſt dangers, and faileth at the very point of opportunity, when it is moſt to be uſed. And ſome of you are of opinion, and ſticke not to ſay, that in battell and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that laying aſide all choler, we are to employ ſober and ſtaied reaſon; wherein they ſpeake not amiſſe, and I holde well with them, when the queſtion is of defence onely, and the ſecuring of a mans owne life: but ſurely, if the caſe be ſo, that we are to offend, to annoy and defait our enemie, they talke moſt ſhamefully. Is it not a very abſurd thing, that ye ſhould reproove and blame nature, for that ſhe hath not ſet unto your bodies any ſtings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your ſelves with, ne yet armed you with hooked clawes and tallons to offend your enemies; and in the meane while your owne ſelves take, ſpoile, and bereave the ſoule of that naturall weapon which is inbred with it, or at leaſtwiſe cut the ſame ſhort and diſable it?

ULYSSES.

What *Gryllus*! you ſeeme (as farre as I geſſe) to have beene heeretofore ſome wittie and great oratour; who now grunting out of your ſtie or frank, have ſo pithily argued the caſe, and diſcourſed of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the ſame traine diſputed likewiſe of temperance?

GRYLLUS.

Becauſe forſooth I thought that you would firſt have refuted that which hath already beene ſpoken; but I ſee well you deſire to heare me ſpeake of temperance, becauſe you are the husband of a moſt chaſte wife, and you thinke beſides, that your ſelfe have ſhewed good proofe of your own continencie, in that you have rejected the love & wanton company of *Circe*; but even heerein you are not more perfect, I meane in continence, than any one beaſt, for even they alſo luſt not at all to companie or engender with thoſe that are of a more excellent kind than their owne, but take their pleaſure with thoſe, and make love to ſuch as be of the ſame ſort, and therefore no marvell, that as the Mendeſian buck-goat in *Aegypt*, when he was ſhut up with many faire and beautifull women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of luſt after the does or female goats: So you taking delight in your ordinary love, have no deſire at all, being a man, to ſleepe or deale carnally with an immortall goddeſſe: And as for the chaſtitie and continence of your owne lady *Penelope*, I tell you there be ten thouſand crowes in the world, that after their manner, caing and croking as they doe, will make a meere mocke of it, and ſhew that it is no ſuch matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without ſeeking after a make, not for a litle while, but even for the ſpace of nine ages & lives of a man; ſo that in this reſpect, your faire *Penelope* commeth behind the pooreſt crow or raven that is, and deſerveth not the ninth part of her honour for chaſtitie: But ſeeing you are ware that I am ſo eloquent an oratour, I care not much if I obſerve a methodicall order in this diſcourſe of mine, and like a clearke indeed, beginne firſt with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the diviſion of appetites and luſts, according to their ſeveral diſtinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certaine reſtraint, abridgement, or regularitie of luſts, and deſires, a reſtraint I ſay, and abating of ſuch as are forren, ſtrange, and ſuperfluous, to wit, unneceſſarie, and a regularitie which by election and choiſe of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate thoſe that be naturall and neceſſarie; for you ſee that in luſts and deſires, there be infinit differences: As for example, the appetite to drinke, beſides that it is naturall, is alſo neceſſarie; But the luſt of the fleſh, or concupiſcence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet ſo it is, that we may live commodiouſly without it; ſo as well it may be called naturall, but in no wiſe neceſſarie. Now there is another ſort of deſires, that be neither naturall nor neceſſarie, but accidentall, and infuſed from without by a vaine opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is good, and there be ſuch a number of them, that they goe verie neere to chaſe away and thruſt out, all your naturall appetites, much like as when the aliens and ſtrangers that ſwarme in a citie, drive out and expell the naturall inhabitants; whereas brute beaſts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowſhip to forren affections for to ſettle in their ſoules, but in their whole life, & all their actions be farre remote from vain-glory, ſelfe-conceit, & fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts, diſtant from the ſea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not ſo elegant, ſo fine & curious as men: howbeit otherwiſe, for temperance & good government of their affections, which be not many in number, either domeſticall, or ſtrange & forren, they are more preciſe & woonderfull exact in the obſerving of them than they; for the proofe and truth heereof, the time was once, when I my ſelfe no leſſe doated and was beſotted upon gold than you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor poſſeſſion in the world comparable to it; I was in love alſo of ſilver and ivorie, and he that had moſt ſtore heereof, me thought was a right happie man, and moſt highlie in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it ſkilled not, more baſe minded than *Dolon*, or infortunate otherwiſe than *Priamus*; inſomuch as being linked faſt and tied to theſe deſires, I reaped and received no pleaſure nor any contentment at all from al other bleſſings; for notwithſtanding I was ſufficiently furniſhed with them, yet I tooke my ſelfe left needie and deſtitute of thoſe which I accounted the greateſt; and therefore I well remember, when I ſaw you upon a time ſtately arraid, with a rich robe in *Candie*, I wiſhed not to have your wiſedome and vertue, but your beautifull caſſock ſo deintily and finely wrought, your mantell I ſay of purple, ſo delicate & ſoft, the beautie whereof I beheld with ſuch admiration, that I was even raviſhed and tranſported with the ſight thereof, as for the button or claſpe, al of pure gold, belonging thereto, it had in it a ſingularitie by it ſelfe, and an excellent workeman hee was no doubt, who tooke delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine owne part, I followed after you for to ſee it, as if I had beene enchaunted or bewitched; as women that bee amorous of their lovers: But now being delivered from theſe vaine and fooliſh opinions, and having my braine purged from ſuch fantaſticall conceits, I paſſe over gold and ſilver, and make no more account of them, than I doe of other ordinarie ſtones; your goodly habilliments, your fine embroidered garments of needle worke and tapiſtrie, I ſet ſo light by, that I make more reckoning I aſſure you, of a good deepe puddle of ſoft mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine eaſe, and for to ſleepe when my belly is ful, than of them: neither is there any of theſe appetites comming from without, that hath place in our ſoule, but our life for the moſt part we paſſe in deſires and pleaſures neceſſarie; and even thoſe which are meere naturall onely, and not altogether ſo neceſſarie, wee uſe them neither diſorderly, nor yet unmeaſurably: And of them let us firſt diſcourſe: As for that familiar pleaſure which proceedeth from ſweet odours, and ſuch things, as by their ſent doe affect the ſmelling, over and beſides the ſimple delight that it yeeldeth, which coſteth nought, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commoditie, for to diſcerne nouriſhment, and make choiſe of food; for the tongue is named, as it is indeede, the judge of ſweet, of ſharpe, eager and ſowre ſapours, namely, when as the juices of thoſe things which are taſted, come to bee mingled and concorporate with the diſcretive facultie, and not before: But our ſenſe of ſmelling, before wee once taſte thoſe juices or ſapours, judgeth of the force and qualitie of every thing, yea, and ſenteth them much more exquiſitely than all the taſters that give eſſaie before kings and princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatſoever is ſtrange and offenſive, it rejecteth and ſendeth foorth, neither will it ſuffer the ſame once to touch us, or to offend our taſte; but it bewraieth, accuſeth, and condemneth the evill and noibefore you, and be eſteemed greater than you. And like as heere among your mates at ſea, he that firſt riſeth to his buſineſſe of rowing, laieth hand and ſeizeth upon the lighteſt oare that he can meet with, doth it not, for that he deſpiſeth it, but becauſe he avoideth and is affraid to handle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knocke of a baſton or cudgel, becauſe he would not receive any wound by the ſword: as alſo, he that reſiſteth an enemie, for to avoid ſome ignominous infamie of death, is not to be ſaid valiant in reſpect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even ſo the valour in you, is nothing els but a wiſe and warie cowardiſe, and your prowesſe and boldneſſe, is no better than timerouſneſſe, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be briefe, if you thinke your ſelves to be more hardie and valiant than beaſts, how commeth it, that your Poets tearme thoſe who fight manfully againſt their enemies, λυκόφρονας. that is, wolves for courage; θυμολέοντας. that is, lion-hearted: and συῒ ἰκέλους ἀλκήν. that is, reſembling the wilde boare in animoſitie and force: but never doth any of them call a lion, ἀνθρωπόθυμον. that is, as valiant as a man: or a wild boare, ἀνδρὶ εἴκελον ἀλκήν. that is, comparable to a man in courage and ſtrength. Yet I wot well, when they would ſpeake exceſſively in compariſon, their maner is, to call men that are ſwift in running, ποδηνέμους. that is, light-footed like the winde: and thoſe who be faire ad beautifull, θεοειδεῖς. that is, angelicall, or to ſee to, like unto angels: and even ſo, they compare and reſemble brave warriours in the higheſt degree, unto beaſts, who in that caſe are much more excellent than men: the reaſon is this, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the ſteele, the file, yea, the very whetſtone that giveth the edge unto fortitude; and this doe brute beaſts bring with them pure and ſimple unto fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with ſome diſcourſe of reaſon, as if wine were delaied with a little water, it is gone and to ſeeke in the greateſt dangers, and faileth at the very point of opportunity, when it is moſt to be uſed. And ſome of you are of opinion, and ſticke not to ſay, that in battell and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that laying aſide all choler, we are to employ ſober and ſtaied reaſon; wherein they ſpeake not amiſſe, and I holde well with them, when the queſtion is of defence onely, and the ſecuring of a mans owne life: but ſurely, if the caſe be ſo, that we are to offend, to annoy and defait our enemie, they talke moſt ſhamefully. Is it not a very abſurd thing, that ye ſhould reproove and blame nature, for that ſhe hath not ſet unto your bodies any ſtings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your ſelves with, ne yet armed you with hooked clawes and tallons to offend your enemies; and in the meane while your owne ſelves take, ſpoile, and bereave the ſoule of that naturall weapon which is inbred with it, or at leaſtwiſe cut the ſame ſhort and diſable it?

ULYSSES.

What *Gryllus*! you ſeeme (as farre as I geſſe) to have beene heeretofore ſome wittie and great oratour; who now grunting out of your ſtie or frank, have ſo pithily argued the caſe, and diſcourſed of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the ſame traine diſputed likewiſe of temperance?

GRYLLUS.

Becauſe forſooth I thought that you would firſt have refuted that which hath already beene ſpoken; but I ſee well you deſire to heare me ſpeake of temperance, becauſe you are the husband of a moſt chaſte wife, and you thinke beſides, that your ſelfe have ſhewed good proofe of your own continencie, in that you have rejected the love & wanton company of *Circe*; but even heerein you are not more perfect, I meane in continence, than any one beaſt, for even they alſo luſt not at all to companie or engender with thoſe that are of a more excellent kind than their owne, but take their pleaſure with thoſe, and make love to ſuch as be of the ſame ſort, and therefore no marvell, that as the Mendeſian buck-goat in *Aegypt*, when he was ſhut up with many faire and beautifull women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of luſt after the does or female goats: So you taking delight in your ordinary love, have no deſire at all, being a man, to ſleepe or deale carnally with an immortall goddeſſe: And as for the chaſtitie and continence of your owne lady *Penelope*, I tell you there be ten thouſand crowes in the world, that after their manner, caing and croking as they doe, will make a meere mocke of it, and ſhew that it is no ſuch matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without ſeeking after a make, not for a litle while, but even for the ſpace of nine ages & lives of a man; ſo that in this reſpect, your faire *Penelope* commeth behind the pooreſt crow or raven that is, and deſerveth not the ninth part of her honour for chaſtitie: But ſeeing you are ware that I am ſo eloquent an oratour, I care not much if I obſerve a methodicall order in this diſcourſe

courſe of mine, and like a clearke indeed, beginne firſt with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the diviſion of appetites and luſts,according to their ſeveral diſtinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certaine reſtraint, abridgement,or regularitie of luſts,and deſires,a reſtraint I ſay,and abating of ſuch as are forren, ſtrange,and ſuperfluous, to wit,unneceſſarie, and a regularitie which by election and choiſe of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate thoſe that be naturall and neceſſarie; for you ſee that in luſts and deſires, there be infinit differences: As for example, the appetite to drinke, beſides that it is naturall, is alſo neceſſarie; But the luſt of the fleſh, or concupiſcence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet ſo it is, that we may live commodiouſly without it; ſo as well it may be called naturall, but in no wiſe neceſſarie. Now there is another ſort of deſires, that be neither naturall nor neceſſarie, but accidentall,and infuſed from without by a vaine opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is good, and there be ſuch a number of them, that they goe verie neere to chaſe away and thruſt out,all your naturall appetites, much like as when the aliens and ſtrangers that ſwarme in a citie, drive out and expell the naturall inhabitants; whereas brute beaſts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowſhip to forren affections for to ſettle in their ſoules,but in their whole life,& all their actions be farre remote from vain-glory, ſelfe-conceit, & fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts,diſtant from the ſea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not ſo elegant,ſo fine & curious as men: howbeit otherwiſe,for temperance & good government of their affections,which be not many in number,either domeſticall,or ſtrange & forren, they are more preciſe & woonderfull exact in the obſerving of them than they; for the proofe and truth heereof, the time was once, when I my ſelfe no leſſe doated and was beſotted upon gold than you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor poſſeſſion in the world comparable to it; I was in love alſo of ſilver and ivorie, and he that had moſt ſtore heereof, me thought was a right happie man, and moſt highlie in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it ſkilled not, more baſe minded than *Dolon*, or infortunate otherwiſe than *Priamus*; inſomuch as being linked faſt and tied to theſe deſires,I reaped and received no pleaſure nor any contentment at all from al other bleſſings; for notwithſtanding I was ſufficiently furniſhed with them, yet I tooke my ſelfe left needie and deſtitute of thoſe which I accounted the greateſt; and therefore I well remember, when I ſaw you upon a time ſtately arraid,with a rich robe in *Candie*, I wiſhed not to have your wiſedome and vertue, but your beautifull caſſock ſo deintily and finely wrought, your mantell I ſay of purple, ſo delicate & ſoft, the beautie whereof I beheld with ſuch admiration,that I was even raviſhed and tranſported with the ſight thereof,as for the button or claſpe, al of pure gold, belonging thereto,it had in it a ſingularitie by it ſelfe, and an excellent workeman hee was no doubt,who tooke delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine owne part, I followed after you for to ſee it, as if I had beene enchaunted or bewitched; as women that bee amorous of their lovers: But now being delivered from theſe vaine and fooliſh opinions, and having my braine purged from ſuch fantaſticall conceits, I paſſe over gold and ſilver,and make no more account of them, than I doe of other ordinarie ſtones; your goodly habilliments, your fine embroidered garments of needle worke and tapiſtrie, I ſet ſo light by, that I make more reckoning I aſſure you,of a good deepe puddle of ſoft mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine eaſe,and for to ſleepe when my belly is ful,than of them: neither is there any of theſe appetites comming from without,that hath place in our ſoule, but our life for the moſt part we paſſe in deſires and pleaſures neceſſarie; and even thoſe which are meere naturall onely, and not altogether ſo neceſſarie, wee uſe them neither diſorderly, nor yet unmeaſurably: And of them let us firſt diſcourſe: As for that familiar pleaſure which proceedeth from ſweet odours, and ſuch things, as by their ſent doe affect the ſmelling, over and beſides the ſimple delight that it yeeldeth, which coſteth nought, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commoditie, for to diſcerne nouriſhment, and make choiſe of food; for the tongue is named, as it is indeede, the judge of ſweet, of ſharpe, eager and ſowre ſapours, namely, when as the juices of thoſe things which are taſted, come to bee mingled and concorporate with the diſcretive facultie; and not before: But our ſenſe of ſmelling, before wee once taſte thoſe juices or ſapours, judgeth of the force and qualitie of every thing, yea, and ſenteth them much more exquiſitely than all the taſters that give eſſaie before kings and princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatſoever is ſtrange and offenſive, it rejecteth and ſendeth foorth, neither will it ſuffer the ſame once to touch us, or to offend our taſte; but it bewraieth, accuſeth, and condemneth the evill and noiſome qualitie thereof, before it doth us any harme, and otherwiſe it troubleth not us at all, as it doth you, whom it forceth to mixe and compound together for perfumes, cinamon, nard, ſpike, lavander camell, the ſweet leafe malabathum, and the aromaticall calamus, or cane of *Arabia*, medling and incorporating one within another, by the exquiſit skilling and cunning of the apothecarie and perfumer, forcing drogues and ſpices of divers natures to be blended and confected together, and buying for great ſummes of money one pleaſure, which is not beſeeming men, but rather fit for fine wenches and daintie damoſels, and nothing at all profitable: And yet being thus corrupt as it is, it mareth not onely all women, but alſo the moſt part of you that are men, in ſo much as you will not otherwhiles, lie with your owne eſpouſed wives, unleſſe they be perfumed and beſmeared all over with ſweet oiles and ointments, or els beſtrewed with odoriferous powders, when they come to companie with you: Whereas contrariwiſe among us, the ſow allureth the bore, the doe or ſhe goat draweth unto her the buck, & other females the males of their kinde, by their owne ſent and ſmell, caſting from them the pure and neat ſavour of the medowes, and the verdure of the fields, and ſo comming together as in marriage for generation, with a kinde of mutuall love and reciprocall pleaſure; neither doe the females hold off and make it daintie, diſguiſing and covering (as it were) their owne luſt as harlots doe, with looking ſtrange and coie at the matter, pretending colourable excuſes, or making ſemblance of refuſall, and all to enchant, entiſe, and draw on the rather; nor the males when they come unto them, being pricked with the furious inſtinct of luſt to generation, doe buie either for money or for great paine and travell, or for long ſubjection and ſervitude, the act of generation; but they performe the ſame unfeignedly, and without deceit in due time and ſeaſon, without anie coſt, when as nature in the ſpring ſtirreth up and provoketh the generative concupiſcence of all living creatures, even as it putteth foorth the buds and ſprouts of plants, and anon delaieth as it were and quencheth the ſame; for neither the female after ſhe is once ſped and hath conceived, ſeeketh after the male, nor the male wooeth her any more, nor followeth after her; of ſo little regard and ſmall price is this pleaſure among us; but nature is all in all, and nothing doe wee againſt it: Heereof alſo it is, that there hath not beene knowne unto this day, any luſt ſo farre to tranſpote brute beaſts, as that males ſhould joine in this act with males, or females with females; whereas among you, there be many ſuch examples, even of ſuch as otherwiſe were accounted great and woorthie perſonages, for I let thoſe paſſe who were of no woorth or note to ſpeake of: Even *Agamemnon* went through all *Bæotia,* chaſing and hunting after * *Argynnus,* who fledde ſecretly from him; meane while he pretended colourable, yet falſe excuſes of his abode there, to wit, the ſea and the windes, and afterwards this faire and goodly knight, bathed himſelfe gently in the poole of *Copais,* as it were there to quench the heat of his love, and to deliver himſelfe from this furious luſt. Semblablie *Hercules* purſuing after a yoong beardleſſe Genymade whom he loved, was left behind the other gallants and brave knights that enterpriſed the voiage for the golden fleece, and ſo not embarquing with them, betraied the fleet. Likewiſe upon a ſcutchian of the louver or valted rouſe of *Apollos* temple, ſurnamed *Ptoius,* there was one of you, who ſecretly wrote this inſcription; *Achilles* the faire; even afrer that *Achilles* himſelfe had begotten a ſonne; and I heare ſay, that theſe letters remaine there to be ſeene even at this day: Now if it chaunce that a dunghill cocke tread another cocke, when there is no henne at hand; he is burnt quicke, for that ſome wizard, ſoothſaier, or interpreter of ſuch ſtraunge prodigies, will pronounce that it is omenous, and preſageth ſome evill lucke: Thus you ſee, how men themſelves are forced to confeſſe, that beaſts are more continent than they, & that to ſatisfie & fulfil their luſts, they never violate nor abuſe nature; whereas in you it is otherwiſe: for nature (albeit ſhe have the helpe and aide of the law) is not able to keepe your intemperance within the limits and bounds of reaſon; but like unto a violent ſtreame which runneth forcibly, often times and in many places it worketh much outrage, cauſing great diſorder, ſcandall and confuſion againſt nature, in this point of carnall love and fleſhly luſt: for there have bene men who attempted to meddle and deale with ſhee goats, with ſowes and mares; as alſo women who have bene as wood and raging mad after certeine beaſts of the male kinde: and verily, of ſuch copulations as theſe, are come your Minotaures and Aegipanes; yea, and as I verily thinke, thoſe Sphinxes and Centaures in time paſt, have bene bred by the ſame meanes. True it is (I confeſſe) that otherwhiles, upon neceſſity and extreame famine, a dogge hath bene knowen to have devoured a man or a woman, yea, and ſome fowle hath taſted of their fleſh, and begun to eat it; but there was never found yet any brute beaſt to have luſted after man or woman, to engender with them; whereas men both in this luſt and in many other pleaſures, have

*Or, *Argeus.*

often times perpetrated outrage upon beaſts. Now if they be ſo unbridled, ſo diſordinate and incontinent in theſe appetites, much more diſſolute they are knowen to be than beaſts in other deſires and luſts that be neceſſarie, to wit, in meats and drinks, whereof we never take pleaſure, but it is with ſome profit; but you ſeeking after the tickling pleaſure and delight in drinking and eating, rather than the needfull nouriſhment to content and ſatisfie nature, are afterwards well puniſhed for it by many grievous and long maladies, which proceed all from one ſource, to wit, ſurfeit and repleation, namely, when you ſtuffe and fill your bodies with all ſorts of flatulent humors & ventoſities, which hardly are purged & excluded forth: for firſt & formoſt, ech ſort of beaſts hath a ſeverall food and peculiar kinde of nouriſhment; ſome feed upon graſſe, others upon roots, and ſome there be againe which live by fruits: as for thoſe that devoure fleſh, they never touch any other kinde of paſture, neither come they to take from the weaker and more feeble kind, their proper nouriture, but ſuffer them to graſe & feed quietly. Thus we ſee that the lion permitteth the ſtag and hinde to graſe; and the wolfe likewiſe the ſheepe, according to natures ordinance and appointment: but man (being through his diſordinate appetite of pleaſures, and by his gluttonie, provoked to all things, taſting and aſſaying whatſoever he can meet with or heare of, as knowing indeed no proper and naturall food of his owne) is of all creatures living, he alone that eateth and devoureth all things; for firſt, he feedeth upon fleſh, without any need or neceſſitie enforcing him thereto, conſidering that he may alwaies gather, preſſe, cut and reape from plants, vines and ſeeds, all ſort of fruits, one after another in due and convenient ſeaſons, untill he be weary againe, for the great quantity thereof; and yet for to content his delicate tooth, and upon a lothſome fulneſſe of neceſſarie ſuſtenance, he ſeeketh after other victuals, neither needfull nor meet for him, ne yet pure and cleane, in killing living creatures, much more cruelly than thoſe ſavage beaſts that live of ravin: for bloud and carnage of murdered carcaſes is the proper and familiar food for a kite, a wolfe, or a dragon; but unto man it ſerveth in ſtead of his daintie diſh: and more than ſo, man in the uſe of all ſorts of beaſts, doth not like other creatures that live of prey, which abſteine from the moſt part, and warre with ſome ſmall nũber, even for very neceſſity of food; for there is neither fowle flying in the aire, nor (in maner) any fiſh ſwimming in the ſea, nor (to ſpeake in one word) any beaſt feeding upon the face of the earth, that can eſcape thoſe tables of yours, which you call gentle, kinde and hoſpitall. But you will ſay, that all this ſtandeth in ſtead of ſauce to ſeaſon your food: be it ſo: why then doe you kill the ſame for that purpoſe, and for to furniſh thoſe your milde and courteous tables?

*But the wiſedome of beaſts, farre different; for it giveth place to no arte whatſoever, that is vaine and needleſſe; and as for thoſe that be neceſſarie, it enterteineth them not as comming from others, nor as taught by mercenarie maſters for hire and money; neither is it required, that it ſhould have any exerciſe to glue (as it were, and joine after a ſlender maner) ech rule, principle and propoſition, one to another; but all at once of it ſelfe, it yeeldeth them all as native and inbred therewith. We heare ſay, that all the Aegyptians be Phyſicians; but ſurely every beaſt hath in it ſelfe not onely the art and skill to cure and heale it ſelfe when it is ſicke, but alſo is ſufficiently inſtructed how to feed and nouriſh it ſelfe, how to uſe her owne ſtrength, how to fight, how to hunt, how to ſtand at defence, yea, and in very muſicke they are skilfull, ech one in that meaſure as is requiſit and befitting the owne nature: for of whom have we learned, finding our ſelves ill at eaſe, to goe into the rivers for to ſeeke for crabbes and craifiſhes? who hath taught the tortoiſes, when they have eaten a viper, to ſeeke out the herbe *Organ* for to feed upon? who hath ſhewed unto the goats of *Candie*, when they be ſhot into the bodie with arrowes, to finde out the herbe *Dictamnus*, for to feed on it, and thereby to cauſe the arrow head to come forth and fall from them? For if you ſay (as the trueth is) that nature is the ſchoole-miſtreſſe, teaching them all this, you referre and reduce the wiſedome and intelligence of dumbe beaſts unto the ſageſt and moſt perfect cauſe or principle that is; which if you thinke you may not call reaſon, nor prudence, ye ought then to ſeeke out ſome other name for it, that is better and more honourable: and to ſay a trueth, by effects ſhee ſheweth her puiſſance to be greater and more admirable, as being neither ignorant nor ill taught, but having learned rather of it ſelf, not by imbecilitie and feebleneſſe of nature, but contrariwiſe, through the force and perfection of naturall vertue, letting go, and nothing at all eſteeming that beggerly prudence which is gotten from other by way of apprentiſſage. Nevertheleſſe, all thoſe things which men either for delicacie or in mirth and paſtime, do preſent unto them for to learne and to exerciſe their conceit and wit withall, howſoever they be againſt the naturall inclination of their bodies: yet ſuch is their capacitie and the excellencie of their ſpirit, that they will reach thereto and compaſſe the

*It ſeemeth that ſomewhat is here wanting.

ſame thorowly. I ſay nothing how whelps follow and trace beaſts by the foot, or how colts practiſe to ſet their feet forward in their pace by meaſures: but how crowes and ravens will talke and prattle, how dogs will leape and dance upon wheeles as they turne round about: alſo horſes and oxen we ſee in the theaters, how they being taught to couch and lie downe, to daunce, to ſtand upright on their hinder feet, ſo woonderfully, that men themſelves have much adoo to performe the like dangerous geſtures, and yet this they doe after they have once learned it from others, yea, and remember the feat thereof, onely for a proofe, if there were nothing elſe, that docible they be and apt to learne whatſoever a man would have them, ſince that all this ſerveth for nothing elſe in the whole world. Now if you bee hard of beliefe, and will not be perſwaded that we learne the arts, I will ſay more than ſo; namely, that we can teach the ſame: for the old rowen partridges teach their yoong ones how to runne awaie from before the fowler, and to eſcape by lying upon their backs, and holding up with their feete a clod of earth to hide themſelves under it; and ſee we not daily upon the tops of our houſes, how the old ſtorks ſtanding by their little ones, traine and teach them how to flie; ſemblablie the nightingales inſtruct their yoong birds in ſong, inſomuch as thoſe which be taken unfledge out of the neſt, and are nouriſhed by mans hand, never afterwards ſing ſo well, becauſe they be had away before their time from ſchoole, and want their maſter of muſick. For mine owne part after that I was entred into this bodie, I marvelled much at thoſe reaſons and diſcourſes of ſophiſters, who mainteined and perſwaded me before time, that all living creatures beſides man were without reaſon and underſtanding.

ULYSSES.

You are indeed *Gryllus* now much changed, and you can ſhew unto us by ſound demonſtrations, that a ſheepe is reaſonable, and an aſſe hath wit, can you not?

GRYLLUS.

Yes iwis, good *Ulyſſes*, for even by theſe very arguments, a man may principally collect and gather, that the nature of beaſts is not altogether void of the uſe of reaſon and intelligence: Like as therefore among trees, there is not one more or leſſe deſtitute of ſoule, (I meane that which is ſenſitive) than another, but they be all indifferently & equally void thereof, and not one of them is one jot endued therewith; even ſo in ſenſible beaſts, there would not be one found more ſlow and unapt to learne things of wit and underſtanding than another, if they were not all partakers of reaſon and intelligence, although ſome have the ſame in more or leſſe meaſure than others; and ſay there be ſome very blockiſh and exceeding dull of conceit, conſider withall, how the wily ſleights and craftie conceits of others may be put in balance againſt the ſame, namely, when you ſhall compare the fox, the woolfe, or the bees with the ſheepe and the aſſe; it is all one as if you ſhould ſet *Polyphemus* to your ſelfe; or that *Homer* of *Corinth* to your grandfather *Autolycus*: And yet I thinke verily, that there is not ſo great difference and diſtance betweene beaſt and beaſt, as there is ods in the matter of wiſedome, diſcourſe of reaſon, and uſe of memorie betweene man and man.

ULYSSES.

But take heed of one thing *Gryllus*, that it be not a ſtrange and abſurd poſition, ſounding of no probabilitie at all, to attribute any uſe of reaſon unto thoſe who have no ſenſe or knowledge at all of God.

GRYLLUS.

What *Ulyſſes*, ſhall we not ſay that you being ſo wiſe and excellent as you are, were deſcended from the race of *Siſyphus*, *&c.*

WHETHER IT BE LAWFULL TO EAT FLESH OR NO.

The former Oration or Treatiſe.

The Summarie.

Eloquence was highly eſteemed in times paſt among Greeks and Romans, and therefore their children were trained and framed betimes in the ſchooles to diſcourſe well, in good tearmes, and proper phraſes, yea, and with pregnant and ſound reaſons of divers matters; to the end that when they were come to more yeeres, they might make proofe of their ſufficiencie in courts and publike aſſemblies of cities, in private conſultations and familiar conferences, as it appeereth very plainly by the hiſtories of all ages: Now after that yoong children had learned of their ſchoole-maſters the rules and precepts named Progymnaſmata, *or the firſt exerciſes, they were brought into the auditorie of ſome great profeſſor in Rhetoricke; where there were propoſed unto them certaine themes, gathered out of poets, hiſtorians, or philoſophers, upon which they exerciſed their ſtile to write* pro & contra, *in the defence or confutation of this or that opinion, according to the meaſure of their ſpirit and capacitie, more or leſſe: Thoſe who were more forward, and farther proceeded than the reſt, cond by heart that which they had penned, and pronounced the ſame afterward in the preſence of thoſe that came to heare them: Some of them who were growen to a greater meaſure of knowledge, and as it were in the higheſt forme of ſuch exerciſes, were woont to ſtand foorth and anſwer to all queſtions propounded, diſputing and diſcourſing in the praiſe or diſpraiſe of one and the ſame thing, as* Gorgias, Carneades, *and an infinit number of others, are able to make good and verifie. This maner of exerciſe, named Declamations, was practiſed in* Plutarchs *time, as may be collected out of divers places of his works: and as theſe two treatiſes immediatly following, do ſufficiently declare, the which are maimed and imperfect at the very beginning, in the mids and toward the end, eſpecially the ſecond: for it may be eaſily ſeene that they are fragments of certeine declamations which he wrote for his owne exerciſe when he was a yoong man. Now albeit they be ſo corrupt and defective in maner all thorowout, yet the remnant which is left unto us, doth ſufficiently diſcover the honeſt occupation and emploiment of learned men in thoſe daies, and the carefull induſtrie that they had to examine & diſcuſſe all things thorowly, to the end that by a diligent conference thereof, the trueth might the better appeare and be knowen. And if otherwhiles they mainteined certeine paradoxes and ſtrange opinions, it was not upon any croſſe and litigious ſpirit to defend obſtinately all that came into their fantaſticall braine, but for to augment and encreaſe in themſelves an earneſt deſire to apprehend and underſtand things better: And howſoever our author ſeemeth to be of minde for to defend the opinion of* Pythagoras, *as touching the tranſmigration of ſoules, and the prohibition to eate fleſh; yet by other treatiſes written with more deliberate, mature and ſtaid judgement, he giveth us to underſtand, that he is of a contrarie opinion; but his principall ſcope that he ſhooteth at, ſeemeth to be a cutting off and abridging of the great exceſſe and ſuperfluitie in purveying, buying, and ſpending of viands, which in his time began to grow out of all meaſure; a diſorder and inormitie which afterwards encreaſed much more. For to gaine and compaſſe this point, hee would ſeeme to perſwade men to the opinion of* Pythagoras, *which mightily cutteth the wings of all riot and waſtfull diſſolution. Moreover, this ought not to be taken ſo, as if it favoured and ſeconded the errour of certeine fantaſticall perſons, who have condemned the uſe of Gods good creatures: for in the ſchoole of* Chriſt *wee are taught good leſſons, which refute ſufficiently the dreames of the Pythagoreans, and reſolve aſſuredly the good conſcience of all thoſe that make uſe of all creatures (meet for the ſuſtentation of this life) ſoberly and with thankſgiving, as knowing them to be good, and their uſe cleane and pure unto thoſe* *whom the ſpirit of regeneration hath ſanctified, for to make them partakers of that realme which is not ſhut up and incloſed in meats and drinks. As touching this preſent tract for the maintenance of* Pythagoras *his paradox, he alledgeth* ***five*** *reaſons: to wit, That the eating of fleſh, is a teſtimonie and ſigne of inhumanitie; That we ought to forbeare it, conſidering we are not driven upon neceſſitie to feed thereupon; That it is an unnaturall thing; That it hurteth ſoule and body: and for a concluſion; That men will never come themſelves and converſe modeſtly together, if they learne not firſt to be pitifull and kinde even to the very dumbe beaſts.*

WHETHER IT BE LAWfull to eat fleſh or no.

The former Oration or Treatiſe.

But you demand of mee, for what cauſe *Pythagoras* abſteined from eating fleſh? And I againe do marvell, what affection, what maner of courage, or what motive and reaſon had that man, who firſt approched with his mouth unto a ſlaine creature, who durſt with his lips once touch the fleſh of a beaſt either killed or dead; or how he could finde in his heart to be ſerved at his table with dead bodies, and as a man may ſay, very idols, to make his food and nouriſhment of thoſe parts and members which a little before did blea, low, bellow, walke and ſee. How could his eies endure to beholde ſuch murder and ſlaughter, whiles the poore beaſts were either ſticked or had the throats cut, were flaied and diſmembred? how could his noſe abide the ſmell and ſent that came from them? how came it that his taſte was not cleane marred and overthrowen with horrour, when he came to handle thoſe uncouth ſores and ulcers, or receive the bloud and humours, iſſuing out of the deadly wounds.

> *The ſkinnes now flaied, upon the ground did ſpraule,*
> *The fleſh on ſpits did bellow ſtill and low:*
> *Roaſt, ſod and raw, did crie aſwell as craule,*
> *And yeeld a voice of living oxe or cow.*

But this, you will ſay, is a loud lie, and a meere poeticall fiction; howbeit, this was certeinly a ſtrange and monſtrous ſupper, that any man ſhould hunger after thoſe beaſts, and deſire to eat them whiles they ſtill kept a lowing; to preſcribe alſo, and teach men how they ſhould feed of thoſe creatures which live and crie ſtill; to ordeine likewiſe, how they ought to be dreſſed, boiled, roaſted, and ſerved up to the boord.

But he who firſt invented theſe monſtruoſities, ought to be inquired after, and not hee who laſt gave over and rejected the ſame. Or a man may well ſay, that thoſe who at the firſt began to eat fleſh, had all juſt cauſes ſo to do, in regard of their want and neceſſitie: for ſurely, it was not by reaſon of diſordinate and enormious appetite which they uſed a long time, nor upon plentie and abundance of neceſſarie things, that they grew to this inſolencie, to ſeeke after ſtrange pleaſures, & thoſe contrarie to nature. But verily, if they could recover their ſenſes and ſpeech againe, they might well ſay now, Oh how happie and well beloved of the gods are you, who live in theſe daies! in what a world and age are you borne! what affluence of all ſorts of good things do you enjoy! what harveſts, what ſtore of fruits yeeldeth the earth unto you! how commodious are the vintages! and what riches do the fields bring unto you! what a number of trees and plants do furniſh you with delights and pleaſures, which you may gather and receive, when you thinke good! you may live (if you liſt) in all maner of delicacie, without once fouling your hands for the matter; whereas our hap was to be borne in the hardeſt time and moſt terrible age of the world, when as we could not chuſe but incur (by reaſon of the new creation of all things) a great want and ſtreight indigence of many neceſſaries: the face of the heaven and skie was ſtill covered with the aire; the ſtarres were dusked with troubled and inſtable humors, together with fire and tempeſtuous windes: the ſunne was not yet ſetled and eſtabliſhed, having a conſtant and certeine race to holde his courſe in,

From Eaſt to Weſt, to make both even and morne
Dinſtinct, nor by returne from Tropiques twaine;
The ſeaſons chang'd from thoſe that were beforne,
Bedight with leaves, with flowers, with fruits and graine.

The earth ſuffered wrong by the inordinate ſtreames and inundations of rivers, which had neither certeine chanels nor banks: much of it lay waſte and deformed, with loughs, mariſhes, and deepe bogges; much alſo remained ſavage, being over-ſpred with wild woods and fruitleſſe foreſts: it brought forth no fruits ripe and pleaſant; neither were there any tooles and inſtruments belonging to any arte; nor ſo much as any invention of a witty head. Hunger never gave us eaſe or time of repoſe; neither was there any expectation or waiting for the yeerely ſeaſons of ſeedneſſe, for there was no ſowing at all. No marvell therefore, if we did eat the fleſh of beaſts and living creatures even contrary to nature, conſidering that then the very moſſe and barke of trees ſerved for food; & well was he who could find any greene graſſe or quicke coich, or ſo much as the root of the herbe * *Phleos*: but whenſoever men could meet with acornes and maſt to taſte and feed upon, they would dance and hop for joy about an oake or beech tree; and in their ruſticall ſongs call the earth their bountifull mother, and their kinde nourſe: and ſuch a day as that onely, they accounted feſtivall: all their life beſides was full of vexation, ſorrow and heavineſſe. But now, what rage, what furie and madneſſe inciteth you to commit ſuch murders and carnage? ſeeing you have ſuch ſtore and plentie of all things neceſſarie for your life? why belie you the earth, and moſt unthankfully diſhonour her, as if ſhee could not ſuſteine and nouriſh you? why doe you violate the divine power of *Ceres* the inventreſſe of ſacred lawes, and ſhame ſweet and gracious *Bacchus*, as if theſe two deities gave you not ſufficient whereupon you might live? what! are you not abaſhed to mingle at your tables pleaſant frutes with bloudie murder? You call lions and libards ſavage beaſts; meane while your ſelves are ſtained with bloudſhed, giving no place to them in crueltie, for where as they doe worie and kill other beaſts, it is for verie neceſſitie and need of food; but you doe it for daintie fare, for when wee have ſlaine either lions or wolves in defence of our ſelves, we eat them not but let them lie: But they be the innocent, the harmeleſſe, the gentle and tame creatures, which have neither teeth to bite, nor pricke to ſting withall, which we take and kill, although nature ſeemeth to have created them, onely for beautie and delight: [Much like as if a man ſeeing *Nilus* overflowing his banks, and filling all the countrey about with running water, which is generative and frutefull, would not praiſe with admiration the propertie of that river, cauſing to ſpring and grow ſo many faire and goodly fruits, and the ſame ſo neceſſarie for mans life; but if he chance to eſpie a crocodill ſwimming, or an aſpick creeping and gliding downe, or ſome venemous flie, hurtfull and noiſome beaſts all, blameth the ſaid river upon that occaſion, and ſaith that they be cauſes ſufficient, that of neceſſitie he muſt complaine of the thing: Or verily, when one ſeeing this land and champian countrey overſpred with good and beautifull frutes, charged alſo and repleniſhed with eares of corne, ſhould perceive caſting his eie over thoſe pleaſant corne fields, here & there an eare of darnel, choke-ervil, or ſome ſuch unhappie weed among, ſhould thereupon forbeare to reape and carie in the ſaid corne, and forgoe the benefit of a plentifull harveſt, & find fault therewith: Semblably ſtandeth the caſe when one ſeeth the plea of an oratour in anie cauſe or action, who with a full and forcible ſtreame of eloquence, endevoureth to ſave his client out of the danger of death, or otherwiſe to proove and verifie the charges and imputations of certaine crimes; this oration (I ſay) or eloquent ſpeech of his, running not ſimplie and nakedly, but carrying with it many and ſundrie affections of all ſorts, which he imprinteth in the minds and hearts of the hearers or judges, which being many alſo, and thoſe divers and different, he is to turne, to bend and change, or othewiſe, to dulce, appeaſe and ſtaie; if he I ſay ſhould anon paſſe over and not conſider the principall iſſue, and maine point of the cauſe, and buſie himſelfe in gathering out ſome by-ſpeeches beſides the purpoſe, or haply ſome phraſes improper and impertinent, which the oration of ſome advocate with the flowing courſe thereof, hath caried downe with it, lighting thereupon, and falling with the reſt of his ſpeech.] But we are nothing mooved either with the faire and beautifull colour, or the ſweet and tunable voice, or the quickneſſe and ſubtiltie of ſpirit, or the neat and cleane life, or the vivacitie of wit and underſtanding, of theſe poore ſeelly creatures; and for a little peece of fleſh we take away their life, we bereave them of the ſunne and of light, cutting ſhort that race of life which nature had limited and prefixed for them; and more than ſo, thoſe lamentable and trembling voices which they utter for feare, we ſuppoſe to be inarticulate or unſignificant ſounds, and nothing leſſe than pitifull

* Φλέȣ not φλοιȣ̃, which is the barke, & who would ſay, the root of a barke, but *Phleos* as *Theophraſtus* reporteth, is an herbe growing plenteouſly in the lake *Orchomenus* in *Pœotia*, and therefore well enough knowen to *Plutarch*. I take it to be Red-mace or Cats-taile.

* I ſee not how this that is included within theſe marks [ ] agreeth with this place, or matter in hand: I ſuppoſe therefore it is inſerted heere without judgement, & taken out of ſome other booke.

full praiers,ſupplications, pleas & juſtifications of theſe poore innocent creatures, who in their language, everie one of them crie in this manner: If thou be forced upon neceſſitie, I beſeech thee not to ſave my life: but if diſordinate luſt moove thee thereto, ſpare me: in caſe thou haſt a mind ſimply to eat on my fleſh, kill me: but if it be for that thou wouldeſt feed more delicately, hold thy hand and let me live. O monſtrous crueltie! It is an horrible ſight to ſee the table of rich men onely, ſtand ſerved and furniſhed with viands, ſet out by cooks and victuallers that dreſſe the fleſh of dead bodies; but moſt horrible it is to ſee the ſame taken up, for that the reliques and broken meats remaining, be farre more than that which is eaten: To what purpoſe then were thoſe ſilly beaſts ſlaine? Now there be others, who making ſpare of the viands ſerved to the table, will in no hand that they ſhould be cut or ſliced; ſparing them when as they be nothing els but bare fleſh; whereas they ſpared them not whiles they were living beaſts: But foraſmuch as we have heard that the ſame men hold and ſay: That nature hath directed them to the eating of fleſh; it is plaine and evident, that this cannot accord with mans nature: And firſt and formoſt this appeereth by the very fabrick and compoſition of his bodie; for it reſembleth none of thoſe creatures whom nature hath made for to feed on fleſh, conſidering they have neither hooked bil, no hauke-pointed tallans, they have no ſharpe and rough teeth, nor ſtomack ſo ſtrong, or ſo hot breath and ſpirit, as to be able to concoct and digeſt the heavy maſſe of raw fleſh: And if there were naught elſe to be alledged, nature her-ſelfe by the broadneſſe and united equallity of our teeth, by our ſmall mouth, our ſoft toong, the imbecillitie of naturall heat, and ſpirits ſerving for concoction, ſheweth ſufficiently that ſhe approoveth not of mans uſage to eat fleſh, but diſſavoreth and diſclaimeth the ſame: And if you obſtinately maintaine and defend, that nature hath made you for to eat ſuch viands; then, that which you minde to eat firſt kill your ſelfe, even your owne ſelfe (I ſay) without uſing any blade, knife, bat, club, axe, or hatchet: And even as beares, lions, and woolves, ſlay a beaſt according as they meane to eat it; even ſo kill thou a beefe, by the bit of thy teeth; ſlay me a ſwine with the helpe of thy mouth and iawes; teare in peeces a lambe or an hare with thy nailes; and when thou haſt ſo done, eat it up while it is alive, like as beaſts doe; but if thou ſtaieſt untill they be dead ere thou eate them, and art abaſhed to chaſe with thy teeth the life that preſently is in the fleſh which thou eateſt; why doeſt thou againſt nature eat that which had life? and yet, when it is deprived of life, and fully dead, there is no man hath the heart to eat the ſame as it is; but they cauſe it to be boiled, & to be roſted; they alter it with fire, and many drogues and ſpices, changing, diſguiſing, and quenching (as it were) the horror of the murder, with a thouſand devices of ſeaſoning; to the end that the ſenſe of taſting being beguiled and deceived by a number of ſweet ſauces and pleaſant conditure, might admit and receive that which it abhorreth, and is contrary unto it. Certes it was a pretie conceit which was reported by a Laconian, who having bought in his Inne or hoſtelrie, a little fiſh, gave it, as it ſhould ſeeme, to the Inkeeper for to be dreſſed; but when hee called unto him for vineger, cheeſe, and oyle to doe it withall: If (quoth the Laconian) I had that which thou demandeſt of me, I would never have bought this fiſh. But we contrariwiſe, for to pleaſe our delicate tooth, are ſo delighted in ſlaughter and carnage, that fleſh we call our viand; and yet then we have need of other viands for the very dreſſing of fleſh it ſelfe, mixing and adding thereto, oile, wine, honie, the prickle or ſauce *garum* and vineger, embalming (as it were) and burying a dead corps with Syriake ſpices and Arabicke ſauces. And verily, when our fleſh meats after this maner be mortified, made tender, and in ſome ſort putrified, our naturall heat hath much adoe to concoct the ſame, and being not able in deed to digeſt them perfitly, it ingendereth in us dangerous heavineſſe and crudities apt to breed diſeaſes. *Diogenes* upon a time was ſo raſh, that he durſt eat a polype or pourcuttle fiſh all raw, becauſe he would have taken away the uſe and helpe of fire in dreſſing ſuch meats: and there being certeine prieſts and many other men ſtanding about him, when he covered his head with his cloake, and put the fleſh of the ſaid poulpe to his mouth, he ſaid unto them all; For your ſake it is that I hazard my ſelfe thus as I doe, and adventure this jeopardie. Now by *Jupiter*, this was a proper perill in deed, and a doutie danger, was it not? for this Philoſopher heere expoſed not himſelfe to any perillous hazard, as *Pelopidas* did, for recovery of the Thebans libertie; nor as *Armodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, for the freedome of *Athens*: who thus wreſtled with a raw poulpe fiſh in his ſtomacke, and all to make the life of man more beaſtlike and ſavage. Well then, plaine it is that the eating of fleſh is not onely unnaturall in regard of the bodie, but alſo by repletion, fulneſſe and ſatietie, it maketh the ſoule fat and groſſe: for the drinking of wine and feeding upon fleſh meats to the full, howſoever it may ſeeme to cauſe the bodie to be more able and ſtrong, yet ſurely the minde it doth enfeeble and weaken. And leſt I ſhould be thought a profeſſed enemie to thoſe who practiſe the exerciſe of the bodie named Athleticæ, I will uſe the domeſticall examples of mine owne countrey: for the inhabitants of *Attica* do tearme us of *Bæotia*, fat-backs, groſſe and ſenſeleſſe, yea, and blockiſh ſots, principally for our ranke and large feeding; like as one ſaid:

> *Of trueth theſe men, in judgement mine,*
> *Be nothing els but franked ſwine.*

And as *Menander* wrote in one place:

> *With fat their cheeks be puft and ſwolne:*
> *See, ſee their chaps how they be bolne.*

As alſo *Pindarus*:

> *They plie their jawes, they feed amaine,*
> *That even their cheeks do ſhine againe.*

But according to *Heraclitus*, the drie ſoule ſeemeth to be the wiſeſt: for know thus much moreover; that emptie, tunnes, pipes, or barrels, reſound when they be knocked upon; whereas if they be full, they anſwer not againe to the knocks or ſtroaks given them: braſſe pannes or coppers which be thin & ſlender, render ſounds, and ring all about untill ſuch time as one come and with his hand ſeeme to ſtop and dull the ſtroke that otherwiſe went round about: The eie filled with ſuperfluous humiditie, becommeth dim and darke, neither hath it the full ſtrength and power to performe his office. When we behold the ſunne through a moiſt aire, and a number of thick miſts, and groſſe undigeſted vapors, we ſee him not in his owne nature pure, cleere, and bright; but as it were in the bottome of a cloud, all duskiſh, and caſting foorth thicke wandring and diſperſed beames: And even ſo through a bodie troubled with vapors, full fedde overcharged with nutriments, of unkind and ſtrange viands, it cannot chuſe but all the light and ſhining brightneſſe of the ſoule which is naturall, ſhould become dusked and troubled, having no radiant ſetled ſplendour, able to pierce throughly to the ends and externities of ſubtile and fine objects, hardly to be diſcerned, but the ſame is wandering, unſteadie and diſperſed.

But ſetting all theſe matters aſide, is it not, thinke you, a right commendable thing to be acquainted and accuſtomed to humanitie? for who would ever finde in his heart to abuſe & wrong a man, who is affectionate, gentle, and milde, to the very beaſts which are of a ſtrange kind from us, and have no communication of reaſon with us? Three daies agoe, I alledged and cited in my diſputation a teſtimonie of *Xenocrates* to this purpoſe; and namely: How the Athenians condemned him to pay a round fine, who had flaied a quick ramme: And in very truth, he that tormenteth and putteth to paine one that is living, is not in my conceit woorſe than he that taketh the life away and killeth him: Howbeit, as farre as I can ſee, more ſenſe and feeling we have of ſuch things as be unuſuall and againſt cuſtome, than unnaturall and contrarie unto kinde: But thoſe reaſons which I then delivered, ſmell haply of ſome groſſeneſſe, and were too triviall; for I feare and am loth to touch and ſet abroch in theſe my diſcourſes, that great and high principle, that deepe and myſticall cauſe of this our poſition: That we ought not to eat fleſh; for that I ſay the hidden ſecret and original thereof is ſo incredible to baſe and timorous perſons, as *Plato* ſaith, and to ſuch as favour of nothing but of earthly and mortall matters; and heerein I fare much like unto the pilot and maſter of the ſhip, who in a tempeſt is afraid to put his ſhip to ſea; or unto a poet, who dareth not ſet up his fabrick or engin in the theater, all while the ſtage or pageant is turned and caried round about: And yet peradventure it were not amiſſe in this place to reſound and pronounce aloud thoſe verſes of *Empedocles*, * * *. For under covert tearmes he doth allegorize and give us to underſtand; that the ſoules heere, are tied and faſtened to mortall bodies, by way of puniſhment, for that they have beene murderers, have eaten fleſh, devoured one another, and beene fed by mutuall ſlaughter and carnage: And yet this ſeemeth to be an opinion more ancient than *Empedocles*: for thoſe fictions of Poets as touching the diſmembring of *Bacchus*, and the outragious attempts of the Tyrans againſt him, and how they taſted of fleſh murdred, as alſo of their puniſhment, and how they were ſmitten with lightning, they be meere fables: the hidden mythologie whereof, tendeth to that renovation of birth or reſurrection: for ſurely that brutiſh and reaſonleſſe part of our ſoule which is violent, diſordered, and not divine, but diveliſh and dæmoniack, the auncient philoſophers called Titans; and this is that which is tormented, and ſuffereth judiciall puniſhment.

OF EATING FLESH.

The ſecond Declamation.

The Summarie.

OVr author purſuing in this ſecond Treatiſe his matter and propoſition, which he broched and began in the former declamation; and acknowledging how gourmandiſe, gluttony, and evill cuſtome be dangerous counſellers; yet granteth and agreeth in the end, that a man may eat fleſh, upon certaine conditions which he doth ſpecifie, condemning withall, the cruell exceſſe and riot of many in their fare. After this, having ſhewed by the example of Lycurgus, *that we ought to cut off the firſt occaſions of all ſuperfluities, he conferreth the opinions of* Pythagoras *and* Empedocles, *with thoſe of other philoſophers, and therewith ſetteth downe his owne conceit and advice. Afterwards when he had in one word touched, from whence, and whereupon men become ſo bold and hardie to eat fleſh; he declareth afreſh and prooveth, that this manner of feeding doth woonderfully prejudice both bodie and ſoule. And in concluſion, he confuteth the Stoicks, oppoſite enemies to the doctrine of* Pythagoras; *leaving this refutation unperfect, were it that himſelfe never finiſhed it, or that the malice and iniquitie of the time hath deprived us thereof: Like as many other fragments miſsing in theſe works.*

OF EATING FLESH.

The ſecond Declamation.

REaſon would, that we ſhould be freſh diſpoſed, and readie in will, in mind and thought, to heare the diſcourſe againſt this muſtie and unſavorie cuſtome of eating fleſh: For hard it is, as *Cato* was woont to ſay, to preach unto the belly that hath no eares; and beſides wee have all drunke of the cup of cuſtome, reſembling that of *Circe* which

Compounded is of dolors griefes and paines,
Of ſorrowes, woes, and of deceitfull traines:

Neither is it an eaſie matter for them to caſt up againe the hooke of the appetite to eat fleſh, who have ſwallowed it downe into their entrals, and are tranſported and full of the love of pleaſures and delights: But well and happie it were for us, if, as the manner is of the Aegyptians, ſo ſoone as men are dead, to paunch them, and when their belly and bowels be taken foorth, to mangle, cut and ſlice the ſame againſt the ſunne, and then to fling them away, as being the cauſe of all ſinnes that they have committed: ſo we would firſt cut away from our ſelves all our gourmandiſe, gluttonie, and murdering of innocent creatures, that we might afterwards lead the reſt of our life pure and holy; conſidering that it is not the belly it ſelfe that by murder defileth us; but polluted it is by our intemperance. But ſay, it is not in our power to effect thus much, or be it, that upon an inveterate cuſtome, we are aſhamed in this point to be innocent and faultleſſe; yet let us at leaſtwiſe commit ſinne in meaſure, and tranſgreſſe with reaſon: Let us I ſay eat fleſh, but ſo, as we be driven thereto for verie hunger, and not drawen to it by a licorous tooth, to ſatiſfie our neceſſitie, and not to feed our greedie and delicate humour: kill we a beaſt, howbeit with ſome griefe of heart, with ſome commiſeration and pitty; and not of a proud and inſolent ſpirit, ne yet of a murderous minde;

as men doe now adaies, after many and divers ſorts: For ſome in killing of ſwine or porkets, thruſt them in with red-hot ſpits; to the end that the bloud being ſhed and quenched as it were by the tincture of the firie iron, running through the body, might cauſe the fleſh forſooth to be more tender and delicate: ye ſhall have others leape upon the udders and paps of the poore ſowes ready to farrow, and trample upon their bellies and teats with their feet, that the bloud, the milke, and the congealed bag of the yoong pigges, knit within the dammes wombe, being all jumbled, confuſed and blended together, even amidde the painfull pangs of farrowing (O *Jupiter Piacularis*) they might make (I would not els) a moſt deintie diſh of meat, and devoure the moſt corrupt and putrified part of the poore beaſt: many there are who have a device to ſtitch and ſowe up the eies of cranes and ſwannes, and when they have ſo done, to mew them up in a darke place, and ſo feed them, cramming them with ſtrange compoſitions and paſtes made of dried figges; but wot you why? becauſe their fleſh ſhould be more deintie and pleaſant: whereby it appeareth evidently, that it is not for need of nouriſhment, nor for want and neceſſitie; but even for ſacietie, wantonneſſe, ſumptuous curioſitie, and ſuperfluous exceſſe, that of horrible injuſtice and wickedneſſe, they make their pleaſure and delight: and like as the filthy lecherous perſon, who is unſatiable in the pleaſure of women, after he hath aſſaied many, runneth on headlong ſtill, roving and ranging every way, and yet his unbrideled and untamed luſt is not yet ſatisfied, but hee falleth to perpetrate ſuch horrible villanies as are not once to be named; even ſo intemperance in meats, when it hath paſſed once the bounds of nature, and limits of neceſſitie, proceedeth to outrage and crueltie, ſearching all meanes how to varie and change the diſordinate appetite; for the organs and inſtruments of our ſenſes, by a fellow-feeling and contagion of maladies, are affected one by another, yea, and runne into diſorder and ſinne together, through intemperance, when they reſt not contented with the meaſure aſſigned them by nature: Thus the hearing being out of frame and ſicke, or not guided by reaſon, marreth muſicke; the feeling when it is degenerate into an effeminate delicacie, ſeeketh filthily after wanton ticklings, touchings, and frictious handling of women: the ſame vice of intemperance hath taught the eieſight not to be contented with beholding moriſks, pyrrhick, or warlike dances, nor other lawdable and decent geſtures, ne yet to ſee and view faire pictures and goodly ſtatues, but to eſteeme the death and murder of men, their mortall wounds, bloudie fights, and deadly combats, to be the beſt ſights and ſpectacles that can be deviſed. And heereupon it is, that upon ſuch exceſſive fare & ſuperfluity at the table, there enſue ordinarily wanton loves; upon lecherie and filthy venerie, there followeth beaſtly talke; theſe baudie ballads and ſtinking tales, be accompanied commonly with hideous ſights, & monſtrous ſhewes: laſtly, theſe horrible ſpectacles have attending upon them, crueltie and inhumane impaſſibilitie, even in the caſes of verie mankind. Heereupon it was that *Lycurgus* the divine law-giver, in thoſe three ordinances of his which he called *Rhetræ*, commanded that the dores, rouſes & finials of houſes, ſhould be made with the ſaw & the ax onely, & no other inſtrument beſides thereto emploied; which he did not, I aſſure you, for any hatred at all that he conceived againſt augers, wimbles, twibils, or other tooles for joyners or carvers worke; but he knew well inough, that a man would never bring among ſuch ſimple frames a gilded bedſtead, nor venture to carrie into an houſe ſo plainly built, ſilver tables, hangings, carpets and coverings of rich tapeſtrie died with purple, or any precious ſtones; and he wiſt full well, that with ſuch an houſe, with ſuch bedſteads, tables and cups, a frugall ſupper and a ſimple dinner would agree and ſort beſt. For to ſay a truth, upon the beginning and foundation of a diſordinate diet, and ſuperfluous kind of life; all maner of delcacie and coſtly curioſitie uſeth to follow

Like as the ſucking foale, alway
Runnes with the damme, and doth not ſtay.

What ſupper then, is not to be counted ſumptuous, for which there is evermore killed ſome living creature or other: for doe we thinke little of the diſpenſe of a ſoule? and ſuppoſe we, that the loſſe of life is not coſtly? I do not now ſay, that it was peradventure the ſoule of a mother, a father, ſome friend, or a ſonne, as *Empedocles* gave it out; but ſurely a ſoule endued with ſenſe, with ſeeing, hearing, apprehenſion, underſtanding, witte and diſcretion, ſuch as nature hath given to each living creature, ſufficient to ſeeke and get that which is good for it, and likewiſe to avoid and ſhun whatſoever is hurtfull and contrary unto it. Conſider now a little, whether thoſe philoſophers that teach and will us to eat our children, our friends, our fathers and wives when they are dead, doe make us more gentle and fuller of humanitie, than *Pythago-*

ras and *Empedocles*, who accuſtome and acquaint us to be kind and juſt, even to other creatures. Well, you mock and laugh at him that maketh conſcience to eat of a mutton; and ſhall not we (ſay they) laugh a good and make ſport when we ſee one cutting and chopping pieces of his father or mother being dead, and ſending away ſome thereof to his friends who are abſent, and inviting ſuch as be preſent and neere at hand, to come and make merrie with the reſt, cauſing ſuch joints and pieces of fleſh to be ſerved up to the table, without any ſpare at all? But it may be, that we offend now, and commit ſome fault in handling theſe books, having not beforehand clenſed our hands, mundified our eies, purified our feet, and purged our eares; unleſſe perhaps this be their clenſing and expiation, to deviſe & diſcourſe of ſuch things with ſweet & pleaſant words, which as *Plato* ſaith, waſh away all ſalt & brackiſh hearing: but if a man ſhould ſet theſe books & arguments in parallell oppoſition or compariſon one with another; he would judge that ſome of them were the Philoſophie of the Scythians, Tartarians, Sagidians, and Melanchlænians, of whom when *Herodotus* writeth, he is taken for a liar; and as for the ſentences and opinions of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, they were the very lawes, ordinances, ſtatutes, and judgements of the auncient Greeks, according to which they framed their lives, to wit; That there were betweene us and brute beaſts certeine common rights: who were they then, that afterwards otherwiſe ordeined?

Even they who firſt of iron and ſteele,
miſchievous ſwords did forge:
And of poore labouring ox at plough,
began to cut the gorge.

For even thus alſo began tyrants to commit murders; like as at the firſt in old time, they killed at *Athens* one notorious and moſt wicked ſycophant, named *Epitedeius*; ſo they did by a ſecond, and likewiſe a third: now the Athenians being thus acquainted to ſee men put to death; ſaw afterwards *Niceratus* the ſonne of *Nicias* murdred; *Theramenes* alſo the great commander and captaine generall; yea and *Polemarchus* the philoſopher. Semblably, men began at firſt to eat the fleſh of ſome ſavage and hurtfull beaſt, then ſome fowles and fiſh were ſnared and caught with nets, and conſequently, crueltie (being fleſhed as it were, exerciſed and inured in theſe and ſuch like ſlaughters) proceeded even to the poore labouring ox, to the ſilly ſheepe that doth clad and trimme our bodies, yea, and to the houſe-cocke: and thus men by little and little augmenting their inſatiable greedineſſe, never ſtaied untill they came to manſlaughter, to murder, yea, and to bloudie battels. But if a man can not proove nor make demonſtration by ſound reaſons, that ſoules in their reſurrections and new nativities meet with common bodies; ſo as that which now is reaſonable, becommeth afterwards reaſonleſſe, and likewiſe that which at this preſent is wild and ſavage, commeth to be by another birth and regeneration, tame and gentle againe; and that nature tranſmuteth and tranſlateth all bodies, diſlodging and replacing the ſoule of one in another,

And cladding them with robes unknowen,
Of other fleſh, as with their owne.

Are not theſe reaſons yet at leaſtwiſe ſufficient to reclaime and divert men from this unbrideled intemperance of murdring dumb beaſts? namely, that it breedeth maladies, crudities, heavineſſe and indigeſtion in the bodie, that it marreth and corrupteth the ſoule, which naturally is given to the contemplation of high and heavenly things? to wit, when we have taken up a woont and cuſtome, not to feaſt a friend or ſtranger who commeth to viſit us, unleſſe we ſhed bloud; and cannot celebrate a marriage dinner, or make merrie with our neighbours and friends without committing murder? And albeit the ſaid proofe and argument of the tranſmigration of ſoules into ſundrie bodies, be not ſufficiently declared, ſo as it may deſerve to be credited and beleeved; yet ſurely the conceit and opinion thereof, ought to work ſome ſcruple and feare in our harts, and in ſome ſort hold us in & ſtay our hands. For like as when two armies encounter one another in a night battell; if one chaunce to light upon a man fallen upon the ground, whoſe bodie is all covered and hidden with armour, and preſent his ſword to cut his throat, or runne him through, and therewith heare another crying unto him, that he knoweth not certeinly, but thinketh and ſuppoſeth that the partie lying along is his brother, his ſonne, his father, or tent-fellow; whether were it better, that he giving eare and credit to this conjecture and ſuſpicion (falſe though it be) ſhould ſpare and forbeare an enemie for a friend, or rejecting that which had no ſure and evident proofe, kill one of his friends in ſtead of an enemie? I ſuppoſe there is not one of you all but will ſay, that the later of theſe were a moſt groſſe and leud part. Behold moreover *Merope* in the tragedy when ſhe lifteth up her ax for to ſtrike her own ſonne, taking him to be the murderer of her ſonne, and ſaying withall:

Have at thy head, for now I trow,
I ſhall thee give a deadly blow.

what a ſtirre and trouble ſhe maketh over all the theater? how ſhe cauſeth the haire to ſtand upright upon the heads of the ſpectators, for feare leſt ſhe ſhould prevent the old man who was about to take hold of her arme, and ſo wound the guiltleſſe yoong man her ſonne? But if peradventure in this caſe there ſhould have ſtood another aged man faſt by, crying unto her: Strike hardly, for it is your enemie, and a third contrariwiſe, ſaying: Strike not in any wiſe, it is your owne ſonne; whether had beene the greater and more grievous ſinne, to let goe the revengement of her enemie for doubt that he was her ſonne, or to commit filicide and murder her ſonne indeed, for the anger ſhe bare unto her enemie? When as therefore there is neither hatred nor anger that driveth us to doe a murder; when neither revenge, nor feare of our owne ſafetie and life mooveth us, but even for our pleaſure we have a poore ſheepe lying under our hand with the throat turned upward, a philoſopher of the one ſide ſhould ſay: Cut the throat, for it is a brute beaſt, and another admoniſh us on the other ſide, ſaying: Stay your hand and take heed what you doe; for what know you to the contrarie, whether in that ſheepe be the ſoule lodged of ſome kinſman of yours, or peradventure of ſome God? Is the danger (before God) all one and the ſame, whether I refuſe to eat of the fleſh, or beleeve not that I kill my child or ſome one of my kinsfolke?

But ſurely the Stoicks are not equally matched in this fight for the defence of eating fleſh: For what is the reaſon that they ſo band themſelves, and be ſo open mouthed in the maintenance of the belly and the kitchin? what is the cauſe that condemning pleaſure as they doe, for an effeminate thing, and not to be held either good or indifferent, no nor ſo much as familiar and agreeable to nature, they ſtand ſo much in the patronage of thoſe things that make to the pleaſure and delight of feeding? And yet by all conſequence, reaſon would, that conſidering they chaſe and baniſh from the table, all ſweet perfumes and odoriferous ointments, yea, and al paſtrie worke, and banketting junkets, they ſhould be rather offended at the ſight of bloud and fleſh. But now, as if by their preciſe philoſophicall rules, they would controule our day-books and journals of our ordinarie expences, they cut off all the coſt beſtowed upon our table in things needleſſe and ſuperfluous; meane while they finde no fault with that which ſavoureth of bloudſhed and crueltie in this ſuperfluitie of table furniture: We doe not indeed, (ſay they) becauſe there is no communication of rights betweene beaſts and us; but a man might anſwer them againe verie well: No more is there betweene us and perfumes or other forraine and exoticall ſauces, and yet you would have us to abſteine from them, rejecting and blaming on all ſides, that which in any pleaſure is neither profitable nor needfull. But let us I pray you conſider upon this point a little neerer, to wit, whether there be any communitie in right and juſtice, betweene us and unreaſonable creatures or no? and let us doe it not ſubtilly and artificially, as the captious manner is of theſe ſophiſters in their diſputations; but rather after a gentle and familiar ſort, having an eie unto our owne paſſions and affections, let us reaſon and decide the matter with our ſelves.

* * * * * * *

THAT A MAN CANNOT LIVE PLEASANTLY ACCORDING TO THE DOCTRINE OF EPICURUS.

The Summarie.

Great diſputations there have beene holden among the Philoſophers and Sages of the world, as touching the ſovereigne good of man, as it may appeere even at this day by the books that are extant among us; and yet neither one nor other, have hit the true marke whereat they ſhot, to wit: The right knowledge of God: Howbeit, ſome of them are a great deale farther out of the way than others; and namely the Epicureans, whom our author doth perſtringe in many places, as holding a doctrine cleane contrary unto theirs, according as his writings doe teſtifie. And foraſmuch as Epicurus and his diſciples placed and eſtabliſhed this ſovereigne good, in pleaſure of the bodie: this their opinion is heere examined and confuted at large: for in forme of a dialogue Plutarch rehearſeth the communication or conference which he had with Ariſtodemus, Zeuxippus, and Theon, as they walked together immediately after one lecture of his upon this matter, who having ſhewed in generall tearmes the abſurdities of this Epicurian doctrine, mainteineth in one word: That it is no life at all for to live according to the ſame. Then he explaneth and ſheweth what the Epicureans meane by this word To live: and from thence proceedeth forward to refute their imagination, and whatſoever dependeth thereupon, and that by ſound and weighty arguments, intermingling many pretie conceits and pleaſant jeſts, together with certeine proper ſimilitudes for the purpoſe: After he had prooved that they were deceived themſelves, and ſeduced their diſciples; he holdeth moreover this point: That even they deprive themſelves of the true good, which conſiſteth in the repoſe and contentment of the mind, rejecting (as they doe) all Hiſtories, Mathematicall arts and liberall ſciences, and among the reſt, Poëtrie and Muſicke; ſhewing throughout all this diſcourſe, that ſuch perſons are deprived of common ſenſe. Paſsing forward, he holdeth and mainteineth that the ſoule taketh joy in a contentment proper to it ſelfe: and afterwards in diſcourſing of the pleaſure that active life doth bring; he refuteth more and more his adverſarie, addreſsing to this purpoſe, a certeine conference and compariſon betweene the pleaſures of bodie and ſoule; whereby a man may ſee the miſerie of the one, and the excellencie of the other. This point he enricheth with divers examples; the end whereof ſheweth: That there is nothing at all to be counted great or profitable in the ſchoole of Epicurus, whoſe ſcholars never durſt approove his opinion, eſpecially in death: alſo: That vertuous men have without all compariſon much more pleaſure in this world, than the Epicureans, who in their afflictions know not how to receive any joy or comfort by remembrance of their pleaſures paſt. And this is the very ſumme of the dialogue during the time that the above named perſons did walke; who after they were ſet, began the diſputation a freſh, and ſpake in the firſt place, of Gods providence, condemning by divers reaſons the atheiſme of the Epicureans, who are altogether inexcuſable, even in compariſon of the common ſort given to ſuperſtition: continuing and holding on this diſcourſe, he depainteth very lively the nature of the Epicureans, and commeth to repreſent and ſet down the contentment that men of honor have in their religion; where alſo he holdeth this point: That God is not the author of evill; and that the Epicureans are ſufficiently puniſhed for their impietie, in depriving themſelves of that pleaſure which commeth unto us by meditation of the divine wiſedome, in the conduct and management of all things. Conſequently he ſheweth that this their prophane philoſophie overthroweth and confoundeth all perſons, as well in their death, as during their life: Whereupon he proceedeth to treat of the immortality of the ſoule, and of the life to come; deſcribing at large the miſery of the Epicureans: and for a finall concluſion, he compriſeth in fower or five lines the ſummary of all their error, and ſo ſhutteth up and concludeth the whole diſputation.

THAT

THAT A MAN CANNOT live pleaſantly according to the doctrine of *Epicurus*.

Colotes one of the diſciples, and familiar followers of *Epicurus*, wrote and publiſhed a booke, wherein he endevoured to proove and declare: That there was no life at all to ſpeake of, according to the opinions and ſentences of other Philoſophers. Now as touching that which readily came into my minde for the anſwere of his challenge and the diſcourſe againſt his reaſons in the defence of other Philoſophers, I have before-time put downe in writing: but foraſmuch as after the lecture and diſputation of this matter ended, there paſſed many ſpeeches in our walke againſt that ſect; I thought it good to collect and gather the ſame, yea, and to reduce them into a written treatiſe; if for nothing els, yet for this cauſe, to give them at leaſtwiſe to underſtand who are ſo ready to note, cenſure and correct others, that a man ought to have heard and read with great heed and diligence (and not ſuperficially) the works and writings of thoſe whom he taketh upon him to reprove and refute, and not to picke out one word here & another there, or to take hold of his words delivered by way of talke & conference, and not couched and ſet down preciſely in writing, thereby to repell and drive away the ignorant and ſuch as have no knowledge of thoſe things. For when as we walked forth, after the lecture (as our maner was) out of the ſchoole into the common place of exerciſe, *Zeuxippus* mooving ſpeech, began in this wiſe: Me thinks (quoth he) that this diſcourſe hath beene delivered much more mildly and gently, than becommeth frankneſſe and libertie of ſpeech beſeeming the ſchooles; which is the reaſon that *Heraclides* and his followers be departed from us, as diſcontented and diſpleaſed, yea, and much more bitterly nipping and checking us (without any cauſe given on our part) than either *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus*. Then *Theon*: Why ſaid you not (quoth he) that *Colotes* (in compariſon of them) is the moſt modeſt and faireſt ſpoken man in the world? For the moſt foule and reprochfull tearmes that can be deviſed for to raile and ſlander withall, to wit, of ſacrileges, ſcurrilities, vanities of ſpeech, talkative, babbling, glorious and vanting arrogancie, whoremonging, murders, counterfeit hypocrites, couſiners, curſed creatures, heavie-headed, brainſicke, tedious and making their braines ake who reade them: theſe (I ſay) they have raked up together, and diſcharged as it were haile-ſhot upon *Ariſtotle, Socrates, Pythagoras, Protagoras, Theophraſtes, Heraclides, Hipparchus*, and whom not of all the moſt renowmed and principall Philoſophers? in ſuch ſort, that how well and wiſely ſoever they have carried themſelves otherwiſe, yet in regard of their foule mouthes, ſlanderous ſpeeches, and beaſtly backbitings, they deſerve to be ſequeſtred farre off, and put out of the range and number of wiſe men and Philoſophers: for envie, emulation and jealouſie ought not to enter into this divine dance and heavenly quire, being ſo weake and impotent, that they can not diſſemble and hide their griefe and diſcontent. Heereat *Ariſtodemus*: *Heraclides* (quoth hee) who by profeſſion is a Grammarian, in the behalfe of all the poeticall rabble (for ſo it pleaſeth the Epicureans to blaſon them) and for all the fooliſh and fabulous vanities of *Homer*, hath well requited *Epicurus*; or becauſe *Metrodorus* in ſo many places of his writings hath reviled and abuſed that prince of poets: but as for them (ô *Zeuxippus*) let them goe as they are: and whereas it was objected in the beginning of the ſpeech againſt thoſe men: That there was no living at all after their precepts and rules, why doe not we our ſelves, alone by our ſelves, taking unto us *Theon* for our aſſociat (becauſe this man here is wearie) go in hand to proſecute the ſame thorowly? Then *Theon* made him this anſwere:

This combat hath before us, beene
Perform'd by others, well I weene.

And therefore propounding to our ſelves (if it pleaſe you) another marke and ſcope to aime at, let us (for to be revenged of the injurie done unto other philoſophers) proceed after this forme of proceſſe, and aſſay to proove and ſhew (if it be poſſible) that according to the doctrine even of theſe Epicureans, men can not live in joy and pleaſure. Say you ſo? (quoth I then, and laughed heartily withall) now ſurely, me thinks you are leapt upon their bellies, and be readie to trample them with both your feet: certes, you will enforce theſe men to fight for their verie owne fleſh if you bereave them of pleaſure, who doe nothing els but crie out and ſing this note:

We are in deed no champions brave,
In fight with fiſts no grace we have,

neither are we eloquent oratours, wiſe magiſtrates or prudent governours and rulers of cities or States,

But for to feaſt and make good cheere,
To eat and drinke, we have no peere.

We love (I ſay) to banquet alwaies and make merie, to give our ſelves contentment and all the delightfull motions and pricks of the fleſh, if haply any pleaſure and joy thereby may be tranſmitted and ſent into the ſoule: ſo as you ſeeme to me not to deprive theſe men of joy and ſolace onely, but alſo of their very life, in caſe you doe not leave them a pleaſant and jocund life. How then? (quoth *Theon*) if you thinke ſo well of this ſubject matter, why do not you ſet in hand to it at this preſent. For mine owne part (ſaid he again) content I will be to heare you, and anſwer againe, if you requeſt ſo much; but begin you firſt to ſet us in the traine thereof, for I will yeeld unto you the ſuperioritie and preſidence of this diſputation. Now when *Theon* ſeemed to pretend ſome ſmall excuſe; *Ariſtodemus*: O what a compendious, ready, faire & plaine way (quoth he) have you cut us of, for to come unto this point, in not permitting us firſt to make inquiſition unto this Epicurean ſect, and to put them to their triall as touching vertue and honeſtie! for it is no eaſie matter, nay it is impoſſible to drive theſe men from a pleaſant and voluptuous life, ſo long as they ſuppoſe and ſet downe this: That the ſupreame end of all humane felicitie lieth in pleaſure; wheras, if we could once have brought this about: That they lived not honeſtly; preſently and withall, they had bene put by their pleaſant life; for they themſelves confeſſe, and ſay: That a man can not live in joy, unleſſe he be honeſt; for that the one may not ſtand without the other. As touching that point (quoth *Theon*) we will not ſticke in the progreſſe of our diſcourſe, to handle it, but for the preſent, we will take that which they grant, and make our uſe of it; this therefore they holde: That the ſovereigne good whereof we ſpeake, conſiſteth in the bellie and the parts thereabout, as alſo in thoſe other paſſages and conduits of the bodie, thorow which, pleaſure entreth into it; & no pain at all: and they are of opinion that all the fine devices, ſubtill and wittie inventions in the world were put in triall and practiſed, for to pleaſe and content the bellie, or at leaſtwiſe, for the good hope that ſhe ſhould enjoy contentment, according as the wiſe Philoſopher *Metrodorus* hath ſaid and written. And verily, by this their firſt ſuppoſition, without going any farther, it is eaſie to be knowen and ſeene (my good friend) what a ſlender, poore, rotten and unſteadie foundation they have laied, to ground upon it their ſovereigne good; conſidering that even thoſe pores & conduits aboveſaid (by which they bring in their pleaſures) lie aſwell open to admit grievous paines; or to ſay more truely, there be very few waies in the bodie of man, by which, pleaſure entreth; whereas there is no part or member thereof, but receiveth dolor and paine. For be it granted, that all pleaſures have their ſeat in the naturall parts, about joints, ſinewes, feet and hands; why, even in theſe very places are bedded and ſeated alſo the moſt cruell and grievous paſſions that be; to wit, of goutie fluxes and rhewmaticke ulcers, of gangrenes, tettars, wolves, cancerous ſores, which corrode, eat, mortifie and putrifie the parts that they poſſeſſe. If you preſent unto the bodie the ſweeteſt odours and the moſt pleaſant ſavours that be, you ſhall finde but few places therein (and ſeeke thorowout) affected therewith mildly and gently to their contentment; whereas all the reſt often times are grieved and offended thereby: nay there is no part at all of the body, but ſubject it is to feele and ſuffer the ſmart dolors inflicted by fire, by ſword, by ſting, biting, ſcourging and whipping; the ardour of heat, the rigor of colde entereth and pierceth into all parts, like alſo as doth the fever: but pleaſures verily are much like unto pretie puffes and gentle gales of winde, blowing after a ſmiling maner, ſome upon one extremitie that beareth out of the bodie, and ſome upon other, as if it were upon the rocks lying forth in the ſea, they paſſe away, blow over and vaniſh incontinently, their time and continuance is ſo ſhort: much like unto thoſe meteors or fire-lights in the night, which repreſent the ſhooting of ſtarrs as if they fell from heaven, or traverſed the ſkie from one ſide to the other; ſoone are the pleaſures on a light fire, and as ſoone againe gone out and quenched at one inſtant in our fleſh; but contrariwiſe, how long paines and dolors do endure, we cannot alledge a better teſtimony than that of *Philoctetes* in *Aeſchylus*, who ſpeaking of the paine of his ulcer, ſaith thus:

That dragon fell doth never leave his holde,
By day or night, ſince firſt my foot he caught:
The ſtinging ſmart goes to my heart full colde,
By poiſoned tooth which from his mouth it raught.

Neither doth the anguiſh of paine lightly runne over and glide, after a tickling maner, upon other ſuperficiall parts and extremities of the bodie; but contrariwiſe, like as the graine or ſeed of the Sea-claver or Trefoile *Medica*, is writhen and full of points and angles, whereby it taketh hold of the earth and ſticketh faſt, and there (by reaſon of thoſe points ſo rough and rugged) continueth a long time; even ſo dolor and paine, having many crotchets and hooked ſpurnes of roots, which it putteth foorth and ſpreadeth here and there, inſerteth and interlaceth it ſelfe within the fleſh, and there abideth, not onely for a night and a day, but alſo for certeine ſeaſons of whole yeeres, yea, and ſome revolutions of Olympiades, ſo that hardly and with much adoe at the laſt departeth, being thruſt out by other paines, like as one naile is driven forth by another ſtronger than it. For what man was ever knowen to have drunke or eaten ſo long a time, as they endure thirſt who are ſicke of an ague, or abide hunger who are beſieged? and where is that ſolace and pleaſure in the companie and converſation of friends, that laſteth ſo long as tyrants cauſe them to abide torture and puniſhment, who fall into their hands? and all this proceedeth from nought els but the inability and untowardneſſe of the body, to leade a voluptuous life; for that in trueth, made it is more apt to abide paine and travell, than to joy in delights and pleaſures; to endure laborious dolors, it hath ſtrength and power ſufficient; whereas to enjoy pleaſures and delights, it ſheweth preſently how feeble and impotent it is, in that ſo ſoone it hath enough and is wearie thereof: by occaſion whereof, when they ſee that wee are minded to diſcourſe much as touching a voluptuous life, they interrupt and breake incontinently our purpoſe, confeſſing themſelves; that bodily and fleſhly pleaſure is very ſmall and feeble, or (to ſay a trueth) tranſitorie, and ſuch as paſſeth away in a moment; unleſſe haply they are diſpoſed to lie and ſpeake otherwiſe than they thinke; like as *Metrodorus* did, when he ſaid: That often times we ſpit againſt the pleaſures of the bodie; and *Epicurus*, when he writeth: That a wiſe man being ſicke and diſeaſed, laugheth and rejoiceth in the middes of the greateſt and moſt exceſſive paines of his corporall malady. How is it poſſible then, that they who ſo lightly and eaſily beare the anguiſh of bodily paines, ſhould make any account of pleaſures? for admit that they give no place to paines, either in greatneſſe or continuance of time, yet they have at leaſtwiſe ſome reference and correſpondence unto them, in that *Epicurus* hath given this generall limitation and common definition to them all; to wit, Indolence or a ſubtraction of all that which might cauſe and move paine; as if nature extended joy to the eaſement onely of dolor, and ſuffered it not to proceed further in augmentation of pleaſure; but when it came once to this point, namely, to feele no more paine, it admitted onely certeine needleſſe varieties. But the way to come with an appetite and deſire to this eſtate, being indeed the full meaſure of joy and pleaſure, is exceeding briefe and ſhort; whereupon theſe Epicureans perceiving well, that this place is verie leane and hard, do tranſlate and remove their ſovereigne good, which is the pleaſure of the bodie, as it were out of a barren ſoile, into a more fruitfull and fertill ground, and namely, to the ſoule, as if therein we ſhould have alwaies orchards, gardens and meddowes covered over with pleaſures and delights, whereas according to the ſaying of *Telemachus* in *Homer*:

In Ithaca *there is no ſpacious place,*
Affourding plaines at large to runne a race.

And even ſo in this poore fleſhly body of ours, there is no fruition of pleaſure united, plaine and ſmooth, but altogether rugged and rough, intermingled and delaied for the moſt part, with many agitations that be feverous and contrary to nature. Hereat *Zeuxippus* taking occaſion to ſpeake: Thinke you not then (quoth he) that theſe men doe very wel in this, that they begin with the body; wherein it ſeemeth that pleaſure engendreth firſt, & afterwards end in the ſoule, as in that which is more conſtant & firme, repoſing therein all abſolute perfection? Yes I wis (quoth I) and my thinks I aſſure you that they doe paſſing well, and according to the direction of nature, in caſe they ſtill ſearch after and find that which is more perfect, and accompliſhed like as thoſe perſons do, who give themſelves to contemplation and politicke life; but if afterwards you heare them proteſt and crie with open mouth, that the ſoule joieth in no worldly thing, nor findeth content and repoſe, but onely in corporall pleaſure, either preſent and actuall, or els in meere expectation thereof, and that therein alone conſiſteth their ſovereigne good: thinke you not that they uſe the ſoule as a receptorie for the bodie, and in thus tranſlating the pleaſure of the body into it, they doe as thoſe who powre and fill wine out of one veſſell that leaketh and is naught, into another that is more compact and will hold better, for to preſerve and keepe it longer, as ſuppoſing thereby, to make the thing farre better, and more honourable; and verily time doth keepe well and mend the wine that is thus powred out of one veſſell into another: But of pleaſure, the ſoule receiving the remembrance onely, as the odour and ſmell thereof, reteineth nothing elſe; for that ſo ſoone as pleaſure hath wrought or boiled as it were one walme in the fleſh, it is ſoone quenched and extinguiſhed, and that remembrance remaining thereof paſſeth ſoone away as a ſhadow, ſmoke, or fuming vapour; much like as if a man ſhould gather and heape together a number of fanſies and cogitations of whatſoever he had eat or drunke before time, and ſo make his repaſt and food thereof, for default of other wines and viands freſh and preſent in place: yet ſee how much more modeſtly the Cyrenaick philoſophers are affected, although they have drunke out of the ſame bottle with *Epicurus*; for they are of opinion, that the wanton ſports of *Venus* ſhould not be exerciſed openly, and in the day light, but would have the ſame to be hidden and covered with the darkneſſe of the night; for feare leſt our cogitation receiving cleerely by the eie-ſight the repreſentations of this ſaid act, might eftſoones inflame and ſtirre up the luſt and appetite thereto: whereas theſe men contrariwiſe doe hold, that heerin conſiſteth the perfection of a wiſe mans felicitie, for that he remembreth certeinly, and reteineth ſurely all the evident figures, geſtures, and motions of pleaſures paſt. Now whether ſuch precepts and rules as theſe, be unwoorthy the name of thoſe who make profeſſion of wiſedome, namely thus to ſuffer ſuch ſcourings and filthy ordures of their pleaſures to remain in the ſoule, as it were in the ſinke and draught of the bodie, I purpoſe not to diſcourſe at this time. But ſurely that unpoſſible it is for ſuch matters to make a man happie, or to live a joious life, may heereby appeere moſt evidently: For the pleaſure of remembring delights paſt, cannot be very great unto thoſe, who had but a ſmall fruition thereof when they were preſent; and unto thoſe likewiſe, who find it expedient for them, to have the ſame preſented in a meaſure, & ſoone to retire & withdraw themſelves from them, it cannot be profitable to think therupon long after, cōſidering that even with thoſe perſons who of al other be moſt ſenſual & given to fleſhly pleaſures, the joy & contentment abideth not at al after they have once performed the action; only there remaineth with them a certeine ſhadow, and the illuſion (as it were in a dreame) of the pleaſure that is flowen away, continueth a while in their minde, for to mainteine and kindle ſtill the fire of their concupiſcence: much like unto thoſe who in their ſleepe dreame that they are drinking, or enjoying their loves; and verily ſuch imperfect pleaſures and imaginarie joies doe nothing els but more egerly whet and provoke laſcivious life: neither (I aſſure you) is the remembrance of thoſe pleaſures which theſe men have enjoied in times paſt, delectable; but only out of the ſmall reliques remaining of their pleaſure, which are but weake, ſlender and feeble, the ſame remembrance doth renew and ſtirre up againe a furious appetite, which pricketh and provoketh them evidently, and giveth them no reſt. Againe, no likelihood there is, that even thoſe who otherwiſe be ſober, honeſt, and continently given, doe amuſe themſelves and buſie their heads in calling to minde ſuch matters, and to reade and count them out of a journall regiſter or day-booke and Kalender, according as the ridiculous jeaſt goes of one *Carneades* who was wont to do ſo, namely: How often have I lien with *Hedia* or with *Leontium*? In what and how many places have I drunke Thaſian wine? At how many ſet feaſts at three weeks or twentie daies end, have I bene merie and made great and ſumptuous cheere? For this paſſionate affection of the minde, and diſordinate forwardneſſe, thus to call to remembrance and repreſent delights paſt, doth argue and bewray moſt evidently an outragious appetite and beaſtly furious heat after pleaſures either preſent, or expected and looked for: and therefore my concet is this: That even theſe men themſelves perceiving what abſurdities doe follow hereupon, have had recourſe to indolencie and the good ſtate and diſpoſition of the body; as if to live in joy and happineſſe, were to thinke and imagine upon ſuch a complexion, that either ſhall be or hath beene in ſome perſons. For this firme habit and compact conſtitution of the fleſh (ſay they) and the aſſured hope that it will continue, bringeth an exceeding contentment, and a moſt ſound permanent joy unto as many as can diſcourſe and thinke thereupon in their minds: For the better proofe hereof, conſider firſt and formoſt their behaviour, and what they do, namely, how they remove, toſſe and tranſport up and downe this pleaſure, indolency, or firme diſpoſition of the fleſh, (call it what you will) transferring it out of the bodie into the ſoule, and againe from the ſoule to the bodie, for that they cannot holde and ſtay it, being apt to ſlide and run from them; whereupon they are forced to tie and faſten it to ſome chiefe head and principle; and thus they do ſtay and ſuſteine the pleaſure of the bodie with the joy of the minde, and reciprocally determine and accompliſh the joy of the minde in the hope and expectation of bodily pleaſure. But how is it poſſible, that the foundation being thus moveable and inconſtant, the reſt of the building upon it, ſhould not likewiſe be unſtedfaſt? or how can the hope be faſt, and the joy aſſured, being founded upon a ground-worke expoſed ſo much unto wavering and to ſo many mutations as theſe be, which compaſſe and environ ordinarily the bodie, ſubject to a number of neceſſarie injuries, hurts and wounds from without, and having within the very bowels thereof, the ſources and ſprings of many evils and maladies, which the diſcourſe of reaſon is not able to avert and turne away? For otherwiſe it could not be, that theſe men (prudent and wiſe as they are) ſhould have bene afflicted and tormented with the diſeaſes of painfull ſtrangurie or piſſing drop-meale, the ſuppreſſion and difficultie of urine, bloudy-flixes, dyſenteries and dolourous wrings in the guts, phthiſicks, and conſumptions of the lungs or dropſies; of which maladies *Epicurus* himſelfe was plagued with ſome, *Polyenus* with others, *Nicocles* alſo and *Agathobulus* had their part and were much troubled therewith, which I ſpeake not by way of reproch unto them; for I know very well, that *Pherecides* and *Heraclitus*, two ſingular perſonages, were likewiſe incumbred with grievous maladies: but wee would gladly require and requeſt of them (if they will acknowledge their owne paſſions and accidents which they endure, and not, upon a vaine bravery of words, to win a popular favour and applauſe of the people, incurre the crime of inſolent arrogance, and be convict of leaſing) either not to admit the firme and ſtrong conſtitution of the fleſh, for the element and principle of all joy; or els not to beare us in hand and affirm, that thoſe who be fallen into painfull anguiſh and dolourous diſeaſe, doe laugh, diſport, and be wantonly merie: for well it may be, that the body and fleſh may be many times in good plight and in a firme diſpoſition; but that the hope ſhould be aſſured and certeine that the ſame will ſo continue, never yet could enter into a man of ſtaied minde and ſound judgement. But like as in the ſea, according to the Poet *Aeſchylus*,

The night alwaies, even to a pilot wiſe,
Breeds woe, for feare leſt tempeſts ſhould ariſe.
So doth a calme——————

For why? who knowes what will enſue? and future time is ever uncertaine. Impoſſible it is therefore, that a ſoule which placeth and repoſeth her ſovereigne good in the ſound diſpoſition of the bodie, and in the hope of continuance therein, ſhould hold long without feare and trouble; for that the bodie is not onely ſubject to ſtormes and tempeſts without, as the ſea is; but the greateſt part of troubleſome paſſions, and thoſe which are moſt violent, ſhe breedeth in herſelfe; and more reaſon there is for a man to hope for faire weather in Winter, than to promiſe himſelfe a conſtitution of bodie exempt from paine and harme, to perſever and remaine ſo, long: for what els hath given Poets occaſion and induced them to call the life of man a day-flower, unſtable, unconſtant and uncerteine; or to compare it unto the leaves of trees, which put out in the Spring ſeaſon, fade and fall againe in Autumne; but the imbecillitie and feebleneſſe of the fleſh, ſubject to infinit infirmities, caſualties, hurts and dangers? the beſt plight whereof, and higheſt point of perfection, phyſicians themſelves are wont to admoniſh us for to ſuſpect, feare, diminiſh, and take downe. For according to the Aphoriſme of *Hippocrates:* The good conſtitution of a body when it is at the height, is dangerous and ſlipperie: and as *Euripides* the poet ſaid verie well:

Whoſe body ſtrong, whoſe faſt and brawny fleſh,
Did ſhew erewhile a colour gaie and freſh,
Soone gone he was, and extinct ſodainly,
As ſtarre that ſeemes to ſhoot and fall from ſky.

Nay, that which more is; a common received opinion it is, that thoſe perſons who are moſt faire and in the flowre of their beautie, if they be eie-bitten, or looked wiſtly upon by a witching or envious eie, ſuſtaine much hurt and damage thereby; becauſe the perfection and higheſt degree of vigour in the bodie, is moſt ſubject to a ſudden alteration, by reaſon of very weakeneſſe and frailtie; and that there is ſmall or no aſſurance at all that a man ſhould leade his life without paine and ſorrow, may evidently appeere by that which they themſelves doe ſaie unto others; for they affirme: That whoſoever commit wickedneſſe and tranſgreſſe the lawes, live all their daies in miſerie and feare; for howſoever they may perhaps live undetected, yet impoſſible it is that they ſhould promiſe themſelves aſſured ſecuritie, never to be diſcovered; inſomuch as the doubt and feare of future puniſhment, will not give them leave to take joy, or aſſuredly to uſe the benefit of preſent impunitie; in delivering theſe ſpeeches to other, they perceive not how they ſpeake againſt themſelves: For ſemblably well it may be, that oftentimes they may have their health, and carrie able bodies about them; but to be aſſured that they ſhall continue ſo alwaies, or a long time, is a thing that cannot be performed; for needs they muſt evermore ſtand in doubt and diſtruſt of their bodie for the time to come; like as women great with child, are ever gruntling and groning againſt the time of their travell: otherwiſe, let them ſay, why they attend ſtill a ſure and confident hope of that which hetherto they never could attaine unto. Moreover, it is not ſufficient to worke aſſured confidence, for a man to forbeare ſinne and wrong-doing, or not at all to offend the lawes, conſidering that to be afflicted juſtly, and for deſert, is not the thing to be feared, but ſimply to endure paine, is fearefull and terrible. For if it be a griefe and trouble to be touched and vexed with a mans owne ſinnes and treſpaſſes; he cannot chuſe but be moleſted and diſquieted alſo with the enormities and tranſgreſſions of others: And verily if the outragious violence and crueltie of *Lachares* was not more offenſive and troubleſome to the Athenians; and likewiſe the tyrannie of *Dionyſius* to the Syracuſanes; yet I am ſure at leaſtwiſe it was full as much as to their owne ſelves; for whiles they vexed them, tormented they were and moleſted themſelves, and they looked to ſuffer puniſhment one time or other for their wrongs and outrages, for that they offered the ſame before unto their citizens and ſubjects who fell into their hands. What ſhould a man alledge to this purpoſe, the furious rage of the multitude, the horrible and bloudie crueltie of theeves and rovers, the miſchievous pranks of proud and preſumptuous inheritors, plague and peſtilence by contagion and corruption of the aire, as alſo the fell outrage of the angry ſea, in a ghuſt whereof *Epicurus* himſelfe writeth, he had like to have beene ſwallowed up as he ſailed to the citie *Lampſacus*? It may ſuffice to relate in this place the nature onely of our body and fraile fleſh, which hath within it ſelfe the matter of all maladies, cutting (as we ſay merrily in the common proverb) out of the verie ox, leather thongs; that is to ſay, taking paines and torments from it ſelfe, thereby to make life full of anguiſh, fearefull, and dangerous, as well to good perſons as to bad; in caſe they have learned to rejoice, and to found the confidence and ſurety of their joy upon nothing elſe but the fleſh and the hope thereof, according as *Epicurus* himſelfe hath left written, as in many other of his books, ſo in thoſe eſpecially which hee entituled, *Of the ſovereigne end of all good things.* We may therefore directly conclude, that theſe men doe hold for the foundation of a joyfull & pleaſant life, not a principle that is not onely unſteadie, tottering, and not to be truſted upon, but alſo baſe, vile, and every way contemptible; if ſo be that to avoid evils, be their onely joy and the ſoveraigne felicitie that they ſeeke for; and in caſe they ſay: That they reſpect and regard naught elſe; and in one word: That nature herſelfe knoweth not where elſe to lodge and beſtow the ſaid happineſſe, but onely there, from whence is chaſed and driven away, that which might annoy and offend her; and thus hath *Metrodorus* written in his treatiſe againſt ſophiſters: ſo that according to their doctrine, we are to make this definition of ſovereigne good, even the avoidance of evill; for how can one lodge any joy, or place the ſaid good, but onely there, from whence paine and evil hath beene diſlodged & remooved: To the ſame effect writeth *Epicurus* alſo, to wit: That the nature of a good thing is ingendred and ariſeth from the eſchuing & ſhunning of evill; as alſo that it proceedeth from the remembrance, cogitation, and joy which one conceiveth, in that ſuch a thing hapned unto him. For ſurely it is an ineſtimable and incomparable pleaſure (by his ſaying) to wit, the knowledge alone that one hath eſcaped ſome notable hurt or great danger: And this (quoth he) is certainly the nature and eſſence of the ſoveraigne good, if thou wilt directly apply thy ſelfe thereto, as it is meet, and then anon reſt and ſtay therein, without wandering to and fro, heere and there, prating and babling I wot not what concerning the definition of the ſaid ſovereigne good. O the great felicitie and goodly pleaſure which theſe men enjoy, rejoicing as they doe in this, that they endure none evill, feele no paine, nor ſuffer ſorow! Have they not (thinke you) great cauſe to glorifie, & to ſay as they doe, calling themſelves immortal, and gods fellowes? Have they not reaſon for theſe their grandeurs, and exceeding ſublimites of their bleſſings, to cry out with open mouth, & as if they were poſſeſſed with the frantike furie of *Bacchus* prieſts, to breake foorth into lowd exclamation for joy, that ſurpaſſing all other men in wiſedome and quickneſſe of wit, they onely have found out the ſovereigne, celeſtiall, and divine good, and that which hath no mixture at all of evill? So that now their beatitude and felicitie is nothing inferior to that of ſwine and ſheepe, in that they repoſe true happineſſe in the good and ſufficient eſtate of the fleſh principally, and of the ſoule likewiſe in regard of the fleſh; of hogges I ſay and ſheepe; for to ſpeake of other beaſts which are of a more civill, gentle, and gallant nature; the height and perfection of their good, ſtandeth not upon the avoiding of evil, conſidering that when they are full, and have ſtored their crawes, ſome fall to ſinging and crowing, others to ſwimming; ſome give themſelves to flie, others to counterfeit all kinds of notes and ſounds, diſporting for joy of heart and the pleaſure that they take; they uſe to plaie together, they make paſtime, they hoppe, leape, ſkippe, and daunce one with another, ſhewing thereby, that after they have eſcaped ſome evill, nature inciteth and ſtirreth them to ſeeke forward, and looke after that which is good, or rather indeed that they reject and caſt from them, all that which is dolorous and contrary to their nature, as if it ſtood in their way, and hindred them in the purſute of that which is better, more proper & natural unto them: for that which is neceſſarie is not ſtraight waies ſimplie good; but ſurely the thing that in truth is deſirable and woorthie to be choſen above the reſt, is ſituate farther, and reacheth beyond the avoidance of evill; I meane that which is indeed pleaſant, and familiar to nature, as *Plato* ſaid; who forbad expreſly to call or once to eſteeme the deliverance of paine and ſorrow, either pleaſure or joy, but to take them as it were for the rude Sciographie or firſt draught of a painter, or a mixture of that which is proper and ſtrange, familiar and unnaturall, like as of blacke and white. But ſome there be, who mounting from the bottom to the mids, for want of knowledge, what is the loweſt and the middeſt, take the middle for the top and the higheſt pitch, as *Epicurus* & *Metrodorus* have done, who defined the eſſential nature and ſubſtance of the ſoveraigne good, to be the deliverance and riddance from evill, contenting themſelves with the joy of ſlaves and captives, who are enlarged and delivered out of priſon, or eaſed of their irons, who take it to be a great pleaſure done unto them in caſe they be gently waſhed, bathed, and annointed after their whipping-cheere, and when their fleſh hath beene torne with ſcourges; meane-while they have no taſte at all or knowledge of pure, true, and liberal joyes indeed, ſuch as be ſincere, cleane and not blemiſhed with any ſcarres or cicatrices, for thoſe they never ſaw, nor came where they grew; for ſay that the ſcurfe, ſcabbe, and mangineſſe of the fleſh, ſay that the bleeredneſſe or gummy watering of rheumatike eies, be troubleſome infirmities, and ſuch as nature cannot away withall, it followeth not heereupon that the ſcraping and ſcratching of the ſkinne, or the rubbing and clenſing of the eies ſhould bee ſuch woonderfull matters, as to bee counted felicities: neither if we admit, that the ſuperſtitious feare of the gods, and the grievous anguiſh and trouble ariſing from that which is reported of the divels in hell be evill; we are not to inferre by and by that to be exempt and delivered there fro, is happineſſe, felicitie, and that which is to be ſo greatly wiſhed and deſired: certes, the aſſigne a very ſtraight roome and narrow place for their joy, wherein to turne, to walke, too rome and tumble at eaſe, ſo farre foorth onely, as not to be terrified or diſmaied with the apprehenſion of the paines and torments deſcribed in hell, the onely thing that they deſire. Lo, how their opinion which ſo farre paſſeth the common ſort of people, ſetteth downe for the finall end of their ſingular wiſedome, a thing, which it ſeemeth the very brute beaſts hate even of thẽſelves: for as touching that firme conſtitution and indolence of the body, it makes no matter, whether of it ſelfe or by nature, it be void of paine and ſickneſſe; no more in the tranquillitie and repoſe of the ſoule, ſkilleth it much, whether by the owne induſtrie or benefit of nature, it be delivered from feare and terror: and yet verily a man may well ſay, and with great reaſon, that the diſpoſition is more firme and ſtrong, which naturally admitteth nothing to trouble and torment it; than that which with judgement and by the light and guidance of learning doth avoid it: But ſet the caſe, that the one were as effectuall and powerfull as the other; then verily it will appeere at leaſtwiſe, that in this behalfe, they have no advantage and preeminence above brute beaſts; to wit, in that they feele no anguiſh nor trouble of ſpirit, for thoſe things which are reported either of the divels in hel, or the gods in heaven; nor feare at all paines and torments, expecting when they ſhall have an end. That this is true, *Epicurus* verily himſelfe hath put downe in writing: If (quoth he) the ſuſpicions and imaginations of the meteores and impreſſions which both are and doe appeare in the aire and ſkie above, did not trouble us; nor yet thoſe of death and the pangs thereof; we ſhould have no need at all to have recourſe unto the naturall cauſes of all thoſe things, no more than thoſe dumbe beaſts who enterteine no evill ſuſpicions or ſurmiſes of the gods, nor any opinions to torment them, as touching that which ſhall befall unto them after death: for they neither beleeve and know, nor ſo much as once think of any harme at all in ſuch things. Furthermore, if in the opinion that they holde of the gods, they had reſerved and left a place for divine providence, beleeving that thereby the world was governed, they might have beene thought wiſe men as they are, to have gone beyond brute beaſts for the atteinting of a pleaſant and joifull life, in regard of their good hopes; but ſeeing all their doctrine as touching the gods tendeth to this end, namely, to feare no god, and otherwiſe to be feareleſſe and careleſſe altogether, I am perſwaded verily, that this is more firmely ſetled in thoſe, having no ſenſe and knowledge at all of God, than in theſe who ſay they know God, but have not learned to acknowledge him for a puniſhing God, and one that can puniſh and doe harme: for thoſe are not delivered from ſuperſtition; and why? they never fell into it, neither have they laied away that fearefull conceit and opinion of the gods; and no marvell, for they never had any ſuch: the ſame may be ſaid as touching hell and the infernall ſpirits; for neither the one nor the other have any hope to receive good from thence; marie, ſuſpect, feare and doubt what ſhall betide them after death thoſe muſt needs, leſſe, who have no fore-conceit at all of death, than they in whom this perſwaſion is imprinted beforehand, that death concerneth us not: and yet thus farre forth it toucheth them, in that they diſcourſe, diſpute, and conſider thereupon; whereas brute beaſts are altogether freed from the thought and care of ſuch things as doe nothing perteine unto them: true it is, that they ſhunne ſtroaks, wounds and ſlaughter; and thus much (I ſay) of death they feare, which alſo even to theſe men is dreadfull and terrible. Thus you ſee what good things wiſdome (by their owne ſaying) hath furniſhed them withall: but let us now take a ſight and ſurvey of thoſe which they exclude themſelves fro and are deprived of. As touching thoſe diffuſions of the ſoule, when it dilateth and ſpreadeth it ſelfe over the fleſh, and for the pleaſure that the fleſh feeleth, if the ſame be ſmall or meane, there is no great matter therein, nor that which is of any conſequence to ſpeake of; but if they paſſe mediocritie, then (beſides that they be vaine, deceitfull and uncerteine) they are found to be comberſome and odious, ſuch as a man ought rather to tearme, not ſpiritual joies and delights of the ſoule, but rather ſenſuall and groſſe pleaſures of the bodie, fawning, flattering and ſmiling upon the ſoule, to draw and entice her to the participation of ſuch vanities: as for ſuch contentments of the minde which deſerve indeed and are woorthy to be called joies and delights, they be purified cleane from the contrarie, they have no mixture at all of troubleſome motions, no ſting that pricketh them, nor repentance that followeth them, but their pleaſure is ſpirituall, proper and naturall to the ſoule; neither is the good therein borowed abroad, and brought in from without, nor abſurd and void of reaſon, but moſt agreeable and ſorting thereto, proceeding from that part of the mind which is given unto contemplation of the trueth, and deſirous of knowledge, or at leaſtwiſe from that, which applieth it ſelfe to doe and execute great and honourable things: now the delights and joies aſwell of the one as the other, hee that went about to number, and would ſtraine and force himſelfe to diſcourſe how great and excellent they be, he were never able to make an end: but in briefe and few words, to helpe our memorie a little as touching this point: Hiſtories miniſter an infinit number of goodly and notable examples, which yeeld unto us a ſingular delight and recreation to paſſe the time away, never breeding in us a tedious ſatietie, but leaving alwaies the appetite that our ſoule hath to the trueth, inſatiable and deſirous ſtill of more pleaſure and contentment; in regard whereof, untrueths and very lies therein delivered, are not without their grace; for even in fables and fictions poeticall, although we give no credit unto them, there is ſome effectuall force to delight and perſwade: for thinke (I pray you) with your ſelfe, with what heat of delight and affection we reade the booke of *Plato* entituled *Atlanticus*, or the laſt books of *Homers Ilias*? conſider alſo with what griefe of heart wee miſſe and want the reſidue of the tale behinde, as if we were kept out of ſome beautifull temples, or faire theaters, ſhut faſt againſt us? for ſurely the knowledge of trueth in all things, is ſo lovely and amiable, that it ſeemeth, our life and very being, dependeth moſt upon knowledge and learning; whereas the moſt unpleaſant, odious and horrible things in death, be oblivion, ignorance and darkneſſe; which is the reaſon (I aſſure you) that all men in a maner fight and warre againſt thoſe who would bereave the dead of all ſenſe, giving us thereby to underſtand, that they do meaſure the whole life, the being alſo, and joy of man, by the ſenſe onely and knowledge of his minde; in ſuch ſort, that even thoſe very things that are odious and offenſive otherwiſe, we heare other whiles with pleaſure; and often times it falleth out, that though men be troubled with the thing they heare, ſo as the water ſtandeth in their eies, and they be readie to weepe and crie out for griefe, yet they deſire thoſe that relate the ſame to ſay on and ſpeake all: as for example, *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*.

THE MESSENGER.

Alas, my lord, I ſee that now I ſhall

Relate the thing which is the worſt of all.

OEDIPUS.

Woe is me likewiſe: to heare it I am preſt,
There is no helpe; ſay on, and tell the reſt.

But peradventure this may be a current and ſtreame of intemperat pleaſure and delight, proceeding from a curioſitie of the minde and will, too forward to heare and know all things, yea, and to offer violence unto the judgement and diſcourſe of reaſon: howbeit, when as a narration or hiſtorie conteining in it no hurtfull and offenſive matter, beſides the ſubject argument, which conſiſteth of brave adventures and worthy exploits, is penned and couched in a ſweet ſtile, with a grace and powerfull force of eloquence; ſuch as is the hiſtorie of *Herodotus* as touching the Greeke affaires, or of *Xenophon* concerning the Perſian acts, as alſo that which *Homer* with an heavenly ſpirit hath endited and delivered in his verſes, or *Eudoxus* in his peregrinations and deſcription of the world, or *Ariſtotle* in his treatiſe of the founding of cities and governments of State, or *Ariſtoxenus* who hath left in writing, the lives of famous and renowmed perſons; in ſuch (I ſay) there is not onely much delight and contentment, but alſo there enſueth thereupon no diſpleaſure nor repentance. And what man is he, who being hungry, would more willingly eat the good and delicate meats? or athirſt, deſire and chuſe to drinke the daintie and pleaſant wines of the Phœacians, rather than reade that fiction and diſcourſe of the voiage and pilgrimage of *Ulyſſes*? and who would take more pleaſure to lie with a moſt faire and beautifull woman, than to ſit up all night, reading either that which *Xenophon* hath written of ladie *Panthea*, or *Ariſtobulus* of dame *Timoclea*, or *Theopompus* of faire *Thisbe*? Theſe be the pleaſures and joies indeed of the minde: but our Epicureans reject likewiſe, all thoſe delights which proceed from the fine inventions of the Mathematicall ſciences: and to ſay a trueth, a hiſtorie ronneth plaine, even, ſimple and uniforme; whereas the delectation that we have in Geometrie, Aſtronomie and Muſicke, have beſides (I wot not what) forcible bait of varietie ſo attractive, that it ſeemeth men are charmed and enchanted by them; ſo forcibly they allure, and ſo mightily they holde men with their delineations and deſcriptions, as if they were ſo many ſorceries, ſpels and incantations: ſo that whoſoever hath once taſted thereof, ſo he be practiſed and exerciſed therein, he may go all about well enough, chanting theſe verſes of *Sophocles*:

The furious love of Muſes nine
Hath heart and minde poſſeſſed mine:
Thus raviſhed, faſt I me hie
To creſt and cape of mountaine hie:
Melodious ſongs, and ſound withall
Of pleaſant harpe, me forth doth call.

Certes, *Thamyras* exerciſed his poeticall head about nothing els; no more verily did *Eudoxus*, *Ariſtarchus* and *Archimides*. For ſeeing that ſtudious and induſtrious painters tooke ſo great pleaſure in the excellency of their works, that *Nicias* when he was painting *Homers Necyia* (that is to ſay, the calling foorth and raiſing the ghoſts of folke departed) being ſo affectionate to it, forgat himſelfe and asked his ſervitours eftſoones about him, whether he had dined or no: and when *Ptolomeus* king of *Aegypt* ſent unto him threeſcore talents for the ſaid picture after it was finiſhed, he refuſed the ſame, and would never ſell, or part with his handy-worke. What pleaſure reaped (thinke you) and how great delight tooke *Euclides* in Geometrie and Aſtrologie, when he wrote the propoſitions of Perſpective; and *Philip* when he compoſed the demonſtrations of the divers formes and ſhapes appearing in the Moone? *Archimedes* alſo, when by the angle called *Gonia*, he found out, that the Diameter of the Sun is juſt ſo bigge a part of the greateſt circle, as the angle is of foure right lines; *Apollonius* likewiſe and *Ariſtarchus*, who were the inventours of the like propoſitions; the contemplation and knowledge whereof, even at this day, bringeth exceeding pleaſure and woonderfull generoſitie & magnanimity unto thoſe who can intend to ſtudy upon them. And verily thoſe baſe and abject pleaſures of the kitchin and brothell-houſe, we ought not ſo much as to compare with theſe, and thereby to contaminate and diſgrace the ſacred Muſes and their mountaine *Helicon*,

Where ſhepheard none durſt tend his flocke,
On hill above or vale below:
Nor edged toole was knowen to ſhocke
Or cut one tree that there did grow.

But theſe pleaſures are indeed the intemperate & undefiled paſtures of the gentle bees; whereas thoſe other reſemble properly, the itching luſts of ſwine and goats, which over and beſides the bodie, fill with their filthie ordure the ſenſuall part of the ſoule, ſubject to all paſſions and perturbations. True it is, that luſt and deſire to enjoy pleaſures, is a paſſion adventurous and hardie enough to enterpriſe many and ſundrie matters; yet was there never any man found ſo amorous, who for joy that he had embraced his paramour, ſacrificed a beefe; nor ever was there knowen ſo notorious a glutton, who wiſhed in his heart and deſired, ſo he might firſt fill his bellie with delicate viands and princely banketting diſhes, to die preſently: and yet *Eudoxus* made this praier, that he might ſtand nere unto the ſunne, for to learne the forme, the magnitude and the beauty of that planet, upon condition to be burnt preſently, as *Phaëton* was, with the beames thereof. *Pythagoras* for the proofe of one propoſition or figure which he had invented, ſacrificed an ox, as *Apollodorus* hath recorded in this Dyſticon:

No ſooner had Pythagoras *this noble figure found,*
But ſolemnly he ſacrific'd an ox, even in that ſtound.

Whether it were that ſlope line in Geometrie, called *Hypotinuſa,* which anſwering directly to the right angle of a triangle, is as much in effect as the other two that comprehend and make the ſaid angle; or rather that linearie demonſtration or propoſition, whereby he meaſured the plot in a parabolicke ſection of a Cone or round pyramidall figure. As for *Archimedes*, he was ſo intentive and buſie in drawing his Geometricall figures, that his ſervants were faine by force to pull him away to be waſhed and anointed; and even then he would with the ſtrigill or bathcombe (which ſerved to currie and rub his skin) draw figures even upon his very bellie: and one day above the reſt, having found out whiles he was a bathing, the way to know, how much golde the gold-ſmith had robbed in the faſhion of that crowne which king *Hiero* had put forth to making, he ran foorth ſuddenly out of the baine, as if he had beene frantike, or inſpired with ſome fanaticall ſpirit, crying out; *Heureca, Heureca,* that is to ſay, I have found it, I have found it, iterating the ſame many times all the way as he went. But we never heard of any glutton ſo given to gourmandiſe & belly cheere, who went up and downe crying *Bebroca,* that is to ſay, I have eaten, I have eaten; nor of a wanton & amorous perſon, who having enjoied his love, would ſet up this note, *Ephileſa,* that is to ſay, I have kiſt, I have kiſt. Notwithſtanding there have beene & are at this day, a thouſand millions, even an infinit number of laſcivious & looſe perſons: But contrariwiſe, we deteſt and abhorre thoſe, who upon an affection, braverie and pride, make rehearſall what feaſts they have beene at, as perſons who highly account of ſo baſe and unwoorthy pleaſures, which men ought indeed to have in contempt. Whereas in reading the works of *Eudoxus, Archimides,* and *Hipparchus,* we are raviſhed and tranſported as it were with ſome heavenly and divine delight; beleeving that ſaying of *Plato* to be true, who writeth: That the Mathematicall arts, howſoever they be contemned, by thoſe that be ignorant, and for default of knowledge and underſtanding neglected; yet for the grace and delight that they yeeld, be more and more in requeſt, even in deſpight of thoſe blind and blockiſh perſons: All which pleaſures ſo great and ſo many in number, running alwaies as a river; theſe men heere doe turne and derive another way, for to empeach and hinder thoſe who approch unto them, and give eare unto their doctrine, that they ſhould not once taſte thereof, but command them to ſet up and ſpred all their maine ſailes, and flie away as faſt as they can. Yea, and that which more is, all thoſe of this ſect, both men and women, pray and requeſt *Pythocles* (for *Epicurus* ſake) not to make any account of thoſe arts which we name liberall: And in praiſing our *Apelles,* among other ſingular qualities, that they attribute unto him, they ſet downe this for one: That from his firſt beginning he had forborne the ſtudie of the Mathematicks, and by that meanes kept himſelfe unſpotted and undefiled: As for hiſtories (to ſay nothing, how of all other ſciences they have neither heard nor ſeene any) I will cite onely the words of *Metradorus* writing of Poets: Tuſh (quoth he) be not abaſhed nor thinke it a ſhame to confeſſe that thou knoweſt not, of whether ſide *Hector* was, of the Greeks part or of the Trojans? neither thinke it a great matter if thou be ignorant what were the firſt verſes of *Homers* Poeme, and regard thou as little thoſe in the mids.

Now foraſmuch as *Epicurus* wiſt well inough, that the pleaſures of the body (like unto the aniverſarie Eteſian minds) doe blow over and paſſe away, yea and after the flower of mans age is once gone, decay ſenſibly, and ceaſe altogether; therefore he mooveth a queſtion: Whether a wiſe man, being now farre ſtept in yeeres, and not able any more to keepe company with a woman, taketh pleaſure ſtill in wanton touching, feeling or handling of faire and beautifull perſons: Wherein verily he is farre from the minde and opinion of *Sophocles*; who rejoiced and thanked God, that hee had eſcaped from this voluptuous and fleſhly love, as from the yoke, chaine, or clogge of ſome violent and furious maſter. Yet rather ought theſe ſenſuall and voluptuous perſons, ſeeing that manie delights and pleaſures corporall, doe fade and decaie in old age,

And that with aged folk in this,
Dame Venus *much offended is.*

(as ſaith *Euripides*) to make proviſion then moſt all, of other ſpirituall pleaſures, and to be ſtored before-hand, as it were againſt ſome long ſiege, with ſuch drie victuals as are not ſubject to putrefaction and corruption: Then I ſay ſhould they hold their ſolemne feaſts of *Venus*, & goodly morrow-minds, to paſſe the time away by reading ſome pleaſant hiſtories, delectable poemes, or pretie ſpeculations of muſick or geometrie: And verily they would not ſo much as thinke any more of thoſe blind feelings and bootleſſe handlings (as I may tearme them) which indeed are no more but the pricks and provocations of dead wantonneſſe, if they had learned no more but as *Ariſtotle, Heraclides,* and *Dicaarchus* did, to write of *Homer* and *Euripides:* But they being never carefull and provident to purvey ſuch victuals, and ſeeing all the reſt of their life otherwiſe to be unpleaſant, and as drie as a kex, (as themſelves are woont to ſay of vertue) yet willing to enjoy ſtill their pleaſures continually, but finding their bodies to ſay nay, and not able to performe the ſame to their contentment, they bewray their corruption in committing foule and diſhoneſt acts out of ſeaſon, enforcing themſelves (even by their owne confeſſions) to awaken, ſtirre up, and renew the memorie of their former pleaſures in times paſt, and for want of freſh and new delights, making a ſhift to ſerve their turne with the old & ſtale, as if they had beene long kept in ſalt-pickle, or compaſt, untill their goodneſſe and life were gone; deſirous they are to ſtirre, kindle, and quicken others that lie extinct in their fleſh, as it were raked up in dead and cold aſhes long before, cleane againſt the courſe of nature; and all for default that they were not provided before of ſome ſweet thing laid up in their ſoule, proper unto her, and delightſome according to her worthineſſe: As for other ſpirituall pleaſures wee have ſpoken of them already, as they came into our minde: but as touching muſick, which bringing with it ſo many cõtentments, & ſo great delights, men yet reject & flie frõ, no man I trow would willingly paſſe it over in ſilence, conſidering the abſurd and impertinent ſpeeches that *Epicurus* giveth out: for in his queſtions he maintaineth: That a wiſe man is a great lover of ſhews & ſpectacles, delighting above all others to heare and ſee the paſtimes, ſports, & ſights, exhibited in theatres during the feaſt of *Bacchus*; yet wil not he admit any muſical problemes, any diſputatiõs or witty diſcourſes of Criticks in points of humanitie & learning, ſo much as at the very table, in dinner and ſupper time; but giveth counſell unto kings and princes that be lovers & favorers of literature, to abide rather the reading & hearing of military narrations & ſtratagemes at their feaſts & banquets, yea, and ſcurrill talke of buffons, pleaſants, and ieſters, than any queſtions propounded or diſcuſſed, as touching muſicke or poetrie: for thus much hath he delivered in his booke entituled: *Of Royaltie*: as if hee had written the ſame to *Sardanapalus* or *Naratus*, who was in times paſt a great potentate and lord of *Babylon*. Certes, neither *Hiero* nor *Attalus*, ne yet *Archelaus*, would ever have bene perſwaded to remove and diſplace from their tables ſuch as *Eruipides, Simonides, Melanippides, Crates* or *Diodorus*, for to ſet in their roomes *Cardax, Ariantes* and *Callias*, knowen jeſters and notorious ribauds; or ſome paraſiticall *Thraſonides* and *Thraſyleons*, who could skill of nothing els but how to make folke laugh, in counterfaiting lamentable yellings, groanes, howlings, and all to move applauſe and clapping of hands. If king *Ptolomeus* the firſt of that name, who alſo firſt erected a librarie, and founded a colledge of learned men, had light upon theſe goodly rules and royall precepts of his putting downe, would not he have exclamed and ſaid unto the Samians:

O Muſes faire, ô ladies deere,
What envie, and what ſpight is heere!

For, beſeeming it is not any Athenian thus maliciouſly to be bent unto the Muſes, and be at warre with them: but according to *Pindarus*;

Whom Jupiter *doth not vouchſafe*
His love and favour for to have.
Amaz'd they ſtand and quake for feare,
When they the voice of Muſes heare.

What ſay you, *Epicurus*? you goe early in the morning by breake of day unto the Theater, to heare muſicians playing upon the harpe and lute, or ſounding ſhawmes and hautboies: if then it fortune at the table, in time of a banquet, that *Theophraſtus* diſcourſeth of Symphonies and muſicall accords ? or *Ariſtoxenes,* of changes and alteration of tunes ? or *Ariſtophanes* of *Homers* works, will you ſtop your eares with both hands becauſe you would not heare, for that you ſo abhorre and deteſt them ? Surely, there was more civillity yet and honeſtie (by report) in that barbarous king of *Scythia, Ateas,* who when that excellent minſtrell *Iſmenias,* being his captive, taken priſoner in the warres, plaied upon the flute before him as hee ſat at dinner, ſware a great oath, that he tooke more pleaſure to heare his horſe neigh. Doe not theſe men (thinke you) confeſſe and grant (when they be well charged) that they have given defiance to vertue and honeſtie, proclaming mortall and irreconcilable warre, without all hope of truce, parle, compoſition and peace ? for ſurely, ſetting pleaſure onely aſide, what other thing is there in the world (be it never ſo pure, holy and venerable) that they embrace and love ? Had it not beene more reaſon, for the leading of a joyfull life, to be offended with ſweet perfumes, and to reject odoriferous oiles and ointments, as bettles, jeires and vultures doe, than to abhorre, deteſt and ſhun the talke and diſcourſes of Humanitians, Criticks, Grammarians and Muſicians ? for, what maner of flute or hautboies, what harpe or lute how well ſoever ſet, tuned, and fitted for ſong,

What quire reſounding loud and ſhrill
From pleaſant mouth and breſt ſo ſweet,
A ſong in parts, ſet with great ſkill,
When cunning men in muſicke meet ?

ſo greatly delighted *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus,* as the diſcourſes, the rules and precepts of quires and carols, the queſtions and propoſitions concerning flutes and hautboies, touching proportions, conſonances & harmonicall accords would affect *Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, Hieronymus* and *Dicæarchus ?* as for example, what is the reaſon, that of two pipes or flutes (otherwiſe even and equall) that which hath the ſtraighter and narrower mouth, yeeldeth the bigger and more baſe ſound ? alſo, what might be the cauſe, that the ſame pipe when it is lifted and ſet upward, becommeth loud in all the tones that it maketh ; but holde it downward once, it ſoundeth as low ? ſo doth one pipe alſo when it is ſet cloſe unto another, give a baſe ſound ; but contrariwiſe, if it be disjoined and put aſunder, it ſoundeth higher and more ſhrill. As alſo, how it commeth to paſſe that if a man ſow chaffe or caſt duſt thicke upon the ſtage or ſcaffold in a Theater, the people there aſſembled be deafe and cannot heare the plaiers or minſtrels ? Semblably, when king *Alexander* the Great was minded to have made in the citie of *Pella* the forepart of the ſtage in the Theater, all of braſſe ; what mooved his workman or Architect not to permit him ſo to doe, for feare it would drowne and dull the voice of the plaiers ? Finally, why among ſundry kinds of Muſicke, that which is called Chromaticall, delighteth, enlargeth and joieth the heart, whereas the Harmonicall contracteth and draweth it in, making it ſad and dumpiſh ? Moreover, the maners and natures of men which Poets repreſent in their writings, their wittie fictions, the difference and varietie of their ſtile, the ſolution of darke doubts and quaint queſtions, which (beſides a delightſome grace and beautifull elegance) carie with them a familiar and perſwaſive power, whereout ech one may reape profit ; inſomuch as they are able (as *Xenophon* ſaith) to make a man forget even love it ſelfe, ſo effectuall is this pleaſure and delight. Howbeit, the Epicureans here have no feeling and experience ; nay, which is woorſe, they deſire to have none, as they ſay themſelves ; but imploying the whole contemplative part of the ſoule, in thinking upon nothing els but the bodie, and plucking it downward together with ſenſuall and carnall luſts, as fiſhers nets with little rols and plummets of lead ; they differ nothing at all from horſekeepers or ſhepherds and other herdmen, who lay before their beaſts, hay, ſtraw, or ſome kinde of graſſe and herbs, as the proper fodder & forage for the cattell which they have in charge : for do they not even ſo intend to feed the ſoule fat (as men franke up ſwine) with bodily pleaſures ; in that they would have her to be glad for the hope ſhee hath that the body ſhall ſhortly enjoy ſome pleaſure, or els in the remembrance of thoſe which it hath enjoied in times paſt ? as for any proper delight or particular pleaſure of her owne, they ſuffer her to receive none from herſelfe, nor ſo much as to ſeeke thereafter.

And verily, can there be any thing more abſurd & beſide all apparance and ſhew of reaſon, than (whereas there be two parts whereof man is compounded, to wit, ſoule and body, of which the ſoule is more woorth, and placed in the higher degree) to ſay and affirme, that there is in the bodie ſome good thing, proper, peculiar, familiar, and naturall unto it, and none in the ſoule ; but that ſhe ſits ſtill tending the bodie, and looking onely to it ? that ſhe ſmileth upon the paſſions and affections thereof, joying and taking contentment with it onely ; having of herſelfe originally no motion, no election, no choiſe, no deſire nor pleaſure at all? Now ſurely they ſhould either by putting off their maske and diſcovering themſelves, have gone roundly to worke, making man fleſh, and nothing elſe but fleſh; as ſome there be who flatly denie, that there is any ſpirituall ſubſtance in him; or elſe leaving in us two different natures, they ought to have let either of them alone by it ſelfe, with their ſeverall good and evill; that I ſay which is familiar or contrarie unto it: like as among the five ſenſes, everie one is deſtined & appropriat to one object ſenſible, although all of them by a certaine woonderfull ſympathy be affected one to the other. Now the proper ſenſative organ or inſtrument of the ſoule is, the underſtanding; and to ſay that the ſame hath no peculiar ſubject to worke upon, no proper ſpectacle to behold, no familiar motion, no naturall and inbred paſſion or affection, in the fruition whereof it ſhould take pleaſure and delight, is the greateſt abſurditie of all others: And verily this is the ſaying of theſe men; unleſſe haply ſome there be, who ere they be aware, charge upon them ſome ſlanderous and falſe imputations. Heereat began I to ſpeake and ſay unto him: Not ſo ſir, if we may be judges; but I pray you let be, all action of inquirie, and proceed hardly to finiſh and make an end of your diſcourſe. And why (quoth he) ſhould not *Ariſtodemus* ſucceed after me, if you haply refuſe flatly, or be loth to ſpeake? You ſay true indeed, (quoth *Ariſtodemus*) but that ſhall not be untill you be wearie of ſpeech, as this man is; and for the preſent, ſince you are yet freſh and in heart, I beſeech you my good friend, ſpare not your ſelfe, but uſe your facultie, leſt you be thought for very ſloth and idleneſſe to draw back and goe out of the liſts. Certes (quoth *Theon* then) it is but a ſmall matter, and the ſame very eaſie which is behind; for there remaineth no more but to ſhew and recount how many joies and pleaſures there be in active life, and that part of the ſoule which is given to action? Firſt and formoſt, even they themſelves in ſome place graunt and confeſſe; that it is a greater pleaſure to doe good, and to benefit others, than to receive a benefit from another; as for good turnes, a man I confeſſe may doe them in bare words and ſayings; but ſurely the moſt and greateſt are performed by acts and deeds, and thus much doth the verie word of benefit or weldoing import; and even they themſelves teſtifie no leſſe: For but a while ſince, wee heard this man report, what words and ſpeeches *Epicurus* delivered; what letters he wrot and ſent unto his friends, in extolling, praiſing, and magnifying *Metrodorus*; how bravely and valiantly he went downe from the citie of *Athens* to the port *Pyreæum*, for to aid and ſuccour *Mythris* the Syrian, albeit *Metrodorus* did no ſervice at all in that ſally: What manner of pleaſures then, and how great ought wee to eſteeme thoſe which *Plato* enjoied, when *Dion* a ſcholar of his & one of his bringing up, roſe up to put downe the tyrant *Dionyſius*, & to deliver the ſtate of *Sicily* from ſervitude? what contentment might *Ariſtotle* find, when he cauſed the citie of his nativitie which was ruinate and raſed to the ground to be reedified, and his countrimen & fellow-citizens to be called home who were baniſhed? what delights and joies were thoſe of *Theophraſtus* and *Phidias*, who depoſed and overthrew thoſe tyrants who uſurped the lordly dominion of their countrey? and for private perſons in particular, how many they relieved, not in ſending unto them a ſtrike or a buſhell of corne and meale, as *Epicurus* ſent unto ſome; but in working and effecting, that thoſe who were exiled out of their native countrey, driven from their owne houſes, and turned out of all their goods, might returne home againe and reenter upon all; that ſuch as had beene priſoners and lien in irons, might be delivered and ſet at large; as many alſo as were put from their wives and children, might recover and enjoy them againe: What need I make rehearſall unto you, who know all this well enough? But ſurely the impudence and abſurditie of this man, I can not (though I would) paſſe over with ſilence, who debaſing and caſting under foot the acts of *Themiſtocles* and *Miltiades* as he did, wrot of himſelfe to certeine of his friends in this ſort: Right nobly, valiantly, and magnificently, have you ſhewed your endevour and care of us, in proviſion of corne to furniſh us withall; and againe you have declared by notorious ſignes, which mount up into heaven, the ſingular love and good will which you beare unto me. And if a man obſerve the manner of this ſtile and writing, he ſhall find, that if he take out of the miſteries of this great philoſopher, that which concerneth a little corne, all the words beſides are ſo curiouſly couched and penned, as if the epiſtle had beene written purpoſedly as a thankeſgiving for the ſafety of all *Greece*, or at leaſtwiſe, for delivering, ſetting free, and preſerving the whole citie and people of *Athens*.

What ſhould I buſie my head to ſhew unto you, that for the delights of the bodie, nature had need to be at great coſt and expences; neither doth the chiefe pleaſure which they ſeeke after, conſiſt in courſe bisket-bread, in peaſe pottage, or lentile broth; but the appetites of theſe voluptuous perſons, call for exquiſit and daintie viands, for ſweete and delicate wines, ſuch as thoſe be of *Thaſos*, for ſweet odours, pleaſant perfumes, and precious ointments, for curious junkets and banketting diſhes, for tarts, cake-bread, marchpanes, and other paſtrie works, well wrought, beaten and tempered with the ſweet liquor gathered by the yellow winged Bee: over and beſides all this, their mind ſtands alſo to faire and beautiful yoong damoſels, they muſt have ſome pretie *Leontium*, ſome fine *Boïchon*, ſome ſweet *Hedia*, or daintie *Nicedion*, whom they keepe and nouriſh of purpoſe within their gardens of pleaſure, to be ready at hand. As for the delights and joies of the mind, there is no man but will confeſſe and ſay: That founded they ought to be upon the greatneſſe of ſome noble actions, and the beautie of worthy and memorable works, if we would have them to be not vaine, baſe and childiſh; but contrariwiſe, reputed grave, generous, magnificent and manlike; whereas to vaunt and glory of being let looſe to a diſſolute courſe of life and the fruition of pleaſures and delights, after the maner of ſailers and mariners when they celebrate the feaſt of *Venus*; to boaſt alſo and pleaſe himſelfe in this: That being deſperatly ſicke of that kinde of dropſie which the Phyſicians call *Aſcites*, he forbare not to feaſt his friends ſtill, and keepe good companie, neither ſpared to adde and gather more moiſture and wateriſh humours ſtill unto his dropſie: and remembring the laſt words that his brother *Neocles* ſpake upon his death-bed, melted and conſumed with a ſpeciall joy and pleaſure of his owne, tempered with teares; there is no man (I trow) of ſound judgement and in his right wits, who would tearme theſe ſottiſh follies, either ſound joies or perfect delights; but ſurely, if there be any Sardonian laughter (as they call it) belonging alſo to the ſoule, it is ſeated (in my conceit) even in ſuch joies and mirths mingled with teares as theſe, which do violence unto nature: but if any man ſhal ſay, that theſe be ſolaces, let him compare them with others, and ſee how farre theſe excell and go beyond them which are expreſſed by theſe verſes:

By ſage advice I have effected this.
That Spartaes *martiall fame eclipſed is.*
Alſo:
This man, ô friend and ſtranger both,
was while he lived heere,
The great and glorious ſtarre of Rome,
his native citie deere.
Likewiſe:
I wot not what I ſhould you call,
An heavenly God and man mortall.

And when I ſet before mine eies the noble and worthy acts of *Thraſibulus* and *Pelopidas*; or behold the victories either of *Ariſtides* in that journey of *Platea*, or of *Miltiades* at the battell of *Marathon*, I am even raviſhed and tranſported beſides my ſelfe, and forced to ſay with *Herodotus*, and deliver this ſentence: That in this active life, there is more ſweetneſſe and delectation, than glorie and honour: and that this is ſo, *Epaminondas* will beare me witneſſe, who (by report) gave out this ſpeech, that the greateſt contentment which ever he had during his life, was this: That his father and mother were both alive to ſee that noble Trophee of his, for the victorie that he wan at *Leuctres*, being generall of the Thebans againſt the Lacedæmonians. Compare we now with this mother of *Epaminondas*, *Epicurus* his mother, who tooke ſo great joy to ſee her ſonne keeping cloſe in a daintie garden and orchard of pleaſure, where he and his familiar friend *Polyenus* gat children in common, upon a trull and courtiſan of *Cyzicum*: for, that both mother and ſiſter of *Metrodorus* were exceeding glad of his marriage, may appeare by his letters miſſive written unto his brother, which are extant in his books; and yet they goe up and downe everie where crying with open mouth: That they have lived in joy, doing nought els but extoll and magnifie their delicate life, faring much like unto ſlaves when they ſolemnize the feaſt of *Saturne*, ſupping and making good cheere together, or celebrate the Bacchanales, running about the fields; ſo as a man may hardly abide to heare the utas and yelling noiſe they make, when upon the inſolent joy of their hearts, they breake out into many fooleries, and utter they care not unto whom, as vaine and fond ſpeeches, in this maner:

Why ſit'ſt thou ſtill, thou wretched lout,
Come let us drinke and quaffe about:
The meats upon the boord ſet are,
Be merie man, and make no ſpare:

No ſooner are theſe words let flie,
But all at once they hout and crie;
The pots then walke, one filles out wine,
Another brings a garland fine
Of flowers full freſh, his head to crowne,
And decks the cup, whiles wine goes downe:
And then the minſtrell, Phœbus *knight,*
With faire greene branch of Laurell dight,
Sets out his rude and ruſtie throte,
And ſings a filthie tuneleſſe note:
With that one thruſts the pipe him fro,
And ſounds his wench and bedfello.

Do not (thinke you) the letters of *Metrodorus* reſemble theſe vanities, which he wrote unto his brother in theſe tearmes? There is no need at all, *Timocrates*, neither ought a man to expoſe himſelfe into danger for the ſafetie of *Greece*, or to ſtraine and buſie his head to winne a coronet among them, in teſtimonie of his wiſedome; but he is to eat, and drinke wine merily, ſo as the bodie may enjoy all pleaſure, and ſuſteine no harme. And againe in another place of the ſame letters he hath theſe words: Oh how joifull was I, and glad at heart! ô what contentment of ſpirit found I, when I had learned once of *Epicurus*, to make much of my bellie, and to gratifie it as I ought! For to ſay a trueth to you, ô *Timocrates*, that art a Naturaliſt: The ſovereigne good of a man lieth about the bellie.

In ſumme, theſe men doe limit, ſet out and circumſcribe the greatneſſe of humane pleaſure within the compaſſe of the bellie, as it were within center and circumference; but ſurely impoſſible it is, that they ſhould ever have their part of any great, roial and magnificall joy, ſuch as indeed cauſeth magnanimitie and hautineſſe of courage, bringeth glorious honour abroad, or tranquillitie of ſpirit at home, who have made choiſe of a cloſe and private life within doores, never ſhewing themſelves in the world, nor medling with the publicke affaires of common weale; a life (I ſay) ſequeſtred from all offices of humanitie, farre removed from any inſtinct of honour, or deſire to gratifie others, thereby to deſerve thanks, or winne favour: for the ſoule (I may tell you) is no baſe and ſmall thing, it is not vile and illiberall, extending her deſires onely to that which is good to bee eaten, as doe theſe poulps or pourcuttle fiſhes which ſtretch their cleies as farre as to their meat and no farther; for ſuch appetites as theſe, are moſt quickly cut off with ſatietie, and filled in a moment; but when the motions and deſires of the minde tending to vertue and honeſtie, to honour alſo and contentment of conſcience, upon vertuous deeds and well doing, are once growen to their vigor and perfection, they have not for their limit, the length and tearme onely of mans life: but ſurely, the deſire of honor, and the affection to profit the ſocietie of men, comprehending all æternitie, ſtriveth ſtill to goe forward in ſuch actions and beneficiall deeds as yeeld infinit pleaſures that cannot be expreſſed; which joies, great perſonages and men of woorth can not ſhake off and avoid though they would: for flie they from them what they can, yet they environ them about on every ſide, they are readie to meet them wherſoever they goe, when as by their beneficence and good deeds they have once refreſhed and cheered many other: for of ſuch perſons may well this verſe be verified:

To towne when that he comes, or there doth walk:
Men him behold as God, and ſo doe talk.

For when a man hath ſo affected and diſpoſed others, that they are glad and leape for joy to ſee him, that they have a longing deſire to touch, ſalute, & ſpeak unto him; who ſeeth not (though otherwiſe he were blinde) that he findeth great joies in himſelfe, and enjoieth moſt ſweet contentment: this is the cauſe that ſuch men are never wearie of well dooing, nor thinke it a trouble to be emploied to the good of others; for we ſhall evermore heare from their mouths theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches:

Thy father thee begat and brought to light,
That thou one day might'ſt profit many a wight.

Againe,

Let us not ceaſe, but ſhew a minde,
Of doing good to all mankind.

What need I to ſpeake heere of thoſe that bee excellent men, and good in the higheſt degree? for if to any one of thoſe who are not extremely wicked, at the very point and inſtant of death;

he in whoſe hands lieth his life, be he a god or ſome king, ſhould graunt one howres reſpit, and permit him to employ himſelfe at his owne choiſe, either to execute ſome memorable act, or elſe to take his pleaſure for the while, ſo that immediately after that howre paſt, he ſhoud goe to his death: How many thinke you would chuſe rather during this ſmall time, to lie with that courtiſane and famous ſtrumpet *Lais*, or drink liberally of good Ariuſian wine, than to kill the tyrant *Archias*, for to deliver the citie of *Thebes*, from tyrannicall ſervitude? for mine owne part verily, I ſuppoſe, that there is not one: for this I obſerve in thoſe ſword-fencers, who fight at ſharpe a combat to the uttrance, ſuch I meane as are not altogether brutiſh and ſavage, but of the Greekiſh nation, when they are to enter in place for to performe their devoir, notwithſtanding there be preſented unto them many deintie diſhes, and coſtly cates, chuſe rather at this very time to recommend unto their friends, their wives and children, to manumiſe and enfranchiſe their ſlaves, than to ſerve their bellies and content their ſenſuall appetites: But admit that theſe bodily pleaſures be great matters, and highly to be accounted of, the ſame are common alſo even to thoſe that leade an active life, and manage affaires of State: For as the Poet ſaith:

Wine muſcadell they drinke, and likewiſe eat
Fine manchet bread, made of the whiteſt wheat.

They banket alſo, and feaſt with their friends, yea and much more merily (in my conceit, after they be returned from bloudie battels or other great exploits and important ſervices; like as *Alexander* & *Ageſilaus*; *Phocion* alſo and *Epaminondas* were woont to do) than theſe who are annointed againſt the fire, or carried eaſily in their litters: and yet ſuch as they, mocke and ſcorne thoſe, who indeed have the fruition of other greater and more deintie pleaſures: for what ſhould a man ſpeake of *Epaminondas*, who being invited to a ſupper unto his friends houſe, when he ſaw that the proviſion was greater and more ſumptuous than his ſtate might well beare, would not ſtay and ſuppe with him, but ſaid thus unto his friend: I thought you would have ſacrificed unthe gods, and not have beene a waſtefull and prodigall ſpender: and no marvell; for king *Alexander* the Great refuſed to entertaine the exquiſit cooks of *Ada* Queene of *Caria*; ſaying: That he had better about him of his owne to dreſſe his meat, to wit, for his dinner or breakfaſt, early riſing and travelling before day-light; and for his ſupper, a light and hungry dinner. As for *Philoxenus* who wrot unto him concerning two moſt faire and beautiful boies, to this effect, whether he ſhould buy them for to ſend unto him or no? he had like to have loſt the place of government under him, for his labour: and yet to ſay a trueth, who might have better done it than *Alexander*? But like as of two paines & griefs (as *Hippocrates* ſaith) the leſſe is dulled and dimmed (as it were) by the greater; even ſo, the pleaſures proceeding from vertuous and honourable actions, do darken and extinguiſh (by reaſon of the minds joies, and in regard of their exceeding greatneſſe) thoſe delights which ariſe from the bodie. And if it be ſo as theſe Epicureans ſay, that the remembrance of former pleaſures and good things, be materiall and make much for a joifull life; which of us all will beleeve *Epicurus* himſelfe, that dying (as he did) in moſt grievous paines and dolorous maladies, he eaſed his torments or aſſwaged his anguiſh by calling to minde thoſe delights which beforetime he had enjoied? For ſurely, it were an eaſier matter to beholde the reſemblance of ones face in the bottome of a troubled water, or amid the waves during a tempeſt, than to conceive and apprehend the ſmiling and laughing remembrance of a pleaſure paſt, in ſo great a diſquietneſſe and bitter vexation of the body; whereas the memorie of vertuous and praiſe-worthy actions, a man can not (would he never ſo faine) chaſe and drive out of his minde. For how is it poſſible, that *Alexander* the Great, ſhould ever forget the battell at *Arbela*? or *Pelopidas*, the defaiture of the tyrant *Leontiades*? or *Themiſtocles*, the noble field fought before *Salamis*? for as touching the victorie at *Marathon*, the memoriall thereof the Athenians doe ſolemnize with feaſts even to this day; like as the Thebans celebrate the remembrance of the famous fight at *Leuctres*: and wee verily (as you know well enough) make feaſts for the victorie of *Daïphantus* before the citie *Hyampolis*; and not onely we, keepe yeerely holiday then, but alſo the whole country of *Phocis* (upon that anniverſarie day) is full of ſacrifices and due honours: neither is there one of us that taketh ſo great contentment of all that hee eateth or drinketh at ſuch a feſtivall time, as he doth in regard of the remembrance of thoſe noble acts which thoſe brave men performed: we may well geſſe and conſider therefore, what joy, what mirth, what gladneſſe and ſolace of heart accompanied them all their life time after, who executed theſe noble feats of armes, conſidering that after five hundred yeeres and above, the memorie of them is freſh, and the ſame attended with ſo great cheere and rejoicing. And yet *Epicurus* himſelfe doth acknowledge, that of glorie there doe ariſe certeine joies and pleaſures; for how could he doe leſſe, ſeeing that himſelfe is ſo deſirous thereof, that he is even mad withall, and fareth after a furious maner to atteine thereto; inſomuch, as not onely he diſavoweth his owne maſters and teachers, conteſteth againſt * *Democrates* (whoſe opinions and doctrines he ſtealeth word for word) upon certeine ſyllables and nice points, mainteining that there never was any wiſe man nor learned clearke, ſetting himſelfe and his diſciples aſide: but alſo, which more is, he hath bene ſo impudent, as to ſay and write; that *Colotes* adored him as a god, touching his knees full devoutly, when he heard him diſcourſe of naturall cauſes; and that his brother *Neocles* affirmed and gave out even from his infancie; that *Epicurus* had never his like or fellow, for wiſdome and knowledge; as alſo, that his mother was happie and bleſſed for bearing in her womb ſuch a number of Atomes, that is to ſay, indiviſible ſmall bodies, who concurring all together, framed and formed ſo ſkilfull a perſonage. Is not this all one with that which *Callicratides* ſometime ſaid of *Conon*: That he committed adulterie with the ſea; even ſo a man may ſay that *Epicurus* (ſecretly by ſtealth and ſhamefully) made love unto Glory, and went about to ſolicit, yea, force her by violence, not being able to win and enjoy her openly; whereupon he became paſſionate and love-ſicke: for like as a mans bodie in time of famine, for that it hath no food and nouriſhment otherwiſe, is conſtreined even againſt nature, to feed upon the owne ſubſtance; even ſo ambition and thirſt after glorie, doth the like hurt unto the ſoules of ambitious perſons: for being readie to die for thirſt of glorie, and ſeeing they can not have it otherwiſe, enforced they are to praiſe themſelves. But they that be thus paſſionatly affected with deſire of praiſe and honour, confeſſe not they manifeſtly, that they reject, forgo and neglect great pleaſures and delights; when through their feeble, lazie and baſe minds, they flie from publicke offices of State, forbeare the management of affaires, and regard not the favours of kings and following of great perſons; from whence *Democritus* ſaith; there accrue unto man many ornaments to grace and commend this life? For *Epicurus* ſhall never be able to make the world beleeve, that (eſteeming ſo much as he did and making ſo great account of *Neocles* his brothers teſtimonie or the adoration of *Colotes*) he would not have bene ready to have leapt out of his skin, and gone beſides himſelfe for joy, if he had beene received by the Greeks at the ſolemnitie of the Olympian games, with joious acclamations and clapping of hands: nay, hee would no doubt have ſhewed that gladneſſe and contentment of heart with open mouth; hee would have bene aloft and flowen abroad, as the Poet *Sophocles* ſaith:

* Or rather *Democritus*.

Like to the Downe, which being light and ſoft
From thiſtle olde, the winde doth mount aloft.

And if it be a gracious and acceptable thing, for a man to brute that he hath a good name; it followeth conſequently, that grievous it is to be in an ill name: and what is more infamous and odious, than to be friendleſſe, to want emploiment, to be infected with Atheiſme and impietie, to live looſely and abandoned to luſts and pleaſures; finally, to be neglected and contemned? and verily (ſetting themſelves aſide) there is no man living, but he thinketh al theſe qualities and attributes to agree fitly unto this ſect of theirs. True (will ſome man ſay) but they have the greater wrong. Well, the queſtion now, is not, what is the trueth, but what is the common opinion that the world hath of them: and to this purpoſe I meane not to cite the publicke decrees and acts of *Citres*, nor to alledge the defamatorie books written againſt them; for that were too odious: but if the oracles, if divination, if the præſcience and providence of the gods, if the naturall love and affectionate kindneſſe of parents to their children, if the managing of politike affaires, if the conduct of armies, if magiſtracie and rule in common-wealth, be matters honourable and glorious, then it muſt needs be, that they who affirme: That no travell ought to be made for the ſafetie of *Greece*, but that we are to eat and drinke, ſo as the bellie may be pleaſed, and receive no harme and diſcontentment, ſhould be infamous, and reputed for wicked perſons; and ſuch as are ſo taken, muſt needs be odious and in great diſgrace, if ſo be they hold, honour, good name and reputation, to be things pleaſant and delectable.

When *Theon* had made an end of this ſpeech, thought good it was to give over walking: and when (as our cuſtome and manner was) we were ſet downe upon the ſeats, we reſted a pretie while in ſilence, ruminating (as it were) and pondering that which had beene delivered, but long this was not; for *Zeuxippus* thinking upon that which had beene ſaid: And who (quoth he) ſhall goe through with that which remaineth behind, conſidering that me thinks we are not as yet come to a full point and finall concluſion? for ſeeing that erewhile he hath made mention by the way of Divination, and likewiſe put us in minde of Divine providence two maine points, I may tell you whereupon theſe men doe greatly ſtand, and which by their ſaying yeeld them not

* To wit, in denying both the one and the other.

the leaſt pleaſure, contentment, repoſe of ſpirit, and aſſurance in this life; * therefore I hold it neceſſarie that ſomewhat were ſaid as touching the ſame. Then *Ariſtodemus* taking the matter in hand: As for the pleaſure (quoth he) which they pretend in this caſe, me thinks (by all in maner that hath beene ſpoken) that if their reaſons ſhould goe for currant, and bring that about which they purpoſe & intend, well may they fret and deliver their ſpirit of (I wot not what) feare of the gods, and a certaine ſuperſtition; but ſurely they imprint no joy, nor miniſter any comfort and contentment to their minds at all, in any regard of the gods: for to be troubled with no dread of the gods, nor comforted by any hope from them, worketh this effect, and maketh them ſo affected towards the gods, as we are to the fiſhes of the Hyrcan ſea, expecting neither goodneſſe nor harme from them. But if we muſt adde ſomewhat more to that which hath beene ſaid alreadie; thus much I take it wee may be bold to ſet downe, as received and granted by them: Firſt and formoſt, that they impugne them mightily, who condemne and take away all heavineſſe, ſorrow, weeping, ſighes, and lamentations for the death of friends: and they affirme, that this indolence tending to a kinde of impaſſibilitie, proceedeth from another evill, greater and woorſe than it, to wit, cruell inhumanitie, or elſe an outragious and furious deſire of vainglorie and oſtentation; and therefore they hold it better to ſuffer a little ſorrow, and to grieve moderately, ſo a man runne not all to teares and marre his eies with weeping, nor ſhew all maner of paſſions as ſome doe by their deeds and writings, becauſe they would be thought affectionate and heartie lovers of their friends, and withall of a gentle and tender nature: For thus much hath *Epicurus* delivered in many of his books, and namely in his letters where he maketh mention of the death of *Hegeſianax*, writing unto *Doſitheus* the father, and *Pyrſos* the brother of the man departed: For long it is not ſince by fortune thoſe letters of his came to my hands, which I peruſed, and in imitating their maner of arguing, I ſay: That Atheiſme and impietie is no leſſe ſinne, than the crueltie or vaine and arrogant oſtentation aboveſaid; unto which impietie they would induce us with their perſwaſions, who take from God both favor and alſo anger: For, better it were, that to the opinion and beliefe which we have of the gods, there were adjoined and engraffed an affection mixed and compaſſed of reverence and feare, than in flying therefro, to leave unto our ſelves neither hope nor pleaſure, no aſſurance in proſperitie, ne yet recourſe unto the goodneſſe of the gods in time of adverſitie: True it is, that we ought to ridde away from the opinion that we have of the gods, all ſuperſtition, if it be poſſible, as well as from our eies all gummie and glutinous matter, offending the ſight; but if this may not be, we are not therefore to cut away quite, or to put out the eies cleane of that faith and beliefe, which men for the moſt part have of the gods; and this is not a ſevere, feareful and auſtere conceit as theſe imagine, who traduce and ſlander divine providence, to make it odious and terrible, as folke doe by little children, whom they uſe to ſcarre with the fantaſticall illuſion, *Empuſa*, as if it were ſome infernall furie, or tragicall vengeance ſeizing upon them: but ſome few men there be, who in that ſort doe feare God, as that it is better and more expedient for them ſo to doe, than otherwiſe not to ſtand in awe of him: for in dreading him as a gracious and propitious lord unto the good, and an enemie unto the wicked, by this one kinde of feare which maketh them that they have no need at all of many others, they are delivered from thoſe baits which many times allure and entice men to evill; and thus keeping vice ſhort, and not giving it head, but holding it neere unto them, and within their reach, that it cannot eſcape and get from them, they be leſſe tormented than thoſe who be ſo hardie as to emploie the ſame, and dare put it in practiſe, but ſoone after, fall into fearefull fits, and repent themſelves: But as touching the diſpoſition toward God in the common ſort of men, who are ignorant, unlettered, and of a groſſe conceit for the moſt part; howbeit not very wicked, nor ſtarke naught: true it is, that as together with the reverence and honour that they beare to the gods, there is intermingled a certaine trembling feare, which properly is called ſuperſtition; ſo likewiſe there is an infinit deale more of good hope and true joy, which cauſeth them to praie unto the gods continually for their owne good eſtate, and for happie ſucceſſe in their affaires, and they receive all proſperitie as ſent unto them from heaven above; which appeereth evidently by moſt notable and ſignificant arguments: for ſurely no exerciſes recreat us more, than thoſe of religion and devotion in the temples of the gods; no times and ſeaſons are more joious, than ſolemne feaſts in their honour; no actions, no ſights, more delight and joy our hearts, than thoſe which we doe and ſee our ſelves, either ſinging and dauncing ſolemnly in the preſence of the gods, or being aſſiſtant at their ſacrifices, or the ceremonious myſteries of divine ſervice; for at ſuch times our ſoule is nothing ſadde, caſt downe, or melancholike, as if ſhe had to deale with ſome terrible tyrants, or bloudie butchers; where good reaſon were, that ſhe ſhould bee heavie and dejected; but looke where ſhe thinketh and is perſwaded moſt that God is preſent, in that place eſpecially, ſhe caſteth behinde her all anguiſhes, agonies, ſorrowes, feares and anxieties; there I ſay ſhe giveth herſelfe to all manner of joy, even to drinke wine moſt liberally, to play, diſport, laugh and be merie: As the poet ſaid in love and wanton matters:

Both grey-beard, old and aged trot
when they the ſports remember,
Of lovely Venus, *leape for joy,*
no cares their heart encomber.

So verily in theſe ſolemne pompes, proceſſions and ſacrifices, not onely the aged husband and the old wife, the poore man that liveth in low and private eſtate, but alſo

The fat legd wench well underlaid
Which to the mill beſtirs full yerne,
Her good round ſtumpes, and well appaid
To grinde her grieſt, doth turne the querne.

the houſhold hines and ſervants, and the mercenarie day-labourers, who get their living by the ſweat of their browes, doe altogether leape for mirth and joy of heart: Kings and princes keepe great cheere in their roiall courts, and make certeine roiall and publike feaſts for all commers; but thoſe which they hold in the ſacred temples, at ſacrifices and ſolemnities of the gods, performed with fragrant perfumes and odoriferous incenſe; where it ſeemeth that men approch neereſt unto the majeſtie of the gods, & thinke they even touch them, and be converſant with them in all honour and reverence: ſuch feaſts (I ſay) yeeld a more rare joy and ſingular delectation, than any other; whereof he hath no part at all who denieth the providence of God: for it is not the abundance and plentie of wine there drunke, nor the ſtore of roaſt & ſodden meat there eaten, which yeeldeth joy and contentment at ſuch ſolemne feaſts; but the aſſured hope and full perſwaſion that God is there preſent, propitious, favourable and gracious; and that he accepteth in good part the honour and ſervice done unto him. For ſome feaſts and ſacrifices there be, where there is no muſicke at all of flutes and hautboies, ne yet any chaplets and garlands of flowers uſed at all; but a ſacrifice, where no god is preſent, like as a temple without a ſacred feaſt or holy banquet, is * profane, unfeſtivall, impious, irreligious, and without divine inſpiration and devotion; and to ſpeake better, wholly diſpleaſant and odious to himſelfe that offereth it; for that he counterfeiteth by hypocriſie, praiers and adorations, onely in a ſhew and otherwiſe than he meaneth, for feare of the multitude, and pronounceth words cleane contrary unto the opinions which he holdeth in Philoſophie: when he ſacrificeth, he ſtandeth by the prieſt as he would by a cooke or butcher, who cutteth the throat of a ſheepe; and after he hath ſacrificed, he goes his way home, ſaying thus to himſelfe: I have ſacrificed a ſheepe as men ordinarily do unto the gods, who have no care and regard of me. For ſo it is that ***Epicurus*** teacheth his ſcholars, to ſet a good countenance of the matter, and neither to envie nor incurre the hatred of the common ſort, when they are diſpoſed to be merie, but ſeeming others in practiſe, and themſelves inwardly in being diſpleaſed with things done: for according as ***Euenus*** ſaith:

What things are done perforce by us,
Diſpleaſant be and odious.

Hereupon it is, that they themſelves do ſay and holde: That ſuperſtitious perſons are preſent at ſacrifices and religious ceremonies, not for any joy or pleaſure they take there, but upon a feare that they have: and verily, herein no difference is betweene them and ſuperſtitious folke, in caſe it be ſo, that they doe the ſame things for feare of the world, which the other do for feare of the gods; nay rather they be in a worſe condition than thoſe, in that they have not ſo much hope of good as they, but onely ſtand alwaies in dread and be troubled in mind, leſt they ſhould be detected and diſcovered, for abuſing and deceiving the world by their counterfeit hypocriſie; in regard of which feare, they have themſelves written books and treatiſes of the gods and of deitie, ſo compoſed, that they be full of ambiguities; and nothing is therein ſoundly or cleerely delivered, they do ſo maske, diſguiſe and cover themſelves; and all to cloake and hide the opinions which in deed they hold, doubting the furie of the people. Thus much concerning two ſorts of men, to wit, the wicked and the ſimple or common multitude: now therefore let us conſider of a third kinde, ſuch as be of the beſt marke, men of worth and honour, moſt devout and religious in deed; namely, what ſincere and pure pleaſures they have, by reaſon of the perſwaſion that they hold of God; beleeving firmly, that he is the ruler and director of all good perſons, the au-

thour

* ἄθεον.

thour and father from whom proceed all things good and honeſt; and that it is not lawfull to ſay or beleeve, that he doth evill, no more than to be perſwaded that he ſuffereth evill: for good he is by nature; and looke whatſoever is good, conceiveth no envie to any, is fearefull of none, neither is it moved with anger or hatred of ought: for like as heat can not coole a thing, but alwaies naturally maketh it hot; ſo that which is good can not hurt or do ill. Now, anger and favour be farre remote one from the other; ſo is choler and bitter gall much different from mildneſſe and benevolence; as alſo malice and frowardneſſe are oppoſite unto bountie, meekneſſe, and humanitie; for that the one ſort ariſeth from vertue and puiſſance; the other from weakeneſſe and vice. Now are we not to thinke that the divine power is given to be wrathfull and gracious alike; but to beleeve rather, that the proper nature of God is alwaies to be helpfull and beneficiall; whereas to be angry and to doe harme, is not ſo naturall; but that mightie *Jupiter* in heaven, he deſcendeth from thence firſt downe to the earth, to diſpoſe and ordeine all things: after him, other gods, of whom the one is ſurnamed, The Giver; another, Mild and Bounteous; a third, Protectour or Defender: as for *Apollo*, as *Pindarus* ſaith:

Who doth in winged chariot flie,
Amid the ſtarres in azure skie,
To every man in his affaire,
Reputed is moſt debonaire.

Now as *Diogenes* was wont to ſay, all things are Gods, and likewiſe among friends, all things are common, and good men are Gods friends; even ſo, impoſſible it is, that either he who is devout and a lover of God, ſhould not be withall happie; or that a vertuous, temperate, and juſt man ſhould not likewiſe be devout and religious. Thinke ye then, that theſe who denie the government of Gods providence, need other puniſhment, or be not puniſhed ſufficiently for their impietie, in that they cut themſelves from ſo great joy and pleaſure as we finde in our ſelves, we (I ſay) who are thus well given and religiouſly affected toward God? The greateſt joy that *Epicurus* ſtood upon and bare himſelfe ſo boldly, were *Metrodorus*, *Polyænus*, *Ariſtobulus* and ſuch; and thoſe he was alwaies emploied about, either in curing and tending them when they were ſicke, or in bewailing them after they were dead: whereas *Lycurgus* was honoured even by the propheteſſe *Pythia* in theſe tearmes:

A man whom Jupiter *did love,*
And all the heavenly ſaints above.

As for *Socrates*, who had a familiar ſpirit about him, whom he imagined to ſpeake and reaſon friendly with him, even of kindneſſe and good will: and *Pindarus* likewiſe, who heard god *Pan* chant one of thoſe canticles which himſelfe had compoſed, thinke wee that they tooke ſmall pleaſure and contentment of heart thereby? Or what may we judge of *Phormio*, when he lodged in his houſe, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; or of *Sophocles*, for enterteining of *Aeſculapius*, as both himſelfe was perſwaded, and as others beleeved, for the manifeſt apparitions preſented unto them? It were not amiſſe and beſide the purpoſe, to rehearſe in this place, what a faith and beleefe in the gods, *Heromogenes* had, and that in thoſe very words and tearmes which he ſetteth downe himſelfe: The gods (quoth he) who know all things, and likewiſe can doe all, are ſo friendly unto me, that for the care they have of my perſon and my affaires, are never ignorant day or night, either of that action which I purpoſe to doe, or of that way which I entend to goe: and for that they forſee the iſſue and event of whatſoever I enterpriſe and undertake; they advertiſe me thereof before hand, by preſage of oſſes, voices, dreames, auguries and bird-flights, which they ſend as meſſengers to me of purpoſe. Moreover, meet it is, that we ſhould have this opinion of the gods, that whatſoever proceedeth from them is good; but when we are perſwaded that the goods which we receive from them, be ſent unto us, upon ſpeciall favor and grace, this is a woonderfull contentment to the minde, this worketh much confidence, breedeth a marvellous courage, and inward joy, which ſeemeth as it were to ſmile upon good men: whereas, they who are otherwiſe minded and diſpoſed, hinder themſelves of that which is moſt ſweet in proſperitie, and leave no refuge or retiring place in time of adverſitie; for when any misfortune lighteth upon them, no other haven or retrait have they than the diſſolution or ſeparation of body and ſoule; nothing I ſay but the depriving of all ſenſe: as if in a ſtorme or tempeſt at ſea, a man ſhould come and ſay for the better comfort and aſſuraunce of the paſſengers, that neither the ſhip had a pilot, nor the luckie fire-lights (*Caſtor* and *Pollux*) appeered to allay the ſurging waves, or ſtill the boiſterous and violent winds, and yet for all that, there was no harme toward, becauſe forſooth the ſhippe ſhould ſoone ſinke and bee ſwallowed up of the ſea; or that ſhe would quickly turne ſide, or runne upon ſome rock for to be ſplit and broken in pieces: for theſe be the proper reaſons which *Epicurus* uſeth in grievous maladies and extreme perils: Hopeſt thou for any good at Gods hand with all thy religion? thou art much deceived: for the eſſence and nature of God being happie & immortall; is neither given to anger, nor yet inclined to pitie: Doſt thou imagine a better ſtate or condition after thy death, than thou haſt in thy life? ſurely thou doteſt, and art mightily beguiled; for that which is once diſſolved, loſeth preſently all maner of ſenſe; & if it be ſenſeleſſe, what is that to us? it toucheth not us, whether it be good or ill. But heare you (my good friend:) How is it that you exhort me to eat, to drink, and make good cheere? Marie becauſe the tempeſt is ſo bigge, that of neceſſitie ſhipwracke muſt ſoone enſue, and the extreme perill at hand will quickly bring thee to thy death: and yet the poore paſſenger (after that the ſhippe is broken all to pieces, or that hee is flung or fallen out of it) beareth himſelfe upon ſome little hope, that he ſhall (by one good fortune or other) reach unto the ſhore and ſwimme to land; whereas by theſe mens philoſophie, there is no evaſion for the ſoule:

To any place without the ſea
With frothing fome all hoare and grey.

For that immediatly ſhe is diſſolved, periſheth and dieth before the bodie; inſomuch as ſhe feeleth exceſſive joy, by having learned and received this moſt wiſe and divine doctrine: That the end of all her adverſities and miſeries, is to periſh for ever, to corrupt and come to nothing. But it were (quoth he, caſting his eie upon me) a great follie to ſpeake any more of this matter, (conſidering that long ſince we have heard you diſcourſe in ample manner) againſt thoſe who hold; that the reaſons and arguments of *Epicurus* make us better diſpoſed and ready to die, than all that *Plato* hath written in his treatiſe concerning the ſoule. What of that? (quoth *Zeuxippus*) ſhall this preſent diſcourſe be left unperfect and unfiniſhed becauſe of it? and feare we to alledge the oracle of the gods, when we diſpute againſt the Epicureans? No (quoth I againe) in any wiſe, for according to the ſentence of *Empedocles*:

A good tale twiſe a man may tell,
And heare it told as oft full well.

And therefore we muſt intreat *Theon* againe; for I ſuppoſe he was preſent at the ſaid diſputation, and being (as he is) a yoong man, he need not feare that yoong men will charge him for oblivion, or default of memorie. Then *Theon* ſeeming as if he had beene forced and overcome by conſtreint: Well (quoth he) ſince there is no other remedie, I will not do as you *Ariſtodemus* did; you were afraid to repeat that which this man had delivered; but I will not ſticke to make uſe of that which you have ſaid: for in mine opinion you have done very well, in dividing men into three ſorts; the firſt, of thoſe, who are leud and wicked; the ſecond of them that bee ſimple, ignorant, and the common people; the third, of ſuch as be wiſe, honeſt, and of good worth. As for thoſe who be wicked & naughtie perſons (in fearing the pains and puniſhments propoſed in general unto all) they will be afraid to commit any more ſinne, and by this meanes not breaking out, but reſtraining themſelves, they ſhal live in more joy, & with leſſe trouble and diſquietneſſe. For *Epicurus* thinketh, that there is no other meanes to divert men from evill doing, than, feare of puniſhment; & therefore he thinketh it good pollicie, to imprint in them the frights occaſioned by ſuperſtition, to masker them with the terrors of heaven & earth, together with fearfull earthquakes, deepe chinks, and openings of the ground, and generally all ſorts of feares and ſuſpicions; that being terrified thereby, they might live in better order, and carie themſelves more modeſtly; for more expedient it is for them, not to commit any hainous fact for feare of torments which they were to ſuffer after their death, than to tranſgreſſe & break the lawes, and thereby, live all their life time in danger, and exceeding perplexitie and diſtruſt: As touching the meane people and ignorant multitude (to ſay nothing of the feare of that which ſuch men beleeve to be in hell) the hope of eternitie, whereof the poets make ſo great promiſes, and the deſire to live alwaies (which of all other deſires is the moſt auncient and greateſt) ſurpaſſeth in pleaſure and ſweet contentment, all childiſh feare of hell; inſomuch as forgoing and loſing their children, their wives and friends, yet they wiſh rather they ſhould ſtill bee ſomewhere, and continue (though they indured otherwiſe all maner of paines and calamities) than wholy to bee taken out of the univerſall world, and brought to nothing: yea, and willing they are, and take pleaſure to heare this ſpoken of one that is dead: How he is departed out of this world into another, or gone to God; with other ſuch like manner of ſpeeches, importing, that death is no more but onely a change or alteration, but not a totall and entire abolition of the ſoule. And thus they uſe to ſpeake:

Then ſhall I call even there to mind,
The ſweet acquaintance of my friend.
Alſo:
What ſhall I ſay from you to Hector *bold?*
Or husband yours, right deere, who liv'd ſo old?

And herof proceeded and prevailed this errour: that men ſuppoſed they are well eaſed of their ſorrow, and better appaied when they have interred with the dead, the armes, weapons, inſtruſtruments and garments which they were wont to uſe ordinarily in their life time; like as *Minos* buried together with *Glaucus*:

His Candiot pipes, made of the long-ſhanke bones
Of dapple doe or hinde, that lived once.

And if they be perſwaded, that the dead either deſire or demand any thing, glad they are and willing to ſend or beſtow the ſame upon them. And thus did *Periander*, who burnt in the funerall fire togeth er with his wife, her apparell, habilliments, and jewels, for that he thought ſhe called for them, and complained that ſhe lay a cold. And ſuch as theſe are not greatly affraid of any judge *Aeacus*, of *Aſcalaphus*, or of the river *Acheron*; conſidering that they attribute unto them daunces, theatricall plaies, and all kinde of muſicke, as if they tooke delight and pleaſure therein: and yet there is not one of them all, but is readie to quake for feare, to ſee that face of death, ſo terrible, ſo unpleaſant, ſo glum and grizly, deprived of all ſenſe, and growen to oblivion and ignorance of all things; they tremble for very horrour, when they heare any of theſe words: He is dead, he is periſhed, he is gone, and no more to be ſeene: grievouſly diſpleaſed and offended they be, when theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches are given out:

Within the earth as deepe as trees do ſtand,
His hap ſhall be to rot and turne to ſand:
No feaſts he ſhall frequent nor heare the lute
And harpe, ne yet the ſound of pleaſant flute.
Againe:
When once the ghoſt of man from corps is fled,
And paſs'd the ranks of teeth ſet thicke in head;
All meanes to catch and fetch her are but vaine,
No hope there is of her returne againe.

But they kill them ſtone dead, who ſay thus unto them:

We mortall men have bene once borne for all,
No ſecond birth we are for to expect,
We muſt not looke for life that is eternall,
Such thoughts, as dreames, we ought for to reject.

For, caſting and conſidering with themſelves, that this preſent life is a ſmal matter, or rather indeed a thing of nought, in compariſon of eternitie; they regard it not, nor make any account to enjoy the benefit thereof; whereupon they neglect all vertue and the honourable exploits of action, as being utterly diſcouraged and diſcontented in themſelves, for the ſhortneſſe of their life ſo uncerteine and without aſſurance; and in one word, becauſe they take themſelves unfit and unworthy to performe any great thing. For, to ſay that a dead man is deprived of all ſenſe, becauſe (having bene before compounded) that compoſition is now broken and diſſolved: to give out alſo, that a thing once diſſolved, hath no Being at all; and in that regard toucheth us not: howſoever they ſeeme to be goodly reaſons, yet they rid us not from the feare of death, but contrariwiſe, they doe more confirme and enforce the ſame: for this is it in deed which nature abhorreth, when it ſhalbe ſaid, according to the Poet *Homers* words:

But as for you, both all and ſome,
Soone may you earth and water become.

meaning thereby, the reſolution of the ſoule into a thing that hath neither intelligence nor any ſenſe at all; which *Epicurus* holding to be a diſſipation thereof into (I wot not what) emptineſſe, or voidneſſe & ſmall indiviſible bodies, which he termeth *Atomi*, by that meanes cutteth off (ſo much the rather) all hope of immortalitie: for which (I dare well ſay) that all folke living, men and women both, would willingly be bitten quite thorow and gnawen by the hel-dog *Cerberus*, or cary water away in veſſels full of holes in the bottome,like as the *Danaides* did, ſo they might onely have a Being,and not periſh utterly for ever, and be reduced to nothing. And yet verily, there be not many men who feare theſe matters, taking them to be poeticall fictions and tales deviſed for pleaſure, or rather bug-beares that mothers and nourſes uſe to fright their children with; and even they alſo who ſtand in feare of them, are provided of certeine ceremonies and expiatorie purgations, to helpe themſelves withall: by which (if they be once cleanſed and purified) they are of opinion, that they ſhall goe into another world to places of pleaſure, where there is nothing but playing and dauncing continually among thoſe who have the aire cleere, the winde milde and pure,the light gracious, and their voice intelligible: whereas the privation of life troubleth both yoong and old: for we all (even every one of us) are ſicke for love,and exceeding deſirous

To ſee the beautie of ſunnes light,
Which on the earth doth ſhine ſo bright,

as *Euripides* ſaith: neither willing are we,but much diſpleaſed to heare this:

And as he ſpake, that great immortall eie
Which giveth light thorowout the fabricke wide
Of this round world, made haſte and faſt did hie
With chariot ſwift,cleane out of ſight to ride.

Thus together with the perſwaſion and opinion of immortallity, they bereave the common people of the greateſt and ſweeteſt hopes they have. What thinke wee then of thoſe men who are of the better ſort, and ſuch as have lived juſtly and devoutly in this life? Surely, they looke for no evill at all in another world, but hope and expect there the greateſt and moſt heavenly bleſſings that be: for firſt and formoſt, champions or runners in a race, are never crowned ſo long as they be in combat or in their courſe, but after the combat ended and the victory atchieved; even ſo, when theſe perſons are perſwaded that the proofe of the victorie in this world is due unto them after the courſe of this life, wonderfull it is, and it can not be ſpoken, how great contentment they finde in their hearts for the privitie and conſcience of their vertue, and for thoſe hopes which aſſure them, that they one day ſhall ſee thoſe (who now abuſe their good gifts inſolently, who commit outrage by the meanes of their might, riches and authoritie, and who ſcorne and fooliſhly mocke ſuch as are better than themſelves) paie for their deſerts, and ſuffer woorthily for their pride and inſolencie. And foraſmuch as never any of them who are enamored of learning, could ſatisfie (to the full) his deſire as touching the knowledge of the truth, and the contemplation of the univerſall nature of this world; for that indeed they ſee as it were through a darke cloud and a thick miſt; to wit, by the organes and inſtruments of this body, and have no other uſe of reaſon, but as it is charged with the humors of the fleſh, weake alſo and troubled, yea,and woonderfully hindered; therefore having an eie and regard alwaies upward,& endevoring to flie forth of the bodie(as a bird that taketh her flight and mounteth up aloft, that ſhe may get into another lightſome place of greater capacitie) they labour to make their ſoule light, and to diſcharge her of all groſſe paſſions and earthly affections, ſuch as be baſe and tranſitorie, and that by the meanes of their ſtudie in philoſophie,which they uſe for an exerciſe and meditation of death. And verily for my part, I eſteeme death a good thing, ſo perfect and conſumate in regard of the ſoule which then ſhall live a life indeed, ſound and certaine, that I ſuppoſe the life heere is not a ſubſiſtent and aſſured thing of it ſelfe, but reſembleth rather the vaine illuſions of ſome dreames. And if it be ſo (as *Epicurus* ſaith:) That the remembrance and renewing acquaintance of a friend departed out of this life is every way a pleaſant thing; a man may even now conſider and know ſufficiently, of what joie theſe Epicureans deprive themſelves,who imagine otherwhiles in their dreames; that they receive and enterteine, yea and follow after to embrace, the very ſhadowes, viſions, apparitions, and ghoſts of their friends who are dead, and yet they have neither underſtanding nor ſenſe at all; and meane while they diſappoint themſelves of the expectation to converſe one day indeed with their deere father and tender mother, and to ſee their beloved and honeſt wives; and are deſtitute of all ſuch hope of ſo amiable company and ſweet ſocietie,as they have, who are of the ſame opinion, that *Pythagoras, Plato,* and *Homer* were, as touching the nature of the ſoule. Certes I am verily perſwaded,that *Homer* (covertly and as it were by the way) ſhewed,what maner of affection theirs is in this point, when he caſteth and projecteth amidde the preſſe of thoſe that were fighting, the image of *Aeneas,* as if he were dead indeed; but preſently after, hee exhibiteth him marching alive,ſafe and ſound:

And when his friends ſaw him ſo vigorous
And whole of limbs, and with heart generous,
To battel preſt, whom earſt they tooke for dead,
They leapt for joy, and baniſhed all dread.

leaving therefore the foreſaid image and ſhew of him, they raunged all about him. Let us likewiſe (ſeeing that reaſon prooveth & ſheweth unto us; that a man may in very truth converſe with thoſe that are departed; that lovers and friends may touch, handle, and keepe companie one with another, having their perfect ſenſes) be of good cheere and ſhunne thoſe, who can not beleeve ſo much, nor reject and caſt behind, all ſuch fantaſticall images and outward barks and rinds onely, in which they do al their life time nothing elſe but grieve and lament in vaine. Moreover, they that thinke the end of this life to be the beginning of another that is better; if they lived pleaſantly in this world, better contented they are to die, for that they looke for to enjoy a better eſtate in another; and if things went not to their mind heere, yet are they not much diſcontented, in regard of the hopes which they have of the future delights and pleaſures behind: and theſe worke in them ſuch incredible joies and expectances, that they put out and aboliſh all defects and offences whatſoever; theſe drowne (I ſay) and overcome all diſcontentments otherwiſe of the minde, which by that meanes beareth gently, and endureth with patience what accidents ſoever befal in the way, or rather in a ſhort diverticle or turning of the way: whereas contrariwiſe (to thoſe who beleeve, that our life heere is ended and diſſolved in a certaine deprivation of all ſenſe) death (becauſe it bringeth no alteration of miſeries) is dolorous as well to them of the one fortune as the other; but much more unto thoſe who are happie in this preſent life, than unto ſuch as are miſerable; for that as it cutteth theſe ſhort of all hope of better eſtate; ſo from thoſe it taketh away a certeintie of good, which was their preſent joyfull life: And like as many medicinable and purgative drougs (which are neither good nor pleaſant to the ſtomacke, howbeit in ſome reſpect neceſſarie, howſoever they eaſe and cure the ſicke) doe great hurt, and offend the bodies of ſuch as be in health; even ſo the doctrine of *Epicurus* unto thoſe who are infortunate and live miſerably in this world, promiſeth an iſſue out of their miſeries, and the ſame nothing happie, to wit; a finall end, and totall diſſolution of their ſoule: And as for thoſe who are prudent, wiſe, and live in abundance of al good things, it impeacheth and hindreth altogether their alacritie & contentment of ſpirit, in bringing and turning them from an happie life to no life at all, from a bleſſed eſtate to no eſtate or being whatſoever. For firſt & formoſt this is certeine: That the very apprehenſion of the loſſe of goods, afflicteth and vexeth a man as much, as either an aſſured expectance, or a preſent enjoying and fruition thereof rejoiceth his heart: yet would they beare us in hand, that the cogitation of this finall diſſolution and perdition into nothing, leaveth unto men a moſt aſſured and pleaſant good, to wit, the refutation or putting by of a certaine fearefull doubt and ſuſpicion of infinit and endleſſe miſeries: and this ſay they, doth the doctrine of *Epicurus* effect, in aboliſhing the feare of death, and teaching that the ſoule is utterly diſſolved. Now if this be a ſingular and moſt ſweet content (as they ſay it is) to be delivered from the feare and expectation of calamities and miſeries without end, how can it otherwiſe be but irkſome and grievous, to be deprived of the hope of joies ſempiternall, and to loſe that ſupreame and ſovereigne felicitie? Thus you ſee it is good neither for the one nor the other, but this, Not-being, is naturally an enemie, and quite contrarie unto all that have Being: And as for thoſe whom the miſerie of death ſeemeth to deliver from the miſeries of life, a poore and cold comfort they have (God wot) of that inſenſibility, as if they had an evaſion and eſcaped thereby; and on the other ſide, thoſe who lived in all proſperitie, and afterwards came of a ſudden to change that ſtate into nothing: me thinks I ſee very plainly, that theſe tarrie for a fearefull and terrible end of their race, which thus ſhall cauſe their felicitie to ceaſe; for nature abhorreth not privation of ſenſe, as the beginning of another eſtate and being, but is afraid of it becauſe it is the privation of thoſe good things which are preſent. For to ſay: That the thing which coſteth us the loſſe of all that we have, toucheth us not, is a very abſurd ſpeech, conſidering, that this very cogitation and apprehenſion thereof concerneth us much already: for this inſenſibilitie doth not afflict and trouble thoſe who have no more Being, but ſuch as yet are, namely, when they come to caſt their account, what detriment and loſſe they receive by being no more, and that by death they ſhall be reduced to nothing: for it is not the three-headed-helhound *Cerberus*, nor the river of teares and weeping, *Cocytus*, which cauſe the feare of death to be infinit and interminable; but it is that menacing intimation of Nullity or Not-being, & of the impoſſibility to returne againe into a ſtate of Being, after men once are gone and departed out of this life; for there is no ſecond nativitie nor regeneration, but that Not-being muſt of neceſſitie remaine for ever, according to the doctrine of *Epicurus*: for if there be no end at all of Non-eſſence, but the ſame continue infinit and immutable, there will be found likewiſe an eternall and endleſſe miſerie in that privation of all good things, by a certeine inſenſibilitie, which never ſhall have end. In which point *Herodotus* ſeemeth yet to have dealt more wiſely, when he ſaith: That God having given a taſte of ſweet eternitie, ſeemeth envious in that behalfe, eſpecially to thoſe who are reputed happie in this world; unto whom that pleaſure was nothing els but a bait to procure dolor, namely, when they have a taſte of thoſe things which they muſt forgoe: for what joy, what contentment and fruition of pleaſure is there ſo great, but this conceit and imagination of the ſoule (falling continually as it were into a vaſt ſea of this infinition) is not able to quell and chaſe away, eſpecially in thoſe who repoſe all goodneſſe and beatitude in pleaſure? And if it be true as *Epicurus* ſaith: That to die in paine, is a thing incident to moſt men; then ſurely there is no meane at all to mitigate or allay the feare of death, ſeeing it haleth us even by griefe and anguiſh to the loſſe of a ſovereigne good: and yet his ſectaries would ſeeme to urge and enforce this point mainly, to wit, in making men beleeve that it is a good thing to eſcape and avoid evill; and yet forſooth, that they ſhould not thinke it evill, to be deprived of good. They confeſſe plainly, that in death there is no joy nor hope at all, but what pleaſure and ſweetneſſe ſoever we had, is thereby and then cut off; whereas contrariwiſe, even in that time, thoſe who beleeve their ſoules to be immortall and incorruptible, looke to have and enjoy the greateſt and moſt divine bleſſings; and for certeine great revolutions of yeeres, to converſe in all happineſſe and felicity, ſometime upon the earth, otherwhiles in heaven, untill in that generall reſolution of the univerſall world they come to burne together with Sun and Moone, in a ſpirituall and intellectuall fire.

This ſpacious place of ſo many and ſo great joies, *Epicurus* cutteth off and aboliſheth cleane, in that he anulleth all hopes that we ought to have in the aide and favour of the gods; whereby both in contemplative life he extinguiſheth the love of knowledge and learning; and alſo in the active, the deſire of valourous acts of winning honour and glory; reſtraining, driving and thruſting nature into a narrow roome, of a joy which is very ſtrait, ſhort and unpure, to wit, from the ſoules delight to a fleſhly pleaſure; as if ſhe were not capable of a greater good, than the avoiding of evill.

WHETHER THIS COMMON MOT, BE WELL SAID:

LIVE HIDDEN: OR, SO LIVE, AS NO MAN MAY KNOW THOV LIVEST.

The Summarie.

This precept was firſt given by Neocles *the brother of* Epicurus, *as ſaith* Suidas: *and (as if it had bene ſome golden ſentence) it went currant ordinarily in the mouthes of all the Epicureans, who adviſed a man that would live happily, not to intermeddle in any publike affaires of State: but* Plutarch *conſidering well how ill this Empreſe ſounded, being taken in that ſenſe and conſtruction which they give unto it, and foreſeeing the abſurd and dangerous conſequences enſuing upon ſuch an opinion, doth now confute the ſame by ſeven arguments or ſound reaſons, to wit: That therein ſuch fooliſh Philoſophers diſcover mightily their exceſſive ambition: That it is a thing diſhoneſt and perillous for a man to retire himſelfe apart from others; for that if a man be vicious, he ought to ſeeke abroad for remedie of his maladie: if a lover of goodneſſe and vertue, he is likewiſe to make other men love the ſame.* Item: *That the Epicureans life*

life being defamed with all ordure and wickedneſſe, it were great reaſon in deed, that ſuch men ſhould remaine hidden and buried in perpetuall darkneſſe. After this, he ſheweth that the good proceeding from the life of vertuous men, is a ſufficient encouragement for every one to be emploied in affaires: for that there is nothing more miſerable than an idle life, and that which is unprofitable to our neighbors: That life, birth, generation, mans ſoule, yea, and man himſelfe wholly as he is, teach us by their definitions and properties: That we are not ſet in this world, for to be directed by ſuch a precept as this: and in concluſion: That the eſtate of our ſoules, after they be ſeparate from the bodie, condemneth and overthroweth this doctrine of the Epicureans, and prooveth evidently, that they be extreame miſerable, both during and after this life. All theſe premiſſes well marked and conſidered, inſtruct and teach them that be of good calling in the world, and in higher place, to endevor and ſtraine themſelves in their ſeverall vocations to flie an idle life, ſo farre forth, that they take heed withall, they be not over curious, pragmaticall, buſie and ſtirring, nor too ready and forward to meddle in thoſe matters which ought to be let alone as they be; for feare leſt whiles they weene to raiſe and advance themſelves, they fall backe, and become lower than they would.

WHETHER THIS COMMON Mot, be well ſaid: *Live hidden*: or, *So live, as no man may know thou liveſt.*

LOe how even himſelfe, who was the authour of this ſentence, would not be unknowne, but that al the world ſhould underſtand, that he it was who ſaid it; for expreſly he uttered this very ſpeech, to the end that it might not remain, unknowen that he had ſome more underſtanding than others, deſirous to winne a glorie undeſerved and not due unto him, by diverting others from glory, and exhorting them to obſcurity of life. I like the man well verily, for this is juſt according to the old verſe:

I hate him who of wiſdome beares the name,
And to himſelfe cannot performe the ſame.

We reade that *Philoxenus* the ſonne of *Eryxis*, and *Gnatho* the Sicilian, (two notorious gluttons given to bellie-cheere, and to love their tooth) when they were at a feaſt, uſed to ſnite their noſes into the very diſhes and platters with meat before them; thereby to drive thoſe in their meſſe, and who were ſet at the table, from eating with them, and by that meanes to engorge themſelves, and fill their bellies alone with the beſt viands ſerved up: Semblably, they who are exceſſively and out of all meaſure ambitious, before others as their concurrents and corrivals, blame and diſpraiſe glorie and honour, to the end that they alone without any competitours might enjoy the ſame: And heerein they doe like unto mariners ſitting at the oare in a bote or gally; for howſoever their eie is toward the poupe, yet they labour to ſet the prow forward, in that the flowing of the water by reciprocation, cauſed by the ſtroke of the oares, comming forcibly backe upon the poupe, might helpe to drive forward the veſſell; even ſo, they that deliver ſuch rules and precepts, whiles they make ſemblant to flie from glory, purſue it as faſt as they can; for otherwiſe if it were not ſo: what need had he (whoſoever he was) to give out ſuch a ſpeech? what meant he elſe to write it, and when he had written it, to publiſh the ſame unto poſteritie? If I ſay he meant to be unknowne to men living in his time, who deſired to be knowne unto thoſe that came after him? But let us come to the thing it ſelfe: How can it chuſe but be ſimply naught? Live ſo hidden (quoth he) that no man may perceive that ever you lived; as if he had ſaid: Take heed you be not knowne for a digger up of ſepulchres, & a defacer of the tombs & monuments of the dead: But contrariwiſe, a foule & diſhoneſt thing it is to live in ſuch ſort, as that you ſhould be willing that we al, know not the maner thereof: Yet would I for my part ſay cleane contrary: Hide not thy life, how ever thou do, and if thou haſt lived badly, make thy ſelfe knowne; be wiſer, repent & amend: if thou be endued with vertue, hide it not, neither be thou an unprofitable member; if vicious, continue not obſtinate there, but yeeld to correction, & admit the cure of thy vice; or rather at (leaſtwiſe ſir) make a diſtinction, & define who it is, to whom you give this precept? If he be ignorant, unlearned, wicked, or fooliſh, then it is as much as if you ſaid thus: Hide thy feaver; cloke & cover thy phrẽſie; let not the phyſician take notice of thee; goe and put thy ſelfe into ſome darke corner, where no perſon may have a ſight of thee, or of thy maladies and paſſions; go thy way aſide with all thy naughtineſſe, ſicke as thou art of an incurable and mortall diſeaſe; cover thy ſpight and envie; hide thy ſuperſtition; ſuppreſſe and conceale (as it were) the diſorderly beatings of thine arteries; take heed & be afraid how you let your pulſe be felt, or bewray your ſelfe to thoſe who have the meanes, & are able to admoniſh, correct, and heale you. But long ago, & in the old world, our anceſtors were wont to take in hand and cure openly in publike place, thoſe that were diſeaſed in body: in thoſe daies, everie one (who had met with any good medicine, or knowne a remedie, whereof he had the proofe, either in himſelfe being ſicke, or in another cured thereby) would reveale and communicate the ſame unto another that ſtood in need thereof: and thus they ſay: The skil of Phyſick ariſing firſt, and growing by experience, became in time, a noble and excellent ſcience. And even ſo, requiſit it is and neceſſarie, to diſcover and lay open unto all men, lives that be diſeaſed, and the infirmities of the ſoule, to touch and handle them, and by conſidering the inclinations of every man, to ſay thus unto one: Subject thou art to anger, take heed thereof; unto another: Thou art given to jealouſie and emulation, beware of it, doe thus and thus; to a third: Art thou amorous and full of love? I have beene ſo my ſelfe otherwhiles, but I repent me thereof. But now a daies it is cleane contrarie; in denying, in cloaking, covering, and hiding, men thruſt and drive their vices inwardly, and more deepely ſtill into their ſecret bowels. Now if they be men of woorth and vertuous, whom thou counſelleſt to hide themſelves, that the world may take no knowledge of them, it is all one as to ſay unto *Epaminondas*: Take no charge of the conduct of an army: or to *Lycurgus*: Amuſe not your head about making lawes: and to *Thraſibulus*: Kill no tyrants: to *Pythagoras*: Keepe no ſchoole, nor teach in any wiſe: to *Socrates*: See you diſpute not, nor hold any diſcourſes of philoſophie: and to your ſelfe *Epicurus* firſt of all: Write not to your friends in *Aſia*; enroll and gather no ſoldiors out of *Aegypt*; have no commerce nor negotiate with them; do not protect and defend as it were with a guard from villanie and violence, the yoong gentlemen of *Lampſacum*; ſend not your books abroad to all men and women alike, thereby to ſhew your learning; finally, ordeine nothing about your ſepulture. To what tended your publicke tables? what meant thoſe aſſemblies that you made of your familiar friends and faire yoong boies; to what purpoſe were there ſo many thouſands of verſes written and compoſed ſo painfully by you in the honour of *Metrodorus*, *Ariſtobulus*, & *Chæredemus*, to the end that after death they ſhould not be forgotten? Was all this becauſe you would ratifie and eſtabliſh vertue by oblivion; arts by doing nothing, philoſophy by ſilence; and felicitie by forgetfulneſſe? Will you needs bereave mans life of knowledge, as if you would take away light from a feaſt, to the end that mē might not know that you & your followers do all for pleaſure, & upon pleaſure? then good reaſon you have to give counſell, & ſaie unto your ſelfe: Live unknowne. Certes, if I had a minde to leade my life with *Hedia* the harlot, or to keepe ordinarily about me, the ſtrumpet *Leontium*; to deteſt all honeſtie; to repoſe all my delight and joy in the tickling pleaſures of the fleſh, and in wanton luſts: theſe ends verilie would require to be hidden in darkneſſe, and covered with the ſhadow of the night; theſe be the things that would be forgotten, and not once knowne: But if a man in the ſcience of naturall philoſophie, delight in hymnes and canticles to praiſe God, his juſtice and providence; or in morall knowledge, to ſet out and commend the law, humane ſocietie, and the politike government of common-weale; and therein regard honour and honeſtie, not profit and commodity; what reaſon have you to adviſe him for to live obſcurely? Is it becauſe he ſhould teach none by good precept? is it for that no man ſhould have a zealous love to vertue, or affect honeſtie by his example? If *Themiſtocles* had never bene knowne to the Athenians, *Greece* had not given *Xerxes* the foile and repulſe; likewiſe if *Camillus* had beene unknowne to the Romanes, peradventure by this time *Rome* had beene no city at all; had not *Dion* knowne *Plato*, *Sicilie* ſhould not have beene delivered from tyrannie. But this is my conceit; that like as light effecteth thus much, that we not onely know one another, but alſo are profitable one unto another; even ſo in my judgement, to be knowne abroad, bringeth not onely honor and glorie, but alſo meanes of emploiment in vertue: Thus *Epaminondas* unknowne unto the Thebanes, untill he was fortie yeeres old, ſtood them in no ſtead at all; but after that they tooke knowledge of him once, and had committed unto him the leading of their armie, he ſaved the citie of *Thebes*, which had like to have been loſt, and delivered *Greece*, being in danger of ſervitude; ſhewing in renowme and glorie (no leſſe than in ſome cleere light) vertue producing her effects in due time: For according to the poet *Sophocles*: By uſe it ſhineth

Like iron or braſſe, that is both faire and bright
So long as men doe handle it aright.
In time alſo, an houſe goes to decay,
And falleth downe, if dweller be away.

whereas the very maners & natural conditions of a man be marred & corrupted, gathering as it were a moſſe, & growing to age in doing nothing, through ignorance & obſcurity. And verily a mute ſilence, a ſedentarie life, retired a part in idleneſſe, cauſeth not onely the bodie, but the mind alſo of man to languiſh & grow feeble: & like as dornant, or cloſe & ſtanding waters, for that they be covered, overſhadowed, & not running, grow to putrifie; even ſo, they that never ſtirre, nor be emploied, what good parts ſoever they have in them, if they put them not foorth, nor exerciſe their naturall and inbred faculties, corrupt quickly, and become old. See you not how when the night commeth on & approcheth neere, our bodies become more heavie, lumpiſh, and unfit for any worke, our ſpirits more dull and lazie to all actions, and the diſcourſe of our reaſon and underſtanding more drowſie and contracted within it ſelfe? like unto fire that is ready to goe out; and how the ſame by reaſon of an idleneſſe and unwillingneſſe comming upon it, is ſomewhat troubled and diſquieted with divers fantaſticall imaginations; which obſervation advertiſeth us daily after a ſecret and ſilent manner, how ſhort the life of man is:

But when the ſunne with lightſome beames
Diſpatched hath theſe cloudy dreames,

after he is once riſen (and by mingling together the actions and cogitations of men with his light; awakeneth and raiſeth them up (as *Democritus* ſaith) in the morning, they make haſte jointly one with another upon a forren deſire, as if they were compounded and knit with a certaine mutuall bond, ſome one way, and ſome another, riſing to their ſerverall works and buſineſſe. Certes, I am of advice, that even our life, our very nativity, yea & the participation of mankind is given us of God to this end: That we ſhould know him; for unknowne he is and hidden in this great fabricke and univerſall frame of the world, all the while that hee goeth too and fro therein by ſmall parcels and piece-meale: but when hee is gathered in himſelfe, and growen to his greatneſſe; then ſhineth hee and appeereth abroad, where before he lay covered; then is he manifeſt and apparent, where before he was obſcure and unknowen; for knowledge is not the way to his eſſence, as ſome would have it; but contrariwiſe, his eſſence is the way to knowledge; for that knowledge maketh not each thing, but onely ſheweth it when it is done; like as the corruption of any thing that is, may not be thought a tranſporting to that which is not, but rather a bringing of that which is diſſolved to this paſſe, that it appeereth no more: Which is the reaſon that according to the auncient lawes and traditions of our countrey, they that take the ſunne to be *Apollo*, give him the names of *Delius* and *Pythius*; and him that is the lord of the other world beneath, whether he be a god or a divell, they call *Ades*; for that when we are dead and diſſolved, we goe to a certeine * obſcuritie, where nothing is to be ſeene:

* ἀειδής.

Even to the prince of darkneſſe and of night
The lord of idle dreames deceiving ſight.

And I ſuppoſe that our aunceſtors in old time called man *Phos*, of light, for that there is in every one of us, a vehement deſire and love to know and be knowen one of another, by reaſon of the conſanguinitie betweene us. And ſome philoſophers there be, who thinke verily, that even the ſoule in her ſubſtance is a very light, whereunto they are ledde as wel by other ſignes & arguments, as by this, that there is nothing in the world that the ſoule hateth ſo much as ignorance, rejecting all that is obſcure and unlightſome; troubled alſo when ſhe is entred into dark places, for that they fill her full of feare and ſuſpicion: but contrariwiſe, the light is ſo ſweet and delectable unto her, that ſhe taketh no joy and delight in any thing, otherwiſe lovely and deſireable by nature, without light or in darkneſſe; for that is it which cauſeth all pleaſures, ſports, paſtimes, & recreations to be more jocund, amiable, & to mans nature agreeable; like as a common ſauce that ſeaſoneth and commendeth al viands wherewith it is mingled: whereas he that hath caſt himſelfe into ignorance, and is enwrapped within the clouds of miſtie blindneſſe, making his life a repreſentation of death, and burying it as it were in darkneſſe, ſeemeth that he is wearie even of being, and thinketh life a very trouble unto him: and yet they are of opinion, that the nature of glorie and eſſence, is the place aſſigned for the ſoules of godly, religious, and vertuous folke:

To whom the ſunne ſhin's alwaies bright
When heere with us it is darke night:

The medowes there, both faire and wide,
With roſes red are beautified:
The fields all round about them dight
With verdure, yeeld a pleaſant ſight:
All tapiſſed with flowers full gay,
Of fruitfull trees, that bloſſome ay:
Amid this place the rivers cleere
Runne ſoft and ſtill, ſome there, ſome heere.

Wherein they paſſe the time away, in calling to remembraunce and recounting that which is paſt, in diſcourſing alſo of things preſent, accompanying one another, and converſing together. Now there is a third way, of thoſe who have lived ill, and be wicked perſons, the which ſendeth their ſoules headlong into a darke gulfe and bottomleſſe pit:

Where, from the dormant rivers bleak
Of ſhadie night, thick miſts doe reak,
As blacke as pitch continually
And thoſe all round about doe flie.

enfolding, whelming, and covering thoſe in ignorance and forgetfulneſſe, who are tormented there and puniſhed: for they be not greedy geiers or vultures, that evermore eat and gnaw the liver of wicked perſons laid in the earth; and why? the ſame already is either burned or rotted: neither be there certeine heavie fardels, or weightie burdens that preſſe downe and overcharge the bodies of ſuch as be puniſhed:

For ſuch thin ghoſts and fibres ſmall,
Have neither fleſh nor bone at all.

Ne yet are the reliques of their bodies who be departed, ſuch as be capable of puniſhment, for that belongeth properly to a bodie that is ſolid and able to reſiſt; but the onely way and true manner of chaſtiſing and puniſhing thoſe, who have lived badly in this world, is infamie, ignorance, an entire abolition, and totall reducement to nothing, which bringeth them from the river *Lethe*, that is to ſay, Oblivion, into another mournfull river, where there is no mirth, no joy, nor cheerefulneſſe, & from thence plungeth them into a vaſt ſea, which hath neither ſhore nor bottom, even idleneſſe and unaptneſſe to all good, which can doe nought elſe but draw after it a generall forgetfulneſſe and buriall (as it were) in all ignorance and infamous obſcuritie.

RVLES AND PRECEPTS OF HEALTH IN MANER OF A DIALOGUE.

The Summarie.

THe conjunction of the ſoule with the bodie being ſo ſtraight, as every man knowes it is, I can not ſee how it is poſſible that the one ſhould commit any diſorder or exceſſe, but the other muſt needs be grieved therewith immediatly: And if there be any thing that ought to be deplored and lamented, it is the loſſe of time, eſpecially and above all, when the ſame is occaſioned by our own intemperance; for that at ſuch a time when as we ſhould attend upon our dutie, we become and continue unprofitable, hurting many times both our ſelves and many others. Now for that the ſtudy of good literature requireth a ſoule well compoſed and governed in a ſound, healthfull, and vigorous bodie; it is not without good cauſe, that Plutarch *intermingleth among philoſophicall diſcourſes certeine rules & precepts as touching health. For in truth a vaine endevor & enterpriſe this were, and hardly could a man have his mind diſpoſed to good things, in caſe the bodie be ill affected and miſgoverned: But fearing leſt it would be thought, that he who* *made profeſſion of philoſophie onely, proceeded farther than in reaſon hee ought, and brake the limits and bounds of ſciences, in medling with phyſick heere: Before that he entreth into the Dialogue, when he had touched the occaſion of this conference and talke; he ſheweth: that the ſtudie of phyſick is agreeable to philoſophie: which done, he repreſenteth certeine queſtions propoſed by a third perſon, which ſerve in ſtead of a preface to thoſe precepts and leſſons, by him ſet downe afterwards; not following heerein any exact or exquiſit method, but making choiſe of that which he thought to be moſt meet for the time, and ſuting beſt to thoſe perſons, for whoſe ſake this Dialogue was written. He ſpeaketh firſt therefore of the uſe of meats, eſpecially ſuch as are ſweet and pleaſing to the tooth: alſo what a man is to take heed of in this behalfe: Then he treateth of the pleaſures of the bodie, declaring what meaſure therein we ought to keepe, and diſcovering by a certeine ſimilitude, the pernicious indiſcretion of thoſe who love to keepe good cheere and mainteine dainty fare. Conſequently heereupon, he forbiddeth us to uſe bodily pleaſures unleſſe we be in good and perfect health; condemneth fulneſſe and overmuch repletion, which is the cauſe of moſt diſeaſes that are incident to mans body, and this he enricheth and amplifieth by another proper ſimilitude. He is deſirous alſo that maladies were foreſeene and prevented, ſetting downe a ſpeciall remedie therefore, and prooving; that the body cannot enjoy any delight whatſoever, either in eating or drinking, in caſe it be not healthy. From this he proceedeth to make mention of diet, and of the prognoſtikes of diſeaſes breeding and toward.* Item, *how, and wherewith the maladies of our friends ought to ſerve and ſtead us; adding thus much moreover; that for the better maintenance and preſervation of health, a man is not to feed to ſatietie; that he ought to travell and not ſpare himſelfe; alſo that he is to ſave his naturall ſeed: upon this he diſcourſeth of the exerciſe and nouriſhment of ſtudents and ſcholars, deſciphring particularly whatſoever in this point is moſt woorth the noting and obſervation, and ſo cleereth this queſtion, namely; Whether it be holſome for the body to diſpute either at the table, or preſently upon meat: After all this, he treateth of walking, of ſleepe, of vomiting, of purgations of the belly, of diets over exquiſit and preciſe; condemning expreſly idleneſſe, as a thing contrary to the good diſpoſition of the body. Furthermore, he ſheweth when a man ought to be at quiet and reſt; as alſo the time that he may give himſelfe to pleaſure: but above all, he requireth of every man; that he learne to know his owne nature and inclination, as alſo the meats and drinks that be agreeable unto his ſtomack: exhorting in the end all ſtudents to ſpare their bodies, to looke unto them, and make much of them, that they may have the better meanes to proceed and goe forward in the knowledge of good letters, whereby they might another day be profitable members of the common-wealth, and doe more good to the ſocietie of men.*

RULES AND PRECEPTS OF health in maner of a dialogue.

The perſonages ſpeaking in this dialogue: MOSCHION and ZEUXIPPUS.

MOSCHION.

ANd did you then indeed, (my friend *Zexippus*) turne away *Glaucus* the phyſician yeſterday, who was deſirous to conferre with us in philoſophie?

ZEUXIPPUS.

No iwis, (good *Moſchion*) neither did I put him away; deſirous was he to doe as you ſay: But this was it that I avoided and feared, namely: To give him any advantage or occaſion to faſten upon me, and take hold on me, knowing him as I doe to be litigious and quarrelſome: for in phyſick, if I may uſe the words of *Homer*:

He may well ſtand for many a one,
Although he be but one alone.

As for philoſophie, he is not wel affected thereto, but alwaies provided of ſome ſhrewd & bitter tearmes againſt her in all his diſputations, and as then eſpecially; for I obſerved how he came directly againſt us, crying out upon us a farre off with a loud voice, & charging us; that we had to enterpriſe a great matter,and the ſame not very civill & honeſt,and in that we had broken the bounds, and pluckt up (as a man would ſay) the very limit-marks of ſciences,laying all cōmon, and making a confuſion of them, in diſputing as we did of holſome diet, and of the maner how to live in good health. For the confines and frontiers (quoth he) of Phyſicians and Philoſophers , are (as we uſe to ſay in the vulgar proverbe , as touching Myſians and Phrygians) farre different, and remooved a ſunder: Moreover,he had readily in his mouth certeine ſpeeches and ſentences of ours, which we delivered by way of paſtime onely , and yet for all that , were not impertinent or unprofitable, and thoſe he would ſeeme to controule, reproove,and ſcorne.

MOSCHION.

But I for my part (ô *Zeuxippus*) could be very well content, yea,and moſt deſirous to heare, even thoſe ſpeeches that he mocked, as others beſide, which yee had concerning this matter, if ſo be it might ſtand with your pleaſure to rehearſe the ſame.

ZEUXIPPUS.

I thinke no leſſe (ô *Moſchion*) for that you are enclined naturally to philoſophie, and thinke not well of that philoſopher who is not well affected to phyſicke,but are diſpleaſed and offended with him; in caſe (I ſay) he ſuppoſe it more meet and beſeeming for him to be ſeene ſtudying Geometrie, Logicke, or Muſicke, than willing to enquire and learne

What rule at home in houſe, what worke there is,
How things doe ſtand, what goes well, what amis?

When I ſay, at home , I meane in his owne body; and yet a man ſhall ſee ordinarily , what a number more there be of ſpectators at Theaters, where there is ſome publick dole or free diſtribution of money to thoſe that are aſſembled to ſee the games and paſtimes, as the manner is at *Athens,* than otherwiſe. Now of all the liberall ſciences , Phyſicke is one, which as it giveth place to none whatſoever, in beautie, in outward ſhew,and in pleaſure or delight; ſo it alloweth a great reward and ſalarie unto thoſe that love it, even as much as their life and health comes to; and therefore we are not to accuſe and charge Philoſophers , who diſcourſe and diſpute of matters concerning like regiment of health,for paſſing beyond their bounds and confines: but rather we ought to blame them, if they thinke that they ſhould plucke up altogether , and take away thoſe land-marks, to labor (as it were) in ſome common field betweene them and Phyſicians, in the ſtudy & contemplation of things good and honeſt,aiming & ſeeking in al their diſputations and diſcourſes, after that which is both pleaſant to know & neceſſarie to underſtand.

MOSCHION.

But let us I pray you(ô *Zeuxippus*) leave *Glaucus* to himſelfe,who for the gravity which he carieth, would be accounted a man in all points accompliſhed without anie need at all of Philoſophies helpe; and recount unto me(if you pleaſe) all thoſe ſpeeches which you had , eſpecially at firſt, thoſe I meane which you ſaid were not ſpoken in earneſt , and yet were ſcorned and reprooved by *Glaucus*.

ZEUXIPPUS.

I will, and that right willingly. This friend of ours therefore delivered thus much ; how he heard one ſay: That to have ones hands alwaies warme, and never ſuffer them to be cold,was no ſmall meanes to the preſervation of health: but contrariwiſe, to have ordinarily the extreme parts of the body cold,drove heat inwardly into the center of the body,and brought us to a certeine familiaritie and acquaintance with a feaver; as alſo , to turne and drive with out foorth together with heat the matter thereof, and to diſtribute the ſame equally throughout the whole bodie , was an holſome thing; as we ſee by experience, that if we occupie our hands , and doe ſome worke with them, the verie motion exciteth and ſtirreth up, yea, and maintaineth naturall heat: but if we have no ſuch buſineſſe or imployment for them , but hold them ſtill and idle, yet for all that we are not to admit or enterteine cold in thoſe extreme parts of the bodie: This(I ſay)was one of the points that *Glaucus* laughed at. The ſecond (as I take it) was touching the meats that yee uſe to give unto ſicke perſons: For that hee counſelled men(in time of health) to taſte the ſame by little and little ; ſo as they might bee acquainted therewith, to the end that they ſhould not abhorre and lothe them (as little children uſe to doe) nor hate ſuch a kind of diet ; but make the ſame in ſome ſort after a gentle manner,familiar unto their appetite; that(whenſoever it hapned they were ſicke)ſuch viands might not go againſt their ſtomacks,as if they were Phyſicke drougues or medicines , out of the apothecaries ſhoppe: alſo , that we ſhould not be offended and diſcontent, otherwhiles to feed upon one ſingle diſh and no more, and the ſame without any ſauce to draw it on , or fine dreſſing and handling by cooks craft , to commend it. For which cauſe he would not have men thinke it ſtrange, to come now and then to the table, without being at the baine or hot-houſe before; nor to drinke ſheere water, when wine is upon the bourd, nor to forbeare to drinke our drinke hot in ſummer time, although there be ſnow ſet before us to coole it. Provided alwaies, that this abſtinence proceed not from any ambitious oſtentation and vain-glory, or becauſe we would vaunt and make our boaſt thereof afterward; but that we doe it apart by our ſelves, making no words thereof, and accuſtome by little and little our appetite to obey reaſon willingly, and to be ruled by that which is good and profitable, by weaning our mindes (long before) from that ſcrupulous curioſitie, daintie niceneſſe, and waiward complaints, about theſe matters in time of ſickneſſe; when commonly we are ready to whine and lament, for that wee miſſe thoſe our former pleaſures, and great delights, which we were woont to enjoy, and ſee our ſelves brought to a more baſe kinde of diet, and a ſtraighter rule of life. For a good ſaying it was: Chuſe the beſt life ſimply that is; uſe and cuſtome will make it pleaſing and agreeable unto thee: the which by good proofe and experience hath beene found profitable in all things, but principally in the regard and care of our bodies (as touching diet,) which in time of beſt health ought to be ordered ſo by uſe and cuſtome, that the ſame may become kinde, familiar, and agreeable to our nature; and namely by calling to minde that which others are woont to doe and ſay in their ſickneſſe, how they fume and chaſe, how they fare and goe to worke when hot water is brought unto them for to drinke, or warme brothes to be ſupped, or drie-bread to be eaten; how they call theſe, untoward, naughtie, and unſavorie victuals, yea and name thoſe, curſed and odious perſons, who would ſeeme to force the ſame upon them for to eat or drinke. Manie there have beene, who had their bane by baines, ſuch as ailed not much at the firſt, and were not very ſicke at the beginning; onely they had brought themſelves to this paſſe, that they could neither eat nor drinke, unleſſe they were firſt bathed, or had ſweat in a ſtouph: among whom, *Titus* the emperour of *Rome* was one, as they were able to teſtifie who had the cure of him when he lay ſicke. It was ſaid moreover: That alwaies viands moſt ſimple, and ſuch as coſt leaſt, were holſomeſt for the bodie; alſo that above all things, men ought to beware of repletion, of drunkenneſſe and voluptuous life; eſpecially, when there is ſome feſtivall day toward, wherein they uſe to make exceeding cheere; or when they purpoſe to invite their friends to a great dinner, or otherwiſe looke to be bidden themſelves to ſome roiall feaſt of a king or lord generall, or elſe to a banket, where they ſhall be put to quaffe and carrouſe in their turne, which they may not refuſe to do: againſt ſuch times (I ſay) they ought to prepare their bodies beforehand, as it were whiles the weather is calme and faire, and make it more freſh and lightſome, yea, and better able to abide the ſtorme and tempeſt toward: for a very hard matter it is in ſuch aſſemblies, and feaſts of great lords or deere friends, for a man to ſtay himſelfe in a meane, and mainteine his accuſtomed ſobrietie; but he ſhall be thought uncivill, unmanerly, inſociable, too auſtere and odious to all the company. To the end therefore that we ſhould not put fire to fire (as they ſay) lay gorge upon gorge, ſurfet upon ſurfet, and wine upon wine, good it were to imitate and follow in good earneſt that which was ſometime merily done by king *Philip*, and that was this: A certaine man invited him upon a time to a ſupper, into the countrey, thinking that hee would come with a ſmall company about him; but ſeeing that he brought a great traine and retinue with him, and knowing wel that he had prepared no more then would ſerve for a few gueſts; he was woonderfully troubled; *Philip* perceiving it, ſent underhand to every one of his friends that came with him, this word: That they ſhould keepe a roome in their ſtomacks for a deintie tart or cate that was comming: they beleeving this meſſage in good ſadneſſe, made ſpare of other viands that ſtood before them, looking evermore when this deintie ſhould be ſerved up, in ſuch ſort, as that the meat provided was ſufficient for the whole companie; even ſo we ought before-hand to be prepared againſt the time that we are to be at ſuch great feaſts and meetings aforeſaid, where we ſhall be put to it perforce, to drinke round in our turne, and to anſwer every ones chalenge, to reſerue (I ſay) a place in our bodies, both for meats and alſo for fine cates, and junketting diſhes: yea and beleeve me, if need be, for drunkenneſſe, and thither to bring an appetite freſh and readie for ſuch things. But if peradventure ſuch conſtreints and compulſions ſurpriſe us upon a ſudden, when we are either full and heavie, or ill at eaſe, for that we have a little before over-eaten and drunk our ſelves; in caſe (I ſay) ſome great lords be come to us, or in place unexpected, or haply a friend or ſtranger take us at unawares, and unprovided, ſo that we be forced for ſhame to keepe others company, who are well enough diſpoſed in body, and prepared for to drinke and make merry; then muſt we be eſpecially well armed againſt fooliſh baſhfulneſſe, and to meet with ſuch bad ſhamefaſtneſſe is the cauſe of ſo many evils among men; and namely, by alledging and ſaying theſe verſes of king *Creon* in a tragedie of *Euripides*:

Better it were for me, you to diſpleaſe
My friend, than at this time, for your content,
To give my ſelfe to pleaſure and mine eaſe,
But after, with great ſorrow to repent.

For to caſt a mans ſelfe into a pleuriſie or phrenſie, for feare to be held and reputed ruſtical and uncivill, is the part of a rude clowne in deed, and of one who hath neither wit nor judgement, ne yet any skill or ſpeech to enterteine and keepe companie with men, unleſſe they may be drunken and engorge themſelves like gluttons: for the very refuſall it ſelfe of eating and drinking, if it be handled with dexteritie and a good grace, will be no leſſe acceptable to the companie, than drinking ſquare and carrowſing round. And if the man who maketh a feaſt, abſteine himſelfe, though he ſit at the table (as the maner is at a ſacrifice whereof he taſteth not) enterteining his gueſts with a cheerefull countenance and a friendly welcome, and whiles the cups and trenchers walke about him, be diſpoſed to mirth and caſt out ſome pretie jeſts of himſelfe, he ſhall no leſſe content and pleaſe his gueſts, than he that will ſeeme to be drunken for companie, and cram his bellie with them, till it be readie to cracke. To this purpoſe he made mention of certeine ancient examples; and namely (among other) of *Alexander* the Great, who after he had drunke well and liberally, was abaſhed and aſhamed to denie the challenge of *Medius*, one of his captaines, who had invited him to ſupper; and thereupon (falling againe to drinke wine afreſh) died thereof. And of thoſe who lived in our daies, he ſpake of one *Riglis*, a notable Pancratiaſt or champion at all feats of activitie, whom *Titus Cæſar* the emperour, ſent for one day betimes in the morning to come and bathe with him, who came indeed, and after he had bathed and had drunke a great draught, was (by report) ſurpriſed with an Apoplexie, whereupon he died immediatly. All theſe matters, our Phyſician *Glaucy* mocked and reprooved, calling them diſcourſes of ſchoolemaſters to children their ſcholars: and as he was not very willing to heare more, ſo were not we greatly deſirous to relate and diſcourſe farther unto him; for that he had no mind to conſider ech thing accordingly that was delivered. *Socrates* verily, who was the firſt that debarred us from eating thoſe meats which drew us on to eat more ſtill when we were not hungry nor had a ſtomacke thereto; and from drinking ſuch drinks which cauſed us to drinke, although we were not drie and thirſtie; forbad us not ſimply to uſe meats and drinks, but taught us rather to uſe them onely when we had need of them, joining the pleaſure of them with their neceſſitie; like as they do, who employ the publicke money of cities (which before was wont to be ſpent at Theaters, in exhibiting plaies and ſhewes) about the charges of mainteining ſouldiers for the warres: for that which is ſweet, ſo long as it is a part of our nouriſhment, we hold to be proper and familiar to nature; and we ought all the whiles that we be hungry, to uſe and enjoy neceſſarie nouriſhment, as ſweet and pleaſant; but otherwiſe not to ſtirre and provoke other new and extraordinarie appetites apart, after that we are delivered from thoſe that be common and ordinarie: for like as unto *Socrates* himſelfe, dancing was no unpleaſant exerciſe; even ſo he who maketh his whole ſupper or meale of junkets and banketting diſhes, catcheth leſſe harme thereby: but when a man hath taken alreadie as much as is ſufficient to content nature, and wherewith he is well ſatisfied, he ought to beware as much as in any thing els, how he putteth forth his hands to any ſuch dainties. And we are to flie and avoid in theſe things, follie and ambition, no leſſe than friandiſe or gluttonie: for theſe two vices induce us likewiſe often times to eat ſome thing when we are not hungrie, and to drinke alſo when we be not athirſt; yea, and they ſuggeſt and miniſter unto us certeine baſe and extravagant imaginations, to wit, that it were great ſimplicitie, and a very abſurd thing, not to feed liberally of a rare, deere and geaſon diſh, if it may be had; as for example: That which is made of a ſowes pappes when ſhe is newly farrowed, Italian muſhroomes, Samian cakes, or ſnow out of *Aegypt*; for theſe toies and imaginations ſmelling ſomewhat of vain-glorie as the ſent of meat comming out of a kitchin, manie times ſet our teeth a watering and our ſtomacke on edge to uſe them, forcing the bodie (which otherwiſe would not ſeeke after them) to participate thereof, onely becauſe they be much ſpoken of and hard to come by; to the end that we make our report and recount unto others, what wee have done, and be reputed by them right happie and fortunate; for that wee have enjoied things, ſo deere, ſo ſingular and ſo geaſon. The like affection they cary to women alſo of great name and reputation: for it falleth out, that having their owne wives in bedde with them, and thoſe faire and beautifull dames, ſuch alſo as love them deerely, they lie ſtill and ſtirre not; but if they meet with any courtiſan, ſuch as *Phryne* or *Lais* was, unto whom they have paied good ſilver out of their purſe, though otherwiſe their bodies be unable,dull and heavie in performing the worke of *Venus*, yet doing they will be, what they can, and ſtraine themſelves upon a vaine-glorious ambition, to provoke and ſtirre up their laſcivious luſt unto fleſhly pleaſure: whereupon *Phryne* herſelfe, being now old and decaied, was woont to ſay: That ſhe ſold her lees and dregs the deerer,by reaſon of her reputation.

A great thing it is and wonderfull, that if we receive into our bodies as many pleaſures as nature doth require or can well beare; or rather, if upon divers occaſions and buſineſſes, we reſiſt her appetites,and put her off unto another time,and that we be loth and hardly brought to yeeld unto her neceſſities, or (according as *Plato* ſaith)give place, after that ſhe hath by fine force pricked and urged us thereto,we ſhould not ſuffer for all that, any harme thereby, but goe away freely without any loſſe or detriment: but on the other ſide, if we abandon our ſelves to the deſires that deſcend from the ſoule to the bodie, ſo farre foorth as they force us to miniſter unto the paſſions thereof, and riſe up together with them, impoſſible it is,but that they ſhould leave behinde them exceeding great loſſes and damages, in ſtead of a few pleaſures, and thoſe feeble and ſmall in appearance, which they have given unto us: and this above all things would be conſidered, that we take heed how we provoke the body to pleaſures, by the luſts of the minde; for the beginning thereof is againſt nature. For like as the tickling under the arme-holes, procureth unto the ſoule a laughter, which is not proper, milde and gentle, but rather troubleſome and reſembling ſome ſpaſme or convulſion; even ſo all the pleaſures which the bodie receiveth when it is pricked and provoked by the ſoule, be violent, forced, turbulent, furious and unnaturall. Whenſoever therefore any occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelfe to enjoy ſuch rare and notable delights, it were better for us to take a glorie in the abſtinence, rather than in the fruition thereof, calling to minde that which *Simonides* was woont to ſay: That he never repented any ſilence of his, but often times he beſhrewed himſelfe for his ſpeech; and even ſo we never repent that we have refuſed any viands, or drunke water in ſtead of good Falerne wine. And therefore we ought not onely, not to force nature, but if other-whiles we be ſerved with ſuch cates and meats as ſhe craveth, we are to divert our appetite from the ſame, and to reduce it to the uſe of ſimple and ordinary things many times, even for cuſtome and exerciſe:

If right and law may broken be,
for any earthly thing,
The beſt pretenſe is for to win
a crowne, and be a king.

So ſaid *Eteocles* the Thebane, though untruely: but we may better ſay: If we muſt be ambitious and deſirous of glorie in ſuch things as theſe, it were moſt honeſt and commendable to uſe continence and temperance for the preſervation of health. Howbeit, ſome there be, who upon an illiberall pinching and mechanicall ſparing,can reſtraine and keepe downe their appetites when they be at home in their owne houſes; but if it chance they be bidden foorth to others, they gorge and fill their bellies with theſe exquiſit and coſtly viands; much like to thoſe, who in time of warre and hoſtilitie, raiſe booties, and prey upon the lands of their enemies what they can; and when they have ſo done, they goe from thence ill at eaſe, carrying away with them for the morrow (upon this their fulneſſe and unſatiable repletion) crudity of ſtomacke and indigeſtion. *Crates* therefore, the philoſopher thinking; that civill warres and tyrannies ariſe and grow up in cities, aſwell by reaſon of ſuperfluity and exceſſe in dainty fare,as upon any other cauſe whatſoever, was woont by way of mirth, to give admonition in theſe tearmes: Take heed you bring us not into a civill ſedition, by augmenting the platter alwaies before the Lentil: that is to ſay, by diſpending more than your revenues will beare. But in deed, every man ought to have this command and rule of himſelfe,as to ſay: Augment not evermore the platter before the Lentil, nor at any time paſſe beyond the Creſſes and the Olive,even to fine tarts and delicate fiſhes,leſt you bring your bodie into a domeſticall diſſention afterwards with it ſelfe; namely, to painfull colickes, lasks,and fluxes of the bellie,by over-much fulneſſe and exceſſe of feeding: for ſimple viands and ordinarie, conteine the appetite within the bounds and compaſſe of nature; but the artificiall devices of cooks and cunning fellowes in paſtry, with their curious cates of all ſorts, with their exquiſit ſauces and pickles (as the comicall Poet ſaith) ſet out and extend alwaies the limits of pleaſure, encroching ſtill beyond the bounds of utilitie and profit. And I wot not verily,how it comes about, that conſidering we ſo much deteſt and abhorre thoſe women, who give love-drinks,and can skill of charmes and ſorceries to bewitch and enchant men with,we betake

take thus as we do, unto mercenarie hirelings or ſlaves, our meats and viands, to be medicined (as it were) and no better than poiſoned for to enchant and bewitch us. And admit, that the ſaying of *Arceſilaus* the Philoſopher, againſt adulterers and other laſcivious perſons, may ſeeme ſomewhat with the bittereſt; namely: that it made no great matter, which way one went about that beaſtly worke, whether before or behinde, for that the one was as bad as the other; yet impertinent it is not, nor beſide the ſubject matter which we have in hand. For to ſay a trueth, what difference is there betweene eating of Ragwort, Rogket, and ſuch hot herbs, for to ſtirre up the luſt of the fleſh, and to provoke the taſte and appetite to meat by ſmelles and ſauces? like as mangie and itching places have alwaies need of rubbing and ſcratching. But peradventure it would be better, to reſerve unto another place, our diſcourſe againſt diſhoneſt fleſhly pleaſures, and to ſhew how honeſt and venerable a thing in it ſelfe, is continence: for our purpoſe at this preſent, is to debarre many great pleaſures, otherwiſe in their owne nature honeſt: for I aſſure you, our diſeaſes doe not put us by ſo many actions, ſo many hopes, voiages or paſtimes, as they deprive us of our pleaſures, yea, and marre them quite; and therefore they who love their delights and pleaſures moſt, had leaſt need of any men in the world, to neglect their health. For many there be, who for all they be ſicke, have meanes to ſtudie philoſophy, and diſcourſe thereof: neither doth their ſickneſſe greatly hinder them, but that they may be generals in the field to leade armies, yea, and kings (beleeve me) to governe whole realmes.

But of bodily pleaſures and fleſhly delights, ſome there be which during a maladie will never breed; and ſuch as are bred already, yeeld but a ſmall joy, and ſhort contentment, which is proper and naturall unto them, and the ſame not pure and ſincere, but confuſed, depraved and corrupted with much ſtrange ſtuffe, yea and diſguiſed and blemiſhed as it were, with ſome ſtorme and tempeſt: for the act of *Venus* is not to any purpoſe performed upon gourmandiſe and a full belly, but rather when the bodie is calme, and the fleſh in great tranquillity; for that the end of *Venus* is pleaſure, like as of eating alſo and of drinking; and health unto pleaſures, is as much as their faire weather and kinde ſeaſon, which giveth them ſecure and gentle breeding, much like as the calme time in winter affoords the ſea-fowles called *Alcyones*, a ſafe cooving, ſitting and hatching of their egges. *Prodicus* is commended for this pretie ſpeech: That fire was the beſt ſauce: and a man may moſt truely ſay: That health is of all ſauces muſt divine, heavenly and pleaſant: for our viands how delicate ſoever they be, boiled, roſted, baked or ſtewed, doe no pleaſure at all unto us, ſo long as wee are diſeaſed, drunken, full of ſurfet, or queaſie ſtomacked, as they be who are ſea-ſicke; whereas a pure and cleane appetite cauſeth all things to be ſweet, pleaſant, and agreeable unto ſound bodies, yea, and ſuch as they, will be ready to ſnatch at, as *Homer* ſaith. But like as *Demades* the oratour, ſeeing the Athenians without all reaſon, deſirous of armes and warre, ſaid unto them: That they never treated and agreed of peace, but in their blacke robes, after the loſſe of kinsfolke and friends; even ſo wee never remember to keepe a ſpary and ſober diet, but when we come to be cauterized, or to have cataplaſmes and plaſters about us: we are no ſooner fallen to thoſe extremities, but then we are ready to condemne our faults, calling to minde what errours we have committed in times paſt; for untill then, we blame one while the aire, as moſt men doe; another while the region or countrey, as unſound and unholſome; we finde fault that we are out of our native ſoile, and are woonderfull loth to accuſe our owne intemperance and diſordinate appetites. And as king *Liſymachus* being conſtreined and enforced within the country of the *Getes* for very thirſt to yeeld himſelfe priſoner, and al his armie captivate unto his enemies; after he had taken a draught of cold water, ſaid: Good God, what a great felicitie have I forgone and loſt, for a momentarie and tranſitory pleaſure! even ſo we may make uſe thereof, and apply the ſame unto our ſelves when wee are ſicke, ſaying thus: How many delights have we marred quite? how many good actions have we fore-let? what honeſt paſtimes have we loſt? and all by our drinking of cold water, or bathing unſeaſonably, or elſe for that we have over-drunke our ſelves for good fellowſhip: for the bite & ſting of ſuch thoughts as theſe, toucheth our remēbrance to the quicke, in ſuch ſort as the ſcarre remaineth ſtill behind, after that we are recovered, and maketh us in time of our health more ſtaied, circumſpect, and ſober in our diet: for a bodie that is exceeding ſound and healthy, never bringeth foorth vehement deſires, and diſordinate appetites, hardly to be tamed or withſtood; but we ought to make head againſt them, when they beginne to breake foorth and fling out for to enjoy the pleaſures which they are affected unto; for ſuch luſts, ſome complaine, pule, and crie for a little, as wanton children doe, and no ſooner is the table taken awaie, but they be quiet and ſtill; neither finde they fault and make complaint of any wrong or injurie offred unto them: but contrariwiſe, they be pure, jocund, and lightſome, not continuing heavie, nor readie to heave and caſt, the next day to an end: like as by report, captaine *Timotheus*, (having upon a time beene at a ſober and frugall ſcholars ſupper, in the academie with *Plato*) ſaid: That they who ſupped with *Plato* were merry and well appaied the next day after. It is reported alſo, that king *Alexander* the Great when he turned backe thoſe cooks which queene *Ada* ſent unto him, ſaid: That he had about him all the yeere long better of his owne, namely, for his breakfaſt or dinner, riſing betimes, and marching before day light; and for his ſupper, eating little at dinner. I am not ignorant that men otherwhiles are very apt to fall into an ague upon extreme travell, upon exceſſive heats alſo and colds: but like as the odors and ſents of flowers be weak & feeble of themſelves; whereas if they be mixed with ſome oile, they take force and vigor; even ſo fulneſſe and repletion is the ground, which giveth (as a man would ſay) bodie and ſubſtance unto the outward cauſes, and occaſions of maladies; and of a great quantity of ſuperfluous humours there is no danger, becauſe all ſuch indiſpoſitions and crudities are ſoone diſcuſſed, diſſipated, and diſſolved, when ſome fine or ſubtill bloud, when ſome pure ſpirit (I ſay) receiveth their motion: but where there is a great repletion indeed, and abundance of ſuperfluities, (as it were a deepe and mirie puddle all troubled and ſtirred) then there ariſe from thence many maligne accidents, ſuch as be dangerous and hard to cure: and therefore we are not to doe like ſome good maſters of ſhips who never thinke their veſſels bee fully fraught and charged throughly; and when they have taken in all that ever they can, doe nothing elſe but worke at the pumpe, void the ſinke, and caſt out the ſea water which is gotten in; even ſo when we have well filled and ſtuffed our bodies, fall to purge and cleanſe them with medicines and cliſters: but we ought rather to keepe the bodie alwaies neat, nimble, and light, to the end, that if it chaunce otherwiſe at any time to be preſſed and held downe, it might be ſeene above for lightneſſe like unto a piece of corke floting aloft upon the water: but principally we are to beware of the very precedent indiſpoſitions, which are forerunners of maladies: for all diſeaſes walke not (as *Heſiodus* ſaith) in ſilence and ſay nothing when they come,

As whom wiſe Jupiter *hath bereft*
Of voice, and toong to them none left.

But the moſt part of thẽ have their vant-curreurs as it were, their meſſengers, & trumpets; namely crudities of ſtomack, wearineſſe and heavineſſe over all the bodie. According to the Aphoriſme of *Hippocrates*; laſſitudes and laborious heavineſſe of the bodie, comming of themſelves without any evident cauſe, prognoſticate and fore-ſignifie diſeaſes; for that as it ſhould ſeeme, the ſpirits that ſhould paſſe unto the nerves and ſinewes, are obſtructed, ſtopped, and excluded, by the great repletion of humors: and albeit the bodie it ſelfe tendeth as it were to the contrarie, and pulleth us to our bedde and repoſe, yet ſome there be, who for very gluttony and diſordinate luſt, put themſelves into baines & hot-houſes, making haſte from thence, to drinking ſquare with good fellowes, as if they would make proviſion before-hand of victuals againſt ſome long ſiege of a citie, or feare that the feaver ſhould ſurpriſe them faſting, or before they had taken their full dinner: others ſomwhat more honeſt, yea & civill than they, are not this way faultie, but being aſhamed (fooles as they are) to confeſſe that they have eaten or drunke overmuch, that they feele any heavineſſe in head or cruditie in ſtomacke, loth alſo to be knowen for to keepe their chamber all the day long in their night gownes, whiles their companions goe to tennis and other bodily exerciſes abroad in publicke place, and call them foorth to beare them companie, riſe up and make them ready to goe with them, caſt off their clothes to their naked skinne, with others, and put themſelves to doe all that men in perfect health are to performe. But the moſt part of theſe (induced and drawen on, by hope perſwaded) are bold to ariſe, and to doe hardly after their wonted maner, aſſiſted by a certaine hope, grounded upon a proverbe; as an advocate to defend gourmandiſe, and wanton life, which adviſeth them that they ſhould ezpell wine with wine; drive or digeſt one ſurfeit with another. Howbeit, againſt all ſuch hope, we are to oppoſe the warie and conſiderat caution, that *Cato* ſpeaketh of (which as that wiſe man ſaith) doth diminiſh and leſſen great things; and as for ſmall matters it reduceth them to nothing: alſo that it were better to endure want of meat, and to keepe the bodie emptie and in quiet, than ſo to hazard it, by entring into a baine, or runne to an high ordinarie to dine and ſup: for if there be ſome diſpoſition to ſickneſſe, hurtfull it will be that we have not taken heed, nor conteined our ſelves, but beene ſecure: if none, dangerous it will not be that we have held in and reſtrained our ſelves, and by that reſtraint made our body ſo much more pure and cleare. But that childiſh foole whoſoever he be, that is afraid to let his friends and thoſe of his owne houſe know that he is amiſſe or ill at eaſe, for that he hath eaten overmuch, or ſurfeited with ſtrong drinke, as being aſhamed to confeſſe this day his indigeſtion, ſhall be forced to morrow even againſt his will, to bewray either an inordinate catarrh and fluxe, or an ague, or elſe ſome wrings and torments of the belly: thou takeſt it for a great ſhame to be knowen that thou didſt want or were hungry: but farre greater ſhame it is to avow crudity and rawneſſe, to bewray heavineſſe, proceeding from full diet, and upon repletion of the bodie to be drawen nevertheleſſe into a baine, as if ſome rotten veſſell or leaking ſhippe, that would not keepe out water, ſhould be ſhot into the ſea. Certes ſuch perſons as theſe, reſemble ſome ſailers or ſea-faring men, who in the tempeſtuous time of winter, be aſhamed to be ſeene upon the ſhore doing nothing: but when they have once weighed anker, ſpred ſaile, and launched into the deepe, and open ſea, they are very ill appaied, crying out piteouſly, and ready to caſt up their gorge: even ſo, they that doubt ſome ſickneſſe, or finde a diſpoſition of the bodie ready to fall into it, thinke it a great ſhame and diſcredit, to ſtand upon their guard, one day to keepe their beds and forbeare their ordinarie table and accuſtomed diet: but afterwards with more ſhame, they are faine to lie by it many daies together, whiles they be driven to take purgations, to applie many cataplaſmes, to ſpeake the phyſicians faire, and fawne upon them, when they would have leave of them to drinke wine or cold water; being ſo baſe minded, as to doe abſurdly, and to ſpeake many words impertinently, feeling their hearts to faile, and be ready to faint, for the paine they endure alreadie, and the feare they are in to abide more. Howbeit, very good it were to teach and admoniſh ſuch perſons (as otherwiſe cannot rule and conteine themſelves, but either yeeld, or be tranſported and carried away by their luſts) that their pleaſures take the moſt and beſt part of the bodie for their ſhare. And like as the Lacedæmonians after that they had given vinegar and ſalt to the cooke, willed him to ſeeke for the reſt in the beaſt ſacrificed; even ſo in a bodie which one would nouriſh, the beſt ſauces for the meat are theſe, which are preſented unto it, when it is found in health and cleane. For that a diſh of meat is ſweet or deere, is a thing by it ſelfe, without the bodie of him who taketh it, and eateth thereof: but for the pleaſantneſſe or contentment thereof, we ought to have regard unto the body that receiveth it; alſo for to delight therein, it ſhould be ſo diſpoſed as nature doth require; for otherwiſe, if the body be troubled, ill affected, or overcharged with wine; the beſt devices and ſauces in the world will loſe their grace, and all their goodneſſe whatſoever: and therefore it would not be ſo much looked unto, whether the fiſh be new taken, the bread made of pure and fine flowre, the bathe hot, or the harlot faire and beautifull; as conſidered preciſely, whether the man himſelfe have not a lothing ſtomacke, apt to heave and vomit, be not full of crudities, error, vanity, and trouble: elſe it will come to paſſe, that ſhe ſhall incurre the ſame fault and abſurditie that they doe, who after they are drunken, will needs goe in a maske, to plaie and daunce in an houſe, where they all mourne for the death of the maſter thereof lately deceaſed: for in ſtead of making ſport and mirth, this were enough to ſet all the houſe upon weeping, and piteous wailing. For even ſo, the ſports of love or *Venus*, exquiſit uiands, pleaſant baines, and good wines, in a bodie ill diſpoſed and not according to nature, doe no other good, but ſtirre, trouble fleame and and choler in them, who have no ſetled and compact conſtitution, and yet be not altogether corrupt; as alſo they trouble the body, and put it out of tune more than any thing elſe, yeelding no joy that we may make any reckoning of, nor that contentment which wee hoped and expected. True it is, that an exquiſit diet obſerved ſtreightly and preciſely according to rule, and miſſing not one jot, cauſeth not onely the bodie to be thinne, hollow, and in danger to fall into many diſeaſes; but alſo dulleth all the vigor, and daunteth the cheerefulneſſe of the verie mind, in ſuch ſort, as that ſhe ſuſpecteth all things, and feareth continually to ſtay long as well in delights and pleaſures, as in travels and paines; yea, and generally in every action enterpriſing nothing aſſuredly and with confidence: whereas we ought to deale by our body, as with the ſaile of a ſhip; (that is to ſay) neither to draw it in & keepe it down too ſtraight in time of calme & faire weather, nor to ſpred and let it out over ſlacke and negligently, when there is preſented ſome ſuſpicion of a tempeſt; but as occaſion ſhall require, to ſpare it, and give ſome eaſe and remiſſion, that afterwards it may be freſh and lightſome, as hath beene ſaid already, and not to ſlacke the time, and ſtay untill we ſenſibly feele, crudities, laskes, inflamations; or contrariwiſe, ſtupidities and mortifications of members, by which ſignes (being as it were meſſengers, and uſhers going before a feaver, which is hard at the dore) hardly wil ſome be ſo much moved, as to keepe in, and reſtraine themſelves, (no not when the very acceſſe and fit is readie to ſurpriſe them) but rather long before to be provident, and to prevent a tempeſt:

So ſoone as from ſome rocke we finde
The puffing gales of northern winde.

For abſurd it is,and to no purpoſe, to give ſuch carefull heed unto the crying wide throates of crowes,or to the craing and cackling of hennes, or to ſwine, when in a rage they toſſe and fling ſtraw about them (as *Democritus* ſaith) thereby to gather preſages,& prognoſtications of wind, raine,and ſtormes; and in the meane time not to obſerve the motions, troubles, and fiering indiſpoſitions of our bodie, nor prevent the ſame, ne yet to gather undoubted ſignes of a tempeſt ready to riſe and grow even out thereof. And therefore we ought, not onely to have an eie unto the bodie, for meat and drinke, and for bodily exerciſes, in obſerving whether we fall unto them more lazily and unwillingly than our manner was before time; or contrariwiſe whether our hunger and thirſt be more than ordinary; but alſo wee are to ſuſpect and feare, if our ſleeps be not milde,and continued,but broken & interrupted: we muſt beſides,regard our very dreames; namely, whether they be ſtrange and unuſuall: for if there be repreſented extraordinarie fanſies and imaginations,they teſtifie and ſhew a repletion of groſſe,viſcuous or ſlimy humours, and a great perturbation of the ſpirits within. Otherwhiles alſo it hapneth, that the motions of the ſoule it ſelfe, doe fore-ſignifie unto us, that the body is in ſome neere danger of diſeaſe: for many times men are ſurpriſed with timorous fittes of melancholy, and heartleſſe diſtruſts without any reaſon or evident cauſe, the which ſuddenly extinguiſh all their hopes: you ſhall have ſome upon every ſmall occaſion apt to fall into cholerick paſſions of anger; they become eager and haſtie, troubled, penſive and offended with a little thing, inſomuch as they will be ready to weepe and runne all to teares, yea and languiſh for griefe and ſorrow: And all this commeth, when evill vapours, ſowre and bitter fumes ingendred within, doe ariſe and ſteeme up, and ſo (as *Plato* ſaith) be intermingled in the waies and paſſages of the ſoule. Thoſe perſons therefore who are ſubject to ſuch things, ought to thinke and conſider with themſelves; that if there be no ſpirituall cauſe thereof,it cannot chuſe but ſome corporall matter had need either of evacuation,alteration, or ſuppreſſion.

Expedient alſo it is and very profitable for us, when we viſit our friends that be ſicke, to enquire diligently the cauſes of their maladies,not upon a cavilling curioſity or vaine oſtentation, (to diſpute ſophiſtically, and diſcourſe thereof only,or to make a ſhew of our eloquence,in talking of the inſtances, the inſults, the intercidences, communities of diſeaſes, and all to ſhew what books we have read, & that we know the words & tearmes of phyſick;) but to make ſearch and enquirie in good earneſt, and not ſlightly or by the way, as touching theſe ſlight common and vulgar points, namely; whether the ſicke partie be full or emptie? whether he overtravelled himſelfe before, or no? and whether he ſlept well or ill? but principally, what diet he kept? and what order of life he followed,when he fell (for examples ſake) into the ague: then (according as *Plato* was woont to ſay unto himſelfe, whenſoever he returned from hearing and ſeeing the faults that other men committed:) Am not I alſo ſuch an one? ſo you muſt compoſe and frame your ſelfe to learne by the harmes and errours of neighbours about you, for to looke well unto your owne health, and by calling them to mind,to be ſo wary & provident, that you fall not into the ſame inconveniences,and forced to keepe your bed,and there extol & commend health, wiſhing & deſiring (when it is too late) for to enjoy ſo pretious a treaſure; but rather(ſeeing another to have caught a diſeaſe) to marke and conſider well, yea,and to enterteine this deepe impreſſion in your heart; how deere the ſaid health ought to be unto us, how carefull we ſhould be to preſerve,and chary to ſpare the ſame. Moreover,it would not be amiſſe for a man, afterwards to compare his owne life with that of the foreſaid patient: for if it fall out ſo, that (notwithſtanding we have uſed over-liberall diet both in drinks and meats, or laboured extreamly, or otherwiſe committed errour in any exceſſe and diſorder) our bodies miniſter unto nature no ſuſpition,nor threaten any ſigne of ſickneſſe toward; yet ought we nevertheleſſe,to take heed and prevent the harme that may enſue; namely; if we have committed any diſorder in the pleaſures of *Venus* and love-delights; or otherwiſe bene over-travelled,to repoſe our ſelves and take our quiet reſt; after drunkenneſſe or carrowſing wine round for good fellowſhip, to make amends and recompenſe with drinking as much colde water for a time; but eſpecially, upon a ſurfeit taken with eating heavie and groſſe meats,and namely,of fleſh, or els feeding upon ſundry and divers diſhes, to faſt or uſe a ſparie diet, ſo as there be left no ſuperfluitie in the bodie: for even theſe things,as of themſelves alone (if there were no more) be enough to breed diſeaſes; ſo unto other cauſes they adde matter and miniſter more ſtrength. Full wiſely therefore was it ſaid by our ancients in old time, that for to mainteine our health, theſe three points were moſt expedient:

ent : *To feed without ſatietie : To labour with alacritie* : and *To preſerve and make ſpare of naturall ſeed.* For ſurely laſcivious intemperance in venerie of all things, moſt decaieth and enfeebleth the ſtrength of that naturall heat, whereby our meat and food which we receive is concocted, and ſo conſequently is the cauſe of many excrements and ſuperfluities engendred, whereupon corrupt humours are engendered and gathered within the body.

To begin therefore to ſpeake againe of every of theſe points; let us conſider firſt the exerciſes meet and agreeable to ſtudents or men of learning: for like as he who firſt ſaid: That he wrot nothing of Teeth to thoſe that inhabited the ſea coaſts, taught them (in ſo ſaying) the uſe of them; even ſo a man may ſay unto ſcholars and men of learning: That he writeth nothing unto them as touching bodily exerciſes; for that the daily practiſe of the voice by ſpeech and pronuntiation, is an exerciſe woonderfull effectuall, not onely for health, but alſo for ſtrength, I meane not ſuch as is procured to wreſtlers and champions by art, which breedeth brawnie carnoſitie, and cauſeth the skin to be firme and faſt without forth (like unto an houſe which to the outward ſhew is rough-caſt or thick coated with lime or plaſter;) but that which maketh a tough conſtitution and a vigorous firmitude and ſtrength indeed, in the nobleſt parts within, and the principall inſtruments of our life. Now, that the ſpirits augment & confirme the powers of our bodie, the anointers of mens bodies in the place of publicke exerciſe know full well, when they give order and command the wreſtlers and ſuch like, when their limmes are rubbed, to withſtand ſuch frictions in ſome ſort, in holding their winde, obſerving preciſely, and having an eie to ech part of the body that is handled or rubbed. The voice therefore (being a motion of the ſpirit (fortified, not ſuperficially and by ſtarts, but even in the proper fountaines and ſprings which are about the vitall bowels) encreaſeth naturall heat) doth ſubtiliat the blood, cleanſeth the veines, openeth all the arteries, not ſuffering any obſtruction, oppilation or ſtopping by ſuperfluous humours to grow upon us or remaine behinde (like unto dregs or grounds) in the bottome of thoſe veſſels which receive and concoct thoſe viands whereof we are nouriſhed: by reaſon whereof, they have need to uſe ordinarily this exerciſe, and make it familiar unto them, by ſpeaking in publicke place and diſcourſing continually. But if haply they doubt that their bodies be but weake, and not able to ſupport and endure ſo much travell, yet at leaſtwiſe they are to reade with a loud voice; for looke what proportion there is betweene geſtation or carriage of the body, and the exerciſe thereof upon the very ground, the ſame is betweene ſimple reading and diſcourſing or open diſputation: for this reading doth gently ſtirre and mildly carrie the voice by the chariot (as it were) and litter of another mans ſpeech; but diſputation addeth therto a certeine heat and forcible vehemence; for that the minde and the bodie conſpire and concurre together in that action: howbeit, in this exerciſe we muſt beware of over-loud vociferations and clamours; for ſuch violent ſtrainings of the voice, and unequall extenſions and intenſions of the winde, many times cauſe ſome rupture of veines, or inward ſpaſmes and convulſions. Now when a ſtudent hath either read or diſcourſed in this maner, good it is for him before he walke abroad, to uſe ſome uncteous, warme and gentle frictions, to handle and rub the skinne and fleſh after a ſoft and milde maner; yea, and as much as he can, to reach into the very bowels within, that the ſpirits may be ſpread and diſtributed equally thorowout, even to the verie extremities of the bodie. In theſe rubbings and frictions, this gage & meaſure would be obſerved; that he continue them ſo long and ſo often, as he findeth them to agree ſenſibly with his bodie, and bring no offence with them. He that in this wiſe hath appeaſed & ſettled the trouble or tenſion of the ſpirits in the center of the bodie, if haply there ſhould remaine ſome ſuperfluitie behinde, it would do him no great harme: for ſay, that he ſhould forbeare walking, for want of leaſure or by occaſion of ſudden buſineſſe, it is all one, and it maketh no matter; for why, nature hath had already that which is ſufficient, and ſtandeth ſatisfied therewith. And therefore a man is not to pretend colourably for to excuſe his ſilence, or forbearance of reading either navigation, when he is accompanied with other paſſengers at ſea in one ſhip, or his abode and ſojourning in an hoſtelrie or common inne, although all the companie there ſhould mocke him for it: for as it was no ſhame nor diſhoneſt thing, to eat before them all; no more unſeemly is it to exerciſe himſelfe in their preſence by reading. But rather more undecent it were, to be afraid or ſtand in awe of mariners, muliters or inne-keepers, when they laugh at you, not for playing at ball alone, or fighting with your own ſhadow, but for ſpeaking before thē in your ſpeech, either teaching, or diſcourſing, or els learning by roat and rehearſing ſome good thing for your exerciſe. *Socrates* was woont to ſay: That for him who would moove and ſtirre his bodie by way of dancing, a little roome (that would receive ſeven ſettles or ſeats) was ſufficient & big enough;

but him that mindeth to exerciſe his body either by ſinging or ſaying,every place wil ſerve,whether he ſtand,lie or ſit.Only this muſt we take heed of,that we ſtraine not our voice nor ſet out an open throat, when we are privie to our ſelves that we have eaten or drunke liberally , ne yet preſently after the company of a woman,or any other weariſome travel whatſoever;as many of our orators & great maſters of rhetoricke uſe to do; who enforce and give themſelves to declaime and pronounce their orations too loud, even above the ſtrength of their bodie; ſome for vaineglory and ambition,becauſe they would put forth themſelves; others for reward and to get a fee, or els upon emulation to their concurrents. Thus did *Niger*, (a friend of ours)who profeſſed rhetoricke in *Galatia*: this man having ſwallowed downe a fiſh-bone which ſtucke ſtill in his throat (when another rhetorician travelling that way, chanced to make a publike oration; for that he was aſhamed to be thought his inferior,and yet durſt not deale with him in that facultie) would needs ſhew himſelfe in open place, and declaime, whiles the ſaid bone remained ſtill in his throat: but by this meanes there enſued a dangerous and painfull inflamation; and being no longer able to endure the dolorous anguiſh thereof,he ſuffered himſelfe to be launced without forth, and to have a deepe inciſion and a wide orifice made, whereby the bone indeed was plucked out,but the wound was ſo grievous,and oppreſſed beſides with a deſcent and defluxion of rhewmaticke humours thither, that he died thereof. But haply, better to the purpoſe it were, to ſpeake of this hereafter. Well,after exerciſe to go preſently into the bath, & to waſh in colde water,were the part of a luſty wild-braine and a giddy-headed youth,who will needs in a bravery ſhew what he can do, rather than holſome any way: for all the good that ſuch cold baths bring, is this,that they ſeeme to harden the body,and confirme it ſo,as it is leſſe ſubject to take offence by the qualities of the aire without; but ſurely they do more harme within,by a great deale; for that they encloſe and ſhut up the pores of the body, cauſing the humors and fumoſities which would evaporate and breathe foorth continually, to become thicke and groſſe. Furthermore, needfull it is for them that love to bathe thus in colde water, to fall into the ſubjection of that over-ſtraight and exquiſit diet (which we would avoid) having evermore an eie upon this, not to breake the ſame in any point whatſoever,for that the leaſt fault and ſmalleſt errour in the world, is preſently ſore chaſticed and coſteth full deere: whereas contrariwiſe to enter into the baine, and waſh in hote water, pardoneth us, and holdeth us excuſed for many things; for it doth not ſo much diminiſh the ſtrength and force of the bodie, as it bringeth profit another way for the health thereof; framing and applying moſt gently and kindly the humors to concoction: and in caſe there be ſome which can not well and perfitly be digeſted, (ſo they be not altogether cruide and raw, nor float aloft in the mouth of the ſtomacke) it cauſeth them to diſſolve and exhale without any ſenſe of paine; yea, and withall, it doth mitigate and cauſe to vaniſh and paſſe away the ſecret laſſitudes of the muſculous members. And yet as good as banes be, if we perceive the bodie to be in the naturall ſtate and diſpoſition, firme and ſtrong enough, better it were to intermit and for-let the uſe of baths; and in ſtead thereof, I holde it holſomer to anoint and rub the bodie before a good fire, namely, if it have need to be chafed and ſet in an heat; for by this meanes there is diſperſed into it as much heat as is requiſit,and no more; which cannot be againſt the ſunne; for of his heat a man can not take more or leſſe at his owne diſcretion, but according as he affecteth or tempereth the aire, ſo he affourdeth his uſe. And thus much may ſerve for the exerciſe of ſtudents.

To come now unto their food and nouriture: if the reaſons and inſtructions before delivered, by which we learne to reſtraine, repreſſe and mitigate our appetites, have done any good, time it were to proceed forward to other advertiſements; but in caſe they be ſo violent, ſo unruly and untamed,as if they were newly broken out of priſon, that it is an hard piece of worke to range them within the compaſſe of reaſon; and if it be a difficult piece of worke to wreſtle with the bellie,which (as *Cato* was wont to ſay) hath no eares; we muſt worke another feat and device with it;namely,by obſerving the quality of the viands,to make the quantity more light and leſſe offenſive: and if they be ſuch as be ſolid and nouriſh much; as for example,groſſe fleſh meats, cheeſe, drie figges, and hard egges, they muſt feed of them as little as they can; for to refuſe and forbeare them altogether were very hard; but they may be more bold to eate heartily of thoſe that be thinne and light, ſuch as are the moſt part of worts, or pot-herbes, birdes, and fiſhes, that be not fatte & oileous: for in eating of ſuch meats,a man may at once both gratifie his appetite, and alſo never overcharge his bodie: but above all,take heed they muſt of crudities and ſurfeits,proceeding from liberall eating of fleſh-meats; for beſides that they lode the ſtomacke preſently as they are taken, there remaine afterwards behind naughtie reliques: and therefore it were verie well, that they accuſtomed their bodies never to call for fleſh, conſidering that the earth it ſelfe bringeth foorth other kinds of food, ſufficiently not onely for the neceſſitie of nouriſhment, but alſo for pleaſure and the contentment of the appetite; for ſome of them are ready to be eaten without any dreſſing, or the helpe of mans hand, others be mingled and compounded after divers ſorts to make them more ſavorie and toothſome. But foraſmuch as cuſtome (after a ſort) is a ſecond nature, or at leaſtwiſe not contrarie to nature; we muſt not accuſtome our ſelves to feed on fleſh, for to fulfill our appetites, after the maner of wolves, & lions, but uſe it onely as the foundation and ground of other viands; which being once laid, we are to make our principall nouriſhment of other cates and diſhes, which as they are more appropriate to our bodies, and ſutable to nature, ſo they doe incraſſate and dull leſſe the vigor and ſubtilitie of the ſpirit, and the diſcourſing reaſonable part of the ſoule, which is kindled, mainteined, and ſet to burne cleere, by a more delicate and light matter. As touching liquid things, they muſt uſe milke, not as an ordinarie drinke, but as a ſtrong meat that nouriſheth exceeding much: but for wine, we are to ſay to it, as *Euripides* did to *Venus*:

Welcome to me in meaſure and in meane,
Too much is naught: yet doe not leave me cleane.

for of all drinks it is moſt profitable, of medicines moſt pleaſant, and of daintie viands moſt harmeleſſe; provided alwaies that it be well delaied and tempered with opportunity of the time, rather than with water. And verily water (not that onely wherewith wine is mingled; but alſo which is drunke betweene whiles, apart by it ſelfe) cauſeth the wine tempered therewith to doe the leſſe harme: in regard whereof, a ſtudent ought to uſe himſelfe to drinke twice or thrice every day a draught of ſheere water, for that it will enfeeble the headineſſe of the wine, & make the uſuall drinking of pure water, more familiar to the ſtomacke: and this I would have to be done, to this end, that if they be driven perforce to drinke faire water, they might not thinke it ſtrange, nor be ready to refuſe it. For many there be, who oftentimes have recourſe to wine, when iwis, they had more need to runne to the water; and namely, when they be over-heat with the ſunne: yea, and contrariwiſe, when they be ſtiffe frozen with cold, or have ſtreined themſelves to ſpeake much, or ſtudied and ſitten hard at their booke; and generally, after that they have travelled ſore, till they be wearie, or have performed ſome vehement exploit, or violent exerciſe; then (I ſay) they thinke, that they ought to drinke wine; as if nature herſelfe required and called for ſome contentment and refreſhing of the bodie, and ſome change and alteration after travels: but nature verily is not deſirous to have any good done to her in this ſort, if you call ſuch pleaſure a doing of good; but ſhe demaundeth onely a reducement to a meane betweene labour and reſt: and therefore ſuch perſons as theſe, are to be cut ſhort and abridged of their victuals, and either to be debarred quite of all wine, or elſe enjoined to drinke it well delaied with water: for wine being of it ſelfe of a violent and ſtirring nature, augmenteth and maketh more unquiet the ſtormie perturbations ariſing within the body, it doth irritate and diſtemper more and more the parts therein already offended and troubled; the which had much more need to be appeaſed and dulced; to which purpoſe water ſerveth paſſing well: for if we otherwiſe being not a thirſt, drinke hot water after we have laboured, or done ſome painfull exerciſe, in the exceeding heats of the ſummer; we finde a notable cooling, refreſhing, and eaſement in our inward bowels; the reaſon is; becauſe the humiditie of water is kinde and milde, procuring no debate or diſquietneſſe at all; whereas the moiſture of wine hath a vehement force, which never is at quiet and repoſe, but maketh a deepe impreſſion, nothing agreeable nor fit to appeaſe the indiſpoſitions that are a breeding. Now if one doe feare the ſowre and ſharpe acrimonies, and the bitter taſtes which (by the ſaying of ſome) hunger and want of food engender in our bodies, or as little children uſe to do, thinketh much not to ſit at the table for to eat, a little before the fit of an ague, or when he ſuſpecteth it comming: the drinking of water is as it were a confine and frontier betweene both, very fit to remedie the one and the other: and many times we offer unto *Bacchus* himſelfe certeine ſacrifices called *Nephalia*, for that there is no wine uſed therein; accuſtoming our ſelves wiſely thereby not to be alwaies deſirous for to drinke wine. *Minos* tooke away from ſacrifices, the flute, and the chaplets uſed to be worne on mens heads, in regard of griefe and ſorrow: and yet we know full well, that the heavie and ſorrowfull minde, is neither by flutes nor flowers, paſſionate; whereas there is not the bodie of a man, (how ſtrong and ſtout ſoever he be) but if it be ſtirred, troubled, and enflamed, will take more harme and offence by wine if it be taken or powred into it. It is recorded in the Chronicles; that the Lydians in time of a great dearth and famine, did eat but once in two daies, and ſpent the time betweene, at dice-play, and other ſuch games and paſtimes: and even ſo it were well beſeeming a ſtudent and lover of the Muſes and his booke, at ſuch a time as he had need to make a late and ſhort ſupper, to have before him, the figure ſerving for ſome Geometricall propoſition, or ſome little booke, ſome harpe or lute; this will not ſuffer him to be ledde as priſoner to his owne belly, but by diverting and turning ordinarily his mind from the boord, to theſe honeſt paſtimes and recreations; will chaſe away from the Muſes the greedy appetite of eating and drinking, as if they were ſo many ravenous fowles and harpies: For a ſhame it were that a Scythian whiles hee is drinking, ſhould eſtſoones take his bow in hand readie bent, and twang the ſtring, and by the ſound thereof, awaken and quicken his courage, which otherwiſe would become drowſie, looſe, and dull by wine: and that a Grecian ſhould be aſhamed or afraid of a flout or mocke, in aſſaying gently to refraine and bridle an unreaſonable, violent, and greedie appetite, by the meanes of bookes and writings: for much after the ſame manner in a comedie of *Menander*, when there was a baud, who for to tempt certeine yoong men ſitting at ſupper together, brought in amongſt them certeine pretie yoong wenches, very faire, & richly arraid; every one of the ſaid yoong men (becauſe they were afraid & unwilling to looke thoſe beautifull damoſels in the face) made no more adoe, but as he ſaith,

Caſt downe the head, and like good merrie mates,
Fall to their junkets hard, and deinty cates.

Moreover, men that are addicted to their ſtudie, and to learning, have many other proper and pleaſant meanes to turne away their eies, and divert their minds, if otherwiſe they be not able to looke off, and to ſtay or hold in, this violent and dogge-like greedy appetite, when the meat ſtandeth before them upon the bourd. For as touching the ſpeeches of ſome maſters of wreſtlers, or the words of certeine ſchoole-maſters, who goe up and downe, ſaying: That to reaſon, argue, and diſcourſe at the table upon points of learning; cauſeth the meat to corrupt within the ſtomacke, and breedeth head-ach, or heavineſſe of the braine: we may indeed feare ſomewhat; if we will needs (while we be at our repaſt) fall to reſolve ſuch a ſophiſticall argument, as the Logicians call *Indos*: or if wee be diſpoſed to reaſon and diſpute about the maſterfull ſophiſme named *Kyrtton*: It is ſaid, that the crowne or upmoſt tuft growing upon the date tree, called the braine thereof, is exceeding ſweet and pleaſant to the taſte, howbeit, hurtfull to the head: howbeit, theſe prickie and intricate diſputations in Logicke at ſupper time; are no pleaſant banketting diſhes, but offenſive to the braine, tedious, and irkſome, nothing more. But if thoſe men will not permit us to diſcourſe, to heare, reade, or talke of other matters in ſupper time, which together with honeſtie and profit, have an attractive pleaſure and ſweetneſſe joined therewith: we will deſire them to let us alone, & not trouble us, but to ariſe from the table, and goe their waies into their galleries and hals for wreſtling, and there to hold and maintaine ſuch poſitions among their ſcholars and champions, whom they withdraw and turne away from the ſtudy of good letters; and accuſtoming them to ſpend their time all the day long in ſcoffes and ſcurrile ſpeeches, they make them in the end (as gentle *Ariſton* ſaid) as witleſſe, and without ſenſe (yet glib and well greaſed) as the ſtone pillers which ſupport thoſe galleries, and places of exerciſe where they uſe to converſe and keepe ſchoole. But we contrariwiſe being ruled by the phyſicians, who adviſe us alwaies to interpoſe ſome competent time betweene ſupper and ſleepe, are not preſently to go unto it, after we have filled our bellies with viands, and ſtuffed our ſpirits, even whiles the morſels of meat bee all raw, or beginning now to be concocted, thereby to hinder and ſtaie digeſtion; but give ſome ſpace and breathing time betweene, untill the meat bee well ſetled in the ſtomacke. And as they who give us counſell to moove and ſtirre the bodie after meales, will us, not to runne our ſelves out of breath, nor to exerciſe our ſelves ſo, as that we put all the parts of our bodie to the triall, after the manner of the Pancratiaſts; but either to walke faire and ſoftly, or to daunce after a gentle and eaſie manner; ſemblably, we are to thinke, that we ought to exerciſe our wits and minds after a dinner or ſupper, not about any affaires of deepe ſtudie, and profound meditation, nor in ſophiſtical diſputes, tending to the oſtentation of a quicke and lively ſpirit, or which bee litigious, and breed contention; but there be many queſtions beſides of naturall philoſophie, pleaſant to be diſcuſſed, and eaſie to be decided; many pretie tales and narrations there are, out of which a man may draw good conſiderations and wiſe inſtructions, for to traine and frame our manners; and theſe conteine that grace & facilitie in them, which the poet **Homer** calleth *Menoeikes*, that is to ſay, yeelding to anger, and in no wiſe croſſe and reſiſtant: Heereupon it is, that ſome doe pleaſantly tearme this exerciſe of moovoing, propounding & reſolving hiſtoricall or poetical queſtions;

ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος. Which ſome interpret, the braines of the bird *Phœnix*: but this bird being ſo rare, as that it is thought for a fabulous thing, I ſee not how this propertie ſhould be obſerved in the braines thereof.

ons; the ſecond courſe or the ſervice of banketting diſhes, for ſtudents and learned men. Moreover, there be other ſorts of pleaſant talke beſides theſe, and namely; to heare and recite fables, deviſed for mirth and pleaſure; diſcourſes of playing upon the flute, harpe, or lute, which many times give more contentment and delight, than to heare the flute, harpe, or lute it ſelfe plaied upon. Now the very preciſe time meaſured as it were and marked out to be moſt proper and meet for ſuch recreations; is when we feele that our meat is gently gone downe, and ſetled quietly in the bottome of the ſtomacke, ſhewing ſome ſigne of concoction, and that naturall heat is ſtrong, and hath gotten the upper hand.

Now foraſmuch as *Ariſtotle* is of opinion, that walking after ſupper doth ſtirre up and kindle (as one would ſay) our naturall heat: and to ſleepe immediately after a man hath ſupped, doth dull and quench it: conſidering alſo, that others be of a contrary minde, and hold; that reſt and repoſe, is better for concoction; that motion ſo ſoone after, troubleth and impeacheth the digeſtion and diſtribution of the meats, which is the cauſe that ſome uſe to walke after ſupper, others ſit ſtill and take their eaſe: me thinks a man may reconcile and ſatisfie verie well after a ſort theſe two opinions; who cheriſhing and keeping his bodie cloſe and ſtill after ſupper, ſetteth his mind a walking, awakeneth it, ſuffering it not to be heavie & idle at once by and by; but ſharpneth and quickneth his ſpirits, as is before ſaid, by little and little, in diſcourſing, or hearing diſcourſes of pleaſant matters and delectable, ſuch as be not biting in any wiſe, nor offenſive and odious.

Moreover, as touching vomits or purgations of the bellie by laxative medicines, which are the curſed and deteſtable eaſements and remedies of fulneſſe and repletion; ſurely they would never be uſed but upon right great and urgent neceſſitie: a contrary courſe to many men, who fill their gorges and bodies with an intent to void them ſoone after; or otherwiſe, who purge and emptie the ſame for to fill them againe, even againſt nature; who are no leſſe troubled, nay much more offended ordinarily, by being fedde and full, than faſting and emptie: inſomuch as ſuch repletion is an hinderance to the contentment and ſatisfying of their appetites and luſts; by occaſion whereof, they take order alwaies, that their bodie may be evermore emptied; as if this voidance were the proper place and ſeat of their pleaſures. But the hurt and dammage that may grow upon theſe ordinary purgations and vomits, is very evident; for that both the one and the other, put the body to exceeding great ſtraines and violent diſturbances. As for vomiting, it bringeth with it one inconvenience by it ſelfe, more than the former, in that it procureth & augmenteth an unſatiable greedineſſe to meat: for ingendered there is by that meanes a violent & turbulent hunger (like as when the courſe or ſtream of a river, hath bene for a while ſtopped & ſtaid) ſnatching or greedy at meat, which is evermore offenſive, & not a kind appetite indeed, when as nature hath need of meat; but reſembling rather the inflammations occaſioned by medicines or cataplaſmes. Hereupon it is that the pleaſures proceeding from thence, paſſe and ſlippe away incontinently, as abortive and unperfect, accompanied with inordinate pantings and beatings of the pulſe, great wrings in the enjoying of them, and afterwards enſue dolorous tenſions, violent oppreſſions or ſtoppings of the conduits & pores, & the reliques or retenſions of ventoſities; which ſtaie not for naturall ejections and evacuations, but runne up and downe all over our bodies, like as if they were ſhippes ſurcharged, having more need to bee eaſed of their burden, than ſtill to be loden with more excrements. As for the troubleſome motions of the belly and guts, occaſioned by purgative drougues, they corrupt, ſpill and reſolve the natural ſtrength of the ſolide parts, ſo that they engender more ſuperfluties within than they thruſt out and expel. And this is for al the world, like as if a man, being diſcontented to ſee within his native citie a multitude of naturall Greekes inhabitants, ſhould for to drive them out, fill the ſame with Scythians or Arabian ſtrangers. For even ſo, ſome there be, who (greatly miſcounting and deceiving themſelves) for to ſend foorth of their bodies the ſuperfluous humors which are in ſome ſort domeſticall and familiar unto them, put into them I wot not what, Gnidian graines, Scammoni and other ſtrange drougues fet from farre countries, ſuch as have no familiar reference to the bodie, but are meere wilde and ſavage, and in truth have more need to be purged and chaced out of the body themſelves, than power and vertue to void away and expell that wherewith nature is choked and overcharged. The beſt way therefore is, by ſobrietie and regular diet, to keepe the bodie alwaies in that moderate meaſure of evacuation and repletion, that it may be able by proportionable temperature, to maintaine it ſelfe, without any outward helpe. But if it fall out otherwhiles, that there be ſome neceſſitie of the one or the other; vomits would be provoked without the helpe of ſtrange phyſicall drogues, and not with much adoo and curioſitie, that they diſquiet & trouble no parts within, but onely for to avoid cruditie and indigeſtion, reject and caſt up that gentlie which is too much, and cannot be prepared and made meet for concoction. For like as linnen clothes that bee ſcoured and made cleane with ſopes, aſhes, lees and other abſterſive matters, weare more and fret out ſooner than ſuch as be waſhed ſimply in faire water; even ſo, vomites provoked by medicines, offend the body much more, and marre the complexion. But ſay, the belly bee bound and coſtive, there is not a drougue that eaſeth it ſo mildly, or provoketh it to the ſiege ſo eaſily, as doe certaine meats, whereof the experience is familiar unto us, and the uſe nothing dolorous and offenſive. Now in caſe the body be ſo heard, that ſuch kinde viands will not worke and cauſe it to be ſollible, then a man ought for many daies together, to drinke thinne and cold water, or uſe to faſt, or elſe take ſome cliſter, rather than purgative medicines, ſuch as diſquiet the body, and overthrow the temperature thereof. And yet many there be, who ever and anon are ready to run unto them; much like unto thoſe lewd and light wanton women, who uſe certeine medicines to cauſe abortion, or to ſend away the fruit which they have newly conceived; to the end that they might conceive ſoone againe, and have more pleaſure in that fleſhly action. Now is it time to ſay no more, but to let them goe that perſwade ſuch evacuations.

As for thoſe on the contrarie ſide, who interject certaine exact, preciſe, and criticall faſtings, obſerved too ſtraightly according to juſt periods and circuits of daies: ſurely they teach nature, (wherein they doe not well) to uſe aſtriction before it have need; and acquaint her with a neceſſarie abſtinence of food, which in it ſelfe is not neceſſarie, even at a prefixed time, which calleth for that then, whereto it is accuſtomed. Better yet it were, for a man to uſe theſe chaſticements of his body, freely and at his owne liberty, without any foreknowledge of ſuſpition: and as for other diet, (as hath beene ſaid before) to order it ſo, that it may frame and be obſequent to all manner of occurrences & changes that ſhall come betweene, and not to be tied and bound to one forme and manner of life, exactly to keepe certaine daies, juſt numbers, and ſet circuits, without failing or miſſing in any jot. For this courſe is neither ſure, nor eaſie; it is not civill nor yet agreeable to humanitie: it reſembleth rather the life of an oiſter, or ſome ſtocke of a tree; to captivate himſelfe, and be ſo ſubject and thrall, that he cannot change or alter his viands; he may not once varie in his faſtings and abſtinencies, in his motions or repoſe, but continue alwaies cloſe and covert in a ſhadie kinde of life, idle, private to himſelfe, without converſing with friends, without participation of honors, farre remote from the adminiſtration of weale publicke, which were to ſhut himſelfe up as it were a cloſe priſoner; a life I aſſure you which I cannot like nor allow: for wee cannot buie our health with idleneſſe and doing naught, which two are the principall inconveniences incident unto diſeaſes: and all one this were, as if a man would thinke to preſerve his eies, by not employing them to ſee; or his voice, by ſpeaking not at all; thus to be perſwaded, that for the preſervation of health it were neceſſarie to have continuall repoſe, without doing ought: for a man in health, cannot doe better for to mainteine the ſame, than to be emploied in many good duties, and commendable offices of humanitie. An abſurd error therefore it is, to thinke idleneſſe to be either healthy or holſome, conſidering that it deſtroieth the very end of health, which is emploiment: neither is it true, that the leſſe men doe, the more healthfull they be. For *Xenocrates* had not his health better than *Phocion*; nor *Theophraſtus* than *Demetrius*: and as for *Epicurus* and all the crew of his ſectaries, they had no benefit at all for the atteining of that contentment and tranquillitie of the bodie which they make ſo great reckoning of, and praiſe ſo highly; by flying and avoiding all State affaires, and medling in no publicke and honorable office. Other meanes therefore and proviſion would be made, to enterteine and keepe that diſpoſion and habitude of the bodie, which is according to nature: for this is certeine; that all ſorts of life be capable, as well of ſickneſſe as of health. Howbeit, politicians (quoth he) and States-men are to be admoniſhed to doe cleane contrarie unto that which *Plato* advertiſed his yoong ſcholars to doe. For *Plato* ever as he went out of the ſchoole, was woont thus to ſay unto them: Goe to my ſonnes, ſee you employ that leaſure which you have, in ſome honeſt ſports and paſtimes. But we may exhort and put in minde thoſe who deale in the adminiſtration of common-wealth, to beſtow their labour and travell in honeſt and neceſſarie things, and not to overtoile and ſpend their bodies in ſmall matters of little or no conſequence; as the manner is of moſt men, who trouble and torment themſelves about juſt nothing, overwatching, running to and fro, heere and there, up and downe about things which many times are neither good nor honeſt; but onely becauſe they would diſgrace and ſhame others, either upon envie that they beare unto them, or upon obſtinate and wilfull ſelfe-conceit,or elſe to purſue and maintaine ſome vaine and fooliſh opinions that they have taken. For I thinke verily it was in regard of ſuch perſons eſpecially, that *Democritus* ſaid: If the body ſhould call the ſoule judicially into queſtion upon an action of injurie or wrong done, and for to make ſatisfaction of loſſe and damage; ſhe were not able to anſwer it, but muſt needs confeſſe the action, and be condemned. And *Theophraſtus* peradventure ſaid well and truely; when ſpeaking by a metaphor or allegorie; he affirmed, that the ſoule paid a deere rent for her dwelling within the body. For (I aſſure you) the bodie may thanke the ſoule for many harmes that it ſuſtaineth; when as ſhe uſeth it not with reaſon, nor intreateth it according as it is meet and convenient; and looke when ſhe hath any proper and peculiar paſſions of her owne, or ſome enterpriſes and actions to be performed, ſhe maketh no ſpare of the poore bodie. As for the tyrant *Jaſon*, hee was wont (I wot not upon what reaſon or ground) to ſay: That he ought to deale unjuſtly in ſmall matters, who would be juſt in the greateſt affaires; and even ſo, wee may well adviſe a man of State and government, to make no reckoning of trifling things, but diſport, play, and ſolace himſelfe in repoſe with them; if he would not have his bodie over-ſpent, dull, or lazie, againſt the time that he ſhould emploie it in great and important cauſes: much like to an old ſhippe which hath beene drawen up to land, for to be newly calked and trimmed, after it hath reſted a time, is fit to doe new ſervice at ſea; for even ſo, the bodie upon repoſe and eaſe, whenſoever the ſoule ſhall put it to any affaires, will be ready to follow

And runne with her, as ſucking fole doth go
Hard by the damme, and never parts her fro.

And therefore when occaſions will permit and give leave, wee are to refreſh and recreat our ſelves, not envying the bodies naturall ſleepe, or uſuall repoſe and refection of dinner, ne yet eaſement and recreation, which is of a middle nature betweene pleaſure and paine, nor obſerving a ſtrict rule; which many men doe keepe, and in keeping it, ſpill and ſpend the bodie by ſudden mutations; like as iron that is often made hot and quenched againe: for whenſoever the body is foiled and tired with travels, then they will even melt and diſſolve it in exceſſive and unmeaſurable pleaſures: and all upon the ſudden againe, when it is weakned & enfeebled with the delights of *Venus*, or by drinking out of courſe, they will draw and drive it preſently to the ſerious travels of the common hall or the court, to the ſolliciting and following of ſome affaires of great importance, which requireth earneſt attendance and hot purſute. ***Heraclitus*** the philoſopher, being fallen into a dropſie, willed his phyſician to make drought of great raine. But moſt men ordinarily doe fault heerein exceeding much: now when they be wearied, toiled, and foiled with painfull labours and wants, yeeld their bodies to be melted and ſpent quite with voluptuous pleaſures; and afterwards againe, wreſt and ſtraine them as it were upon the teinters, immediately upon the fruition of ſome pleaſures. For nature verily neither liketh nor requireth theſe alterations and ſudden changes by turnes: but it is the incontinencie and illiberall laſciviouſneſſe of the ſoule, and nothing elſe, that abandoneth her-ſelfe inordinately unto pleaſures and delights, ſo ſoone as it is out of laborious exerciſes; like as mariners and ſailers doe at ſea. And contrariwiſe, immediately after ſports & pleaſures, betaketh it ſelfe to the eager purſute of gaine, & to the management of great affaires; giving no time and ſpace of reſt to nature, to enjoy repoſe and quiet tranquillitie, whereof it hath need, but ſetteth it out of frame, and diſtempereth it mightily, by reaſon of this inequalitie. But wiſe and diſcreet perſons are verie wary and carefull in this behalfe; never preſenting ſuch pleaſures to their bodies when they be out-wearied with labour and travell, for need thereof they have none at all; and beſides, they doe not regard nor thinke upon them, having their mindes continually intentive upon the honeſtie and decency of the action or thing whereabout they are; dulling or dimming as well the joy, as the earneſt ſolicitude and care of their minde, by the meanes of other deſires and appetites; as it is written of *Epaminondas*, that he ſhould ſay in game and meriment, of a certaine valiant man, who about the time of the Leuctrique warre, died of ſickneſſe in his bedde: O *Hercules*, how had this man any leaſure to die, amidde ſo many important affaires! even ſo it may be ſaid truly and in good earneſt of a great perſonage, who hath in his hand the managing of ſome weightie affaires in matter of government, or treatiſe of philoſophie: How ſhould ſuch a man as he have time either to be drunken, or to ſurfeit with gluttonie, or given himſelfe to fleſhly pleaſures of the body? But wiſe men indeed, when they be freed from important matters of action, can finde a time to reſt and repoſe their bodies, diſcharging them of needleſſe and unprofitable travels, but much more of ſuperfluous and unneceſſarie pleaſures, flying and ſhunning them as enemies and contrarie to nature.

I remember that upon a time I heard, how *Tiberius Cæſar* was wont to ſay: That a man being once above three-ſcore yeres of age deſerveth to be mocked and derided, if he put forth his hand unto the phyſician for to have his pulſe felt. For mine owne part, I take this ſpeech of his to bee ſomewhat too proud and inſolent; but me thinks this ſhould be true: That every man ought to know the particularities and properties of his owne pulſe, for there bee many diverſities and differences in each one of us: alſo that it behooveth no man to be ignorant in the ſeverall complexion of his owne bodie, as well in heat as in drineſſe: alſo to be skilfull what things be good for him, and what be hurtfull, when he uſeth them: for he that would learne theſe particularities of any other than of himſelfe, or goeth to a phyſician to know of him, whether he be better in health in ſummer time than in winter; or whether hee ſtand better affected in taking dry things rather than moiſt; alſo whether naturally he have a ſtrong pulſe or a weake, a quicke or a ſlow; ſurely hath no ſenſe or feeling of himſelfe, but is as it were deafe and blinde, a ſtranger he is dwelling in a borrowed body, and none of his owne: for ſuch points as thoſe, are good to be knowen and eaſie to be learned; for that we may make proofe thereof every hower, as having the body with us continually.

Alſo meet it is, among meats and drinks, to know thoſe rather which be good and holſome for the ſtomack, than ſuch as be pleaſant to the tooth; and to have experience of that which doth the ſtomacke good, more than of that which is offenſive thereto; as alſo of thoſe things that do not trouble and hinder concoction, than which content and tickle the taſte. For to demand of a phyſician, what is eaſie of digeſtion, and what not; what doth looſe, and what bindeth the belly; me thinks is no leſſe ſhamefull than to aske him, what is ſweet; what bitter; what ſowre, tart or auſtere. But now we ſhall have many folke, that know well how to find fault with their cooks and dreſſers of meat, for ſeaſoning their broths, or making ſauce to their viands, being able to diſcerne which is ſweeter than it ought to be; which is over-tart or too much ſalted: and yet they themſelves are not able to ſay, whether that which is put into the bodie and united therewith, be light or no; and whether it be harmleſſe, not offenſive, or profitable. Hereupon it is, that their pottage miſſeth not often, the right ſeaſoning; whereas contrariwiſe, for want of well ſeaſoning their owne ſelves, but daily faulting therein, they make much worke for phyſicians: for they eſteeme not that pottage beſt, which is the ſweeteſt, but they mingle therewith many ſharpe juices and ſowre herbs, to make it ſomewhat tart withall; but contrariwiſe, they ſend into the bodie all maner of ſweet and pleaſant things, even untill it cry, Ho; partly being ignorant, and in part not calling to minde and remembrance, that nature adjoineth alwaies unto things that be good and holſome, a pleaſure not mingled with diſpleaſure and repentance. Moreover, we are likewiſe to remember and beare in minde, all thoſe things that be fit and agreeable to the bodie; or contrariwiſe, in the changes of the ſeaſons in the yere, in the qualities and properties of the aire, and other circumſtances, to know how to accommodat and apply our diet accordingly: for as touching all the offences proceeding from nigardiſe, avarice and pinching, which the common ſort doe incurre about the painfull inning and laborious beſtowing or laying up of their corne and fruits; who by their long watchings, by their running and trudging to and fro, diſcover and bewray what is within the bodie, rotten, faulty & ulcerous: we are not to feare, that ſuch accidents will befall to learned perſons or ſtudents, ne yet to States-men and politicians, unto whom principally I have addreſſed this diſcourſe; but they ought to beware and eſchue another kinde of more eager covetouſneſſe and illiberall nigardiſe in matter of ſtudie and literature, forcing them to neglect and not regard their owne poore bodies, which often times being ſo travelled and outwearied, that they can doe them no more ſervice, yet they ſpare them never the more, nor give them leave to be refreſhed and gather up their crummes againe; but force that which is fraile and mortall, to labour a vie with the ſoule, which is immortall; that (I ſay) which is earthly, to hold out with the ſpirit, that is heavenly. Well, the ox ſaid unto the camell his fellow-ſervant, who would not eaſe him a little of his burden: Thou wilt not helpe me now to beare ſomewhat of my charge; but ſhortly thou ſhalt carie all that I carie, and me beſides: which fell out ſo indeed, when the ox died under his burden; ſemblably it hapneth to the ſoule, which will not allow the ſillie bodie (wearied and tired) ſome little time of reſt and repoſe: for ſoone after comes a fever, head-ach, dizzineſſe of the braine, with a dimneſſe of the ſight, which will compell her to lay aſide all books, to abandon all good letters, diſputations and ſtudie; and in the end is driven to languiſh and lie ſicke in bed together with it for company. And therfore *Plato* wiſely admoniſheth us, not to move and exerciſe the body without the ſoule, nor the ſoule without the body, but to drive them both together equally, as if they were two ſteeds drawing at one ſpire of a chariot; and eſpecially at ſuch a time, when as the body is buſied with the ſoule, and laboureth together with her, we ought to have the moſt care of it, and to allow it that attendance & cheriſhment, which is meet and requiſit, to the end, that thereby we may requite it with good and deſireable health; eſteeming this to be the greateſt benefit and moſt ſingular gift that proceedeth thereupon, in that neither the one nor the other (for default of good diſpoſition) is impeached or hindered in the knowledge of vertue and the practiſe thereof, aſwell in literature as in the actions of mans life.

OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.

The Summarie.

If ever there were any State politike, in the riſing, growth and declination whereof, we are to ſee & acknowledge the admirable providẽce of God, together with the ſtrength and wiſdome of man, certes the Romane empire ought to be ſet in the formoſt range. The cauſes of the foundation and advancement of this great Monarchie, are otherwiſe conſidered by thoſe whom the heavenly trueth (revealed in the holy Scripture) doth illuminate, than by the Pagans and Sages of this world, guided onely by the diſcourſe of their reaſon, corrupted with ſinne and ignorance of the true God. For when the queſtion is, as touching the government of the univerſall world, although the ſovereigne Lord thereof, uſe often times, the ſpirituall and corporal vigor both of mortall men, for to execute his will; yet we may behold above it, and before any exploit of viſible inſtruments, this great and incomprehenſible wiſdome of his; who having decreed in himſelfe all things, executeth every moment his deliberations; ſo that in regard of him, there is nothing caſuall, but all keepe a courſe according to his determinate and reſolute will: but in reſpect of us, many things be accidentall; for that the counſels of that eternall and immutable wiſedome are hidden from us, and appeare not but by little and little. Infidels and miſcreants, who are not able to comprehend this ſecret, have imagined and ſet downe for governeſſes of mans life, Fortune and Vertue; meaning by Fortune, that which the common ſaying compriſeth in theſe few words: In this world there is nothing els but good lucke and bad; but ſo, as if any man could skill how to manage his owne fortune, he might make it of bad, good and commodious: and this they meant by the word Vertue, which is an habitude or diſpoſition of the mind and body; by the meanes whereof, he that is indued therewith, might prevent and overthrow quite all the aſſaults of Fortune. Some there be, who abuſe the word Fortune, for to aboliſh the providence of God; and others have attributed ſo much unto Vertue, that they have ſet man out of thoſe limits, in which his owne proper nature, and above all the divine trueth, placed him. Others againe, have aſcribed ſome thing unto Fortune, and yet they neither underſtand nor declare what it importeth, but have given out (although very irreſolutely) that Fortune cannot give the check to a vertuous man. If we had this treatiſe following entire and perfect, all the ancient philoſophie and learning, as touching this queſtion, had bene manifeſtly diſcovered unto us. But the principall part of this diſcourſe is loſt, in ſuch ſort, as Plutarch *(having brought in Fortune and Vertue diſputing upon this point: Whether of them ſhould have the honour of the foundation and maintenance of the Romane empire?) hath left unto us nothing but the plea of Fortune; who by divers reaſons and proofs holdeth that the wiſdome & valour of the people of* Rome, *was not the cauſe of their grandence; but Fortune, that is to ſay (as he expreſly ſheweth in one place) the guidance and helpe of God, who hath ſo raiſed this eſtate for many others, and for to hold one good part of the world jointly in one body, under ſuch a chiefe and ſovereigne. As concerning the reaſons alledged in the favor and maintenance of Fortune, they be marked in order, and drawen out well at large: whereas thoſe of Vertue are omitted, or peradventure reſerved to the judgement and diſcretion of the reader, for to invent, deviſe, and apply them by himſelfe,*

ſelfe, and of them all to collect and gather one concluſion, tending to this, for to ſhew the great wonders of Gods providence in ſuſteining the Romane empire, and the notable aid of an infinit number of inſtruments, which the ſaid divine providence emploied in planting, raiſing up, and pulling downe ſo mighty and renowmed a dominion.

OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.

Vertue and Fortune have fought many great combats, and thoſe oftentimes one againſt the other: but that which preſenteth it ſelfe unto us at this time, is the greateſt of all the reſt; to wit: the debate and plea which they had together as touching the empire of *Rome*, namely; whether of them twaine wrought that worke? and which of them brought foorth ſo mightie a puiſſance? For this wil be no ſmall teſtimonie on her ſide who ſhall gaine the victorie, or rather a great apologie, againſt the imputation charged upon the one and the other. For Vertue is accuſed, in that ſhe is honeſt, but unprofitable: and fortune, that ſhe is uncerteine, but yet good: and it is commonly ſaid, that as the former is fruitleſſe for all her paines; ſo the other is faithleſſe and untruſtie in all her gifts. For who will not ſay, if the greatneſſe of *Rome* be adjudged and awarded to one of them, that either Vertue is moſt profitable, in caſe ſhe could doe ſo much for good and honeſt men. or Fortune moſt firme and conſtant, if ſhe have preſerved and kept ſo long, that which ſhe once hath given? *Iön* the poet in thoſe works of his which he compoſed without verſe, and in proſe, ſaith: That Fortune and Wiſedome (two moſt different things, and farre unlike one to the other) produce neverthéleſſe moſt like and ſemblable effects: both the one and the other indifferently make men great and honorable; they advance them in dignitie, puiſſance, eſtate and authoritie. And what need I (for to draw out this matter at length) rehearſe and reckon up a number of thoſe whom they have preferred, conſidering that even nature herſelfe who hath borne us, and brought foorth all things; ſome take to be Fortune, and others Wiſedome. This preſent diſcourſe therefore, addeth unto the citie of *Rome* a great and admirable dignitie, in caſe we diſpute of her as our manner is of the earth, the ſea, the heaven and the ſtarres, namely, whether it were by Fortune or by providence, that ſhe was firſt founded and had her being? For mine owne part, I am of this opinion, that howſoever Fortune and Vertue have alwaies had many quarrels and debates otherwiſe, yet to the framing and compoſition of ſo great an empire and puiſſance, it is very like they had made truce and were at accord; that by one joint-conſent alſo, they wrought both together, and finiſhed the goodlieſt piece of work that ever was in the world. Neither think I that I am deceived in this conjecture of mine; but am perſwaded, that like as (according to the ſaying of *Plato*) the whole world was not made at firſt, of fire and earth, as the two principall and neceſſarie elements, to the end that it might be viſible and palpable, conſidering that as the earth gave maſſineſſe, poiſe and firmitude; ſo fire conferred thereunto, colour, forme, and motion. Beſides, the other two natures and elements which are betweene theſe two extremes (to wit, aire and water, by ſoftning, melting, tempering and quenching (as it were) the great diſſociation and diſſimilitude of the ſaid extremes) have drawen together, incorporate and united by the meanes of them, the firſt matter; even ſo, time and God together, intending ſuch a ſtately piece of worke as *Rome*, tooke Vertue and Fortune, and thoſe they tempered and coupled in one, as yoke-fellowes; to the end, that of the thing which is proper both to the one and the other, they might found, build, and reare a ſacred temple indeed, an edifice beneficiall and profitable unto all, a ſtrong caſtle ſeated upon a firme ground-worke, and an eternall element, which might ſerve in ſtead of a maine pillar, to ſuſteine the decaying ſtate of the world, readie to reele and ſinke downward; and finally, as a ſure ankerhold againſt turbulent tempeſts, and wandering waves of the ſurging ſeas, (as *Democritus* was woont to ſay.) For like as ſome of the naturall philoſophers hold: That the world at the firſt was not the world, and that the bodies would not joine and mingle themſelves together, for to give unto nature a common forme, compoſed of them all: but when the ſaid bodies, (ſuch as yet were ſmall and ſcattered heere and and there,) ſlid away, made meanes to eſcape and flie for feare they ſhould be caught and interlaced with others; ſuch alſo as were more ſtrong, firme, and compact, even then ſtrove mainly one againſt another, and kept a foule coile and ſtirre together, in ſuch manner, as there aroſe a violent tempeſt, a dangerous ghuſt and troubleſome agitation, filling all with ruine, error, and ſhipwracke, untill ſuch time as the earth aroſe to greatneſſe by the tumultuarie concourſe of thoſe bodies that grew together, whereby ſhe her-ſelfe began firſt to gather a firme conſiſtence; and afterwards yeelded in her-ſelfe, and all about her a ſure ſeat and reſting place for all other. Semblably, when the greateſt empires and potentacies among men, were driven and caried to and fro, according to their fortunes, and ranne one againſt another, by reaſon that there was not one of that grandence and puiſſance as might command all the reſt, and yet they all deſired that ſovereignty: there was a woonderfull confuſion, a generall deſtruction, a ſtrange hurliburly, a tumultuary wandering, and an univerſall mutation and change throughout the world, untill ſuch time as *Rome* grew to ſome ſtrength and bigneſſe, partly by laying and uniting to her-ſelfe the neighbour nations and cities neere about her; and in part, by conquering the ſeignories, realmes, and dominions of princes farre of, and ſtrangers beyond ſea: by which meanes the greateſt and principall things in the world began to reſt, and be ſetled as it were a firme foundation and ſure ſeat, by reaſon that a generall peace was brought into the world, and the maine empire thereof reduced to one round circle, ſo firme as it could not be checked or impeached: for that indeed all vertues were ſeated in thoſe who were the founders and builders of this mightie State; and beſides, Fortune alſo was ready with her favour to ſecond and accompany them; as it ſhall (more plainly) appeere and be ſhewed in this diſcourſe enſuing. And now me thinks I ſee from this project, as it were from ſome high rocke and watch tower; Vertue and Fortune marching toward the pleading of their cauſe, and to the judgement and deciſion of the foreſaid queſtion propounded: but vertue in her part and maner of going, ſeemeth to be milde & gentle, in the carriage alſo of her eie, ſtaied and compoſed; the earneſt care likewiſe and deſire ſhe hath to mainteine and defend her honor in this contention, maketh her colour a little to riſe in her face, albeit ſhe be farre behinde Fortune, who commeth apace, and maketh all the haſte ſhe can: now there conduct her, and attend upon her round about in manner of a guard, a goodly traine and troupe

Of worthies brave, who martiall captaines were,
In bloudy warres, and bloudy armours beare.

All wounded in the fore-part of their bodies, dropping with bloud and ſwet mingled together, leaning upon the truncheons of the launces & pikes halfe broken, which they had won from their enemies. But would you have us to demand and aske who they might be? They ſay, that they be the *Fabricii*, the *Camilli*, the *Lucii* ſurnamed *Cincinnati*, the *Fabii Maximi*, the *Claudii Marcelli*, and the two *Scipioes*: I ſee alſo *C. Marius* all angry, and chaſing at Fortune. *Mucius Scævola* likewiſe is amongſt them, who ſheweth the ſtump of his burnt hand, crying aloud withall: And will you aſcribe this hand alſo to Fortune? And *Marcus Horatius Cocles* that valliant knight, who fought ſo bravely upon the bridge, covered all over with the ſhot of Tuſkan darts, and ſhewing his lame thigh, ſeemeth to ſpeake (from out of the deep whirle-pit of the river into which he leapt) theſe words: And was it by chance & Fortuue that my legge became broken, & I lame upon it? Loe, what a company came with vertue to the triall of this controverſie and matter in queſtion!

All warriours ſtout, in complet armour dight:
Expert in feates of armes, and preſt to fight.

But on the other ſide, the gate and going of Fortune ſeemes quicke and faſt, her ſpirit great, and courage proud, her hopes high and haughtie: ſhe over-goeth vertue, and approcheth nere at hand already; not mounting and lifting up her ſelfe now, with her light and flight wings, nor ſtanding a tiptoe upon a round ball or boole, commeth ſhe wavering and doubtfull; and then goeth her way afterwards in diſcontentment and diſpleaſure: but like as the Spartiates deſcribe *Venus*, ſaying; That after ſhe had paſſed the river *Eurotas*, ſhe layd by her mirrors and looking glaſſes; caſt aſide her daintie jewels, and other wanton ornaments, and threw away that tiſſue and lovely girdle of hers; and taking ſpeare and ſhield in hand, ſheweth her ſelfe thus prepared and ſet out, unto *Lycurgus*; even ſo Fortune having abandoned the Perſians and Aſſyrians, flew quicklie over *Macedonia*, and ſoone ſhooke off *Alexander* the great: then travailed ſhe a while through *Aegipt* and *Siria*, carying after her kingdomes as ſhe went; and ſo having ruined and ouerthrowen the Carthaginians ſtate, which with much variety and change ſhe had oftentimes upheld; ſhe approched in the end to mount *Palatine*, and when ſhe had paſſed over the river *Tiber*, even there (as it ſhould ſeeme) ſhe caſt off her wings; then ſhe put off her flying patins; her boule ſo inconſtant turning and rolling to and fro ſhe forſooke, and ſo entred *Rome* as to make her ſtay and abode there: and in this guiſe and maner ſheweth ſhe her ſelfe now, and maketh her apparance for to heare juſtice,& have this quarrell decided: Not as a baſe, unknowne, and obſcure perſon (as *Pindarus* ſaith) nor guiding and reſting with her hand two helmes; but rather as the ſiſter of *Eunomia*, that is to ſay Aequitie; and of *Peitho*, that is to ſay Perſwaſion; and the daughter of *Promethia*, that is to ſay Providence, according as *Alcinus* the poet deriveth her genealogie and pedigree. Moreover ſhe holdeth betweene her hands that plentifull Horne of all aboundance, ſo much celebrated and renowmed, and the ſame filled, not with ſtore of frutes alwaies freſh and verdant which Autumue yeeldeth, but brim full of all thoſe pretious and exquiſite commodites

Which any land or ſea doth breed,
or out of rivers ſpring:
Which in deepe mines by delfe are found,
or havens by veſſels bring.

And thoſe powreth ſhe foorth aboundantly, and giveth abroad in great largeſſe. There are about her alſo to be ſeene in her traine, a number of moſt noble and right excellent perſonages, to wit: *Numa Pompilius* deſcended from the Sabines; *Tarquinius Priſcus* from the citie *Tarquinii*; whom being aliens and meere ſtrangers ſhe enſtalled kings, and enthronized in the roiall ſeat of *Romulus*. Alſo *Paulus Aemilius*, who brought backe his armie ſafe and ſound from the defaiture of *Perſeus* and the Macedonians, where he atchived ſo fortunate a victorie, that there was not ſeene one Romane with a weeping eye, for the loſſe of any friend in that warre: and when he returned in triumph magnified Fortune. Even ſo did that good olde knight, *Cacilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, aſwell in regard of his brave victories, as of this rare felicitie of his, that he was caried unto his ſepulture by foure of his owne ſonnes, who had bene all conſuls; namely, *Quintus Balearius*, *Lucius Diadematus*, *Marcus Metellus*, and *Caius Caprarius*: there attended alſo upon his corps, two ſonnes in law of his, that married his daughters, both conſular men, and as many nephewes, his daughters children; men of marke and name all, both for great prowеſſe in feats of armes, and alſo for their high place which they held in government of State and commonweale. *Aemilius Scaurus* likewiſe (who being of a low degree and condition of life, yet came from a ſtocke more baſe than it, a new upſtart and of the firſt head) was raiſed and advanced by her, and by the meanes of her favour, made a great lord and prince of that high court and honourable counſell, called the Senate. *Cornelius Sylla* likewiſe, whom ſhe tooke out of the lap & boſome of *Nicopolis* a courtiſan, for to exalt him above all the Cunbricke Trophees and Laureat Triumphs; yea, and the ſeven conſulſhips of *Marius*, to raiſe him to that high pitch and ſovereigne degree of an abſolute monarch in the world, and a dictatour; he (I ſay) openly and directly gave himſelfe (as it were) by way of adoption unto Fortune, and attributed his whole eſtate and all his actions to her favour, crying with a loud voice with *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*:

To Fortunes court I owe all ſutes,
And her good ſonne my ſelfe reputes.

Inſomuch as in the Romane language he ſurnamed himſele *Felix*, that is to ſay, Happie: and unto the Greeks, he wrote thus in their tongue: Λέυκιος Κορνήλιος Εὐλαιας Ἐπαφρόδιτος. that is to ſay: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, beloved of *Venus* and the Graces. And verily thoſe trophees of his, which are to be ſeene in our countrey of *Chæronea*, in regard of thoſe noble victories which he gained againſt the lieutenants generall of king *Mithridates*, have the like inſcription, and that right worthily. For it is not the night (as *Menander* ſaith) but Fortune, that is beſt acquainted and in greateſt favour with *Venus*. Should not he therefore (who is deſirous to plead the cauſe of Fortune) doe very well to lay this for a good ground of his plea, and in the forefront and *Exordium* of his oration, bring in very fitly and properly for his witneſſes to depoſe, the Romans themſelves, who have aſcribed more unto Fortune than to Vertue? Certes, late it was among them, & after many ages, ere *Scipio Numantinus* builded a temple to Vertue: & after him, *Marcellus* cauſed to be built that chapel bearing the name, *Virtutis & Honoris*, that is to ſay, Of Ver- and Honour: like as *Aemilus Scaurus* gave order for another to be reared by the name of *Mentis*, that is to ſay, of Underſtanding; even about the time of the Cunbricke warre: in which age, (when literature, and profeſſors of learning & eloquence, flocked thicke, as it were, and reſorted to the citie of *Rome*) they beganne to have in price and reputation, ſuch matters: and yet to this very day there is not one chapell of Wiſdome, Temperance, Patience & Magnanimitie, ne yet of Continence; whereas of Fortune there be temples ſo ſtately, ſo glorious, and ſo ancient withall, that a man would take them to have bene edified even in maner when the firſt foundations of the citie were laid. For firſt and formoſt, *Ancus Martius* the nephew or daughters ſonne of king *Numa*, and the fourth king of *Rome* after *Romulus*, founded one in the honour of Fortune. And peradventure he it was that ſurnamed Fortune, *Virilis*, and derived it of *Fortis*; for that Virility, that is to ſay, Manhood, and Fortitude, that is to ſay Proweſſe and Valour, have moſt helpe by Fortune, to the atchieving of victorie. As for that temple of Feminine Fortune, named otherwiſe *Muliebris*, they built it alſo before the daies of *Camillus*, at what time as *Martius Coriolanus* (who led under banners diſplaied, againſt the city of *Rome*, a puiſſant power of the Volſcians) was turned backe and retired, by the meanes and interceſſion of certeine noble dames that encountered him: for thoſe ladies went in a ſolemne ambaſſage toward him, accompanied with his wife and mother; and ſo earneſtly intreated and effectually perſwaded with him, that in the end they prevailed, inſomuch, as for their ſakes he pardoned and ſpared the citie, and ſo withdrew the forces of that barbarous nation: and then it was (by folks ſayings) that the ſtatue or image of Fortune at the dedication thereof, pronounced theſe words: You have (good Romane dames) according to the ordinance of the citie, conſecrated me right devoutly. And verily *Furius Camillus* (at what time as he had quenched the flaming fire of the Gaules, and recovered the city of *Rome* out of the very ſcoles of the balance where it was to bee weighed in counterpoiſe againſt a certeine quantitie of golde) erected a temple, neither to Good counſell nor to Valour, but unto * Fame and Rumour, even in that very place by the new ſtreet, where (by report) *Marcus Cæditius* as hee went by the way, heard in the night a voice, that gave warning and advertiſed, that ſhortly after they ſhould looke for the Gaules to warre upon them. As for that temple (upon the banke of the river *Tyber*) of Fortune ſurnamed *Fortis*, that is to ſay, Strong, Martiall, Valiant, and Magnanimous, for that to her belonged generoſitie and the forcible power to tame and overcome all things, they built a temple to the honour of her, within the orchards and gardens that *Cæſar* (by his laſt will and teſtament) bequeathed unto the people of *Rome*; as being perſwaded that himſelfe (by the gracious favour of Fortune) became the greateſt man of all the Romans, as himſelfe doth teſtifie. As concerning *Julius Cæſar*, I would have bene abaſhed and aſhamed to ſay, that through the favour of Fortune he was lifted up to that rare greatneſſe, but that his owne ſelfe beareth witneſſe thereof: for being departed from *Brindois* the fourth day of Ianuary, and imbarked for to purſue *Pompeius*, even at the verie height and in the heart of Winter, he croſſed the ſeas moſt ſafely, as if Fortune had held in, the tempeſtuous weather of that ſeaſon; and when he found *Pompeius* ſtrong and puiſſant aſwell by ſea as land, as having all his forces aſſembled together about him in a ſet and ſtanding campe, being himſelfe but weake and accompanied with a ſmall power; for that the companies which *Antonius* and *Sabinus* ſhould have brought, lingered and ſtaied behinde, he adventured to take ſea againe; and putting himſelfe into a ſmall frigat, ſailed away unknowen both to the maſter, and alſo to the pilot of the ſaid barke, in ſimple habit, as if he had bene ſome meane and ordinary ſervitor: but by occaſion of a violent returne of the tide, ful againſt the current of the river, & withall, of a great tempeſt that aroſe, ſeeing that the pilot was readie to alter his courſe, and turne abaſt backe, he plucked away his garment from his head wherewith he ſat hoodwinked, and diſcovered his face, ſaying unto the pilot: Holde the helme hard (good fellow) and be not afraid to ſet forward: be bolde (I ſay) hoiſe ſailes, ſpred them open to the winde at aventure, and feare not, for thou haſt aboord, *Cæſar* and his Fortune. So much perſwaded was he, and confidently aſſured, that Fortune ſailed with him, accompanied him in all his marches and voiages, aſſiſted him in the campe, aided him in battell, conducted and directed him in all his warres: whoſe worke indeed it was, and could proceed from nothing els but her, to command a calme at ſea, to procure faire weather and a Summer ſeaſon in Winter; to make them ſwift and nimble, who otherwiſe were moſt ſlow and heavie; to cauſe them to be couragious, who were greateſt cowards and moſt heartleſſe; and that which is more incredible than all the reſt, to force *Pompey* to flie, and *Ptolemeus* to kill his owne gueſt, to the end that *Pompey* might die, and yet *Cæſar* be not ſtained with his bloudſhed. What ſhould I alledge the teſtimonie of his ſonne, the firſt emperour ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, who for the ſpace of fiftie yeeres and foure, was abſolute commander both by ſea and land of the whole world? who when he ſent his nephew or ſiſters ſonne to the warres, praied and wiſhed at Gods hands for no more, but that he might prove as valiant as *Scipio*, and as well beloved as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himſelfe; aſcribing the making of himſelfe as great as he was, unto Fortune; as if a man ſhould intitle ſome ſingular piece of worke with the name of the workeman or artificer: which Fortune of his, was the cauſe that he got the ſtart and vantage of *Cicero*, *Lepidus*, *Pauſa*, *Hirtius*, and *Marcus Antonius*, by whoſe counſels, brave exploits

* To *Aius Leonitius* as ſom thinke; to the goddeſſe *Menoiea*, as o- others.

exploits and proweſſes,expeditions,victories,voiages, armadoes, legions, campes, and in one word, by theſe warres,as well by ſea as by land, ſhe made him ever chiefe and principall, lifting him on high ſtill,and putting them downe by whom hee was mounted and advanced; untill in the end, hee remained alone, and had no peere nor ſecond. For it was for his ſake that *Cicero* gave counſell: *Lepidus* ledde an armie; *Panſa* vanquiſhed the enimie; *Hirtius* loſt his life in the field; and *Antonius* lived riotouſly in drunkenneſſe, gluttonie, and lecherie: for I reckon *Cleopatra* among the favors that Fortune did to *Auguſtus*, againſt whom, as againſt ſome rock, *Antonius* ſo great a commaunder,ſo abſolute a prince,and mightie triumvir,ſhould runne himſelfe, be ſplit, and ſinke; to the end that *Cæſar Auguſtus* might ſurvive and remaine alone. And to this purpoſe reported it is of him; that there being ſo inward acquaintance and familiarity, as there was among them, that they uſed often to paſſe the time away together in playing at tennis, or at dice, or ſeeing ſome prety ſport of cocks and quailes of the game, which were kept for the nonce to fight: when *Antonius* went evermore away with the worſt, and on the looſing hand; one of his familiar friends, (a man well ſeene in the art of divination) would manie times frankly ſay unto him by way of remonſtrance and admonition: Sir, what meane you to meddle or have any dealing with this yoong gentleman, (meaning *Auguſtus*) Fly and avoid his company,I adviſe you; more renowmed and better reputed you are than he; his elder you are, you have a greater commaund and ſeignorie than he, more expert in feats of armes, and of better experience and practiſe by farre: but good ſir, your Genius or familiar ſpirit is afraid of his, your Fortune, which by it ſelfe apart is great, flattereth and courteth his, and unleſſe you remoove your ſelfe farre from him, it will forſake you quite and goe unto him.

Thus you ſee what evidences and proofes Fortune may alledge for herſelfe, by way of teſtimonie. But we are beſides to bring foorth thoſe which are more reall, and drawen from the things themſelves, beginning our diſcourſe at the very foundation and nativitie as it were of *Rome* city. In the firſt place therefore, who will not ſay and confeſſe, that for the birth, the preſervation, the nouriture, rearing, and education of *Romulus*, well might the excellencies of Vertue be the hidden ground-worke,and firſt foundation; but ſurely it was Fortune alone that raiſed the ſame above ground, and built all up? For to beginne at the verie generation and procreation, even of thoſe, who firſt founded and planted the citie of *Rome*, they ſeeme both to proceed from a woonderfull favour of rare Fortune: for it is ſaid, that their mother lay with god *Mars*, and was by him conceived: and like as the report goeth, that *Hercules* was begotten in a long night, by reaſon that the day extraordinarily, and beſides the courſe of nature was held backe, and the ſunne ſtaied in his race and riſing; even ſo we finde it recorded in hiſtories, that when *Romulus* was gotten,and conceived, the ſunne became ecclipſed, by reaſon of his ful conjunction indeed with the moone, like as *Mars* being a very god, medled with *Sylvia* a mortall woman: alſo that the ſame hapned againe unto *Romulus*, juſt upon the very ſame day when hee was tranſlated out of this life: for they ſay, that even at the very inſtant when the ſunne entred into the ecclipſe, he alſo departed out of ſight, and was no more ſeene; which fell out to be upon the day called *Nonæ Capratinæ*: upon which day, the Romans doe ſtill at this preſent celebrate a ſolemne feaſt. Now when theſe firſt founders were in this manner bred and borne; after that the tyrant ſought to make them away, by good fortune it hapned, that the miniſter to take them and execute the deed, was neither a barbarous nor a mercileſſe cruell ſlave, but a gracious and pitifull ſervitour, who would in no wiſe murder the ſilly babes: but finding a convenient place, upon the banke by the river ſide, adjoyning hard to a faire greene meddow, and ſhadowed with pretie trees growing low by the ground; there he beſtowed the infants, neere unto a wilde figge tree, which they called afterwards *Ruminalis*; for that a teat or pappe in Latin is called *Ruma*: which done, it chaunced that a bitch-woolfe having newly whelped her litter, and feeling her pappes beſtruct with milke,and ſo ſtiffe by reaſon that her yoong ones were dead,that they aked againe, and were ready to burſt, ſeeking to be eaſed and to diſcharge her-ſelfe thereof; came gently to theſe babes, ſtooped downe, and ſeemed to winde about them,put unto them her teats,deſirous & labouring to be delivered of her milk,as if it had beene a ſecond litter: And then (ſee the fortune of it) a certeine bird (conſecrated to *Mars*, which thereupon men name in Latine *Picus Martius*, that is to ſay,a Speght or Wood-pecker) chaunced to approch neere, and having alighted gently upon the tips of her toes faſt by them, & ſoftly opened with one of her clees the mouthes of theſe infants,one after another,ſhe conveied into them certeine morſels, minced ſmall, even of her owne food & proviſion. That this is true,the ſaid wilde fig tree at this day is named *Ruminalis* of the woolves teat, called in Latine

Ruma, which ſhe held unto the babes for to ſuckle them, doth teſtifie. And long time after, the inhabitants about that place have obſerved this cuſtome; not to expoſe and caſt foorth any thing that is bred and borne amongſt them; but to reare and nouriſh all, in a venerable memoriall of this happe and reſemblance of the accident which befell unto *Romulus* and his brother *Remus.* Now that theſe two fondlings were nouriſhed and brought up afterward in the citie of *Gabii,* unknowen to all the world that they were the children of *Sylvia,* and the nephewes or daughters children of *Numitor* the king; may ſeeme to be a craftie theeviſh caſt, and deceitfull ſophiſtrie, proceeding from Fortune; to the end that they ſhould not periſh before they had done ſome woorthy exploit, by reaſon of their noble birth, but be diſcovered by their very deeds and effects; ſhewing their vertue as a marke of their nobilitie. And heere I call to minde a certeine ſpeech which *Themiſtocles* (a brave and wiſe captaine) upon a time gave to ſome other captaines, who after him, and in a ſecond place, were in great name at *Athens,* and much eſteemed, howbeit pretending to deſerve more honour than he: The morrow-mind (quoth he) quarrelled and contended upon a time with the feaſt or holi-day, which went before it, ſaying: That ſhe was * full of labour and buſineſſe, and never had any reſt; whereas in her there was nothing but eating and drinking that, which before hand had beene prepared and provided with great paine and travell; unto whom the feaſt made this anſwer: Certes, true it is, that thou ſaieſt; but if I had not bene, where hadſt thou bene? Even ſo (quoth *Themiſtocles)* if I had not conducted the Medians warre, what good would you have done now? and where had your imploiment bene? Semblably, me thinks that Fortune ſaith the ſame unto the Vertue of *Romulus:* Thy acts are famous, and thy deeds renowmed; thou haſt ſhewed by them indeed, that deſcended thou art from divine bloud and ſome heavenly race; but thou ſeeſt againe, how farre ſhort thou art of me, how long after me it was, ere thou didſt come in place; for if I had not (when time was) ſhewed my ſelfe kinde, gracious and courteous unto thoſe poore infants, but had forſaken and abandoned them ſilly wretches, how could you have had any being, and by what meanes ſhould you have bene ſo gloriouſly ſeene in the world? in caſe (I ſay) a female wilde beaſt, even a ſhee-wolfe, had not come in the way, having her bigs ſwollen, enflamed and aking with the plentie of milke, flowing (as it were) a ſtreame unto them, ſeeking rather whom to feed, than by whō ſhe ſhould be fed? or if ſhe had bene altogether ſavage indeed & hunger-bitten; theſe roiall houſes, theſe ſtately temples, theſe magnificent theaters, theſe faire galleries, theſe goodly halles, palaces and counſell-chambers, had they not bene at this day, the lodges, cottages and ſtalles of ſhepherds and herdmen, ſerving (as ſlaves) ſome lords of *Alba* and *Tuſcan,* or els ſome maſters of the Latine nation? The beginning, in all things, is chiefe and principall, but eſpecially in the foundation and building of a city; and Fortune is ſhe who is the authour of this beginning and foundation, in ſaving and preſerviug the founder himſelfe: for well may Vertue make *Romulus* great, but Fortune kept him untill he became great.

* κοπωδης not κομπωδης.

It is for certeine knowen and confeſſed, that the reigne alſo of *Numa Pompilius,* which continued long, was guided and conducted by the favour of a marvellous Fortune: for to ſay that the nymph *Aegeria,* one of the Wood-Fairies, called *Dryades,* a wiſe and prudent goddeſſe, was enamoured of him, and that lying ordinarily by his ſide, taught him how to eſtabliſh, governe and rule the weale-publicke, peradventure is a meere fabulous tale; conſidering that other perſons, who are recorded to have bene loved by goddeſſes (and to have enjoied them in mariage; as for example, *Peleus, Anchiſes, Orion* & *Emathion*) had not for all that (thorowout their life) contentment and proſperitie, without ſome trouble and adverſitie: but ſurely it ſeemeth that *Numa* in very trueth had good Fortune for his domeſticall and familar companion, and to reigne jointly with him; which Fortune of his (receiving the citie of *Rome,* as in a boiſterous and troubleſome tempeſt, or in a turbulent ſea, to wit, in the enmitie, envie and malice of all the neighbor-cities and nations bordering upon it; and beſides diſquieted within it ſelfe, and troubled with an infinit number of calamities and ſeditious factions) quenched all thoſe flames of anger, and alaied all ſpightfull and malicious grudges, as ſome boiſterous and contrary windes. And like as men ſay, that the ſea, even in mid-winter receiveth the yong brood of the birds Halcyones, after they be newly hatched, and giveth them leave to be nouriſhed and fed in great calme and tranquilitie; even ſo Fortune (ſpreading and drawing round about this people newly planted, and as yet ready to wag and ſhake every way, ſuch a quiet and ſtill ſeaſon, void of all buſie affaires, without warres, without mortalitie, without danger or feare of danger) gave good meanes unto the citie of *Rome* to take root and ſet ſure footing, growing ſtill in repoſe with all ſecuritie, and without any hinderance and impeachment whatſoever. Much like therefore, as a great carraque, hulke or gallie, is framed, wrought and ſet together by many a knocke and ſtroke, and that with great violence; whiles it feeleth the blowes of ſledges and hammers, is pierced with ſpikes and great nailes, cut with ſawes, axes and hatchets; and when it is once made and finiſhed by the ſhipwright, ought to reſt quiet and in repoſe, for a competent time, untill the braces be well ſetled and faſtened, and the joints firmly knit and compact: for otherwiſe, he that ſhould ſtirre it, and ſhoot it into the ſea, whiles yet the junctures and commiſſures be yet greene, freſh, looſe, and not well conſolidate, all would chinke, cleave and open, when it came to be never ſo little ſhaken and toſſed by the boiſterous billowes of the ſea, ſo that ſhe would leake & take in water thorowout; even ſo, the firſt prince, authour and founder of the city of *Rome*, having compoſed it of ruſticall peiſants and herdmen, as it were, of rough-hewen planks and poſts of tough and ſtubburne oake, had much adoe, and tooke no ſmall paines, but engaged himſelfe farre into ſundry warres, and expoſed his perſon and eſtate to manifold and great dangers, being of neceſſity enforced to encounter and fight with thoſe who oppoſed themſelves, and withſtood the nativitie (as it were) and foundation thereof, before he could bring his worke to an end; but the ſecond king receiving the ſame at his hands, gave it good time and leaſure to gather ſtrength, and to confirme the growth and augmentation thereof by the favour of happie Fortune, who affoorded him the meanes to enjoy great peace and long repoſe. But if at that time, ſome ſuch as king *Porſenna*, had come againſt it, pitching his campe before it, and leading a ſtrong armie of Tuskans to give aſſault thereto, whiles the walles were yet greene, ſoft, and ready to ſhake with every ſmall thing; or if ſome puiſſant prince and potentate, or woorthy warriour from among the Marſians, upon apoſtaſie and revolt; or els ſome Lucan, for envie or upon a troubleſome ſpirit and deſire of contention, a buſi-headed perſon, factious and quarelſome, ſuch an one as afterwards *Mutius* or ſtout *Silon* was, ſurnamed the Bolde; or laſt of all, *Teleſinus*, with whom *Sylla* ſcuffled, an found himſelfe ſomewhat to do; him I meane, who (as it were) with one ſignall could make all *Italie* riſe and take armes: if one of theſe (I ſay) had come and given the alarme, environing and aſſailing with ſound of trumpets this Sage-like prince and philoſopher *Numa*, whiles he was at ſacrifice, or in his devotions and praiers to the gods; ſurely the citie in that infancy of hers and firſt beginnings, had never bene able to have held out and withſtood ſo great a ſtorme and tempeſt, neither had it growen up as it did, to ſo goodly a number of luſtie and ſerviceable men: whereas, it ſeemeth that the long peace which continued under this king, ſerved in ſtead of a proviſion of furniture and all ſorts of munition for innumerable warres enſuing; and the people of *Rome*, much like unto a champion who hath to fight a combat, having bene exerciſed and enured at leaſure, in a peaceable time, for the ſpace of three and forty yeeres after the warres which they had fought under *Romulus*, became ſtrong enough, and ſufficient to make head againſt thoſe that afterwards aſſailed them: for it is for certeine recorded, that during all that time, there was neither peſtilence nor famine, no unkinde barrenneſſe of the earth, nor unſeaſonable diſtemperature of Winter or Summer, to afflict or trouble the city of *Rome*, as if there had beene no humane providence, but onely a divine Fortune which tooke the care and government of all thoſe yeeres. In thoſe daies likewiſe it was, that the two-leaved doores of the temple of *Janus* were ſhut up and locked faſt, thoſe (I meane) which they call the gates of warre, for that they were ſet open in the time of warre, and kept ſhut when it was peace. No ſooner was king *Numa* dead, but theſe gates were opened for the Albane warre, which brake out ſuddenly and with great violence, and ſo ſtood open ſtill, during an infinit number of other warres enſuing continually one after another thereupon: but in proceſſe of time, namely, about foure hundred and foure ſcore yeres after, they were ſhut againe, when the firſt Punicke warre was ended, and peace concluded with the Carthaginians, even that yeere, wherein *C. Attilius* and *Titus Manlius* were conſuls. After this, they were ſet open by occaſion of new warres, which laſted untill the very time that *Cæſar Auguſtus* wan that noble victorie under the Promontory *Actium*. Then had the Romans a ceſſation or ſurceaſe of armes, but the ſame continued not long; for that the tumultuous ſtirres of the Biſcains, the Galatians and Germains comming all together, troubled the peace. And thus much may ſerve out of hiſtories, for teſtimonies in behalfe of the felicity and good Fortune of king *Numa*.

But the Kiugs alſo that raigned in *Rome* after him, highlie honoured Fortune, as the chiefe patroneſſe, nourſe, and the prop or piller, as *Pindarus* ſaith, which ſupported and upheld the citie of *Rome*; as we may judge by the reaſons and arguments following. There is at *Rome*, I wot well, the temple of Vertue highlie honored: but founded it was and built of late daies, even by *Marcellus*, who forced and won the citie of *Syracuſa*. There was another alſo in the honor of reaſon,underſtanding,or good advice, which they called by the name of *Mentis*: but *Aemilius Scaurus* was the man who dedicated it; about the time of the Cimbricke warres. For that by this,the learning,the artes and pleaſant eloquence of the Greekes were crept already into the citie: but, to wiſdome there is not yet to this day ſo much as one temple or chappell; neither to temperance,nor patience; ne yet to magnanimitie, wheras of Fortune there be many churches and temples verie auncient, and thoſe much frequented; and to ſpeake in one word, celebrated with all kinds of honor; as being founded and erected amid the nobleſt parts, and moſt conſpicuous places of the citie. For there is the temple of Maſculine Fortune called *Fortuna virilis*, which was built by *Martius Ancus* the fourth king of *Rome*, and by him ſo called; for that he thought that Fortune availed as much as Fortitude to the obtaining of victorie. As for the other,entituled by the name of Fortune Feminine; otherwiſe called *Fortuna Muliebris*, everie man knoweth that they were the dames of the citie, who dedicated it, after they had averted and turned backe *Martius Coriolanus*,who was come with a puiſant power of enemies,and preſented himſelfe before the citie. And *Servius Tullius* who augmented the puiſſance of the people of *Rome*.and brought it unto a goodlie and beautifull maner of government, no prince ſo much,having ſet downe and eſtabliſhed a good order for the giving of ſuffrages and voices at the elections of magiſtrates, and enacting of lawes: and beſides inſtituted the order of millitarie diſcipline; having been himſelfe the firſt cenſour of mens maners, and the controller or overſeer of every mans life and behaviour; who ſeemed alſo to have been a right valiant prince,and moſt prudent withall: this man I ſay,whollie avowed himſelfe the vaſſaile of Fortune,and did homage to her, acknowledging all principalitie to depend upon her; in ſuch ſort as men ſay Fortune her ſelfe uſed to come & lie with him, deſcending downe by a window into his chamber; which now the call the gate Feneſtella. He founded therefore within the Capitoll one temple to the honor of Fortune,called *Primigenia*,which a man may interpret, firſt begotten ;and another to Fortune *obſequens*, which ſome take to be as much as obeiſant; others, gratious and fauourable. But not to ſtand any longer upon the Romaine names and appellations; I will leave them, & endevour to reckon up and interpret in Greeke the meaning and ſignification of all theſe temples, founded and dedicated in the honor of Fortune. For in the mount *Palatine* there ſtandeth one chappell of private Fortune,and another of gluing Fortune: which tearme may haplie ſeeme to be ridiculous; howbeit, by way of a metaphor it carieth a ſignification verie important,as if we were to underſtand thus much by it: That it draweth unto it,and catcheth thoſe things which be farre off,and holdeth faſt whatſoever ſticketh and cleaveth to it. Moreouer,neere unto the fountaine called *Muſcoſa*, that is to ſay, moſſie; there is another chappell of Fortune the virgin: as alſo in the mount *Eſquilius*,another of Aduerſe Fortune; upon the ſtreete called the Long Way, an altar there is erected to Fortune Goodhope; or, as it were Hope: and neere adjoining unto the altar of *Venus Epi-talaria*, that is is to ſay, Foote-winged *Venus*, a chappell and image of Fortune Maſculine: beſides a thouſand honors and denominations more of Fortune, which *Servius* for the moſt part inſtituted and ordeined; as knowing full well, that in the regiment of all humane things, Fortune is of great importance,or rather can doe all in all. And good reaſon he had therefore, conſidering that himſelfe by the beneficiall favor of Fortune, being deſcended as he was by birth from a captive,and that of an enemie nation,was raiſed and advaunced to royall dignitie. For when the citie of the *Corniculanes* was won forciblie by the Romanes, a certaine young damſell named *Ocriſia*, being taken priſoner (who notwithſtanding her infortunate captivitie; was neither for beauty of face, nor comely behaviour blemiſhed or ſtained) was given unto queene *Tanaquil*, the wife of king *Tarquin*, to ſerve her, and afterwards beſtowed in marriage upon one of the reteiners or dependants to the king; ſuch as the Romans call *Clientes*: and from theſe two came this foreſaid *Servius*. Others ſay, that it was nothing ſo; but that this maiden *Ocriſia* taking ordinarily certaine firſt-frutes or aſſaies as it were, both of viands and wine from the kings table, carried the ſame to the hearth of the domeſticall altar; and when one day above the reſt ſhe caſt theſe primicies or libaments aforeſaid (as her uſuall manner was) into the fire upon the hearth; behold all on the ſudden when the flame went out; there aroſe out of the ſaid hearth, the genitall member of a man; whereat the yoong damoſell being affrighted, reported what a ſtrange ſight ſhe had ſeene,unto queene *Tanaquil* alone: who being a wiſe and wittie ladie, appparelled and adorned the maiden like a bride in every reſpect, and ſhut her up with the foreſaid apparition; taking it for a divine thing,preſaging ſome great matter. Some ſay,that this was the domeſticall or tutelar god of the houſe, whom they call *Lar*; others *Vulcane*, who was enamored of this yoong virgine: but whatſoever it was, *Ocriſia* was thereupon with childe, and ſo was *Servius* borne. Now whiles he was but an infant, there was ſeene a ſhining light, much like unto the flaſh of lightning, to blaze out of his head round about. But *Valerius Antias* recordeth this narration otherwiſe: ſaying, that *Servius* had a wife named *Gegania*, who hapned to die; by occaſion of whoſe death, hee grew into a great agonie and paſſion of ſorrow, in the preſence of his mother, untill in the end for very heavineſſe and melancholy, hee fell a ſleepe, and as he ſlept, the woman of the houſe might perceive his head ſhining out in a light fire; a ſufficient argument and teſtimonie, that engendred he was of fire; yea, and an aſſured preſage of a kingdome unlooked for; which he attained unto after the deceaſe of *Tarquinius*, by meanes of the port and favour that *Tanaquil* graced him with. For otherwiſe, of all the kings that were of *Rome*, he ſeemed to bee the man that was unlikeſt to reach unto a monarchie, and leaſt intended, or minded to aſpire thereunto: conſidering that when he was king, he determined to reſigne up the crowne; though hee was empeached and ſtaied for ſo doing: becauſe *Tanaquil* upon her death-bed conjured and bound him by an oath to continue in his roiall eſtate and dignitie, and in no caſe to give over the politike government of the Romans, wherein hee was borne. Lo, how the regall power & kingdome of *Servius* may be wholly aſcribed unto Fortune, ſeeing that as hee came unto it beyond all hope and expectation, ſo hee held it even againſt his will.

But to the end it may not be thought, that we withdraw our ſelves and retire, flying unto antiquitie, as it were into a place obſcure and darke, for want of more cleere and evident proofes, let us leave the hiſtorie of the kings, and turne our ſpeech unto the moſt glorious acts of the Romans, and their warres, which were of greateſt name and renowme: wherein I will not deny; and who is there but muſt confeſſe? there did concurre

Both boldneſſe ſtout and fortitude,
with martiall diſcipline,
In warre which aie cooperant
with vertue doth combine.

according as *Timotheus* the poet writeth? but the proſperous traine and happy courſe of their affaires, the violent ſtreame alſo, & current of their progreſſe into ſuch puiſſance & growth of greatneſſe, ſheweth evidently unto thoſe who are able to diſcourſe with reaſon, and to judge aright, that this was a thing conducted neither by the hands nor counſels, ne yet by the affections of men, but by ſome heavenly guidance and divine direction, even by a fore-winde and gale of Fortune blowing at the poupe, and haſtening them forward. Trophees upon trophees by them were erected, one triumph met with another continually; the former bloud upon the weapons not yet cooled, but ſtill warme was waſhed away by new bloudſhed comming upon it: they reckoned and numbered their victories, not by the multitude of enemies ſlaine and heapes of ſpoiles, but counted them by realmes ſubdued, by nations conquered and brought to ſubjection, by iſles and firme lands of the continent reduced into ſervitude and bondage, and all to augment the greatneſſe of their empire. In one battell king *Philip* was chaſed out of *Macedonia*: one blow and one conflict cauſed *Antiochus* to abandon and forgoe *Aſia*: by one defaiture the Carthaginians loſt *Lybia*: one man alone in one expedition, and by the power of one armie, * conquered unto them *Armenia*, the kingdome of *Pontus*, the ſea *Euximus*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, the Albanians, the Iberians, all the nations even as farre as the mountaine *Caucaſus*, and the Hircanians, yea and the very ocean ſea which environeth the world round about; ſaw the ſame man thriſe victor and conquerour: the Nomades in *Affricke* he repreſſed and vanquiſhed, even to the coaſts of the ſouth ſea: he ſubdued *Spaine* which revolted and rebelled with *Sertorius*, as far as to the atlantike ſea: the kings of the Albanians he purſued, & never left the chaſe until he had driven them to the Caſpian ſea. Al theſe brave exploits and glorious conqueſts he atchieved, ſo long as he uſed the publique Fortune of the citie, but afterwards he was overthrowen and came to ruine by his owne private deſires. Now that great *Dæmon* and tutelar god of the Romans, did not ſecond them for a day as it were and no more; neither in a ſhort time did his beſt and came to the height and vigor of his gracious favour, as that of the Macedonians; nor gave them his aſſiſtance upon the land onely, as he who was the patron of the Lacedemonians; or at ſea alone, as the Athenians god; ne yet was long ere he would ſtirre, as he whom the Colophonians truſted upon; no, nor gave over quickly, as the Perſians patron did: but even from the very nativitie and foundation of the citie; it began, it grow up, waxed, and went forward as it did, it managed the government of it, it continued firme and ſure with it, by land,

* All this is to be underſtood of *Pompeius Magnus*.

land, by ſea, in warre, in peace, againſt Barbarians, and againſt the Greeks: He it was that when *Annibal* the Carthaginian overſpred all *Italy*, in manner of a land-floud, or violent brooke, wrought it ſo, that partly through envie, and in part through the malice of his ſpightfull fellow-citizens, no ſuccours and ſupplies were ſent to feed and mainteine him; and ſo by that meanes waſted, ſpent, and conſumed him to nothing in the end: he it was that diſperſed and kept the armies and forces of the Cimbrians, & Teutonians a great way, and a long time aſunder, ſo as they could not meet; to the end that *Marius* might be furniſhed and provided ſufficiently to fight with them, and to defait them both, one after another: hee empeached the joining together of three hundred thouſand fighting men at one time, all invincible ſoldiers, and appointed with armes inſuperable, that they might not invade and over-runne all *Italy*. For this cauſe, and by the meanes of this protector, *Antiochus* ſat ſtill, and ſtirred not to aid *Philip*, all the whiles that the Romans made ſharpe warre upon him: likewiſe, when *Antiochus* was in diſtreſſe and danger of his whole eſtate, *Philip* being diſcomfited before, durſt not hold up his head, and died the while: he, and none but he procured, that whiles the Marſians warre ſet all *Rome* and *Italy* on a light fire, the Sarmatian, and Baſtarnian warre held king *Mithridates* occupied. Finally, through his procurement, king *Tigranes*, when *Mithridates* flouriſhed, and was in his ruffe moſt puiſſant, upon ſuſpition, envie, and diſtruſt, would not joine with him; and afterwards when the ſaid *Mithridates* had an overthrow, combined and banded with him, that in the end he might alſo loſe his life and periſh with him for company.

What! in the greateſt diſtreſſes and calamities that lay heavie upon the citie; was it not the Romane Fortune that redreſſed all, and ſet it upright againe? As for example: When as the Gaules were encamped round about the mount Capitoll, and held the caſtle beſieged:

A plague ſhe ſent, the ſouldiers ſoone fell ſicke,
Throughout their hoſt, whereof they died thicke.

Fortune alſo it was, & meere chance, that revealed their comming in the night, & gave advertiſement thereof, when no man in the world either knew or doubted thereof: and peradventure it would not be impertinent and beſides the purpoſe, in this place to diſcourſe of it more at large. After the great diſcomfiture and overthrow that the Romans received neere the river *Allia*; as many as could ſave themſelves by good foot-manſhip, when they were come to *Rome*, filled the whole citie with a fright and trouble; inſomuch, as the people woonderfully amazed with this fearefull newes, fledde ſcattering heere and there, excepting onely a few, who put themſelves within the caſtle of the Capitoll, reſolved to keepe that piece, and abide the extremitie of the ſiege: others who eſcaped after that unfortunate battell and defeiture, aſſembled themſelves immediately in the citie *Veii*; and choſe for their dictator *Furius Camillus*, a man, whō the people (proud & inſolent upon their long proſperitie) had before time rejected, and ſent away into baniſhment, condemning him for robbing the common treaſure; but then being humbled by his affliction, and brought to a low ebbe; called him backe againe, after that diſcomfiture; committing and putting into his hands, the abſolute power and ſoveraigne authoritie; but to the end it might not be thought, that it was by the occaſion of the iniquitie and infortunity of the time, and not according to order of law, that the man excepted of this high magiſtracie, and that in a deſperate ſtate of the citie, without all hope that ever it ſhould riſe againe, he was elected by the tumultuary ſuffrages of a broken armie, diſperſed and wandring heere and there: his will was, that the ſenators of *Rome* who had retired themſelves within the Capitoll aforeſaid, ſhould be made acquainted aud advertiſed thereof, and that by their uniforme conſent, they might approove and confirme that election of him, which the ſouldiors and men of warre had decreed. Now among the others, there was one named *Caius Pontius*, a valiant and hardy man, who undertooke, and promiſed in his owne perſon to goe and carry the newes of that which had beene determined, unto thoſe who abode within the Capitol: and verily he enterprized a thing exceeding dangerous, for that hee was to paſſe through the middes of the enemies, who then inveſted the Capitoll with trenches, and a ſtrong corps-de-guard: when he was come to the river ſide by night, he faſtened juſt under his breſt certeine broad pieces of plates of corke, and ſo committing his body to the lightneſſe of ſuch a barge, hee bare himſelfe thereupon, and hulled with the courſe of the water, which was ſo good and favourable unto him, that it carried him over, and ſet him gently upon the banke on the other ſide of the river, without any danger at all; where he was no ſooner landed, but hee went directly toward that place which he ſaw was without all light, conjecturing by the darkneſſe and ſilence withall, that he ſhould not light upon any of the watch or ward there: thus he began to climbe up the ſteepe rocke, whereas he could find any way to ſet ſure footing upon the ſtones that ſtuck out, or whereſoever he found a place to yeeld better acceſſe and aſcent than another; ſo fetching a compaſſe, and catching hold with his hand upon the rough cragges, and bearing himſelfe as well as poſſibly he could, he made ſuch ſhift, that in the end he crawled up to the toppe thereof; and there thoſe Romans that kept watch and ward, and were foremoſt of the corps-de-guard, having eſpied him, helped to pull him up: then declared hee unto thoſe within the place, what had beene ſet downe and agreed upon by them who were without, from whom hee had no ſooner received their aſſent and approbation of the foreſaid ordinance concluded, but the verie ſame night he made his returne the way that he came, unto *Camillus*: the next morning, one of the barbarous enemies, as hee walked about that place, thinking of no ſuch thing, perceiving by very chaunce, partly the print of a mans tiptoes, together with the marks of unſteady footing, and partly the graſſe and weeds cruſhed and broken, which grew heere and there in ſuch places, where they had ſome little earth to mainteine them; as alſo the tracts and traces where he had leaned and wreſtled with his bodie, either in clambring up, or ſtriving overthwart; went ſtraight waies and related unto his fellow-ſouldiors what he had ſeene; who taking it thus, that the enemies themſelves ſhewed them the way, and trode it out before them, aſſaied preſently to doe the like, and to gaine the toppe of the rocke. In the night time therefore having obſerved where the place was moſt ſolitary, and void of watchmen, they mounted up, without being deſcried and diſcovered, not onely by the men who were in guard and ſentinell, but not ſo much as by the dogges, which were ſet a front before, for to aſſiſt the watch, ſo ſleepie they were all, both the one and the other. Howbeit, the good Fortune of *Rome* wanted no voice to bewray ſo imminent a danger, and to give warning thereof; for there were within the Capitoll certeine geeſe conſecrated uuto the goddeſſe *Juno*, kept at the cities charges, in the honour of her, cloſe under her temple: now is this creature of all others by nature very timorous, and at every little noiſe that is made, ready to be affrighted; and at that time eſpecially, by reaſon that there was within the place great ſcarcitie of victuals, they were neglected, and for that they were kept ſomewhat hungry, ſlept not ſo ſoundly as they were wont to doe; by reaſon whereof, at the firſt, being aware of the enemies comming, even ſo ſoone as they had gotten over the battlements of the wals, they came ful but upon them, & being affrighted beſides to ſee their bright armour, ſet up ſuch a gagling note after their manner, that all the court of the caſtle rung with their violent and diſonant noiſe: whereat the Romans were awakened, and ſuſpecting deepely what the matter was, ranne incontinently to the wall, gave the enemies the repulſe, and turned them downe with their heads forward: in memoriall of which accidents and occurrents, Fortune goeth as it were in triumph even at this day. For at *Rome* they are woont upon a certeine ſet day of the yeere in a ſolemne proceſſion, to have a dogge carried in a ſhew, crucified; and a gooſe borne in a gorgeous litter upon a rich cuſhion, moſt ſumptuouſly dight and ſet out: which ſpectacle repreſenteth and ſheweth unto us the puiſſance of Fortune, and the great meanes that ſhe hath to effect all thoſe things with eaſe and facilitie, which in mans reaſon ſeeme unpoſſible; conſidering that ſhe giveth a kinde of wittie perceivance and underſtanding, to brute beaſts, otherwiſe fooliſh and voide of reaſon; yea and infuſeth bold courage and ſtrength to thoſe which by nature are fearefull, weake, and cowardly. For what man is there, unleſſe he be altogether deprived of naturall ſenſe and affection, who would not be aſtonied and raviſhed againe with a woonderfull admiration, to conſider and diſcourſe after a ſort with himſelfe, comparing the heavie cheere and mournefull condition of this citie in thoſe daies, with the felicitie and ſtatelie port thereof at this preſent; to looke up (I ſaie) to the Capitoll, and behold the riches there, the ſumptuoſitie and magnificence of the monuments and oblations there to bee ſeene; the excellent pieces of worke, wrought by moſt cunning artificers, ſtriving who might doe beſt; the preſents of cities, contending who ſhould bee moſt bounteous and liberall; the crownes ſent by kings and princes, and what precious things ſoever the earth, the ſea, the iſlands, the firme lands of the continent, the rivers, trees, beaſts, champain fields, mountaines and metall-mines doe affoord; and in one word, the firſt fruits and choiſe parcels of all things in the world, which ſeeme all to ſtrive one with another, to embeliſh, grace, adorne, enrich and beautifie this onely place? and withall, to looke backe unto thoſe times paſt, and conſider how it went within a very little, that all this ſhould never have beene, or at leaſt-wiſe not extant at this day; ſeeing that all being within the power of mercileſſe fire, fearefull darkneſſe of the mirke night, cruell and barbarous ſwords, and moſt bloudy minds and inhumane hearts of theſe Gaules; the poore contemptible beaſts, fooliſh, reaſonleſſe and timorous, made the overture to ſave all, and were the principall inſtruments of preſervation; alſo, how thoſe brave gallants, valourous knights, and great captaines and commanders, the *Manlii*, the *Servii*, the *Poſthumii* and *Papyrii*, the anceſtours and progenitours of ſo many noble houſes afterwards, were very neere and at the point to have beene undone for ever, and come to nothing; had not theſe ſilly geeſe awakened and ſtarted up to fight for their countrey, and to defend the god, patron, and protectour of the city. And if it be true that *Polybius* writeth in the ſecond booke of his hiſtorie, as touching thoſe Gaules, who at that time ſurpriſed the city, and were lords of *Rome*: That when newes came ſuddenly unto them, how certeine of their barbarous neighbous neere at hand, were entred in armes within their owne countrey, and won all before them as they went; they had returned in haſt backe, and made peace with *Camillus*, certes, without all doubt, Fortune even then had bene the cauſe alſo of the cities ſafetie, in diſtracting the enemies, or rather in withdrawing them another way contrary to all hope and expectation of man. But what need we to ſtand thus upon theſe old hiſtories, wherein there is no certeintie to build upon delivered; conſidering that the ſtate of *Rome* was then ruinate, and all their annales, records, regiſters and memorials either periſhed or confounded, according as *Livie* himſelfe hath left in writing; ſeeing that the affaires of the Romans which happened afterward, and cary more light and perſpicuitie with them, declare and teſtifie ſufficiently the love and indulgence of Fortune? For mine owne part, I count this for one ſingular favor of hers, to wit, the death of *Alexander* the Great, a prince of incomparable courage, and ſpirit invincible, who being lifted up by many great proſperities, glorious conqueſts and happy victories, lanced himſelfe in maner of a ſtarre volant in the aire, leaping out of the Eaſt into the Weſt, and beginning not to ſhoot the flaming beames and flaſhing raies of his armour as farre as into *Italie*; having for a pretenſe and colourable cauſe of this enterpriſe and expedition of his, the death of his kinſman *Alexander* the Miloſſian, who together with his army, was by the Brutians and Lucanians (neere unto the citie *Pandæſia*) put to the ſword and cut in pieces: although (in trueth) that which caried him thus againſt all nations, was nothing els but a deſire of glory and ſovereignty, having propoſed this unto himſelfe upon a ſpirit of zeale and emulation, to ſurpaſſe the acts of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, and to go with his armie beyond the bounds of their voiages and expeditions. Moreover, he had heard ſay, that he ſhould find the force and valour of the Romans, to be as it were a gad of ſteele, to give edge unto the ſword of *Italie*; and he knew well enough (by the generall voice and report abroad in the world, which was brought unto him) that famous warriours they were, and of greateſt renowme, as being exerciſed and hardened like ſtout champions in warres and combats innumerable,

And verily, as I do weene.
A bloudy fight there would have beene,

if the undanted and unconquered hearts of the Romans, had encountred in the field with the invincible armies of the Macedonians: for ſurely the citizens of *Rome* were no fewer at that time in number, by juſt computation, than a hundred and thirty thouſand fighting men, able all to beare armes, and hardy withall:

Who expert were on horſebacke for to fight,
And when they ſaw their time, on foot to light.

The reſt of this diſcourſe is loſt, wherein we miſſe the reaſons
and arguments that Vertue alledgeth for
herſelfe in her plea.

THE MORALS OR MISCELLANE WORKS OF PLUTARCH.

The ſecond Tome.

THE SYMPOSIAQVES OR TABLE-QUESTIONS.

The firſt Booke.

The Summarie.

1 *Whether we may diſcourſe of learning or philoſophie at the table.*
2 *Whether the maſter of the feaſt ought himſelfe to place his gueſts, or ſuffer them to ſit and take their places at their owne diſcretion.*
3 *What is the cauſe that the place at the boord, called Conſular, is held to be moſt honourable.*
4 *What maner of perſon the Sympoſiarch or maſter of the feaſt ought to be.*
5 *What is meant by this uſuall ſpeech: Love teacheth us poetrie or muſicke.*
6 *Whether* Alexander *the Great were a great drinker.*
7 *How it is, that old folke commonly love to drinke meere wine undelaied.*
8 *What is the cauſe, that elder perſons reade better afarre-off than hard-by.*
9 *What might the reaſon be, that clothes are waſhed better in freſh & potable water than in ſea water.*
10 *Why at* Athens, *the dance of the tribe or linage* Aeantis, *is never adjudged to the laſt place.*

THE SYMPOSIAQUES OR Table-queſtions.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether we may diſcourſe of learning and philoſophie at the table.

Some there be (ſir *Soſſius Senerio*) who ſay that this ancient proverbe in Greeke, Μισέω μνάμονα συμπόταν.

At banquet, wine, or any feſt,
I hate a well remembring gueſt.

was meant of * hoſteliers or rulers at feaſts, who ordinarily are odious, troubleſome, uncivill, ſaucy, and imperious at the table. For the Dorians who in old time inhabited *Italie* (as it ſhould ſeeme) were wont to call ſuch an one, μνάμων. Others againe, be of opinion, that this proverbe admoniſheth and teacheth us to forget all that hath beene done and ſaid at the boord, and among our cuppes, when we

* Some were called in Latine, *Reges & Modiperatores.*

have beene mery together. Heereupon it is, that in our countrey, men commonly ſay: That both oblivion and alſo the palmar, or the plant *Ferula*, that is to ſay, Fenel-giant, be conſecrated unto *Bacchus*; which giveth us to underſtand, that the errours and faults which paſſe at the table, are either not to be remembred at all, or els deſerve to be chaſticed gently as children are. But ſeeing you alſo are of the ſame minde that *Euripides* was, namely: That howſoever

Bad things and filthie to forget,
Indeed, is counted wiſdome great,

yet the oblivion generally of all that is ſpoken at the boord and when we drinke wine, is not only repugnant to this vulgar ſaying: That the table makes many a friend; but alſo hath divers of the moſt renowmed and excellent philoſophers to beare witneſſe to the contrary, to wit, *Plato, Xenophon, Ariſtotle, Speuſippus, Epicurus, Prytanis, Hieronymus* and *Dion* the Academique, who all have thought and reputed it a thing woorth their travell, to put downe in writing, the talke that had bene held at meat & drinke in their preſence. And for that you have thought it meet, that I alſo ſhould collect and gather together the principall and moſt memorable points of learned diſcourſes, which have paſſed ſundry times and in divers places, both here and there; I meane aſwell at *Rome* among you, as alſo with us in *Greece*, when we were eating and drinking together among our friends; I ſetled my ſelfe unto it willingly; and having ſent unto you three books heretofore, conteining every one of them ten queſtions, I will ſhortly ſend you the reſt, if I may perceive that theſe which you have already, were not altogether thought unlearned, impertinent, and without good grace.

The firſt queſtion then, which I have ſet abroad, is this: Whether it be a ſeemly and decent thing, to philoſophize, that is to ſay: To ſpeake and treat of matters of learning at the table? for you may remember very well, that this queſtion being moved upon a time at *Athens* after ſupper: Whether it were befitting thoſe who are come to make good cheere, for to enter into ſpeech, or mainteine diſcourſe, as touching philoſophicall matters or no? and if it were: How far-forth it might be allowed, and within what bounds it ought to be limited? *Ariſton*, one of the company there preſent: What (quoth he) and are there any perſons indeed (tell me for the love of God) who denie philoſophers and learned men a roome at the boord? Yea mary are there (my good friend, quoth I againe) who not onely doe ſo, but alſo in good earneſt and great gravitie (after their ironicall maner) give out and ſay: That philoſophie, which is (as it were) the miſtreſſe of the houſe, ought not to be heard ſpeaking at the boord, where men are met to make merry; who commend alſo the maner of the Perſians for good and wiſe, who never would ſeeme to drinke wine merily, and untill they were drunke, nor yet to daunce with their wedded wives, but in the company of their concubines: for ſemblably, they would have us at our feaſts and banquets, to bring in muſicke, dances, plaies, maſks and counterfeit pleaſures, but in no wiſe meddle with philoſophie; as if ſhe were never meet for mirth and play, nor we at ſuch a time fit and diſpoſed for ſerious ſtudy. For even ſo the oratour *Iſocrates* (ſay they) could never be brought to make any other anſwere to thoſe that earneſtly intreated him, and were very urgent, that he ſhould make ſome good ſpeech before them, when he and they were drinking wine, but this: The time fitteth not now for thoſe matters which I profeſſe, and have ſkill in; and of ſuch things as this preſent time requireth, I am altogether unſkilfull. Then *Crato* crying out with a loud voice: Now ſo god *Bacchus* helpe me (quoth he) I con the man thanke, and commend him highly, for refuſing and (as it were) forſwearing talke at table, in caſe he meant thoſe long clauſes and tedious traines or periods of ſentences of his, wherewith he ſhould have driven away all the Graces from the feaſt. But, in my conceit, it is not all one, to baniſh from the boord an affected ſpeech or rhetorical language; & to chaſe away a philoſophical diſcourſe; for certeinly, philoſophie is a farre different thing, which being the arte profeſſing to teach us how we are to live, there is no reaſon to ſhut the doores againſt her, at any game, ſport, or pleaſant paſtime for our recreation whatſoever: for ſhe ought to ſtand by, and be preſent at all, for to inſtruct us what time, what meaſure and meane we ſhould obſerve: unleſſe by the ſame rule, we will ſay, that we muſt not admit to our feaſts, either Juſtice or Temperance, or other vertues, as ſcorning and ſcoffing (forſooth) their venerable gravitie. Now, if we were to eat and drinke ſome where in a ſolemne judiciall hall or publike place of juſtice, as the maner is of thoſe who feaſted *Oreſtes*, and enterteined him with all ſilence; ſomewhat it were, and peradventure it might ſerve for ſome pretenſe or excuſe (though the ſame were but an untoward and unhappie precedent) to colour and cloake our ignorance and incivilitie: but in caſe, *Bacchus* be by right ſurnamed *Lyſius* or *Lydius*, that is to ſay, the Deliverer and Setter-free of all things, and principally of the tongue, from which it taketh away the bit and bridle,giving all libertie to the voice; I ſuppoſe it were meere folly and ſottiſhneſſe indeed, to deprive that time (which commonly is moſt talkative and fulleſt of words)of the beſt ſpeeches and moſt fruitfull diſcourſes: It were abſurd (I ſay) to diſpute in ſchoole, what duties are to be obſerved at a feaſt; what is the office of a gueſt; how a man ſhould be have himſelfe at the table; & in what ſort he ought to drinke wine; and then afterwards wholly bereave all banquets and feaſts of philoſophy, as if ſhe were not able to confirme that by deed, which ſhe preſcribeth and teacheth in word. And when thereupon, you inferred and ſaid: That it was unmeet and bootleſſe to goe about for to contradict *Crato* in theſe points, but it behooved rather to ſtudie what limits to appoint, and what preſcript forme to ſet downe of philoſophicall diſcourſes at the table, to avoid that jeſt (which uſually and not unpleaſantly is caſt foorth at them, who are given litigiouſly to cavill, argue and diſpute, when they ſhould eat) taken out of this verſe of *Homer*:

For this time now to ſupper goe yee,
That ſoone twixt us a combat may bee.

and with all exhorted and animated me to ſpeake mine advice, I entred into ſpeech and ſaid: That firſt and formoſt I thought it a point eſpecially to be conſidered,what manner of perſons are meet at a feaſt, and what the company is? for if there be more in number of learned men than of others at the boord, ſuch as the table was of *Agathon*, of *Socrates*, of *Phædrus*, *Pauſanias*, *Eryximachus*, *Calhias Charmidas*, *Antiſthenes*, *Hermogenes* and others like unto them, ſuffer them we will to have philoſophicall talke, tempering and mixing *Bacchus*, (that is to ſaie wine) no leſſe with the muſes than with the Nymphes,(that is to ſay waters;) for that, as theſe make him to enter and goe downe into the bodie milde and gentle; ſo the other may cauſe him to be as kinde, curteous, and acceptable to the minde. For if ſo bee there are ſome few ignorant and unlettered perſons, among many learned and ſkilfull clearks, yet will they like unto mute letters, and conſonants betweene vowels, participate with them in a kinde of voice,not altogether inarticulate and unſignificant, yea,and learne ſomewhat by thoſe meanes,of their ſkill and knowledge: but ſay there be a ſort of rude gueſts, ſuch as can abide to heare either the crowing and ſinging of any bird whatſoever, or the ſound of any ſtring or piece of wood, it ſkils not what it be, rather than the toong of a philoſopher: then were it good to practiſe that which *Piſiſtratus* did; who being at ſome debate and difference with his owne children, and perceiving that his enemies were well enough contented therewith, and laughed thereat in their ſleeves; called a ſolemne aſſemblie, wherein hee delivered this ſpeech unto the people: That deſirous he had beene indeed to have drawen his children to his owne opinion, but ſince it would not be, and ſeeing how obſtinate they were bent, he meant to be ruled by them, and to follow their minde; even ſo a learned man and a philoſopher being matched with other gueſts, that have no liſt at all to give eare unto his ſage ſawes and wiſe words, will raunge himſelfe to their ſide, and change his owne conceit, he will I ſay, daunce after their pipe, and take pleaſure in their paſtimes, ſo long as they exceed not the bounds of honeſtie and civilitie; as knowing thus much: That men cannot ſhew and exerciſe their eloquence but in ſpeaking, but they may declare and practiſe their philophie even in ſilence and ſaying nothing; yea, and in ſporting themſelves with others, giving and taking pretie ſcoffes interchangeably. For it is not onely a point (as *Plato* ſaith,) of extreme injuſtice, when a man is unjuſt, to make a ſemblance and ſhew of juſtice,but alſo a kind of ſoveraigne &principal wiſdome to philoſophie,& yet to ſeeme no philoſopher,& by way of game & mirth,to doe the ſerious offices of thoſe that are in good earneſt,ſtudious: for like as the frantike women in *Euripides* called *Bacchæ*, without armes or any weapon of iron and ſteele, onely ſmiting with their little javelits or ferula-ſtems, wounded thoſe that ſet upon them; even ſo the pleaſant words of true philoſophers indeed, caſt out by way of jeſt, yea,and the very laughters of wiſe men are able to moove and correct in ſome ſort, ſuch as are not altogether incorrigible, nor ſo hard as nothing will pierce and enter into them. Moreover,I ſuppoſe there be certeine narrations fit to be related at a feaſt where men are aſſembled,whereof ſome be drawen out of written hiſtories, others, preſent occaſions and occurrences do daily yeeld, and thoſe conteine examples to incite and provoke men partly to the ſtudy of philoſophie,and in part to pietie,religion & devotion toward the gods: ſome induce us to imitate generous & magnanimous acts, others ingender a fervent zeale to performe the works of bountie and humanitie: which precedents, he that can cloſely and with dexterity uſe as documents and inſtructions to thoſe that be drinking with them, ſo as they perceive him not, ſhall diſcharge the time which they drinke, of many vices, and thoſe not the leaſt, which are imputed unto it: ſome there be, who put leaves of burrage into their wine, others beſprinkle the floores and pavements of parlours and dining-chambers with water, wherein they have infuſed or ſteeped the herbes vervain & maiden-haire; having an opinion, that theſe devices procure ſome joy and mirth in the hearts of thoſe who are at a feaſt; and all to imitate ladie *Helene,* who, as *Homer* reporteth, with certaine ſpices and drougues that ſhe had medicined and charmed (as it were) the wine that her gueſts ſhould drinke; but they doe not perceive, that this tale being fetched from as farre as *Aegypt,* after a great way and and long circuit, endeth at the laſt in honeſt diſcourſes, fitted and accommodated to time and place: for that the ſaid *Helene* recounteth unto them as they drunke with her at the table, the travels of noble *Ulyſſes,* and namely,

> *What things this valiant knight had done,*
> *and what he had indured;*
> *What wrongs alſo he wrought himſelfe,*
> *to which he was inured;*

For this was that *Nepenthes* (if I be not deceived) a medicine which diſcuſſeth and charmeth al ſorrow and paine, even a diſcreet ſpeech, framed aptly and in ſeaſon to the affections and occaſions which are preſented: but men conſiderate, well adviſed, and of good judgement, howſoever they may ſeeme to deale in philoſophie, yet they carrie their words, and place them ſo, that they are effectuall, rather by a gentle way of perſwaſion, than by force and violence of demonſtration. For thus you ſee how *Plato* alſo (in the treatiſe called, *His banquet*; where hee diſcourſeth of the finall end of humane actions, of the ſoveraigne good of man, and in one word, treateth of God and heavenly matters, like a divine and theologian) doth not enforce and ſtretch the proofe of his demonſtration, nor beſtrew and powder as it were with duſt his adverſarie, according to his wonted manner, otherwiſe to take ſurer hold, that hee might not poſſibly ſtruggle out of his hands; but induceth and draweth on the hearers his gueſts, by a weaker kinde of arguments and ſuppoſitions, by pretie examples, and pleaſant fictions. Moreover, the very queſtions and matters at ſuch a time and place propounded, & not only their reaſons, ought to be ſomewhat eaſie, the problemes and propſitions plaine and familiar; the interrogations alſo and demaunds probable, and carying a reſemblance of truth, and nothing darke or intricate; leſt they doe perſtringe and dazzle their eies, who are not quicke ſighted, ſuffocate ſuch as are but weake ſpirited, and in one word, turne them cleane away, who are but ſhallow witted and of a meane conceit. For like as there is a cuſtome allowable, to remoove and ſtirre (when a man will) the gueſts at a feaſt, by urging them either to daunce alone, or in a ring; but he that ſhould force them to riſe from the table, for to put on armour and fight in complet harneis, or to fling the barre, or caſt a ſledge, doth not onely make the feaſt unpleaſant and nothing acceptable to his gueſts, but alſo hurtfull unto them; even ſo, eaſie and light queſtions, exerciſe mens ſpirits handſomly, and with great fruite and commoditie; but we muſt reject and baniſh all diſputations of matters litigious, intricate, and ſnarled (as *Democritus* ſaith) to wit, knottie queſtions & hard to be undone, ſuch as both buſie themſelves, who propoſe them, and trouble thoſe that heare them. For thus it ought to be, that as the wine is all one and common throughout the table; ſo the queſtions propounded at a feaſt or banquet, to be talked of, ſhould be intelligible unto all, for otherwiſe, they who broch matters ſo darke and myſticall, were as unreaſonable, and ſhould have as little regard of the common benefit of their company, as the crane, and fox in *Aeſops* fables, had one of the others good. For the fox having invited the crane to dinner, ſet before her a good meſſe of fattie broth, of beanes and peaſe, which he had powred upon a broad ſhallow ſtone veſſell, in ſuch ſort, as the poore crane was made a foole and laughing-ſtocke by this meanes, for that with her long and ſmall bill ſhe could get none of it up, but it went ſtill beſides, it was ſo thinne and glibbe withall: the crane againe, becauſe ſhe would be quit and meet with the fox, bad him to dinner, and preſented unto him good victuals within a bottle, that had a long and narrow necke, at which ſhe her-ſelfe could eaſily convey & thruſt her bill to the very bottome; but Reinard was not able to take out his part with her; even ſo, when learned men at a table plunge and drowne themſelves (as it were) in ſubtile problemes and queſtions interlaced with logicke, which the vulgar ſort are not able for their lives to comprehend and conceive; whiles they alſo againe for their part come in with their fooliſh ſongs, and vaine ballads, of *Robin-hood* and little *John,* telling tales of a tubbe, or of a roaſted horſe and ſuch like; enter into talke of their trafficke and merchandiſe, of their markets and ſuch mechanicall matters; certes all the fruite and end of ſuch an aſſemblie at a

feaſt

eaſt is utterly loſt, and were injurie done to god *Bacchus*: for like as when *Phrynicus* & *Aeſchylus* firſt brought a tragedie (which at the beginning was a ſolemne ſong, in the honour of *Bacchus*) to fables and narrations patheticall, aroſe this proverbe: And what is all this I pray you to *Bacchus*? even ſo it comes many times into my minde to ſay thus unto one that draweth by head and ſhoulders into a feaſt, that ſophiſticall and maſterfull ſyllogiſme called Κυριεύων. My good friend, what is this to *Bacchus*? Haply there is ſome one who ſingeth certain of theſe ordinarie ſongs at feaſts, called* *Scotia*, as a man would ſay oblique or crooked, when the great ſtanding cuppe of wine is ſet in the middes of the table before all the company, and the chaplets of flowers divided & dealt among the gueſts, which that god *Bacchus* putteth upon our heads, to ſignifie, that hee giveth us all liberty: but ſurely this is neither good nor honeſt, ne yet beſeeming that freedome which ſhould bee at feaſtes, howſoever ſome ſay, that thoſe ſonnets are not darkly compoſed, as the word *Scotia* ſeemeth to implie, which ſignifieth crooked; but that they tooke the name, becauſe in old time the gueſts, at firſt ſung altogether with one voice and accord, one ſong in the praiſe of *Bacchus*, and afterwards every one in his turne chanted another apart; giving one to another in order from hand to hand, a branch or garland of a myrtle tree; which I ſuppoſe they called * *Aſaron*; for that he who tooke the ſaid branch was to ſing in his courſe: and to the ſame purpoſe, a lute there was, or an harpe that went round about the table; and looke who could skill to play upon it, tooke it in hand and ſung thereto in meaſures; but thoſe who had no knowledge at all in muſicke, and refuſed the ſaid inſtrument, gave occaſion of the name *Scotion*, becauſe ſuch maner of ſinging was not common or eaſie unto all: others there be who ſay: That the ſaid branch of myrtle went not round about to all the gueſts in order, but paſſed from table to table, or from bedde to bedde; for when he that ſat formoſt at the firſt table, had ſung, he ſent it to the principall or firſt man of the ſecond, and he to the chiefe perſon of the third; and ſo conſequently, the ſecond did by the ſecond; by reaſon whereof, and in regard of this croſſe and overthwart varietie in the oblique revolution thereof, the ſong was called *Scotion*.

*Some thinke they were ſo called, κατ' ἀντίφρασιν. that is to ſay, by the contrary: for that they were plaine and eaſie.

* Or rather *Aſachon.* ὅτι ἔδει ᾆσαι τὸν ἔχοντα.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether the maſter of the feaſt ought himſelfe to aſſigne unto every gueſt his place, or ſuffer them to ſit as they will themſelves?

MY brother *Timon* having upon a time invited many perſons to a feaſt, willed every one of them as he entred in, to take his place, and ſit where he thought good himſelfe, for that there were among them, ſtrangers, citizens, neighbours, familiars, friends, and kinsfolke, and in one word, all that were bidden were not one mans children, but a medley and mixt number of all ſorts and conditions. Now, when as they were for the moſt part, come already, and had taken their places, a certeine ſtranger well appointed, like an amourous gallant in ſome comedie, all in his purple, exceſſive otherwiſe in curious and coſtly apparrel, attended beſide, with a traine of lacquies and pages following at his heeles; and in one word, better guarded than regarded, came to the doore of the hall or dining-chamber, who after he had caſt his eie round about, and viewed all the companie how they ſat at the table, would not enter in, but flung away immediatly, and ſtayed not. Many there were who ranne after him, requeſting him to returne and beare them company; but in no wiſe would hee, ſaying. That he ſaw never a place left, woorthy his perſon: which when they who were ſet already, underſtood, (and many of them had taken their drinke well, and had in maner their full load) they being right glad, tooke up a great laughter, and with this note:

> *Now farewell he, ſince needs he will be gone,*
> *Better his roome, than company (quoth ech one.)*

but after that ſupper was done, my father addreſſing his ſpeech unto me who ſat a great way off: *Timon* and I (quoth he) have choſen thee for a judge, to decide a matter of ſome queſtion and difference betweene us: for I blamed and reprooved him a pretie while ſince, about this ſtranger; for if at the firſt, he had ordered the matter well, according as I would have had him, and beſtowed every man in his owne place, we ſhould not have bene condemned for our overſight and diſorder in this behalfe, eſpecially by ſuch a perſon who hath the skill

> *Horſemen to range in comely battell ray,*
> *And targatiers on foot, to leade the way.*

For it is reported that *Paulus Aemilius* (him I meane, that defaited *Perſeus* king of *Macedonie*, after that glorious victory)made many great and magnificent feaſts; wherein (beſides the wonderfull furniture and proviſion that he ordeined) he obſerved in all points a ſingular order & diſpoſe,ſaying: That to one & the ſame man belonged the knowledge,aſwel how to ſet out a moſt friendly and merry feaſt,as to range a moſt terrible battell; for both the one and the other required great diſcretion and good order: which was the reaſon that *Homer* the poet was wont (when he ſpake of right valiant warrious and moſt roial perſonages, deſerving beſt the higheſt place of command) to tearme them κοσμήτορας λαῶν.that is to ſay,the diſpoſers and ſetters of the people in order. Yea, and you that are philoſophers, doubt not to ſay and affirme: That the great God of heaven (in making and creating the world) did nothing but change diſorder into good order, without putting to or taking away ought that was before, by diſpoſing and ſetting every thing in place,meet and convenient; and ſo,by giving a moſt beautifull forme to that confuſed maſſe or Chaos in nature,which had no forme at all,wrought this admirable piece of worke,which we call the World. As for theſe great & high points indeed of doctrine,we learn them of you; but we our ſelves are able to ſee and obſerve thus much; that how ſumptuous ſoever a feaſt be otherwiſe, yet if it want good order, there is no grace or pleaſure at all in it. A very ridiculous thing it is therefore, and a meere mockerie, that cooks, clearks of the kitchin,and ſewers,ſhould be ſo carefull what diſhes ought to be ſerved firſt, ſecond, in the middle, or in the laſt place; yea, and (beleeve me) to looke unto it very diligently, that there be a convenient place ordeined for perfumes and ſweet odours,when they are to be brought in; for chaplets alſo,and garlands,that are to be diſtributed & dealt about; and laſt of all, for a minſtrell wench (if any be there) to ſing & play,where ſhe may be beſt heard; & in the mean while the maſter of the feaſt,ſuffer thoſe who are bidden to all this, for to ſit pell-mell at the table at a venture, as if they came onely to fill and cram their bellies, without giving (either to age,or to dignity, or to any matter of like qualitie) that ranke and order which is fit,decent,& meet for every one: in the keeping of which diſcretion, the beſt man in the place hath his due honor in ſitting higheſt; he that is ſecond & inferior, is by uſe and cuſtome acquainted and well contented to ſit accordingly; and the huiſher, who hath the ordering of the matter, is well exerciſed, to diſtinguiſh and judge that, which is befitting every one according to his eſtate and degree. For it can not ſtand with any reaſon, that in the Counſell-houſe there ſhould be a place knowen, either of ſitting or ſtanding, more or leſſe honourable, according to the quality and dignity of the perſon; and that for ſetting men at the table,there ſhould be the like order obſerved. And is it meet, that the hoſt or maſter of the feaſt ſhould drinke to one before another, and yet have no regard at the firſt,in placing of his gueſts? putting no difference nor obſerving any diſtinction at all? making of a feaſt, even in the verie beginning,one *myconos* (as they ſay in the common proverbe)which is as much as a miſh-maſh and confuſed mingle-mangle of all. And thus much of the reaſons and allegations of my father,for his plea. But *Timon* my brother, on the contrary ſide,anſwered: That he was not wiſer than ſage *Bias*; and conſidering, that he refuſed alwaies to be arbitratour or umpire betweene two of his owne friends, though they requeſted him; why ſhould himſelfe become a judge at once, among ſo many kinſefolke and friends, yea, and other perſons beſides? eſpecially, where the queſtion is not about money and goods,but as touching preeminence and ſuperiority; as if he had ſent for them all, not to be merry and make good cheere, but to diſquiet them, and ſet them out one with another, who were good friends before? For if (quoth he) *Menelaus* in olde time,committed one great abſurdity,inſomuch as there grew upon it, a proverbe and by-word, in that he intruded himſelfe unſent for, into the counſell of *Agamemnon*? far greater reaſon there is, that he ſhould be thought more abſurd, who conſtituteth and maketh himſelfe, of a courteous hoſt and civill maſter of a feaſt, an auſtere judge and preciſe cenſurer of thoſe that require no ſuch matter,nor willingly deſire, that one ſhould determine and judge of them, who is the better man or the worſe; ſeeing they are not cited peremptorily to a judiciall court for triall of a controverſie,but invited friendly to a good ſupper,for to mak merry? Over and beſides,no eaſie matter it is, to make diſtinction aright; for that ſome go before in age, others, in degree of kinred and linage; and therefore,he that ſhould take ſuch a taske or charge in hand, ought evermore to be ſtudying upon the degrees of compariſon, or els of the argument in logicke, *A comparatis*, that is to ſay, drawen from compariſon; and to have alwaies in his hand, either the Topiques of *Ariſtotle*, or els the Precedences of *Thraſymachus*,a booke which he entituleth *Hyperbollontes*, wherein a man ſhould doe no good at all; but contrariwiſe much harme, by transferring the vain-glorie about higher place, from judiciall courts, common halles and theaters,

ters, to ſitting at feaſts; and when he hath endevored to abate and repreſſe other paſſions of the ſoule by good fellowſhip and company-keeping, now ſtirre up and ſet on foot, pride and arrogance; of which in mine advice, we ought to ſtudie more for to cleanſe our ſoules, than to waſh and ſcoure away the dirt and filth from our feet: to the end that wee may converſe familiarly and fellowlike at the table, with all mirth and ſingleneſſe of heart. But now, when we goe about and do what we can with one hand, to take away from our gueſts all rancor and enmitie, bred either upon anger, or ſome worldly affaires that they have had together, in making them eat at one table, and drinke one to another, wee doe as much as lies in us, with the other hand to fret an old ſore, and kindle a new fire of grudge and malice by ambition, in debaſing one, and exalting another: but if withall, according to the preference which wee have made in the placing of them, we take the cuppe alſo and drinke oftner, or ſet better meat and daintier diſhes to ſome than to others; if I ſay we make more of this man than of that, cheere one up, and ſpeake unto him after a more familiar manner than to another; ſurely, in ſtead of a feaſt of friends and familiars, it will be a ſtately aſſembly altogether of lords and potentates. But if in all things elſe we are carefull and preciſe in our feaſts, to obſerve and maintaine equalitie of perſons; why beginne we not at the firſt, in the placing of our gueſts, to accuſtome and acquaint them for to range themſelves, and take their ſeats ſimply and familiarly one with another? conſidering at the firſt entrance into the hall or great chamber, they ſee that they were nor ſummoned ariſtocratically to a ſenate houſe of lords and great States, but invited democratically and after a popular manner to ſupper, where the pooreſt may take his place with the richeſt, like as in the ſtate of a citie and common-wealth, called Democratie. After theſe oppoſite reaſons were alledged, and that all the company there preſent demaunded my ſentence, I ſaid: That taking my ſelfe choſen as an arbitrator, and not as a judge, I would deale indifferently, and with an equall hand in the middle betweene both: As for thoſe (quoth I) who feaſt yoong men their equals, all friends and of familiar acquaintance, they ought to accuſtome them (as *Timon* ſaith) to carie themſelves ſo void of pride and arrogance, that they may take contentment in any place whatſoever that falleth out unto them; and to think this facilitie & ſingleneſſe of heart, to be a ſingular meanes and proviſion for the feeding and nouriſhing of amity: but in caſe the queſtion be of enterteining ſtrangers, or worſhipfull perſonages of high calling & great place in common-weale, or of elder perſons; I feare me, that as wee ſhut out at one dore in the forefront pride and arrogance, ſo we let it in at another backe-gate behinde, by our indifference and making no diſtinction. Heerein therefore we ought to give ſomewhat unto uſe and cuſtome, or elſe we muſt altogether forbeare all manner of cheering up, drinking to, and ſaluting of our gueſts, which faſhions we uſe not without judgement and diſcretion hand over head, to ſuch as we meet with or ſee firſt; but with as great regard and reſpect as we can, honoring them according to their woorth and qualitie:

With higheſt place, with viands of the beſt,
With moſt cups full, and thoſe not of the leſt.

as ſaid *Agamemnon* that great king of the Greeks, putting as you ſee the ſeat in the firſt and cheefe place of honor. We commend alſo king *Alcinous*, for that he placed the ſtranger who came in, next unto himſelfe,

And cauſ'd his ſonne Laodama,
a gallant, for that gueſt
To riſe, who cloſe to father ſat,
and whom he loved beſt.

For to diſplace a beſt beloved ſonne, and in his roome to ſet an humble ſuppliant, was a ſingular example of rare courteſie, and humanitie. And verily the gods themſelves doe obſerve this diſtinction of place, and of ſitting: for *Neptune* although he came laſt into the aſſemblie of the gods in counſell,

Yet tooke his owne place for all that,
And in the mids of them he ſat.

as being the ſeat which of right apperteined unto him. And *Minerva* ſeemeth alwaies to challenge as proper and peculiar to her above all others, the very next place to *Jupiter*: which the poet *Homer* doth after a ſort covertly inſinuate unto us, ſpeaking of dame *Thetis* in this maner:

By Jupiter *ſhe ſat, of ſpeciall grace*
And favour; For Minerva *gave her place.*

But *Pindarus* ſignifieth as much in expreſſe tearmes when he ſaith:

To lightning next that flaſheth fire
Sat Pallas, *cloſe unto her ſire.*

Howbeit, *Timon* ſaid: That we ought not to take from others, for to gratifie and pleaſure one; and take he doth away, who maketh that vulgar and common, which by right is proper; & proper there is nothing, more than that which is meet and befitting the dignitie of each perſon: moreover, in giving that ſuperioritie and preeminence to running faſt, and making moſt haſte, which is done unto vertue, kinred, magiſtracie, and ſuch other qualities, in ſeeming to avoid the opinion of being odious or offenſive, to his bidden gueſts, he draweth upon himſelf, ſo much more trouble and heart-burning of others; for he offendeth them in depriving everie one of that honour which he deſerveth, or is woont to have. For mine owne part, I doe not thinke it ſo hard a piece of worke to make this diſtinction, as hee would have it to be: for firſt and formoſt, it is not ordinarie nor often ſeene, that many men of like degree and dignitie, are bidden to one and the ſame feaſt; beſides, being as there are, many honorable places, a man of judgement and diſcretion, hath good meanes to diſpoſe of them accordingly, among manie, if there be occaſion: for one of them he may content in ſetting him higheſt and above the reſt; another he may pleaſe with a place in the middeſt; to one he may doe the favour, as to ſet him next unto himſelfe; another he may gratifie by placing him cloſe to ſome friend or familiar of his, or elſe faſt by his maſter and teacher: in this order, I ſay, he may ſatisfie many of them who ſeeme to be of better reputation, in diſtributing the places alſo which are of more reſpect among them; as for the reſt, I leave them meanes alſo for their contentment; namely certeine gifts, favors, curteſies, and kindneſſes, which may in ſome ſort make amends for the want of ſome honorable place. But ſay, that their deſerts and dignities be hard to be diſtinguiſhed, or the perſons themſelves not eaſie to be pleaſed; marke what a device I have in ſuch a caſe to ſerve the turne: My father (if he be preſent) I take by the hand, and ſet him in the moſt honourable place of all; if not, I do the ſame by my grand-ſire, my wives father, or mine uncle by the fathers ſide, or my colleague and companion in office, or els my fellow-ſenatour and brother-alderman, or ſome one of thoſe who hath ſome ſpeciall and inward prerogative above others of honour and account, with the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe, that biddeth the gueſts; taking this for a rule in the caſes borowed out of the books of *Homer*, which are preſidents of dueties, and ſhew what is beſeeming every man to do; and namely, in that place where *Achilles* ſeeing *Menelaus* and *Antilochus* debating the matter very hotly, about the ſecond prize for horſe-running, and doubting how farre-forth their anger and contention might proceed, would needs give the ſaid prize in queſtion, to a third man; pretending in word, that he tooke pitie of *Eumelus*, and that he was minded to doe him ſome honour; but indeed and trueth, it was to take away the ocaſion of difference and quarrell betweene the other two. As I was thus ſpeaking, *Lamprias*, who was ſet cloſe in an odde corner of the chamber, upon a low pallet, thundering out his words after his wonted maner, demanded of the aſſiſtance or companie, in this wiſe: My maſters, pleaſeth it you to give me leave for to reprove and rebuke a little, this ſottiſh judge here? and when everie one made anſwer, ſaying: Good leave have you, ſpeake your mind freely, & ſpare him not: And who can (quoth he) forbeare that philoſopher, who ſetteth out and diſpoſeth of the places at a feaſt, like as he would do in ſome theater, namely, according to birth and parentage, wealth and riches, eſtate and authority in common wealth? yea, and as if he ordeined the ſeats and ſitting places, for to opine or give voice in that ſolemne aſſembly of the States of *Greece*, called *Amphictyones?* to the end, that even at the very table, where as wee are met to drinke wine and be merrie, we ſhould not be rid of ambition, nor ſhake off the fooliſh deſire of glory: for ſurely, the places at a feaſt ought not to be diſtributed ſo, as reſpective to honour, but rather to the eaſe and pleaſure of the gueſts that are to ſit in them; neither is the dignity of ech one by himſelfe in his degree to be regarded, but rather, the affection, diſpoſition and habitude of the minde one to another, how they can ſort and frame together; like as our maner is to doe in ſome other things which are to meet in one common conjunction: for a good architect or maſon wil not (I trow) lay his firſt worke or forefront of the houſe, with Atticke or Lacedæmonian marble, before the Barbarian ſtone, becauſe the ſame is in ſome ſort of a noble kinde, and comming from the worthier place; neither will a cunning painter diſpoſe his richeſt and moſt coſtly colour in the principal place of his picture; nor the carpenter or ſhipwright, employ before all other timber in the ſtem of his ſhip, either the pine tree wood of *Pathmos* in *Peloponneſus*, or the cypreſſe of *Candie*: but ſo they order and diſtribute, their ſtone, their colours and their timber, that being joined and fitted well together one with another, the common worke ariſing of them all, may be more firme and ſtrong, faire and beautifull, good and commodious. And thus you ſee, God himſelfe, whom our poet *Pindarus* calleth the beſt workeman and principall artiſan, doeth not place the fire alwaies aloft, nor the earth below, but according as the uſe of bodies compounded doth require; like as *Empedocles* teſtifieth in theſe verſes:

The oiſters, murets of the ſea,
and ſhel-fiſh every one,
With maſsie coat, the tortoiſe eke
with cruſt as hard as ſtone,
And vaulted backe, which arch-wiſe he
aloft doth hollow reare,
Shew all, that heavie earth they do
above their bodies beare.

not in that place which nature ordeined for it in the firſt conſtitution and framing of the univerſall world, but in that which the compoſition of a new worke requireth: for diſorder and confuſion is bad enough in all things; but when it commeth among men, eſpecially when they are drinking and eating together, it ſheweth her badneſſe moſt of all, by inſolencie, outrages and other enormities that can not be numbred; which to foreſee and remedie, is the part of a man induſtruous, well ſeene in policie, good order and harmonie. And that is well ſaid of you (anſwered we) but why envie you to this company that ſcience of order, proportion and harmonie, and doe not communicate it unto us? Surely there is no envie at all (quoth he) in the way, in caſe ye will beleeve me and be ruled by me, in that which I doe change and alter in the order of the feaſt, like as you would be directed by *Epaminondas*, if he ſhould range a battell in good order, which before was in diſarray. We all agreed and gave him leave ſo to do: then he voiding firſt out of hall or dining-place all the boies and lackies, caſt his eie upon every one of us in the face, and ſaid: Hearken and give eare, how I meane to range and ſort you one with another; for I would advertiſe you of it before-hand, becauſe I am of this minde, that the Theban *Pammenes*, juſtly and upon good reaſon reprooved *Homer*, ſaying that he had no skill at all in * love-matters, for that he ranged together in battell thoſe who were of one and the ſame nation, and mingled ſuch as were of the ſame race, linage and bloud; whereas he ſhould have joined the lover, and the beloved, to the end that the whole battell might be incited by one ſpirit, and draw in the ſame line, as linked by a lively bond. Semblably, will I doe in this feaſt of ours, not coupling at the table, one man with another; nor matching a yoong man with a yoong man; ne yet ſetting a magiſtrate or a ruler juſt by another; no, nor two friends together: for ſurely ſuch an ordering as this, hath no life in it, no vigor and power at all, either to breed and imprint, or to nouriſh and augment the heat of mutuall benevolence and affection of one to another; but framing and applying to that which hath need, the thing that is fit and proper thereto, I would have a ſtudent to ſit next unto a learned man; a milde and gentle perſon, unto one that is hard to be pleaſed; to an old prating fellow who loves to heare himſelfe ſpeake, a youth who is deſirous to heare, I would place a boaſting and glorious bragger, with a drie childe and ſoothing companion; with a teſtie and colerike man, one who is ſilent or of few words: if I ſee a rich or mighty perſonage, and withall, bountifull and free of gift, I will fetch out of one corner or other, ſome poore honeſt body to be his next-neighbour, to the end that from him (as out of a full cup) there might overflow ſome goodneſſe, into another which is void and emptie: but I will be very wary and circumſpect, that I doe not ſort two oratours or profeſſed rhetoricians together, nor match one poet with another; for according to the proverbiall verſe:

A begger can no begger well abide,
And chanter one by another is envied.

Howſoever theſe two heere *Soſicles* and *Modeſus*, confirming in alternative courſe the ſpeeches one of another:

Blow not the coles that ready are to dy,
But juſt accord together moſt friendly.

I ſever alſo aſunder buſie and troubleſome perſons, ſuch as take one another by the throat, injurious folke, teſtie and cholericke men; interpoſing alwaies ſome milde and modeſt nature betweene, as a emolliſive of their hardneſſe, for feare they ſhould cruſh and bruſe one another: contrariwiſe, I bring together, ſuch as love wreſtling and other exerciſes of the bodie, hunters alſo, and thoſe that profeſſe husbandry: for of ſimilitudes and reſemblances, two ſorts there be; the one quarrellous and given to fight, as that of cocks; the other loving and amiable, as that of

* τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἄπειρον.

jaies or dawes. Alſo thoſe that be good companions, and can drinke well, I uſe to ſet and match cloſe together; yea and amorous folke:

Not onely thoſe who feele hot fanſies pricke
To boies, and of love maſculine are ſicke.

As *Sophocles* ſaith, but ſuch alſo as are pinched with the love of wives and maidens; for that being heat and enchaufed with the ſame fire, they will catch and take hold the ſooner one of another; like as pieces of iron that cleave and be united together, when they bee red hot; provided alwaies, that their love doe not ſettle in one place, whether it be male of female.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reaſon, that the place at the table named Conſular, is held honorable?

AFter this, there aroſe a queſtion as touching the places of ſitting at a table; for that ſome are reputed honorable in one conntrey, and ſome in another. Among the Perſians, the middle place is accounted beſt; for therein ſitteth the king: In *Greece* the firſt is held chiefe and principall: and the Romans make moſt regard of the laſt in the middle pallet or table; and this commonly is called the Conſular place; whereas contrariwiſe, certeine Greeks that inhabit the country about *Pontus*, & namely thoſe of *Heraclea*, reckon the firſt of the ſaid middle pallet, the higheſt place of honor: but we made moſt doubt of the the ſaid place called Conſular: for the ſame was in our time alſo counted honorable; but not in regard, that it was either the formoſt or the middes; and beſides, of the accidentall qualites obſerved therein, ſome were not proper and peculiar to it alone, and others ſeemed to be of no importance at all: howbeit, three reaſons alledged there were, which ſeemed ſomewhat to moove and induce us above the reſt: the firſt was this: That the conſuls having depoſed and expelled the kings of *Rome*, and chaunged all into a more popular eſtate, withdrew themſelves from the roiall place in the middes, to a lower roome, to the end, that by quitting and forgoing the place which to them apperteined, they might avoid all occaſions of making their power and authoritie odious unto thoſe that converſed with them. Secondly, that ſeeing the two firſt tables or pallets being deſtined and appointed for the gueſts invited, the third, and namely the firſt place thereof, belonged properly to him who made the feaſt; for there ſitteth he moſt commodiouſly, in manner of a coachman in a chariot, or pilot in a ſhippe; to ſee the whole order of the ſervice: neither is he farre from other tables, but that he may cheere up & welcome al the company: for, of the places nere unto him, that underneath is appointed uſually for his wife or children; and that above, ordinarily and by good right, was allowed for the moſt honorable perſonage of all them that were bidden, to the end, that he might ſit neere unto the maſter of the feaſt. Thirdly, this place ſeemed to have this propertie by it ſelfe, that it was thought commodious for ſuch as were emploied and had any affaires in hand. For the Roman conſull was nothing like unto *Archias* ſometime the captaine generall of the Thebans; who if there had beene brought unto him any letters, newes, or advertiſement of importance, in the middes of ſupper time; or if there fell out any ſerious occaſions, would cry out aloud and ſay: To morrow morning will we thinke of earneſt matters; the pacquet of letters he laid aſide, and in ſtead thereof, tooke a boule of wine in hand: the Roman conſull (I ſay) was not ſuch an one, but even at theſe times eſpecially he is moſt vigilant, and looketh circumſpectly about him, for not onely according to the common proverbe in *Aeſchylus*:

The night alwaies even to a pilot wiſe
Breeds wo, for feare leſt tempeſts ſhould ariſe.

But alſo amidde all pleaſures, feaſts, and paſtimes, is is requiſite in a wiſe captaine, and man of government, that he alwaies ſtand upon his guard, and carrie a watchfull eie about him; to the end therefore that he might evermore be ready to underſtand all occurrents, to command alſo, direct, ſigne., or ſubſcribe if need required: this place was allotted unto him of purpoſe above the reſt: wherein, by reaſon that the ſecond table ſtood cloſe joined to the firſt, the corner within the turning, leaveth a ſpace open, or void diſtance, giveth roome and meanes very handſomely for a ſecretary, a notarie, a ſergeant, or apparitar, a pencioner, or one of the guard, yea & to any meſſenger or purſevant comming from the campe, to approch neere unto the conſull, to declare his meſſage, to aske any queſtion, or to commune & confer with him, & that without troubling any body, or being moleſted by any perſon there met at the feaſt or banquet: for both his hand is his owne and at commaund, and alſo his voice at liberty, to ſay and doe whatſoever he would.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What manner of man he ought to be, who is choſen maſter of the feaſt?

CRato my ſonne in law, and *Theon* our familiar friend, being with us at a certeine feaſt, where there beganne ſome miſrule and diſorder, upon large drinking of wine, which notwithſtanding was ſoone appeaſed, tooke occaſion thereby, to ſpeake of the maſterie and preſidency of ſuch feaſts obſerved in old time, being of this opinion, and ſaying (withall to me) That I ought to weare a chaplet of flowers on my head, and not ſuffer the auncient cuſtome of creating a king or governour of the feaſt, who is to give order in all things, and to ſee there bee no miſrule, by diſuſe and diſcontinuance to be utterly neglected and aboliſhed; but rather that I ought to bring that laudable order up againe, and put it in practiſe. Of the ſame minde was the whole company, and liked very well of the motion; inſomuch as they all with a loud voice and one accord, requeſted me to take the thing upon me: Seeing then (quoth I) that you be all of this minde, I am content to chuſe my ſelfe preſident, and maſter of this feaſt: and heere to beginne withall, I give commaundement to all the reſt, that for this preſent they drinke at their owne diſcretion, and as it pleaſeth themſelves: as for *Crato* and *Theon*, who were the firſt that ſet this matter on foot, I will by vertue of my office and place, enjoine them ſummarily and in few words, to declare heere before us, what manner of perſon ought to bee choſen for the preſident, and maſter of ſuch a feaſt, and what he muſt aime at, when he is elected; as alſo how he is to carry himſelfe towards thoſe who have made choice of him; and this charge I laie upon them two, permitting them to divide it betweene them, and to handle it according to their good diſcretion. At the firſt, they made ſome ſemblance of refuſal, praying me to hold them excuſed: howbeit when they ſaw the whole company crying upon them for to obey the preſident; *Crato* began firſt & ſaid: That as the captaine of the guard or watch, ought himſelfe eſpecially to be a moſt diligent & vigilant warder, according to the ſaying of *Plato*; even ſo ſhould he who hath the command of gueſts met together for to make merrie, be himſelfe of all other a right good fellow, and a cheerefull companion; and ſuch an one he ſhall be, in caſe hee be neither one that will quickly be cup-ſhotten, and overſeene with wine; nor yet untoward and unwilling to drinke liberally; much like as *Cyrus* wrote ſometime unto the Lacedæmonians: That as in al other points he was more woorthy to be a king than his brother; ſo in this reſpect eſpecially, that he would take his wine in greater meaſure, and beare the ſame better than he: for hee that will bee ſoone drunke, groweth inſolent, unſeemely, and outragious in his drunkenneſſe: and he againe, who is too too ſober, and abſtinent altogether, becommeth unpleaſant and unſociable, meeter indeed to be a ſchoole-maſter, and to have the bringing up of boies, than a preſident of a feaſt, to order gueſts. *Pericles*, ſo oft as he was choſen captaine generall of the Athenians; no ſooner put on his mantle of eſtate, and was ready to ſet forward, but before any thing elſe, uſed thus to ſay unto himſelfe, as it were to refreſh his memorie by way of admonition: Looke about thee now *Pericles*; thou haſt the commaund of free men; thou commaundeſt now the Greeks; nay thou art commaunder of the Athenians; even ſo ſhould our maſter of a feaſt reaſon thus within himſelfe: Thou haſt the rule now of friends; to the end that he neither permit them to doe any unſeemely or diſhoneſt thing; nor bereave them of their delights and pleaſures; for as he ought to be friendly affected unto them in their ſerious occaſions, ſo he muſt be no enemie to their ſports and paſtimes, but framed indifferently, and as it were well tempered for the one and the other; & yet by his naturall diſpoſition, he ſhould, like good wine, be ſomwhat more inclined unto a kind of hardneſſe or auſteritie: for by this meanes the wine which he drinketh, will reduce his maners and behavior to a meane or mediocrity, by moiſtning as it were and ſoftning it, that it may be more gentle and pliable: for as *Xenephon* ſaid: That the ſadde cheere, heavy and ruſticall ſeveritie otherwiſe of *Clearchus*, ſeemed to be more lightſome and pleaſant in battel and conflict, by reaſon of his reſolute confidence; even ſo, he who is by nature not bitter nor crabbed, but onely grave and ſevere, by drinking, becommeth more remiſſe, and not ſo ſtraight laced; and by that meanes more lovely and amiable alſo. And thus much of his owne perſon.

Moreover, he ought above all things, to know by experience, every one of the gueſts: what alteration there is wrought in them by drinking? into what accidents or paſſions they bee ready to fall; and how they can beare ſtrong wine? for wee are not to thinke, but if there bee a proper temperature and ſeverall mixture with water fit for every ſort of wine; which kings taſters, and cup-bearers know well inough, and in that regard can diſcerne and diſtinguiſh, when they are to uſe more or leſſe water to the delaying of wines; there is more reaſon that there ſhould be a temperature likewiſe of man and wine, which our maſter or preſident of a feaſt ought to know, and when he knoweth it, to obſerve; that like an expert muſician, by ſtretching as it were & ſetting up one, a note higher, in making him to drinke largely, and letting downe another by cauſing him as much to ſpare, he may bring and reduce different natures unto an uniforme equalitie & conſonance, not meaſuring the ſame by waight & meaſure, pintes or quarts, nor by ſo many cups or glaſſes, but going by a certeine rule of time and age, as alſo by the ſtrength of the bodie, giving to each one that which is meet and convenient. Now if peradventure this ſeeme an hard piece of worke, namely, to know al theſe particularities; yet meet it is at leaſtwiſe that he ſhould be skilful in generalitie, as touching ſeverall complexions & ages: as for example; that old folke are ſooner and more eaſily made drunke than yoong perſons; thoſe that be ſtirring and in continuall motion, rather than ſuch as be in repoſe and reſt; ſadde, heavie, penſive, and melancholike men, more than thoſe who are jocund and merry; laſtly, thoſe who are chaſte, or uſe women modeſtly, much more than ſuch as be diſſolute or exceſſively given that way. He that is thus farre foorth acquainted with theſe circumſtances, may be a meeter and fitter perſon a great deale to mainteine decencie, order, and agreement at a feaſt, than he who is ignorant therein. Furthermore, what is he who knoweth not very well, that the maſter of a feaſt ought to be well affected, and to carrie a loving minde unto all thoſe who are invited to a feaſt; to carrie neither open malice, nor ſecret grudge to any one of them: for otherwiſe, if he commaundeth ought, it will not be well taken; if hee diſtribute and deale amongſt them, he ſhall not be thought equall and indifferent; laſt of all, if he be diſpoſed to mirth and jolitie, he ſhall hardly eſcape a rebuke and blame. Lo, *Theon*, what maner of preſident and maſter (quoth *Crato*) I have framed unto you by words, as if he were wrought out of waxe, and him I deliver into your hands. Then anſwered *Theon*: And I receive him from you ſo much the rather, as one ſhaped and faſhioned indeed for a right governour of a feaſt, and a good companion beſides: but whether I ſhall ever uſe him or no, or whether in ſo doing I ſhall ſhame my ſelfe; I wot not: howbeit, this I am aſſured of, that if hee be ſuch an one as you have deſcribed, he will know how to order & governe a feaſt, & not ſuffer that one while it ſeeme a ſolemn aſſembly of a citie, another while a ſchoole of rhetoricke, now a knot of dice-plaiers or cheaters met together, and anon a ſcaffold forſooth for dauncers and ſingers, or a ſtage for plaiers and commedians: this I ſay, for that you ſee ordinarily ſome making orations, and pleading at the table, as it were in the court, or at the barre before judges; others exerciſing themſelves how to ſpeake in publike, or elſe rehearſing and reading certeine of their owne compoſitions; and others againe taking upon them like judges of dauncers and ſtage plaiers, who doe beſt for to winne the priſe; and yet this is not the worſt: for *Alcibiades* and *Theodorus* made of *Politions* feaſt, a very place of divine miſteries, repreſenting there the ſolemne carying of torches and other ceremonies, at the ſhewing of ſome ſacred reliques; which I would not have a good maſter and preſident of a feaſt to be ſo careleſſe as to abide; but to allow place and time for ſuch talke, ſuch ſpectacles, ſights, plaies, and paſtimes onely, which tend to that end for which feaſts be made; that is to ſay, to breed and augment amitie betweene them that are preſent, by the meanes of the delight they take in eating together; for that in truth, a feaſt is nothing elſe but a pleaſant recreation at the table, aiming at this marke, to contract friendſhip by the entercourſe of mutuall drinking one to the other.

But foraſmuch as in all things, varietie is very pleaſing, and nature joieth in nothing more than in diverſitie and change; but contrariwiſe, a ſimple uniformity alwaies, one and the ſame, is hurtfull, and bringeth tediousneſſe with it incontinently; whereas the mixture of divers things applied in time and place with meaſure, taketh that away which is offenſive to pleaſure, and hurtfull to profit: therefore the maſter of a feaſt muſt deviſe for his gueſts, and exhibit unto them ſome mixed ſport to paſſe away the time whiles they be drinking. I have heard many men ſay, that to walke by the ſea ſide, as alſo to ſaile along the ſhore, is moſt pleaſant; and even ſo a man muſt joine alwaies ſport with ſerious affaires, and profit with pleaſure, to the end that thoſe who play, may in ſome ſort be in good earneſt; and likewiſe, when they be buſie in ſerious matters, find ſome recreation; like as thoſe who are ſea-ſicke, and ready ever & anon to caſt up their ſtomacke, recover their ſpirits and are revived, when they ſee how they be neere the land; even ſo a man may profit in mirth and laughter; he may likewiſe laugh and be merry in profit, and make his ſerious affaires pleaſant enough; for as the old proverbe goeth:

With calthrop thiſtles, and among the pricky reſt-harrow,
The violets and ſoft walflowers are alwaies wont to grow.

But as for all other ſports & plaies, which without any profit at al, leape impudently into feaſts, he ſhall command his gueſts expreſly, to forbeare, leſt ere they be aware, they become outragious and furious, like as thoſe who have taken the juice of henbane: they alſo abuſe their power, & go too far in their commandements, (for ſo they be called at the wine) who enjoine ſtutters, ſtammerers and maſflers to ſing, or bald-pates to kembe their heads, or lame creeples to go upright on their feet without halting. Thus upon a time at a certeine merry meeting and feaſt, where *Agameſor* the Academicke philoſopher was, who had a withered legge, and nothing left thereof but skin and bone, all the company (by way of mockerie) inſulted upon him, and made a law among themſelves, that they ſhould ſtand all upon their right leg, and every one drinke his boule of wine, or els pay a certeine piece of money, as a forfeiture: now when it came to *Agameſors* turne, by right to command, he charged them all to drinke in that ſort and maner, as they ſaw him to drinke: then called hee for an emptie earthen pitcher with a narrow mouth, to be brought into the place; into which when he had thruſt his poore conſumed legge aforeſaid, he drunke up his cup of wine; and when all the reſt had aſſaied, and found they could not do as he did, were all forced to pay the forfeit. Heerein was *Agameſor* to be commended: for after his maner, the maſter of a feaſt ought to be revenged, in a kinde of mirth and gentle ſort; alſo to accuſtome himſelfe to ſuch commandements, as tend to pleaſure and profit both, charging ech one to doe thoſe things which be proper, poſſible and eaſie for him, and yet may commend the doer: as for example, to impoſe upon them who have good voices, and be profeſſed muſicians, to ſing; oratours and rhetoricians, to declame; philoſophers, to aſſoile darke queſtions, and cleere ambiguities; and poets, to pronounce ſome of their verſes; for every one of theſe, joieth and taketh pleaſure, to be put to that

Wherein he knowes he can do well,
And other men farre doth excell.

There was ſome time a king of the Aſſyrians, who by voice of heralds, and ſound of trumpet, proclamed a great prize and reward to him that could deviſe a new kinde of pleaſure: but the king and governour of a feaſt, ſhould doe very well, to propoſe an honourable reward unto him, that could invent an honeſt game or paſtime, wherein were no inſolencie, ſome delight or diſport profitable, and procure laughter not accompanied with wanton reproofe and ſcornefull reproch, but ſuch as carieth a grace and pleaſure with it: for this is it wherein moſt part of feaſts ſuffer ſhipwracke, namely, when they are miſgoverned, or not ordered as they ought to be. But the part it is of a wiſe and prudent man, to know how to avoid enmity and anger in the market-place, gotten by avarice; in the publicke halles of bodily exerciſes, by contention and emulation; in bearing offices and ſuing for them, by ambition and vain-glory; and laſt of all, in feaſts and banquets, by ſuch plaies and paſtimes.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is meant by this common proverbe: Love teacheth muſicke and poetrie.

THe queſtion was mooved one day in *Soſſius Senerius* houſe, after certeine verſes of *Sappho* were chanted, how this ſaying of *Euripides* ſhould be underſtood:

Love teacheth muſicke, marke when you will,
Tough one before, thereof had no skill.

conſidering that the poet *Philoxenus* reporteth, how *Cyclops Polyphemus* the giant, cured his love by the ſweet tongued muſes? Whereupon it was alledged, that Love is of great power to moove a man for to be bold, hardy and adventurous, yea, and miniſtreth a readineſſe to attempt all novelties, according as *Plato* named it, the enterpriſer of all things; for it maketh him talkative and full of words, who before was ſilent; it cauſeth the baſhfull and modeſt perſon, to court it, and put himſelfe forward in all maner of ſervice; it is the meanes that an idle careleſſe lubber, and a negligent, becommeth diligent and induſtrious; and that which a man would moſt marvell at, a miching hard-head and mechanicall penifather, if he fall once to love, doth relent and waxe ſoft as iron in the fire, and ſo prooveth more liberall, courteous and kinde, than ever before

before: ſo that this pleaſant and merry proverbe, ſeemeth not to be altogether ridiculous & impertinent, namely: that Loves purſe is tied & knit up with a leeke or porret blade. Moreover, it was there ſpoken: That Love reſembled drunkenneſſe, for that the one aſwell as the other, doth ſet folke in a heat; it maketh them cheerfull, merry and jocund; and when as men be come once to that, they fall ſoone to ſing, to rime, and make verſes. And it is ſaid, that the poet *Æſchylus* compoſed his tragedies, when he had well drunken, and was heat with wine. I had a grandfather alſo my ſelfe, named *Lamprias,* who ſeemed alwaies more learned, witty, and fuller of inventions, yea, and to ſurpaſſe himſelfe in that kinde, when he had taken his cups liberally; and he was wont to ſay: That at ſuch a time he was like unto incenſe, which being ſet on fire, rendereth the ſweet odour that it hath. Moreover, they that take exceeding great pleaſure to ſee their loves, are no leſſe affected with joy when they do praiſe them, than in looking upon them: for love, as it is in every thing a great pratler, and full of words; ſo eſpecially and moſt of all, in praiſes: inſomuch, as lovers would willingly perſwade others to that, wherein they are themſelves perſwaded firſt; namely, that they love nothing but that which is perfect in goodneſſe and beautie; and others they would have to be witneſſes with them of it. This was it, that induced the Lydian king *Candaules,* to draw and traine *Giges* into his bed-chamber, for to ſee the beautie of his wife naked: for why? ſuch are willing to have the teſtimonie of others. Loe, what the reaſon is, that if they write the praiſes of that which they love, they embeliſh and adorne the ſame with verſes, ſongs and meeter, like as images with golde; to the end that the ſaid praiſes might be heard more willingly, and remembred better by more people: for if they beſtow a fighting-cocke, an horſe, or any other thing whatſoever, upon thoſe whom they love, their minde is principally, that this their preſent ſhould be faire and beautifull in it ſelfe; afterwards, that it be moſt gallantly and in beſt maner ſet out; but above all, in caſe they be diſpoſed to flatter them in words or writings, their chiefe care is, that the ſame run roundly and pleaſantly, that they be alſo glorious and beautified with fine figures, ſuch as is ordinarily the ſtile of poets. Then *Soſſius* approving well of theſe reaſons, ſaid moreover: That it were well, if ſome would take in hand to draw and gather arguments out of that which *Theophraſtus* left in writing, as touching muſicke: For long it is not (quoth he) ſince I read over that booke; wherein he delivereth thus much after a divine maner: That three principall cauſes or roots there be of muſicke, to wit, paine or griefe, pleaſure or joy, and the raviſhment of the ſpirit; of which three, every one doth bend and turne the voice a little out of the ordinary tune: for griefs and ſorrowes, uſually bring with them, moanes and plaints, which quickly run into ſong; which is the reaſon that we ſee oratours in the perorations or concluſions of their ſpeeches, the actours alſo in tragedies, when they come to make their dolefull lamentations, bring their voices downe gently to a kinde of melodie, and by little and little tune them (as it were) thereto. Alſo the great and vehement joies of the minde do lift up all the body, of them eſpecially, who are any thing lightſome by nature, yea, and provoke the ſame to leape, ſkip, and clappe their hands, obſerving a kinde of motion according to number and meaſure, if they can not dance:

And otherwiſe in furious ſort,
Like frantike folke they do diſport;
They ſhake, they wag, they ſet out throat,
And ſend out many a fooliſh note.

according as *Pindarus* ſaith. But in caſe they be ſomewhat more grave and ſtaied, than others, when they finde themſelves moved with ſuch a paſſion of joy, they let their voice onely go at liberty, ſpeaking aloud and ſinging ſonnets. But above all, the raviſhment of the ſpirit, or that divine inſpiration, which is called *Enthuſiaſmus*, caſteth bodie, mind, voice and all, far beyond the ordinary habit; which is the cauſe, that the furious and raging prieſts of *Bacchus*, called *Bacchæ*, uſe rime & meeter; thoſe alſo, who by a propheticall ſpirit, give anſweres by oracle, deliver the ſame in verſe; and few perſons ſhall a man ſee ſtarke mad, but among their raving ſpeeches, they ſing and ſay ſome verſes. This being ſo, if you would now diſplay love, and view it well, being unfolded and laied open abroad, hardly ſhall you meet with another paſſion, which hath either ſharper dolours, or joies more violent or greater exſtaſies and raviſhments of the ſpirit, lying (as it were) in a trance; ſo that a man may diſcover in amorous perſons, a ſoule much like unto that city which *Sophocles* deſcribeth:

Full of ſongs and incenſe ſweet,
Of ſighs and groanes in every ſtreet.

No marvell is it therefore, nor a ſtrange thing; if love (conteining & comprehending in it ſelfe all thoſe primitive cauſes of muſicke, to wit, dolour, joy, and raviſhment of ſpirit, be likewiſe in all other things diligent, induſtrious, talkative, and namely, inclined to making of verſes and chanting ſongs as much or rather more, than any other paſſion which can enter into the heart of man.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Whether king Alexander *of* Macedonie *were a great drinker.*

THere was ſome ſpeech upon a time, as touching king *Alexander* the Great, to this effect: That he dranke not ſo much, as ſat long at his meat, and paſſed the time away, in deviſing and talking with his friends: but *Philinus* ſhewed by certeine ſcroles, papers, and day-books of the ſaid kings houſe, that they who held that opinion, knew not well what they ſaid; for that this particular inſtance was ordinarily and uſually found in thoſe records: That ſuch a day the king ſlept all day long, upon his liberall drinking of wine; yea, and other-whiles it appeareth, that he ſlept the morrow after likewiſe; which is the reaſon, that hee was not ſo forward in venerous matters, nor given much to women, though otherwiſe he was haſtie, quicke and couragious; great arguments of an inward heat of bodie: and it is to be ſeene upon record: That his fleſh yeelded from it, and breathed a paſſing ſweet ſmell; inſomuch as his ſhirts and other clothes were full of an aromaticall ſent and ſavour, as if they had bene perfumed; which ſeemeth alſo to be an argument and ſigne of heat. For we ſee, that thoſe be the hotteſt & drieſt countries, which bring foorth cynamon and frankincenſe, according as *Theophraſtus* ſaith: That a ſweet odour proceedeth of perfect concoction and digeſtion of humours; namely, when by naturall heat, all ſuperfluous moiſture is quite chaſed and expelled. And by all likelihood, this was the principall cauſe, that *Calliſthenes* grew into diſgrace, and loſt the kings favour; for that he was unwilling to ſup with him, in regard that he would impoſe upon him to drinke ſo much. For it is reported, that upon a time, the great boule or goblet, ſurnamed, *Alexanders* boule, having paſſed round about the table thorowout, untill it came to *Calliſthenes*, he refuſed it, and put it backe; ſaying withall: I will not drinke in *Alexander*, for to have need of *Aeſculapius*. And thus much was ſaid then, concerning king *Alexanders* much wine-bibbing.

Moreover, king *Mithridates*, he who warred againſt the Romans, among other games of priſe which hee exhibited, ordeined one for thoſe who could drinke beſt and eat moſt; and by mens ſaying, himſelfe performed them both ſo well, that he won the prize in the one and the other: for he could eat and drinke more than any man living in his time: by occaſion whereof, he was commonly ſurnamed *Dionyſus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus*. But as touching the reaſon of this ſurname, wee ſay it is an opinion raſhly received: for when hee was a very infant lying in the cradle, the lightning caught the ſwadling clothes, and ſet them on fire, but never touched or hurt his body, ſave onely that there remained a little marke of the fire upon his forehead, which notwithſtanding the haire did cover that it was not greatly ſeene, ſo long as he was a childe: againe, when he was a man growen, it chaunced that the lightning pierced into the bed-chamber where he lay aſleepe; and for his owne perſon it was not ſo much as ſinged therewith; but it blaſted a quiver of arrowes that hung at his bed-ſide, went through it, and burnt the arrowes within; which (as the ſoothſaiers and wiſe men out of their learning did intepret) ſignified, that one day he ſhould be puiſſant in archers and light armed men. But moſt men affirme, that hee gat his ſurname of *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſus*, in regard of the reſemblance and likeneſſe of ſuch accidents of lightning, and blaſting, as many times befall.

After theſe words paſſed, they entred into a ſpeech as touching great drinkers; among whom was reckoned alſo one *Heraclides*, a famous wreſtler, or champion, whom the men of *Alexandria* in our fathers daies, pleaſantly called little *Hercules*. This good fellow when he could not meet with a companion able to ſet foot to his, and drinke with him continually; uſed to invite ſome to breake their faſt with him in a morning; others to beare him company at dinner; ſome he would bidde to ſupper; and intreat others laſt of all to ſit with him at his collation or banquet after ſupper: now when the firſt were gone, came in the ſecond immediatly; then you ſhould have the third ſucceed them in place; and no ſooner were they departed, but in ſteps the fourth crew, without any interruption; and he himſelfe ſat it out ſtill, and making no intermiſſion, was able to hold out with all, and beare thoſe fower repaſts and refections, one after another. Among thoſe who were familiarly acquainted with *Druſus*, ſonne to the emperour *Tiberius*,

rius, a phyſician there was, who in drinking would chalenge and defie all the world: but obſerved it was by ſome that ſpied and looked neere unto him: That to prevent drunkenneſſe, he uſed to take alwaies five or ſixe bitter almonds before every cuppe that he drunke: and when he was once debarred of them, and not ſuffered ſo to doe, he was not able to beare his drinke nor reſiſt the leaſt headineſſe and ſtrength thereof. And verily ſome there be who ſay, that theſe almonds have an abſterſive propertie to bite, to clenſe and ſcoure the fleſh, in ſuch ſort, as that they will take away the ſpottes and freckles of the viſage; by reaſon of which qualitie, when they be taken afore drinke, with their bitterneſſe they fret the pores of the ſkinne, and leave the impreſſion of a certeine biting behinde them, by meanes whereof, there enſueth a certaine revulſion downward from the head of thoſe vapours which flie up thither, and ſo evaporate away through the ſaid pores. But for mine owne part, I am of this opinion rather, that their bitterneſſe hath a vertue to dry up and ſpend humors: which is the reaſon that of all vapours, the bitter is moſt unpleaſant and diſagreeable to the taſte: for that indeed as *Plato* ſaith, conſuming moiſture (as it doth) by meanes of the drineſſe which it hath, it doth unnaturally binde and draw in, the little veines of the toong, which of themſelves be ſoft, and ſpungeous: after the ſame manner men uſe to reſtraine ſuch wounds or ulcers which be moiſt, with medicines, or ſalves compoſed of bitter drougues, according as the poet *Homer* teſtifieth in theſe verſes:

A bitter roote he bruiſ'd with hands,
and laid upon the ſore,
To take the anguiſh cleane away,
that it might ake no more:
And ſo, applied when it was,
all paines were ſoone allaid,
The running ulcer dried anon,
and flux of bloud was ſtaid.

He ſaid well and truly, of that which is in taſte bitter: That it hath a vertue & propertie to drie. And it ſhould ſeeme alſo, that the powders which women ſtrew upon their bodies for to repreſſe diaphoneticall and extraordinarie ſweets, be by nature bitter and aſtringent; ſo forcible is their bitterneſſe to binde and reſtreine; which being ſo, great reaſon there is, (I ſay) that bitter almonds ſhould have power to withſtand the ſtrength of meere wine, conſidering they drie the body within, and will not permit the veines to bee full, upon the tention and commotion whereof (they ſay) drunkenneſſe doth proceed: and for evident proofe of this, there may be a good argument gathered from that which befalleth foxes; who having eaten bitter almonds, if they drinke not preſently upon them, die therewith, by reaſon that all their humors ſuddenly are ſpent and conſumed.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that old folke take greater delight in pure and ſtrong wine, than others.

There aroſe a queſtion about old perſons, what the reaſon might be, that they loved better to drink wine without water, or at the leaſtwiſe delaied but a little? Some alledged the habit of their bodies, being cold, and hard to be ſet into an heat: in regard whereof, the ſtrength of wine was meet and agreeable to their temperature: a reaſon very common and ready at hand; but ſurely, neither ſufficient for to bee the cauſe of ſuch an effect, nor yet ſimply true; for the ſame hapneth to their other ſences, as being hard to be mooved and affected; yea and nothing eaſie to be ſtirred, for to apprehend the qualities thereto belonging, unleſſe the ſame be paſſing ſtrong and vehement; whereof the true cauſe indeed is this: that their temperature being weake, dull, and feeble, loveth to be put in minde by knocking upon; and this is the cauſe, that for their taſte they delight in ſuch ſapours as be biting; their ſmelling likewiſe ſtandeth even ſo to odors that be ſtrong, for affected it is with more pleaſure in ſuch as be not tempered nor delaied: as for the ſenſe of touching, they feele no great paine of ulcers and ſores; and if it happen that they be wounded, their hurt and harme is not ſo great: the ſame befalleth to their hearing, for their eares be in manner deafe: and heereupon it is that muſicians as they grow in yeeres and waxe aged, ſtraine and raiſe their voice in ſinging ſo much the higher and lowder, as if they ſtirred up the organs of hearing by the vehement force of the ſound; for looke what is ſteele to the edge and temper of iron for cutting; the ſame is ſpirit to the bodie, for ſenſe and feeling: and when it beginnes once to ſlacke, faile, and decay, the ſenſe likewiſe and the inſtruments thereof become dull, heavie and earthly, having need of ſome ſuch quicke thing to pricke it in good earneſt as ſtrong wine is.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

How it comes to paſſe, that olde folke reade better afarre off than neere at hand.

AGainſt thoſe reaſons which wee deviſed and alledged upon the ſubject matter and point in hand, it ſeemed that there might be oppoſed the eie-ſight; for that elder perſons, for to reade any thing the better, remoove the letters farther from their eies; and in trueth can not well reade neere at hand: which the poet *Aeſchylus* ſeemeth covertly to implie, and ſhew unto us in theſe verſes:

Know him thou canſt not, if neere he ſtand to thee,
A good olde ſcribe thou maiſt much ſooner be.

And *Sophocles* more plainly teſtifieth as much, when he writeth of old folke in this wiſe:

The voice to them arrives not readily,
And hardly thorow their eares the way can finde,
Their eies do ſee farre off confuſedly,
But neere at hand, they all be very blinde.

If then it be ſo, that the ſenſes of aged perſons, and the inſtruments ſerving thereto, are not willingly obeiſant to their proper objects, unleſſe the ſame be ſtrong and vehement; what ſhould the cauſe be, that in reading, they can not endure the reverberation of the light from letters, if they be neere? but ſetting the booke farther off from their eies, they do by that meanes enfeeble (as it were) that light, for that it is ſpread and diſſipate in the aire, like as the ſtrength of wine when it is tempered with water? To this probleme, ſome anſwered thus: That they remoove books and letters farre from their eie-ſight, not becauſe they would make the ſaide light more milde or leſſe radiant; but contrariwiſe, for that they are deſirous to catch and gather more ſplendor, and to fill the meane intervall (which is betweene the eie and the letter) with lightſome and ſhining aire. Others accorded with thoſe, who holde, that the eies do ſend out of them, certeine raies; for by reaſon that aſwell from the one eie as the other, a pyramidal beame doth iſſue, the point whereof is in the ſight of the eie, and the baſis doth comprehend the object that is ſeene; probable it is, that both theſe pyramides goe forward apart one from the other a good ſpace and diſtance, but after they be a great way off, and come to encounter one another, and be confounded together, they make but one entire light: and this is the reaſon, that albeit the eies are twaine, yet every thing that we ſee, appeareth one, and not two; for that (in trueth) the meeting and ſhining together of thoſe two pyramides in common, do make of two ſights, but one. This being preſuppoſed and ſet downe, olde men approching neere to letters, comprehend the ſame more feebly, in regard that the pyramidall beames of their eies are not yet joined and met together, but ech of them reach to the objects apart; but if they be farther off, ſo that the ſaid pyramides may be intermingled, they ſee more perfectly; much like to them, who with both hands can claſpe and hold that, which they are not able to do with one alone.

Then my brother *Lamprias* oppoſed himſelfe againſt all this; and as one who had not read the booke of *Hieronymus*, but even upon the pregnancy and quickeneſſe of his wit, ſeemed to render another reaſon; namely: That we ſee by the meanes of certeine images ariſing from the objects or viſible things, which at the firſt be big, and for that cauſe trouble the ſight of old folke, when they regard them neere and hard-by, being indeed but hard and ſlow of motion: but when the ſaid images be advanced and ſpread farther into the aire, and have gained ſome good diſtance, the groſſe and terreſtriall parts of them breake and fall downe; but the more ſubtill portions reach as farre as to the eies, without any paine or offence unto them, and do inſinuate and accommodate themſelves equally and ſmoothly into their concavities: ſo that the eies being leſſe troubled, apprehend and receive them better. And even ſo it is with the odours of flowers, which are very ſweet to ſmell unto a good way off; whereas if a man come over-neere unto them, they yeeld nothing ſo kinde and pleaſant a ſent: the reaſon is, becauſe that together with the ſavour, there goeth from the flower, much earthly matter, groſſe and thicke, which corrupteth and marreth the fragrant ſweetneſſe of the odour, if it be ſmelled to very neere; but in caſe the ſame be a prety way off, that terreſtriall evaparation is diſperſed round about, and ſo falleth away, but the pure and hot part thereof, continueth behinde, and pierceth forward ſtill, by reaſon of the ſubtiltie that it hath, untill it be preſented unto the noſtrils. But we, receiving and admitting the principle of *Plato*, affirme & hold: That there paſſeth from the eies an illuminate ſpirit, which intermingleth it ſelfe with the cleereneſſe and light that is about the bodies of viſible objects; by which meanes there ariſeth an united compoſition from them twaine, according in every point one with another, but concorporate they be by meaſure and proportion; for neither the one nor the other, ought to periſh, as being ſurmounted by his fellow, but of twaine contempered together in juſt proportion, there is made one puiſſance and meane facultie betweene. Seeing then, that the thing which paſſeth thorow the eie-ſight of thoſe perſons who be farre ſtept in yeeres, be it ſome fluxion, lightſome ſpirit, or bright beame, (call it what you will) is in them, weake and feeble, there can not be a mixture and compoſition of it, with the ſhining aire abroad, but rather an extinction and ſuffocation, unleſſe they remove the letters a pretie way off from their eies, and by that meanes temper and reſolve the exceeding brightneſſe of the light, ſo as the ſame hit not upon their ſight, ſo long as it is too radiant and reſplendant, but meaſured and proportioned to the feebleneſſe of their eies. This alſo is the cauſe of that which befalleth to thoſe living creatures which ſee beſt in the darke, and feed themſelves by night; for their eie ſight being naturally weake, is offuſcate and darkened by the great light of the day; for that ſuch weak raies proceeding from ſo tender a ſource or fountaine, will not well ſort & agree with ſo ſtrong and forcible light; but their eies do ſend forth beames ſufficient and proportionable, to be mingled with a light more dim and duskiſh, like as the light of a ſtarre in the night ſeaſon appeareth beſt: and thus being incorporate with it, it is cooperative to the performance of ſenſe.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that clothes be better waſhed in freſh water than that of the ſea?

THeon the grammarian, upon a time when wee were feaſted by *Metrius Florus*, demaunded of *Themiſtocles* the philoſopher, how it came to paſſe that *Chryſippus* having made mention in many places of ſtrange poſitions and paradoxes, which ſeemed to goe againſt all reaſon;) as for example: That ſalt fiſh, or powdred fleſh, if it bee watered or waſhed in ſea water, becommeth more ſweet: alſo fleeces of wooll are leſſe pliable, if they bee plucked forcibly, than if they be gently handled, tooſed and drawen in ſunder. Item, that they who have faſted long, chew their meat, and eat more ſlowly at firſt, than after they have eaten a little;) rendreth no reaſon of the one nor the other: unto whom *Themiſtocles* anſwered: That *Chryſippus* propoſed them by the way onely, and as it were for example ſake to advertiſe and admoniſh us; for that we are ever ready to beleeve, even without all reaſon, any thing that carieth with it ſome ſmall likelihood and probability, and contrariwiſe to diſcredit that which at the firſt ſight ſeemeth unlikely: But what reaſon I pray you (quoth he) my good friend have you to ſearch & enquire into theſe matters? For if you be ſo contemplative and inquiſitive in finding out the cauſes of naturall things, you need not to goe farre from that which belongeth to your profeſſion: but tel me why *Homer* bringeth in *Nauſicaa*, waſhing her clothes in the river, & not in the ſea which was ſo neere unto her; notwithſtanding that ſalt ſea water being hotter, more tranſparent, & abſterſive than freſh water of the river, ſeemeth by all apparance better for to waſh withall? As touching this probleme (quoth *Theon*) long ſince hath *Ariſtotle* reſolved it, referring all to the terreſtrity of the ſea; for that in ſea water there is mingled much earthlie ſubſtance, which cauſeth it to be ſo ſalt, by reaſon whereof, it beareth them up better who ſwim therein; alſo it carieth a greater and heavier burden than freſh water, the which yeeldeth and giveth way, as it is more ſubtile, lighter, and feebler, as being more ſimple and pure: in which regard it pierceth ſooner, and by this penetrative facultie, it ſcoureth and clenſeth awaie all ſtaines and ſpottes better than ſea water: and thinke you not that this reaſon of *Ariſtotle* carieth great apparence of truth? Yes verily (quoth I) there is apparence and probabilitie indeed thereof, but no truth at all: for this I ſee ordinarily that the maner is to incraſſate freſh water with aſhes or gravel ſtones; or if there be none to be had, even with very duſt, as if the roughneſſe of terreſtriall ſubſtaunce were more meet and apt, to clenſe all filthineſſe, which ſimple and cleere water cannot doe ſo well, by reaſon of the thinne ſubtiltie thereof, and becauſe it is very weake: and therefore it is not well and truely ſaid, that the thickneſſe of the ſea water hindreth his effect. But the true cauſe is, for that it is penetrant and piercing; for this acrimonie doth unbinde and open the ſmall pores, and ſo draweth foorth the ordure outwardly; whereas contrariwiſe, that which is groſſe and thicke, is never good and meet for to waſh withall, but rather it maketh ſpots & ſteines: now is the ſea fattie and oileous, which may be a principal cauſe why it is not good to waſh withall: and, that ſea water is uncteous, *Ariſtotle* himſelfe beareth witneſſe; for even ſalt it ſelfe hath a certeine fattineſſe and unctuoſity in it; by reaſon whereof, it cauſeth thoſe lampes to burne more cleere wherein it is put: yea and ſea water if it be ſprinkled or dropped upon the flame, will likewiſe be of a light fire and burne withall; neither is there any water that burneth ſo much as that of the ſea; and in this regard I am of opinion, that it is of all other water hotteſt: howbeit there may bee another reaſon yeelded: for conſidering that the end and conſummation of waſhing, is to drie; thoſe things wee hold moſt neat and cleane which are drieſt; and therefore the moiſture that doth waſh, muſt goe away together with the ordure; like as the root of Ellebore is ſent out of the body with the melancholike humour: as for the humiditie which is ſweet and freſh by reaſon of the lightneſſe thereof, the ſunne draweth it up very quickly; whereas the ſaltneſſe of ſea water ſticketh faſt to the ſmall pores, & by reaſon of the aſperitie thereof is hard to be dried. Then *Theon*: This (that you ſay quoth he) is nothing, but very falſe; for *Ariſtotle* in the ſame booke affirmeth, that thoſe who waſh in the ſea, are ſooner dry than they that waſh in freſh water, if they ſtand in the ſunne. He ſaith ſo indeed (quoth I) but I thought that you would ſooner beleeve *Homer*, who holdeth the contrarie. For *Ulyſſes* after he had ſuffred ſhipwracke mette with ladie *Nauſicaa*:

All terrible and fearefull to be ſeene
For that in ſea all plunged ſhe had beene.

Yea and himſelfe ſaid unto her women and waiting maidens:

Retire aſide and ſtand you farre from me,
Faire damoſels, untill ſuch time you ſee,
That I have waſht from off my ſhoulders twaine
The filth of ſea, that now my ſkinne doth ſtaine.

And when he had thus ſaid, he went downe into the river,

And there anon, he ſcowr'd cleane away,
The ſalt ſea-fome, upon his head that lay.

In which place, the poet hath marvelous well obſerved and expreſſed that which ordinarilie hapneth in ſuch a caſe: for that, when they who come foorth of the ſea ſtand drying them in the ſunne; his heat doth preſently diſſipate the moſt ſubtile and lighteſt ſubſtance of the humiditie, and then, that which is moſt foule and filthy, remaining behinde, ſticketh to, is baked and felted to the ſkinne, in manner of a ſalt cruſt, untill it be waſhed off with freſh and potable water.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that at Athens *they never judged nor pronounced the daunce of the tribe* Aeantis *to be the laſt?*

AT the ſolemne feaſt which *Serapion* made for the victory of the daunce, which the tribe or linage *Aeantis* obteined, by his leading and conduct: to which feaſt we were bidden, as being of that tribe; for that the people had endued us with the priviledge and right of bourgeoſie in the ſame; much talke there was occaſioned by the great emulation and ſtrife which had beene for the honour of that preſent daunce: and indeed followed it was with much zeale and heat of affection, by reaſon that king *Philopappus* himſelfe in perſon, was a moſt honourable and magnificent preſident thereof, having defraied the charges belonging to the daunces of every tribe; who being preſent alſo with us, invited gueſts to this ſtately ſupper (as hee was a prince no leſſe courteous and full of humanitie, than ſtudious and deſirous of knowledge) had both the propoſing and alſo the hearing of many antiquities. Now there was propounded and put to diſcourſe, ſuch a matter as this, by *Marcus* the Grammarian, namely: that *Neanthes* the Cyzicene wrote in his fabulous narrations of this citie, that the tribe *Aeantis* had by eſpeciall honour, this ſpeciall priviledge above the reſt, that their daunce was never adjudged to the laſt place. That writer (quoth the king) is not ſufficient to authorize an hiſtory; but ſuppoſing that this were true, let us make it the ſubject-matter of our diſcourſe at this preſent, and ſearch the cauſe thereof. But admit (quoth our friend *Milo*) that this were a falſe tale. What then?

(quoth king *Philopappus*) there were no great matter in it, if the like befall unto us for love of learning, as ſometime did to the wiſe philoſopher *Democritus*; who feeding one day (as it ſhould ſeeme) upon a coucumber, when he perceived the juice and liquor thereof to be verie ſweet, and to taſte of honie; demanded of his maid-ſervant who attended upon him, where ſhe bought it: who named a certeine garden: whereupon he roſe from the boord, and would needs have her to bring him thither, and to ſhew him the very place where it grew: but the wench woondering at her maſter, and asking him the reaſon what he meant to be gone in ſuch haſte: Why (quoth he) I muſt needs finde out the cauſe of this extraordinary ſweetneſſe, and finde it I ſhall, when I have well viewed and conſidered the place: hereat the maiden ſmiling: Sit you ſtill, good ſir (quoth ſhe) and let this thing trouble your head no farther; for the trueth is this: I chanced before I was aware, to put this coucumber into a veſſell that had honie in it. Then *Democritus* ſeeming to be offended and diſpleaſed with her: Thou angreſt me to the heart with thy prittle-prattle, I will (I tell thee) go forward in this my intended purpoſe, and ſearch into the cauſe hereof, as if this ſweetneſſe were naturall and came of the coucumber it ſelfe; and even ſo we will not pretend this readineſſe and facilitie of *Neanthes* in delivering ſome matters incredible, as an evaſion or excuſe, to avoid this preſent diſputation: for if none other good wil come of our diſcourſe, yet I am ſure it will ſerve well to whet and exerciſe our wits the while. Then all the companie at once with one accord, fell to praiſe the ſaid tribe *Aeantis*, relating and collecting what commendable acts ſoever and glorious feats of armes had beene performed by that tribe. And here they failed not to rehearſe the famous battell of *Marathon*, which is a State belonging to the tribe *Aeantis*. They forgat not to alledge likewiſe, how *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* were Aeantides, borne in *Aphidne*, a towne of that tribe. Alſo *Glaucias* the oratour affirmed, that the right wing or point of that battell of *Marathon*, was aſſigned to them of that tribe, proving the ſame by the Elegies or verſes which the poet *Aeſchylus* had compoſed in the praiſe of their good ſervice, having himſelfe in perſon fought valiantly in the ſaid conflict. Moreover, he ſhewed that *Callimachus* the high marſhall of the field, being one of that linage, both bare himſelfe right bravely that day, and was one of the principall authors (after captaine *Miltiades*) of that fought field, gave his voice with him, and perſwaded to ſtrike this battell. Unto this allegation of *Glaucias*, I my ſelfe added moreover, and ſaid: That the decree or commiſſion, by vertue whereof *Miltiades* led foorth the Athenian armie with banner diſplaied, into the field, was concluded at what time as the tribe *Aeantis* was preſident of the counſell at *Athens*; as alſo that the ſame tribe in the battell of *Platea*, carried away the praiſe and priſe for their brave ſervice above the reſt: and heereupon it is, that this tribe of *Aeantis* ſolemnizeth every yeere a ſtately ſacrifice, for that victorie, as being commanded and appointed ſo to doe by the oracle of *Apollo*, upon the mount *Cithæron*, and the ſame performed by nymphes or maidens * *Sphagitides*: for the celebration of which ſolemnity, the city furniſheth them with beaſts and other things needfull for the ſame ſacrifice. But yet you ſee (quoth I) that all the reſt of the tribes may as well alledge for themſelves many valiant acts by them atchieved; and namely, *Leontis*; from which my ſelfe am deſcended, which in glorious renowme, giveth place to none whatſoever. Conſider therefore my maſters, whether it bee not very like and more probable, that this was attributed unto it, for to appeaſe and comfort that woorthy perſon who gave the name unto this tribe; I meane *Ajax* the ſonne of *Telamon*, who had not the patience to endure the overthrow in judgement, and loſſe of *Achilles* armour, but was ſo farre inflamed with envie, emulation, and wrath, that he ſpared nothing, nor cared for the ruine of all: to the end therefore that he might not fall into another fit of furie, and be implacable; thought good it was to eaſe him of the thing which might of all things offend and vexe him moſt, in that disfavour and diſgrace, to wit: That the tribe which beareth his name, ſhould never be thruſt downe into the loweſt and laſt place.

* Sacrificers.

* * *

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE SYMPOSIAQUES.

The Summarie, or ſeverall Chapters thereof.

1 *What be thoſe things which* Xenophon *ſaith, that men are better contented to be asked of at the table, yea, and to be ſcoffed at for, than otherwiſe no.*
2 *What is the reaſon that we have better ſtomacks to our meat, and eat more in Autumne, than in any other ſeaſon of the yeere.*
3 *Whether the hen was before the egge, or the egge before the hen.*
4 *Whether wreſtling was of all the ſacred exerciſes and games of prize, moſt ancient.*
5 *Why* Homer *among all the combats of prize, putteth evermore in the firſt place, the fight at buffets; next to it, wreſtling; and laſt of all, running the race.*
6 *What is the cauſe that the pine, ſapin or pitch tree, and other like, yeelding roſin, can not be graffed by way of inoculation or the ſcutiſian.*
7 *Of the ſtay-ſhip fiſh Remora.*
8 *How it commeth to paſſe, that the horſes Lycoſpades are ſaid to be more courageous and better ſpirited, than any others.*
9 *How is it, that the ſheepe worried by wolves, yeeld fleſh more ſweet and tender, but wooll more ſubject to breed lice than others.*
10 *Whether our anceſtours did better in old time, to eat every man his owne part divided by himſelfe at the boord, or the men now living, who feed in common, of viands ſet before them all together.*

THE SECOND BOOKE OF the Sympoſiaques.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What be the things whereof Xenophon *ſaith: That men love better to be asked and to be ſcoffed at for, when they ſit at the boord, than otherwiſe no?*

The Preface.

OF thoſe things (ô *Soiſſus Senecio*) which are provided to furniſh and ſet out feaſts and banquets, ſome are to be raunged as altogether neceſſarie; namely, bread, wine, viands, meats, both fleſh and fiſh, benches, ſtooles, formes, and tables; others be but acceſſaries and may be ſpared, deviſed onely for pleaſure, and not upon any urgent neceſſitie; as plaies, ſhewes, and paſtimes brought in, either to be heard or ſeene; ſome pleaſant buffon alſo or mery jeſter to make folke laugh, ſuch an one as *Philip* in *Kallais* his houſe, which diſports men are delighted in otherwhiles, if they be preſented, and if they be not, they are not greatly miſſed, nor much cared for, neither is the feaſt thought defectuous for want thereof. The ſame may be ſaid of table talke: for one kinde there is which modeſt and civill men doe embrace and enterteine, in regard of their proper uſe fitting and agreeable for meales and meat indeed; another ſort they admit, and allow as conteining ſome gentle ſpeculation, and the ſame beſeemeth rather the time imploied in hearing muſicke, of flute, hautboies, lute and viall. And of both theſe, our firſt booke conteined certaine miſcellane examples one with another; as namely, of the firſt ſort were theſe queſtions: Whether it be good and commendable, to treat and diſpute of philoſophicall matters

ters at the table or no? Alſo, whether it be better, that the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe place his gueſts, at the boord, or permit them to ſit at their owne diſcretion? Of the ſecond kind be theſe; whereupon aroſe this common ſaying: That love teacheth muſicke or poetrie? as alſo the queſtion concerning the tribe *Aeantes* and ſuch like. For mine owne part, I would call the former *Sympotica,* as properly belonging to a feaſt; the other by the generall name *Sympoſiaca,* as beſeeming rather a banquet after the feaſt is done: howbeit ſet downe they are by me pell-mell, and not diſtinctly, but according as every one of them came into my minde and remembrance: neither muſt the readers marvell if I collect and gather certeine ſpeeches for to dedicate unto you, which have beene haply held heeretofore by others, or by your owne ſelfe: for albeit our learning is not alwaies a calling to remembrance, yet oftentimes it falleth out, that to remember and to learne, concurre and meet together in one ſubject matter. Moreover, having digeſted in every booke ten queſtions, the firſt of this ſecond is one, that *Xenophon* a diſciple of *Socrates,* hath in ſome ſort propoſed unto us, when hee writeth: That *Gobryas* being upon a time at ſupper with *Cyrus,* as he praiſed many other faſhions of the Perſians, ſo he commended them eſpecially in this: That they demaunded one of another ſuch queſtions, wherewith they ſtood better pleaſed, than if they had not beene asked at all; and betweene whiles, let flie ſuch pleaſant ſcoffes and jeſtes, as that the parties ſo ſcoffed at, liked thereof better, than otherwiſe if they had beene let alone. For if it be ſo, that other men, even with their praiſes many times offend us, why ſhould we not greatly admire the ſeemely grace and wittie conceit of thoſe, whoſe ſcoffes and jeſts yeeld pleaſure and contentment to thoſe who ſeeme to be mocked therewith? This is the reaſon why *Sopater* having one day invited us to a feaſt at *Patræ,* mooved this talke and ſaide: Gladly would I know what kinde of queſtions and interrogatories they were? of what nature, and what the manner of them was? For no ſmall part it is (quoth hee) of our entercourſe and mutuall communication one with another, to have the dexteritie and skill, both to know and alſo to obſerve the decencie and congruitie in ſuch pleaſant demaunds and facete jeſts. Nay, (quoth I againe) a great matter it is; but marke, if *Xenophon* himſelfe as well in the Sympoſium or banquet of *Socrates,* as in thoſe of the Perſians, giveth not us to underſtand what was the order thereof: and if you thinke good that we enter into this diſcourſe, and that I ſhould adde ſomewhat of mine owne. Firſt and formoſt this is mine opinion: That men are well enough pleaſed to be asked thoſe queſtions, to which they are able eaſily to anſwere, and namely of ſuch things as they have beſt skill and experience of: for if one ſhould demaund of them, matters that they know not, either they be offended and grieved if they can ſay nothing unto them (like as thoſe who are called upon to pay debts which they are not able to diſcharge) or if they bring out croſſe, impertinent, and untoward reaſons, they are much troubled, diſmaied, and perplexed: whereas if their anſwers bee not onely readie and eaſie, but alſo wittie and exquiſite, ſo much the more pleaſant and agreeable it is to the anſwerers: now thoſe I count wittie and exquiſite, which carie ſomewhat with them, that the common multitude knoweth not, or which few men have heard of; ſuch as be the points of aſtrologie or logicke, eſpecially if they be well ſeene therein, and have as it were the habit of them: for everie man is well pleaſed and appaied, not onely in practiſing and ſpending his time, as *Euripides* ſaith:

Whereby he may quit him ſo well,
That even himſelfe he may excell,

but alſo in reaſoning and diſcourſing of that wherein he hath beſt skill and knowledge. For men take great contentment when they be asked queſtions of that which they have an inſight in, and knowing ſo much by themſelves as they doe, loth they bee to have their cunning hidden, and to be thought of others ignorant therein: therefore thoſe who have beene great travellers, and ſailed in many voiages, cannot be better pleaſed, than when others enquire of them as touching farre countries, ſtrange ſeas, the manners, faſhions, and cuſtomes of barbarous nations; and you bring them to bedde (as they ſay) when you put them to diſcourſe of ſuch matters; as being moſt willing to deſcribe and draw upon a table the coaſts, places, ſtraigths, and gulfes by which, and through which they have paſſed, reputing it to be no ſmall frute of all their travels, and an eaſement of the paines which they have endured: in one word, looke whatſoever we of our ſelves are woont, without the demaund and intreatie of others to recount and relate willingly; the ſame are we deſirous that men ſhould aske us queſtions of, and howſoever we ſeeme to doe pleaſure unto the company, yet indeed we have much adoe to hold, and with great paine forbeare to utter the ſame. This is a very maladie incident to ſailers and ſeamen above all other. As for thoſe that be of a more modeſt and civill nature, they are deſirous to be asked thoſe things, which they are willing enough to utter, but that they be abaſhed, and in reverent regard of them that be preſent, paſſe over in ſilence thoſe exploits which they have performed happily and with great honour: and therefore good olde *Neſtor* in *Homer* did very wiſely, who knowing well the ambitious humour and deſire of glory which was in *Ulyſſes*, ſpake unto him:

Ulyſſes, *flower of noble chivalrie,*
Renowmed knight, and all the Greeks glorie,
To tell us now, I pray (good ſir) begin,
How ye both twaine did thoſe great horſes win.

For unwilling men are to heare thoſe who praiſe themſelves or recount their owne worthy acts, if there be not one or other of the company that is urgent with them ſo to do, or unleſſe they be in maner forced unto it; and therefore they are glad, when they be asked concerning the ambaſſages wherein they have beene imploied; of their acts during the time of their government of State, eſpecially, if they have performed ſome great and honourable ſervice therein; and withall, perceive that it is not for envie nor malice, that ſuch demands be made: for otherwiſe, ſuch as be envious or malicious, weepe at thoſe reports, and be ready to put them by, not willing to give place unto any narrations, nor to miniſter occaſion or matter of talke, that may turne to the honor and commendation of him that delivereth the ſame. Moreover, this is another meanes to gratifie thoſe who are to anſwere; namely, to move queſtion of ſuch things as they wot well-enough, that their enemies and ill-willers are loth to heare. And verily, *Ulyſſes* ſaid to *Alcinous* in this wiſe:

A minde you have, to heare me tell
my wofull miſerie;
That I might ſtill ſigh, groane and waile
for my hard deſtinie.

Even ſo *Oedipus* in *Sophocles* anſwered thus to the company of the Chorus:

A woe it is (my friend) to raiſe and wake
A griefe that long hath ſlept and reſt doth take.

But contrariwiſe, *Euripides* wrote after this ſort:

How ſweet is it to one for to remember
The paine now paſt, which ſometime he did ſuffer!

True it is, but not to thoſe who ſtill wander, and (being toſſed in troubleſome ſeas) do yet meet with new miſfortunes and calamities. But to returne againe to our former purpoſe; we ought to beware how wee demand ill newes: for men are grieved at the heart, to make report either how they have bene caſt & condemned in any ſute, or that that they have buried their children, as alſo, how infortunate they have bene in their traffique either by ſea or land: contrariwiſe, they are well pleaſed to rehearſe and repeat often times (if they be asked the queſtion) how they have had good audience given them from the publike place of making orations, and obteined whatſoever they there demaunded; how they have beene ſaluted and honourably entreated by ſome king and potentate; and how, when other paſſengers and travellers with them, have beene plunged into dangers of tempeſt or theeves, they onely eſcaped the perill: and for that in the bare relation, they ſeeme (as it were) to enjoy the thing it ſelfe, they can not be ſatiſfied with the diſcourſe and remembrance thereof. Alſo men rejoice and take delight, when they be aſked as touching their friends, who are fortunate and doe proſper in the world, or of their owne children that profit well in learning and good literature, or have ſped well in pleading cauſes, or otherwiſe are of credit in the court and with princes: ſemblably, they be very well content and pleaſed, to be moved for to relate, and ſo are more willing to make report of the loſſes or ſhamefull diſgraces of their enemies and ill-willers, whom either they have overthrowen at the barre and cauſed to be condemned, or who otherwiſe are fallen into any diſaſtrous calamity; for of themſelves, loth they are, unleſſe they be required thereto, to recount ſuch things, leſt they might be reputed malicious, and glad to heare of other mens harmes. A hunter loveth very well, to have ſpeech and queſtion mooved unto him as touching hounds; ſo doth a champion, and one that delighteth in bodily exerciſes, to be trained to talke of gymnaſticall paſtimes and feats of activitie, like as an amorous lover, of ſuch perſons as be faire and beautifull; a devout and religious man diſcourſeth ordinarily of dreames and viſions that hee ſeeth, and what good ſucceſſe he hath had in his affaires, by obſerving the direction of oracles, the preſages of augurie and oſſes, by doing ſacrifice, and generally, by the grace and eſpeciall favour of the gods: and ſuch be well pleaſed for to be asked queſtions as concerning theſe matters. As for old folke, you ſhall do them a high pleaſure, if you put them to it, for to make any diſcourſe whatſoever; for although the narration concerne them nothing at all, nor be to any purpoſe, yet if one aske them queſtions, he tickleth them in the right veine, and ſcratcheth them (as they ſay) where it itcheth. This appeareth by theſe verſes out of *Homer:*

O Neſtor, *ſonne of* Neleus,
tell me in veritie,
How Agamemnon, *elder ſonne*
of Atreus, *did die?*
Where was his yoonger brother then,
ſir Menelaus *hight?*
Lives he or no, in Achæa,
at Argos *citie bright?*

Here you ſee *Telemachus* asketh him many queſtions at once, giving him occaſion and matter of much ſpeech, not as ſome do, who reſtreining olde folke to anſwere to the point only which is neceſſarie, and driving them within a narrow compaſſe, bereave them of that which is their greateſt pleaſure. In ſum, they that would rather pleaſe and delight, than diſpleaſe and trouble, propoſe ſuch queſtions, the anſweres whereunto, draw with them, not the blame and reproofe, but the praiſe and commendation; not the hatred and ſpight, but the amitie and good will of the hearers. And thus much may ſerve for interrogatories and demands.

As touching ſcoffes and merry jeſts, he that knoweth not how to uſe and handle them with dexterity, good diſcretion and skill, according to time and place convenient, I would adviſe him altogether to forbeare them. For like as if men be in a ſlippery or ticklish ground, they that touch them never ſo little in running by, are able to overturne and lay them along; even ſo at the table, when we are drinking, in danger we be upon every ſmall occaſion in the world offered (by a word not well placed, or untowardly delivered) to fall into choler; yea, and many times, more mooved we are with a ſcoffe or pleaſant gibe, than with a reprochfull taunt or meere ſlander; for that ordinarily it is ſeene; that a reprochfull word proceedeth from a violent fit and ſudden paſſion of anger, even againſt his will that giveth it; but we take more to the heart, a mocke or ſcornfull flout, as comming from a prepenſed malice, and a voluntary minde ſet upon miſchiefe, without any neceſſitie at all enforcing thereto; and to be briefe, we are in generall more offended with thoſe that can give a drie frumpe in good ſadneſſe, than ſuch as caſt foorth words at randon. And this we hold for certeine, that every one of ſuch frumps biteth ſore, and ſeemeth to be an artificiall kinde of reproch deviſed and thought upon of purpoſe before-hand: as for example, if one call another ſalt-fiſh-monger, by that word he gives him openly a plaine reproch; but if he ſay, we remember well, that you are woont to wipe or ſnuffe your noſe upon your ſleeve, he mocks him covertly, and calles him as much by craft. The like frumpe it was, that *Cicero* uſed to one *Octavius*, who ſuppoſed to be an Affrican borne: for when he ſeemed to excuſe himſelfe that he heard not what *Cicero* ſpake: And that is a great woonder (quoth *Cicero* againe) conſidering that you have an hole bored through your eare. And *Melanthius* being flouted and made a mocking ſtocke by a comedie maker: You have (quoth he) given me a reward that I never deſerved, and paid me that which you owed me not: ſuch gibes therefore and mocks as theſe, doe pricke worſe, and much like to arrowes with barded heads, ſticke longer by them who are thus flouted; and for their wittineſſe more delight thoſe who are preſent, than for any other pleaſure elſe, ſeeme to winne credit unto him that uſeth them. For to ſpeake a truth, a ſcoffe or mocke is nothing elſe but a covert and diſſimuled reproch for ſome fault, according to *Theophraſtus*: ſo as he that ſtandeth by and heareth it, can make conſtruction thereof, and gheſſe how to adde more unto it, as knowing and beleeving all the reſt behinde to be true. For no doubt he that laugheth heartily as if he were tickled, when he heareth the anſwer of *Theocritus* to one, who being named for a common ſtripper of men out of their garments, as they went late in the ſtreets, asked him if he went foorth to ſupper? Yes mary doe I (quoth hee) but I meane to lie there all night: ſuch an one (I ſay) ſeemeth to confirme the opinion of the foreſaid crime, for which the partie was ſuſpected; inſomuch as hee that mocketh and ſcoffeth impertinently and without grace, poſſeſſeth the ſtanders by and hearers with malice, as if they inſulted over the partie mocked, and were abbetters themſelves, as being glad that hee is thus derided or reproched. But in that noble citie *Lacedæmon*, among other good diſciplines in times paſt there taught, men learned alſo to jeſt at others without biting, and not to count themſelves

ſelves nipped, when themſelves were jeſted with: and if peradventure a man ſhewed himſelfe diſcontented with ſome broad jeſt, and could not beare it well, the other partie preſently gave over and was quiet. How then can it chuſe but be an hard matter, to finde that kinde of ſcoffe or taunt which may content and pleaſe the party mocked? conſidering that it is a point of no ſmal arte, nor meane experience and dexteritie to bee able for to diſcerne and judge, what it is that in the feat of mockerie which is not offenſive. Howbeit to open a little the meanes thereto: Firſt and formoſt it ſeemeth, that as theſe jeſtes touch and ſting them moſt who know themſelves to be guilty of thoſe vices for which they be mocked: ſo the ſame frumps if they note men for ſuch faults of which they be moſt cleere, muſt needs in ſome ſort be pleaſant and acceptable unto them upon whom they be diſcharged. Thus *Xenophon* jeſting pleaſantly with that foule and ilfavoured fellow above all others, all hairy, and as rough as a beare; ſaid: He was the minion and love of *Sambaulas*. You may call to minde alſo *Quintus* a good friend of ours, who when he lay ſicke in bedde, complained that his hands were cold: But you brought them warm enough not long ſince (quoth *Aufidius Modeſtus*,) when you returned out of the province: which quippe being banded upon him, an honeſt and upright prætor, miniſtred occaſion of mirth, contentment, and laughter; the ſame if it had light upon a proconſull that had uſed extortion or oppreſſion, would have beene a girding and nipping reproch. This is the reaſon that when *Socrates* chalenged *Critobulus* the faireſt yoong man then living, to compare their beauties, jeſted merrily with him, but ſcorned and derided him not. And *Alcibiades* himſelfe was pleaſantly diſpoſed with *Socrates*, when he ſaid: That jealous he was of faire *Agathon*. And even kings and great princes verily otherwhiles joy and take pleaſure when they be ſpoken of, as if they were poore or private perſons; like as one of theſe pleaſants or paraſiticall jeſters, when king *Philip* ſeemed to gird and ſcoffe at him, returned upon him againe this word: What ſir, know you not who I am, do not I keepe & mainteine you? For in reproching ſuch perſons with vices and defects, as which are not in them, they doe after an oblique manner give them to underſtand, and doe make knowen the vertues and perfections which they have. But heere wee muſt take heed and be ſure in any wiſe, that ſuch good parts they be indued withall indeed, and without all doubt; otherwiſe that which is ſpoken to the contrary, buzzeth in their heads, and breedeth a doubtfull ſuſpicion in themſelves: for hee that ſaith unto a rich and great monied man, that he will be his broker, and helpe him to ſome uſurers of whom he may take up mony at intereſt; or unto a ſober perſon, who drinketh nothing but water, that he is a drunkard, or hath taken his wine too liberally; or he that calleth a liberall man, well knowen to ſpend magnificently, and ready to pleaſure all men, a baſe mechanicall kumbix, and a pinching peni-father; or he who threatneth a famous advocate or counſellor at the barre, who hath a great name for lawe and eloquence in all courts of plea, and beſides for policie and government is in high authoritie, that he will bring him to a non-ſute, or overthrow him judicially, he (I ſay) miniſtreth matter of good ſpirit and laughter unto the partie whom he ſeemeth ſo to chalenge or menace. After this manner king *Cyrus* became very lovely and gracious, by his ſingular courteſie, in that he would ſeeme to provoke his familiars for to performe thoſe feats, wherein he knew himſelfe inferior to them: and when *Iſmenias* the famous muſician plaid one day upon his flute, during the time of ſacrifice, but ſo, as for all his muſicke there appeered no good prognoſticks and ſignes, in the beaſt ſacrificed, teſtifying that the gods were propice and well pleaſed; another mercenary minſtrell, taking the inſtruments in his hand, kept a fooliſh and ridiculous tooting, full untowardly; and when all the company there in place reprooved him for it: To ſound an inſtrument (quoth he) to the contentment of the gods, is an heavenly gift: whereat *Iſmenias* laughed a good, and made this anſwer: You take the matter amiſſe (quoth he) and cleane contrary, for whiles I plaied, the gods tooke ſo great pleaſure in my muſicke, that they intended it onely, & had no while to accept of the ſacrifice; but when thou beganneſt to meddle with the pipes, they received it immediately, and made haſte to be ridde and delivered of thy abſurd piping. Moreover, they who call ſuch things as bee ſimply good, by odious and opprobrious names, and that in mirth, if they doe the ſame with a good grace; pleaſe more than thoſe who directly praiſe the ſame; like as they doe nippe and bite more ſhrewdly, who give reproches under faire and lovely tearmes, as for example: ſuch as call wicked perſons, *Ariſtides*, or baſe cowards, *Achilles*: after the manner of *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*, when he ſaid:

> Creon *who had beene alwaies kind*
> *And even at firſt her faithfull friend.*

Another kinde there ſeemes to be of ironicall praiſe, oppoſite unto the former; namely, when ſemblant is made of blame and reproofe: which maner of praiſe, *Socrates* often uſed; as for example, when he called the induſtrious meanes that *Antiſthenes* practiſed to reconcile men and make them friends, as alſo to gaine good will and favour, broakage, bauds-craft, entiſement and allurement: as alſo, for that the philoſopher *Crates*, had a good grace with him whereſoever he went, and becauſe he was ever welcome, honourably received, and kindly enterteined into what houſe ſoever he came, he was commonly named *Thyrepanæcles*, as one would ſay; The doore-opener. Furthermore, that mockerie is pleaſing, which goeth in maner of a complaint, and yet carrieth with it a kinde of gratitude and thankefulneſſe. Thus *Diogenes* ſpeaking of his maſter and teacher *Antiſthenes*,

Who clad me in a cloake thred-bare,
And made me ragged clothes to weare;
Who forced me to beg my food,
And houſeleſſe for to walke abroad.

For nothing ſo good a grace it would have had, in caſe he had uſed theſe words: He who made me wiſe, contented, and happy. Alſo a certeine Laconian, who making a ſhew, that he blamed the warden of the publicke ſtouphes and halles of exerciſes, for giving him wood ſo drie, that it would not ſo much as ſmoake, ſaid thus of him: Heere is one, by whoſe meanes we can not be ſuffered to ſhed a teare. Semblably, if a man ſhould call him who kept a bountifull table, and feaſted him every day, a tyrant and taker of men perforce, ſaying withall, that he would not ſuffer him to eat his meales at home, nor to ſee ſo much as once his owne table in ſo many yeeres ſpace: like as if one ſhould complaine of the king, for making him, of a poore man, rich and wealthy, in theſe tearmes: That he had laied wait for him to doe him a ſhrewd turne, in taking from him his repoſe and leaſure, and bereaving him of his ſleepe and naturall reſt: or as if ſome man having gathered plenty of good wine, turning againe upon the gods *Cabeiri* in *Aeſchilus*, ſhould accuſe them, for that they had cauſed him to have ſcant of vineger in his houſe, as they themſelves in bourd and mirth had menaced to doe. For theſe kinds of covert, ſecret and diſſimuled praiſes, enter farther, carrying with them a greater grace and more effectuall by farre, in ſuch ſort, as they who in this wiſe perceive themſelves to be commended, are nothing offended thereat, nor take it in ill part.

Over and beſides, it behooveth him who would give a frumpe or ſcoffe with a grace and dexteritie, to know alſo the difference of a defect and imperfection, from ſtudies and recreations whereto men are given: as namely, to diſtinguiſh betweene avarice or a contentious humour, and the love of muſicke or of hunting: for as men can not abide to be twit by thoſe, ſo they are very well contented to be ſcoffed at for theſe; as *Demoſthenes* the Mitylenæan plaied in this kinde pleaſantly upon a time: for when he went to viſit a familiar friend of his, who loved muſicke paſſing well, and was much addicted to play upon the harpe; after that he had knocked at the doore, and the other hearing that it was he, willed him to come in: But firſt (quoth he) I would have you tie up your harpe. But the paraſiticall baſſau of king *Lyſimachus*, contrariwiſe rejoined in this ſort as rudely and uncivilly; for when the king had throwen a counterfeit ſcorpion made of wood, upon his coat, whereat he firſt ſtarted and was afraied; but when he perceived once that the king was merrily diſpoſed, and did but make ſport, came upon him againe: And I will fright you, ſir king, aſwell (quoth he;) come on, and give me a talent from you. The like regard ought to be had, and the ſame difference made, as touching the defects or imperfections of the bodie, at leaſt-wiſe in many of them: for if men be jeſted at, for that they be longnoſed and hawked, or otherwiſe have ſhort ſnut-noſes, they will but laugh thereat. Thus one of the minions of *Caſſander*, was nothing offended with *Theophraſtus*, when he ſaid: I woonder at your eies, that they fall not a ſinging, and make good muſicke, conſidering your noſe is ſet and hidden within them: meaning, that he had a noſe ſo flat and ſunke into his head. And *Cyrus* ſeeing one with a long noſe and hawked withall, willed him to marrie a wife with a ſhort and flat noſe: For then (quoth he) you would match well, and make a good medly betweene you. But in caſe we jeſt and make game at thoſe whoſe noſtrils ſtincke, or who have a ſtrong and unſavory breath, they take it not well at our hands, but are diſpleaſed. On the other ſide, if they be plaied upon for their bald-pates, they can abide it well enough, and put it up; but ſay a man mocke them for having but one eie or being blinde, they will not endure it. In deed king *Antigonus* would jeſt pleaſantle with himſelfe for the loſſe of one eie; as namely, when there was preſented unto him a ſupplication written in great capitall letters: Why (quoth he) a man may ſee this, if hee were ſtarke blinde, and had never an eie in his head: but *Theocritus* of *Chios* his priſoner, he put to death, for that, when one to comfort him, came and ſaid: That if the kings eies once had a ſight of him, he ſhould be pardoned, and ſave his life: Why then (quoth he) God have mercie upon me; for impoſſible it is for me to eſcape death: which he ſaid, becauſe king *Antigonus* had but one eie. *Leo* the Bizantine, when *Paſiades* objected unto him his bleered eies, ſaying: Mine eies be ſore with looking upon yours: Goe to (quoth he) you twit and reproch me, for a bodily infirmity that I have, and never looke your ſelfe upon a ſonne of your owne, who carrieth the vengeance of God upon his ſhoulders: now this *Paſiades* had a ſonne, who was crumpt-ſhouldred and bunch-backed. Likewiſe *Archippus*, who in his time bare a great ſway in *Athens*, as being one of the oratours who led the people, and ruled the State, was very angry with *Melanthius*, who alluding to his bunch-backe, and ſcoffing thereat, uſed theſe tearmes: That he did not ſtand manfully upright in the defence of the citie, but *ſtouped and bended forward, as if he had ſuffered it likewiſe to leane, reele, and ſincke downward. And yet ſome there be, who can carrie theſe broad jeſts patienly, and with good moderation; as one of the minions of king *Antigonus*, who having craved of him a talent in free gift, and ſeeing that he was denied it, required at the kings hands, that he would allow him a good ſtrong guard to accompanie him: For feare (quoth he) that I be forlaied by the way, and rifled by him, who enjoined me to carrie a talent of ſilver at my backe. See, how men are diverſly affected in theſe externall things, by reaſon of the inequallitie of their maimes, ſome after one ſort, and ſome after another. *Epaminondas* ſitting at a feaſt with his companions and colleagues in government, dranke wine as ſharpe as vineger, and when they asked him why he did ſo, and whether it made for his health? I know not that (quoth he) but well I wot this, that good it is to put mee in minde of my home diet. And therefore in caſting out of jeſts and pleaſant taunts, regard would be had of mens natures and diſpoſitions, for that ſome have broader backs to beare ſcoffes than others: and endevour we muſt, ſo to converſe with men both in bourd and in earneſt, that wee offend no perſon, but be acceptable unto all.

* Græcè, melius.

As for love, a paſſion very divers it is, and paſſing variable, as in all other things, ſo in jeſts and gibes eſpecially: for that ſome will take offence and be ſoone angry, others will be merrie and laugh it out, if they be touched in that point; and therefore above all things the opportunitie of the time would be well obſerved: for like as when a fire is newly kindled and but weake at the firſt, the winde will put it quite out, but when it hath gotten ſtrength and burneth foorth, it mainteineth, feedeth, and augmenteth the flame; even ſo love, when it is a breeding, and whiles it lieth ſecret, and ſheweth not it ſelfe, quickly taketh diſpleaſure and offence againſt thoſe that diſcover it; but when it is once broken foorth, and is made apparent and knowen to all, then nouriſhed it is, and taketh delight to be blowen (as it were) and enflamed more with ſcoffes and merry jeſtes: and that which pleaſeth lovers beſt is this, when they be jeſted with, in the preſence of thoſe whom they love, and namely in love matters, otherwiſe not; and if the caſe ſtand ſo, that they be woonderfully enamoured upon their owne wedded wives, or yoong laddes by the way of honeſt and vertuous love, then they joy exceedingly, they glory and take a pride, in being ſcoffed at for the love of them. Heereupon *Arceſilaus* being upon a time in his ſchoole; when one of theſe profeſſed lovers and amorous perſons, chaunced in communication, to give him theſe words: Me thinks this that you have ſaid toucheth none of this companie; replied thus and ſaid: No more than you are touched and mooved; and withall, ſhewed him a faire and well favoured youth in the prime of his yeeres ſitting by him. Furthermore, good regard and conſideration would be had, who they be that are preſent and in place, for otherwhiles, men are diſpoſed to take up a laughter at merry words which they heare among friends and familiars, who would not take it well, but be offended thereat, if the ſame were delivered before wife, father, or ſchoole-maſter, unleſſe it were ſome thing that agreed very well with their humour: as for example, if one ſhould mocke a companion of his before a philoſopher, for going bare-footed, or ſitting up at his booke all night long, ſtudying and writing; or in the preſence of his father for being thriftie, and ſpending little; or in the hearing of his owne wife, that he cannot skill of courting and loving other dames, but is altogether devoted and ſerviceable unto her alone: thus *Tigranes* in *Xenophon*, was mocked by *Cyrus*, in theſe tearmes: What and if your wife, ſhould heare ſay that you made a page of your ſelfe, and caried your bedding and other ſtuffe upon your owne necke? She ſhall not (quoth he) heare it, but be an eie witneſſe thereof, and ſee it in her preſence. Furthermore, when they who give out ſuch merrie taunts as theſe, be partakers therein, and in ſome ſort doe include themſelves withall; leſſe blame-woorthy they are, and nothing ſo much to be reproved; as for example: when

a

a poore man glaunceth againſt povertie, or a new upſtart and gentleman of the firſt head, againſt meane parentage, or an amorous perſon girdeth at the wantonneſſe of another lover; for it may ſeeme thereby, that there was no meaning and intent to offend or offer wrong, but that all was merrily ſpoken, ſeeing they partcipate in the like defects, for otherwiſe it might nippe very much, and go too neere to the quicke. Thus one of the affranchiſed or freed men of the emperour, growen up on a ſudden to be exceeding rich, bare himſelfe very proud, and diſdainfull to certeine philoſophers, who ſat at the table and ſupped together with him, inſulting very inſolently over them, and in the end comming out with this fooliſh queſtion: How it came to paſſe that the broth or pottage made of beanes, whether they were blacke or white, looked greene alike? *Aridices* one of the philoſophers there in place, asked him preſently againe, what the reaſon was, that the wales or marks of ſtripes and laſhes, were all red indifferently, whether the whippes were made of white or blacke leather thongs? at which reply, the other was ſo daſhed, and diſquieted, that he roſe from the boord in a pelting chafe, and would not tarie. But *Amphias* of *Tarſis* (ſuppoſed to be no better than a gardiners ſonne) having by way of ſcorn ſcoffed at one of the familiar friends of the lord deputie there, for his meane birth, taking himſelfe immediately with the maner: But why ſay I ſo? for we (quoth he) are come of no better ſeeds; made the party and all the company to laugh heartily. Semblably, there was a minſtrell or profeſſed muſician, who kindly and with a very good grace, repreſſed the preſumptuous curioſitie and unskilfulneſſe of king *Philip,* who forgat himſelfe ſo much, that hee would needs reade a lecture as it were unto the ſaid minſtrell, how he ſhould finger and ſtrike; finding fault with him in certeine accords of muſicke: Ah, God forbid, (quoth he) my good leege lord that it ſhould go ſo heard with your grace, as to be more skilful in this art than my ſelfe; for thus whiles he ſeemed to mocke himſelfe, he told the king of his fault without offence: and this ſeemeth to be a device that comicall poets otherwhiles practiſe, to allay the bitter gall of their quips & taunts, namely, to ſcoffe at themſelves, as *Ariſtophanes* uſed to make ſport with his own bald pate: and *Cratinus* noted himſelfe, that he loved wine ſo well, in that comedie which he intituled *Pytine,* that is to ſay, a bottle or flagon of wine: but above all, this regard and conſideration would be had, that all ſuch ſcoffes and merrie jeſtes, come from a man *ex tempore,* and readily, either by way of anſwer to a preſent demaund, or occaſioned upon ſome other ſudden ſcoffe, and in no wiſe to ſeeme farre fetcht, as a thing premeditate & ſtudied on before: for like as men beare and endure with more patience, the anger and debates among themſelves, ariſing now and then at the table, whiles they be in the middes of their cups; but if another ſtranger ſhould come in place, and offer abuſe to any of the gueſts, and ſo trouble the company, hee ſhould be reputed an enemie, and for very hatred they would thruſt him out of the dores by head & ſhoulders; even ſo, we can find in our harts, eaſily to pardon a ſcoffe, a frump, or broad jeſt, if it proceed from ſome matter, at the preſent deliverie, or ſeeme to come naturally, unforced, and without all art; but in caſe it be not occaſioned preſently, nor reſpective to the purpoſe, but drawen (as one would ſay) violently by the haire of the head from elſwhere; then it reſembleth ſome ambuſh fore-laied afarre off, for to wrong and do injurie to one perſon or other; like to that jeſt of *Timagenes,* which he diſcharged upon the husband of a woman, who was wont ordinarily to caſt up her gorge, in this maner:

With muſicke bad you doe begin,
*Thus * vomiting to bring her in.*

As alſo the demand propoſed unto the philoſopher *Athenodorus,* whether the love of parents to their children, be * muſicall. For ſurely, ſuch unſeaſonable cuts and taunts as theſe, not accommodate to time and place, nor fitted to the preſent occaſion, doe bewray a malicious minde, and a deliberate purpoſe, to offer wrong and abuſe: and therfore ſuch perſons as delight in theſe biting girds, many times for a word, which is the lighteſt thing in the world, as *Plato* ſaith, have paied a moſt heavie and grievous price; whereas contrariwiſe, they that know how to place their words in due time, in meet place, and aptly to the purpoſe, do verifie the teſtimonie of the ſame *Plato,* who ſaith: That it is an aſſured ſigne of a mans good bringing up, and the point of liberall nurture and inſtruction, to know how to jeſt with a decent grace, and without the offence of any perſon.

* τὴν δὲ μοῦσαν εἰσάγων. which ſoundeth all one with τὴν δ᾽ ἐμοῦσαν εἰσάγων. that hath a farre different ſenſe: reade according to the former, it ſignifieth muſicke: after the later, it betokeneth vomiting.

This equivocation in Greeke, carrieth that grace with it, which I can not ſo aptly expreſſe in Engliſh. * μουσική. ſome reade φυσική. that is to ſay, naturall. How ever it be, you muſt underſtand it of wanton love, which is neither naturall nor harmonicall. For this *Athenodorus* was noted for inceſt with one of his daughters.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Why men be more hungrie, and eat better in Autumne, than in any other quarter of the yeere?

IN the borough *Eleuſine*, after the ceremonies of ſacred myſteries were performed, whē as the ſolemnitie (celebrated with ſo frequent concourſe of people) was at the higheſt, we were feaſted by *Glaucias* the oratour in his houſe; where when others had made an end of ſupper, *Xenocles* his brother, began after his maner, to cavill and ſcoffe at my brother *Lamprias*, twitting him with his large feeding, and indeed hitting in his teeth and reproching him with the voracitie of the Bœotians, who are taken to be good trencher-men: whereupon I (in the defence of my brother, and to be revenged of *Xenocles*) tooke occaſion out of the doctrine of *Epicurus*, and ſaid unto him: What (good ſir) all men do not define and determine the utmoſt point and perfection of pleaſure, to be indolence or the privation of paine, as your good maſter *Epicurus* doth: and beſides, my brother *Lamprias*, who honoureth and eſteemeth more the walking galleries of the Peripateticks, and the ſchoole of the Stoicks, called *Lyceum*, than he doth the garden of *Epicurus*, muſt of neceſſitie and in effect, beare witneſſe to *Ariſtotle*, who affirmeth: That there is no man, but he eateth more in Autumne, than in any other ſeaſon of the yeere: and a reaſon he giveth thereof, although it be now out of my head. So much the better (quoth *Glaucias*) for we our ſelves will ſee if we can finde it out after ſupper is done. Now when the tables were taken away, *Glaucias* and *Xenocles* both, imputed the cauſe thereof to the ſundry fruits of that ſeaſon, and that after a divers ſort. For one ſaid, that new fruits do make the bellie ſoluble, and ſo by evacuation of the bodie, engender alwaies freſh appetites to meat. The other, to wit, *Xenocles*, affirmed, that theſe fruits (for the moſt part) carrie with them a certeine piercing and mordicant quallitie, yet pleaſant withall, whereby they provoke and quicken the ſtomacke to appetite, more than any viands or ſauces whatſoever; inſomuch as thoſe who be ſickly, and have loſt their ſtomacks, recover the ſame many times, by eating ſome of thoſe fruits new gathered. But *Lamprias* alledged, that our familiar and naturall heat, by which we are nouriſhed in Summer time, is diſperſed, and becommeth more feeble and reſolved: but contrariwiſe, upon the entrance of Autumne, it gathereth it ſelfe together inwardly againe, and is fortified by the meanes of the colde ambient aire, which knitteth, conſtreineth, and cloſeth up the pores of the bodie. Then I (becauſe it ſhould not be thought that I would be one to participate in this conference without contributing ſomewhat of mine owne, when my courſe came to ſpeake) declared, that in Summer time, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat of the weather, we are more thirſtie, and in regard of the ſame heat and drought, take in more moiſture and liquid nouriſhment: Now therefore, nature (quoth I) by reaſon of the change of the aire and the ſeaſon, ſeeking (as her maner is) for the contrary, cauſeth us to be more hungry in Autumne, than at other times, and for the temperature of the bodie, rendereth unto it as much drie food, as it had taken moiſture in Summer time: and yet a man can not well ſay, that the cauſe of this effect dependeth nothing at all of the viands which we eat, conſiſting much of new and freſh fruits, not onely thicke gruels and pottage, but alſo of pulſet wheat-bread, and fleſh, reared the ſame yeere, which being more ſavory than thoſe of the yeeres paſt, do by conſequence provoke thoſe that uſe to feed upon them, for to eat better.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Whether was before, The hen or the egge?

THis long time I abſteined from eating egges, by reaſon of a certeine dreame which I had, being deſirous to make that experience in an egge, which is made in an heart, by occaſion of a viſion which hath evidently appeared unto me many times in my ſleepe. And heereupon, when I was one day at a feaſt which *Soſſius Senecio* made unto us, the companie conceived an opinion or ſuſpition of me, that there were entred into my head, the fantaſies and ſuperſtitions of *Orpheus* & *Pythagoras*, and that I abhorred to eat an egge, like as many do forbeare the heart and the braine of a living creature; for that I beleeved it to be the principle and fountaine of generation: inſomuch as *Alexander* the Epicurean, by way of a jeſt, and to move laughter, alledged theſe verſes:

I count all one, to make of beanes, our meat,*
As if the heads of parents we did eat.

* κυάμους.

As who would ſay, that the Epicureans by this word κυάμους. that is to ſay, beanes, meant ænigmatically and covertly, egges, becauſe that the breeding of yoong, or conception, in Greeke, is called κυήσεις. as if there were no difference at all, but they thought it all one to eat egges and the living creatures which lay them. Now if I had alledged my dreame unto them, for my defence, as the very cauſe of mine abſtinence, certes, mine anſwere would have ſeemed more abſurd and ridiculous, than the dreame it ſelfe, eſpecially, to this Epicurean: and therefore I ſtood not greatly upon excuſing my ſelfe unto the ſaid *Alexander*, playing upon me ſo merrily, but ſuffered him to feed and mainteine that opinion conceived of me: for ſurely, a pleaſant man he was, honeſt, civill, and well learned. Howbeit, he tooke occaſion heereupon, to ſet on foot that doubtfull queſtion of the egge and the bird, which had buſied and amuzed the heads ſo much of great naturalliſts, and ſearchers into the cauſes of naturall works, and namely to know, whether of the twaine was before? Whereat *Sylla* our familiar friend ſaid: That with this little queſtion of the henne and the egge, as with a ſmall lever, ſcrew, or ſuch like engine, we ſhaked the great frame and weightie fabricke of the generation of the whole world, and therefore willed him to ſurceaſe and proceed no farther, to ſpeake thereof. But when *Alexander* laughed at it, and made no more reckoning of it, than of a ridiculous queſtion of no importance, nor conſequence at all depending thereof; my ſonne in law ***Firmus*** began in this wiſe: I muſt heere borrow (quoth he) the indiviſible elements of ***Epicurus***, and make uſe of thoſe motes or attomi of his; for if it be true which he ſuppoſeth and laieth for a ground: That ſmall principles ſhould affoord beginning to great bodies; it ſoundeth by all likelihood to great reaſon, that the egge was before the henne: for as farre foorth as by our ſenſes we are able to judge, it is more ſimple, whereas the henne is a body mixt and compounded; and to ſpeake in generalitie, the principle or element is ever firſt: the ſeed is a principle, and the egge full of ſeed, and leſſe, than the chicke or living creature that is hatched of it: for like as the progreſſe and proceeding unto vertue is of a middle nature, betweene the firſt diſpoſition and the finall habit and perfection thereof; even ſo it ſhould ſeeme, that the egge is a certeine proceſſe and advancement forward of nature, tending to make a living creature of the ſeed diſpoſed thereto: moreover, as in a beaſt or ſuch a living creature it is commonly ſaid and received, that the arteries and veines bee formed firſt; ſemblablie, good reaſon there is to hold, that the egge was before the bird, as the continent before the thing conteined within: for ſo it is with very arts, which make the firſt draught of their works groſly without forme & faſhion; but afterwards give diſtinct figure and ſhape to every part thereof, according to that which ***Polycletus*** the famous imager was woont to ſaie: That their workemanſhip in potterie was then moſt difficult and hard, when the claie and the finger naile mette together: that is to ſay, when the worke was at the point to be finiſhed: and therefore it ſtandeth well to good reaſon, that the matter yeelding and obeying but ſlowly unto nature at the beginning, when ſhe mooveth and frameth by little and little, produceth at the firſt, rude lumpes and maſſes, not as yet brought into ſhape and faſhion, ſuch as egges be; but as the ſame grow to receive the impreſſion of ſome forme, there is afterwards wrought out and framed a living creature within: for like as there is engendred firſt a grub, which in time growing hard by reaſon of drineſſe, cleaveth and openeth in the end, and putteth foorth another little winged flie, which we call *Nympha*, before it is a perfect bee; after the ſame manner, the egge heere is the firſt ſubſiſtent matter of generation; for neceſſarie it is, that in every change and tranſmutation, that muſt precede and have a being firſt, which is to be altered and turned into another: ſee you not how cankers or catterpillers are bred in trees, and wormes in wood, either by the putrefaction, or concoction of humiditie? and will any man deny that the ſaid moiſture went before; and that by order of nature, that which ingendreth is more auncient than that which is ingendred? for as *Plato* ſaith: The matter in all things that breed, ſerveth in ſtead of mother & nource; and that is to be counted the matter, whereof the thing is compoſed, & conſiſteth which is bred. And now for that which remaineth (quoth he, and therewith he laughed) I will ſing unto thoſe that be ſkilfull and of underſtanding, one holy and ſacred ſentence, taken out of the deepe ſecrets of ***Orpheus***, which not onely importeth thus much, that the egge was before the henne, but alſo attributeth and adjudgeth unto it, the right of elderſhip and priority of all things in the world: as for the reſt, let them remaine unſpoken of in ſilence (as ***Herodotus*** ſaith) for that they be exceeding divine and myſticall; this onely will I ſpeake by the way: That the world conteining as it doeth, ſo many ſorts and ſundry kinds of living creatures, there is not in manner one I dare well ſay, exempt from being ingendred of an egge, for the egge bringeth foorth birds and foules that flie; fiſhes an infinit number that ſwimme; land creatures, as lizards; ſuch as live both on land & water, as crocodiles; thoſe that be two footed, as the bird; ſuch as are footleſſe, as the ſerpent; and laſt of all, them which have many feet, as the unwinged locuſt. Not without great reaſon therefore is it conſecrated to the ſacred ceremonies and myſteries of *Bacchus*, as repreſenting that nature which produceth and comprehendeth in it ſelfe all things.

When *Firmus* had diſcourſed in this wiſe, *Senecio* oppoſed himſelfe and ſaid: That the laſt ſimilitude and compariſon which he brought, was that, which firſt and principally made againſt him: For you marke not ô *Firmus* (quoth he) how ere you were aware, you opened the world like a gate, as the proverbe ſaith, even upon your ſelfe; for that the world was before all other things, as being moſt perfect, and reaſon would, that whatſoever is perfect, ſhould precede the unperfect; the entier and ſound goe before that which is wanting and defectious; and the whole before the part, for that there can be no parcell, but the whole thereof went before: for no man uſeth to ſpeake thus: The ſeeds-man, or the egges henne; but cōtrariwiſe we ſay: The mans ſeed, and the hennes egge, as if both generative ſeed and egge did ſucceed and follow them, taking their owne generation in them firſt, and afterwards paying againe (as it were a debt unto nature) a ſucceſſive generation from them: for need they have of that which is proper and familiar unto them, and thereupon are endued with a naturall deſire and inclination, to produce ſuch another thing as that was from whence they came: and heereupon it is, that ſeed is thus defined, to be a geniture or thing bred, having need and deſire of new generation. Now there is nothing that either ſtandeth in need or hath an appetite to that which is not, or hath no being: and wee may plainly ſee, that egges have their totall eſſence and ſubſtance, from that compact knot and compoſition which is gathered within the body of a living creature, and faileth heerein onely, that it hath not ſuch organes, inſtruments, and veſſels as they have; which is the reaſon that you ſhall never finde written in any hiſtorie, that an egge was ingendred immediately of the earth; for even the poets themſelves doe ſay: That the egge out of which ſprang *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, fell from heaven; whereas the earth even at this day produceth many complet and perfect creatures; as for example, mice in *Aegypt*, and in many other places, ſerpents, frogges, and graſhoppers, by reaſon that the principle and puiſſance generative, is infuſed and inſerted into it from without. In *Sicilie* during the time of the Servile warre, much carnage there was, and a great quantitie of bloud ſhedde and ſpilt upon the earth, many dead bodies corrupted and putrified above ground, lying unburied; by occaſion whereof, an infinit number of locuſts were engendred, which being ſpred over the face of the whole iſland, ſpoiled and deſtroied all the corne in the countrey: all theſe creatures therefore are bred and fedde of the earth; and of their nouriſhment they yeeld a generall ſuperfluitie, apt to ingender the ſame kind, and that is called, ſeed; and for to be diſcharged thereof, by meanes of a certeine mutuall pleaſure, the male and the female match and couple together; and ſo ſome according to their nature, breed and lay egges; others bring foorth yoong ones alive; whereby it is evidently ſeene, that the primitive generation came firſt and immediatly from the earth, but afterwards, by a certeine conjunction of one with another, in a ſecond ſort, they breed their yoong. In ſumme, to ſay that the egge was before the hen, is as much as if the matrice were before the woman; for looke what relation there is betweene the ſaid matrice and the egge, the ſemblable hath the egge unto the chicken that is ingendered and hatched within it. So that, to demand how birds were made when there were egges, is all one, as to aske how men and women were created, before the naturall parts and genetall members of the one ſex and the other were made? And verily the members for the moſt part, have their ſubſiſtence and being together with the whole; but the powers and faculties come after thoſe members; the functions ſucceed the faculties, and conſequently, the effects or complements follow upon the ſaid functions and operation: now the accompliſhed worke or perfection of that generative facultie in the naturall parts, is the ſeed or the egge: ſo that we muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe, that they be, after the generation of the whole. Conſider moreover, that, as it is not poſſible that there ſhould be concoction of meats or any nouriſhment, before the living creature be fully made and compleat, no more can there be any ſeed or egge; for that both the one and the other, is made by certeine concoctions and alterations: neither is it ſeene, how before the full perfection of a living creature, there ſhould be any thing that hath the nature of the ſuperfluity or excrement of nutrition; and yet I muſt needs ſay, that naturall ſeed otherwiſe, in ſome ſort, may go for the principle and beginning of life; whereas the egge in no proportion anſwereth to ſuch a principle, for that it hath not a ſubſiſtence firſt, nor any reaſon or nature of the whole, becauſe it is imperfect. And hereupon it is, that we never ſay, that a living creaure had any being or ſubſiſtence, without an elementarie beginning: but we affirme, that there was a principle of generation, to wit, the power or facultie generative, by which the matter was tranſmuted, and wherein there was imprinted a generall temperature; and that the egge afterwards, is as it were a certein ſupergeneration, much like unto the bloud & milke of a living creature, after nouriſhment & concoction: for never ſhall you ſee an egge engendred of mud; for that an egge hath the generation and concretion within the bodie onely of a living creature; whereas there be an innumerable ſort of creatures procreated & bred of mud and within mud. And to ſeeke no further for allegation of other examples to prove this, there be taken every day an infinit number of eeles, and yet never ſaw any man one eele, either milter or ſpawner, or that had any row in it. And more than that, if one let out all the water forth out of the poole, and cleanſe it from all mud and mire, yet after the water is returned thither againe into the place, there will be eeles ſoone engendred. And therefore we may conclude neceſſarily, that whatſoever in generation hath need of another, can not chuſe but be after it; and that which otherwiſe may be of it ſelfe, and without the other, muſt of neceſſitie precede and goe before in generation: for this is that prioritie whereof I ſpeake. To prove this, marke how birds do build and make their neſts before they lay egges; women alſo provide cradles, clouts, beds, and ſwadling-clothes for their little babes, before they crie out, or be delivered; and yet you will not ſay (I trow) that either the neſt was before the egge, or the ſwadling cloths before the infant. For (as *Plato* ſaith) the earth doth not imitate a woman, but a woman the earth; and conſequently, all other females. And very like it is, that the firſt procreation out of the earth, was performed entire, and accompliſhed by the abſolute vertue and perfection of the Creatour, without need of ſuch inſtruments, veſſels, or ſecondines, which nature deviſeth now, and frameth in parents, by reaſon of their imbecillity and weakneſſe.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether wreſtling were of all the exerciſes and games of priſe, moſt ancient or no?

WE made a feaſt in the honour of *Soſicles* the Coronean, for joy of the victorie which hee obteined at the Pythicke games, over all other poets. And when the time drew neere at hand, wherein the Gymnicke maſteries and feats of activity, were to be performed; the greateſt talke was at table, as touching the wreſtlers; for that many of them reſorted thither, and thoſe the moſt renowmed champions of all *Greece*. In our company was *Lyſimachus*, one of the agents or procuratours of the high commiſſioners, called *Amphictyones*, who moved ſpeech, and ſaid, how not long before, he heard a Grammarian ſay: That wreſtling was the moſt ancient combat of all thoſe exerciſes that were named Gymnicke, for that they were performed by men naked; and he added moreover: That the very name thereof in Greeke, imported no leſſe; for πάλη, alludeth neere unto πάλαι, which is as much as [of olde] or [in times paſt.] And it may ſeeme (quoth he) that ordinarily, the things that be moderne and newly deviſed, borrow the names impoſed upon thoſe that be of more antiquity: for ſo we ſay that αὐλὸς, that is to ſay, the fluit or hautboies, is turned, borrowing the tearme of ναυλὴ, which is a pſalterie or ſtringed inſtrument: and we call even at this day, αὐλήματα, .i. the playing upon the pipe or hautboies, by the name of κρούματα, that is to ſay, ſtriking with the fingers, which no doubt is a tearme fetched from the harpe or lute. And even ſo, the very place where they do exerciſe, who performe all feats of activitie naked, is named παλαίστρα, of πάλη, that is to ſay, wreſtling; which (no doubt) was a denomination given to it at the firſt, and time out of mind, howſoever it be reteined ſtill, and extendeth to other exerciſes invented ſince, & taken up long after. Then began I, and ſaid: That this argument and teſtimonie, was not ſufficient to conclude thereupon: For admit (quoth I) that *Palæſtra* was derived of πάλη, which ſignifieth wreſtling, yet it was not becauſe of all others it was moſt ancient, but for that it is the only exerciſe that requireth cley, called πήλος, duſt alſo and *ceroma*, which is a compoſition of oile and waxe, wherewith wreſtlers be anointed. For ſurely, in theſe places, called *Palæſtræ*, there is practiſed neither running a race, nor fiſt-fight or combat with buffets, but only wreſtling, called πάλη, and *Pancration*, wherein they go to it with hand and foot, yea, and by the very teeth and all: for that in theſe two exerciſes, the champions lie along otherwhiles, and wallow in the duſt and mire, named πήλος. And evident it is, that *Pancration* is a mixt exerciſe of wreſtling and fiſt-fight. Againe: What likelihood or reaſon is there (quoth I) that wreſtling, which of all combats is moſt wittie and artificiall, ſhould likewiſe be of greateſt antiquitie? for need and neceſſitie produceth that firſt, which is ſimple, plaine, and without arte; performed rather by fine force and maine violence, than by rule and method. When I had thus delivered my conceit, *Soſicles* ſeconding my words: True it is (quoth he) that you ſay, and the better to confirme your opinion; it ſeemeth unto me, that πάλη is derived of the verbe παλαίειν, that is to ſay, to overthrow or lay one along by craft and deceit. Nay rather (quoth *Philinus*) it tooke the name of παλαιστης, that is to ſay, the flat palme of the hand, becauſe this part eſpecially of both the hands is moſt emploied by them that wreſtle; like as thoſe, who go to buffets, uſe their two fiſts or hands clutched together; whereupon, that maner of fight is called πύγμη, that ſignifieth, a fiſt; and the other, πάλη of παλαιστης, that is to ſay, the broad palme of the hand. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the poets uſe this verbe παλῦναι, for συμπάσαι and κονιπάσαι, that is, to ſtrew and ſprinckle duſt, which we ſee wreſtlers for to practiſe more than any other champions, it may be very well, that the word πάλη, was derived from παλῦναι Conſider yet moreover (quoth he) how the curriers or runners in a race, do all that lies in them, to leave their concurrents a great way behind, and be as farre before them as poſſibly they can; thoſe alſo that fight at buffets, though other-whiles they be very deſirous to buckle and cloſe together, yet the wardens and judges of the games will not permit them once to catch hold: but we ſee that wreſtlers onely doe claſpe about, and imbrace one another with their armes; and the moſt part of their ſtriving one againſt another, whether it be performed by taking hold either directly or indirectly, by tripping, by coping and tugging, doe all bring them together, and enterlace them: ſo that it is not unlike, that by reaſon they approch ſo as they do, and be neereſt one to another, their wreſtling was firſt called πάλη, of πέλας. which ſignifieth neere at hand.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that Homer *among the combats of prize, ſetteth alwaies in the firſt place: The fight at buffets; in the ſecond, wreſtling; and laſt of all, running the race?*

When theſe words had paſſed to and fro, and after that wee had commended *Philinus*, *Lyſimachus* began againe, ſaying: And which of all the games of prize ſhould a man ſay was firſt performed? The race or carriere, as at the Olympique ſolemnities: for heere at the Pythique games, the manner is to bring in certeine champions at every ſeverall game or plaie: firſt boies to wreſtle, and after them, men-wreſtlers alſo; then thoſe that performe fiſt-fight, one after another; and likewiſe the champions called *Pancratiaſtæ*: but there, after that children have atchieved all their combats, the men growen were called in: Mary, this I would have you to conſider well (quoth he) whether *Homer* hath not done very expreſly, to ſhew the order which was obſerved in his time? for alwaies in his poëmes the fight with fiſt among all the Gymnick combats, ſtandeth firſt; wreſtling ſecond; and the running of a courſe laſt: Heereat *Crates* the Theſſalian, woondring (as if he had beene amazed) O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of things are we ignorant of! but I beſeech you, that if you have readily under your hand any of his verſes, you would not thinke much to call them to our remembrance, and recite them: Why (quoth *Timon* then) it is well knowen in manner to all the world, and none there is but his eares reſound againe with this; that in the honorable funerals of *Patroclus*, the ſame order of combats was preciſely obſerved; and the poet keeping the ſame order ſtill, and never miſſing it, hath brought in *Achilles* ſpeaking unto good *Neſtor* in this manner:

Heere father old, I give to thee,
This gift of meere gratuitee:
For now with fiſt thou maiſt not fight:
To wreſtle ſtill thou haſt no might:
Thou canſt no more the javelin launce,
Nor in the race thy ſelfe advaunce.

And anon he inferreth the aged grey-beard, anſwering with a long traine of words, as the maner is of theſe old folke, after this ſort:

The time was when at buffet fight,
the prize I wonne in field,

And with my fiſt made Clitomede
ſir Oenops *ſonne, to yeeld:*
Ancæus *the Pleuronien*
in wreſtling gave me place,
And Iphiclus *by foot-manſhip,*
I overranne in race.

Afterwards in another place he ſpeaketh of *Ulyſſes*, challenging the Phæocians to combat in this wiſe:

At buffets dry with good hard clutched fiſt,
At wreſtling, or at running, if you liſt.

But of *Alcinous* making a kinde of excuſe, and in ſort condemning himſelfe, in theſe words:

At buffets hard we fight not well,
Ne yet in wreſtling doe excell:
But ſwift of foot, and light we are,
And runne a courſe with you we dare.

Thus you may ſee his order, he changeth not upon any occaſion or occurrence preſented, neither raſhly, and as it came into his head, now in one ſort, and then in another; but folowing from point to point, as it were by a certeine rule and preſcript, what was the uſe in thoſe daies, and what was done then; he keepeth himſelfe to the ſame method, according as they likewiſe obſerve ſtill in the ſaid auncient order. After that my brother had finiſhed his ſpeech, I ſaid: That in mine advice he had ſpoken very well and truely to the point; but yet for all that, I could not conceive the reaſon of the ſaid order: and ſome other were there preſent, who thought it unlikely, and were not perſwaded, that in caſe of combat and atchieving feats of activitie for victorie, either fighting with fiſts, or wreſtling, ſhould goe before running: and therfore they requeſted me to ſearch farther into the matter, and to fetch the reaſon thereof from the verie original: whereupon I ſet in hand preſently and *ex tempore*, ſpake to this effect: That I thought all theſe combats to be the very repreſentations and exerciſes of warfare; for proofe whereof, the cuſtome was and is at this day, after that theſe combats be performed, to bring into the place a foot-man in complet harneis, and armed at all pieces, as it were to witneſſe, that this is the end whereunto tend all theſe exerciſes of the body, the contentions alſo and æmulations, for to gaine the prize, and the priviledge graunted unto the victours when they returned with triumph to thoſe cities where they were borne; namely, to make ſome breach in the walles, and to throw downe ſome part thereof: the myſtery and meaning whereof is thus much; that the walles of a citie ſerve in ſmall ſtead, if there be no men in it who are able to fight, and know how to winne the victorie. In *Lacedæmon* they that once had gained the prize at theſe ſacred and crowned games; by a ſpeciall priviledge of honour, were allowed a certeine place in the battell, to be raunged neere unto the kings perſon, and there to fight: and of all living creatures, there is none but the horſe onely that can obteine the crowne in ſuch games; for that he alone of all beaſts, is by nature framed, and by diſcipline trained to accompany men in battels, and with them to fight: now if this be true, and to the purpoſe: We obſerve moreover (quoth I) that the firſt and principall worke of thoſe who fight in the field, is to ſtrike the enemie, and to ward his blowes; the ſecond is, when they be come to cloſe and to grapple with hand-gripes, to thruſt and aſſay how to overturne and lay one another under-foot: which by report was the vauntage, that our countrimen being well practiſed in the feat of wreſtling, had over the Spartans, at the battel of *Leuctres*, whereby they overthrew them, & bare them to the ground: this alſo was the cauſe that *Aeſchylus* the poet in one place, ſpeaking of a valiant warrior, nameth him:

A wreſtler ſtout, and tried in field,
To fight it out with ſword and ſhield.

And *Sophocles* in one of his tragedies ſpeaking likewiſe of the Trojanes, reporteth thus much of them in theſe tearmes:

They love great horſes for to ſit,
as valiant men at armes;
Bowes horned at both ends they bend,
and draw with ſtrength of armes;
They fight ſo cloſe, they catch ſuch hold,
and gripe faſt with hands twaine,

That in their wreſtling, all their ſhields
reſound and ring againe.

The third is this, when all is done, either to flie and runne away apace, if they be vanquiſhed, or elſe to follow hard in chaſe, if they be conquerors. By good right therefore, the fight with fiſts goeth firſt; wreſtling followeth in the ſecond place; and running commeth in the laſt; for that buffetting repreſenteth the charging of the enemie, and the avoiding of his recharge; wreſtling may be compared with the violent buckling and conflict pel-mell in the medly; and by running, they learne how to purſue, or to eſcape by good footmanſhip.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Why the pine, ſapine, or pitch tree, and ſuch other as yeeld roſin, will not abide to be graffed in the ſcutchion, or by way of inoculation.

Soclarus feaſting us upon a time within his orchards, which were well watered, and environed all about with the river *Cephiſus*, ſhewed unto us trees carying armes and braunches of ſundry ſorts, after a very ſtrange manner, and all by the meanes of a kinde of graffing in the budde, called inoculation: for there ſaw wee olive boughes growing out of lentiſke or maſtick trees; pomgranats out of myrtles; oakes there were which put foorth faire pirries or peare-trees; and plane-trees that admitted and adopted apple trees; figge-trees alſo which were grafted with mulbery impes and cions; other mixtures there were beſides of wilde plants, ſo tamed and made gentle, that they bare frute: whereupon ſome other of the gueſts began to jeſt and be merry with *Soclarus*, ſaying: That he nouriſhed certeine kinds of beaſts, more monſtrous than the fabulous Sphinges or Chimæraes of the poets. But *Craton* propoſed this queſtion: What the cauſe might be, that thoſe trees onely which be oileous and full of roſin, admit not any ſuch mixtures and compoſitions? For never ſhall you ſee pine tree that beareth the nuts, cypres tree, pitch tree or ſapine, to mainteine or feede the graffe of a tree different in kinde. Then *Philo*, there is (quoth he) one maxime or principle held among the learned, and the ſame confirmed by the experience of husbandmen: That oile is an enemie to all plants; and there is not a readier way to kill what tree ſoever a man will, than to rubbe or beſmeare it with oile; like as bees alſo by that meanes are ſoone deſtroied: ſo it is therefore, that all thoſe trees which have beene named, are of a fattie ſubſtance, and have a ſoft and uncteous nature, inſomuch as there diſtilleth and droppeth from them pitch and roſin; and if a man make a gaſh or inciſion in any of them, they yeeld from within, a certeine bloudie liquor or gumme, yea, and there iſſueth from the tortch ſtaves made of them, an oileous humour, which ſhineth againe, becauſe they are ſo fattie & unguinous: This is the reaſon why they will not joine and be concorporate with other trees, no more than oile it ſelfe be mingled with other liquors. When *Philo* had done with his ſpeech, *Crato* added thus much moreover: That in his opinion, the nature of their rinde or barke, made ſomewhat for the ſaid matter; for the ſame being thinne and drie withall, yeeldeth neither a ſure ſeat & ſocket as it were to the impes or buds (which there dies) to reſt in, nor meanes to get ſappe and nutriment for to incorporate them; like as all thoſe plants which have barks verie tender, moiſt, and ſoft, whereby the graffes may be claſped, united, and ſoddered with thoſe parts that be under the ſaid barke. Then *Soclarus* himſelfe ſaid: That whoſoever made theſe reaſons, was in the right, and not deceived in his opinion; to thinke it neceſſarie, that the thing which is to receive another nature, ſhould be pliable and eaſie to follow every way; to the end, that ſuffring it ſelfe to be tamed and over-come, it might become of like nature, and turne the owne proper nutriment, into that which is ſet and graffed in it. Thus you ſee, how before wee ſow or plant, we eare and turne the earth, making it gentle, ſoft, and ſupple, that being in this manner wrought to our hand, and made tractable, it may be more willing to apply it ſelfe, for to embrace in her boſome whatſoever is either ſowen or planted; for contrariwiſe, a ground which is rough, ſtubborne, and tough, hardly will admit alteration: theſe trees therefore conſiſting of a light kinde of wood, becauſe they are unapt to be changed and overcome, will admit no concorporation with others: And moreover (quoth hee) evident it is, that the ſtocke in reſpect of that which is ſet and graffed into it, ought to have the nature of a ground which is tilled; now it is well knowen, that the earth muſt be of a female conſtitution, apt to conceive and beare; which is the cauſe that we make choiſe of thoſe trees for our ſtocks to graffe upon, which are moſt frutefull; like as we chuſe good milch women that have plenty of milke in their breſts, to be nurſes for other children beſides their owne, who we put unto them: but we ſee plainly, that the cypreſſe tree, the ſapin, and all ſuch like, be either barren altogether, or elſe beare very little frute: and like as men and women both who are exceeding corpulent, groſſe and fatte, are for the moſt part unable either to get or beare children; for ſpending all their nouriſhment as they doe in feeding the body, they convert no ſuperfluitie thereof into genetall ſeed; even ſo, theſe trees employing all the ſubſtance of their nouriture to fatten as it were themſelves, grow indeed to be very thicke and great; but either they beare no frute at all, or if they doe, the ſame is very ſmall, and long ere it come to maturitie and perfection: no marvell therefore that a ſtranger will not breede or grow there, whereas the owne naturall iſſue thriveth but badly.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of the ſtay-ſhip fiſh, Echeneis.

CHæremonianus the Trallien, upon a time when divers and ſundry ſmall fiſhes of all ſorts were ſet before us, ſhewed unto us one with a long head, and the ſame ſharpe pointed, and told us that it reſembled very much the ſtay-ſhip fiſh, called thereupon in Greeke *Echeneis,* and he reported moreover, that he had ſeene the ſaid fiſh, as he ſailed upon the Sicilian ſea, and marvelled not a little at the naturall force and propertie that it had, ſo ſenſiblie in ſome ſort to ſtay and hinder the courſe of a ſhippe under ſaile, untill ſuch time as the marriner who had the government of the prow or foredecke, eſpied it ſticking cloſe to the outſide of the ſhip. upon the relation of this ſtrange occurrent, ſome there were in place at that time, who laughed at *Chæremonianus*; for that this tale and fiction, deviſed for the nonce to make folke merry, and which was incredible, went currant with him, and was taken for good paiment: againe, others there were, who ſpake very much in the defence of the hidden properties, and ſecret antipathies or contrarieties in nature. There you ſhould have heard many other ſtrange paſſions and accidents; to wit, that an elephant being enraged and ſtarke mad, becommeth appeaſed immediatly, upon the ſight of a ram; alſo, that if a man hold a branch or twig of a beech tree cloſe unto a viper, and touch her therewith never ſo little, ſhe will preſently ſtay and ſtirre no farther; likewiſe, that a wilde bull, how wood and furious ſoever he be, will ſtand gently and be quiet, in caſe he be tied to a fig-tree; ſemblably, that amber doth remoove and draw unto it all things that be drie and light withall, ſave onely the herbe baſill, and whatſoever is beſmeered with oile; Item, that the Magnet or Lode-ſtone, will no more draw iron, when it is rubbed over with garlicke: the proofe and experience of which effects, is well knowen, but the cauſes thereof difficult, if not impoſſible to be found out. But I for my part, ſaid: That this was rather a ſhift and evaſion, to avoid a direct anſwere unto the queſtion propounded, than the allegation of a true cauſe pertinent thereto: for we daily ſee that there be many events and accidents concurring, reputed for cauſes, and yet be none; as for example, if one ſhould ſay or beleeve, that the blowming of the withie called Chaſt-tree, cauſeth grapes to ripen, becauſe there is a common word in every mans mouth.

Loe how the chaſt-trees now do flower,
And grapes wax ripe even at one hower.

or that by reaſon of the fungous matter ſeene to gather about the candle-ſnuffes or lamp-weeks, the aire is troubled, and the skie overcaſt; or that the hooking inwardly of the nailes upon the fingers, is the cauſe, and not an accident, of the ulcer of the lungs or ſome noble part within, which breedeth a conſumption. Like as therefore, every one of theſe particulars alledged, is a conſequent of divers accidents, proceeding all from the ſame cauſes; even ſo I am of this mind (quoth I) that one and the ſame cauſe, ſtaieth the ſhippe, and draweth the little fiſh *Echeneis* to ſticke unto the ſide thereof; for ſo long as the ſhip is drie, or not overcharged with moiſture ſoaking into it, it ſtands with great reaſon, that the keele glideth more ſmoothly away, by reaſon of the lightneſſe thereof, and cutteth merrily thorow the waves, which yeeld and give way willingly unto it, all the while it is cleane and void of filth; but after once (by being long drenched and ſoaked in the water, it hath gotten about the keele a deale of moſſe, reits, kilpe, and tangle, wherewith it is overgrowen and furred; then the wood of the ſaid keele or bottome, becommeth more dull, and not able to cut the waves ſo eaſily; and the water beating upon the moſſe and filth there engendred, reſteth there ſtill, and paſſeth not ſo eaſily away. The mariners therefore, ſeeing this, uſe to cleanſe the ſides of the ſhip, and to ſcrape off this moſſe, reits, and ſuch like baggage, from the planks and ribbes thereof, unto which it is like that the ſaid fiſh willingly cleaveth, as being a matter ſoft and tender : ſo that we may very well thinke, that by reaſon of it, as the principall cauſe the ſhip is ſtaied, and that it is not a conſequent or acceſſorie of that which cauſeth the ſlowneſſe thereof.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the horſes named Lycoſpades, be more couragious, and fuller of ſtomacke, than others?

SOme are of opinion, that theſe horſes Lycoſpades tooke their denomination of certeine rough and hard bits, called in Greeke, Λυκοι, by meanes whereof, being ſo ſtomakefull otherwiſe, and hard to be ruled, they were woont to be tamed and reſtrained : but my father, who was not a man ſo prompt and ready of ſpeech as others be, and given to ſpeake raſhly and without adviſement, howbeit, one who had not the leaſt skill in horſemanſhip, and loved alwaies to keepe the beſt horſes that might be come by, ſaid : That thoſe horſes (which being but colts) were ſet upon and aſſaulted by wolves, and yet were reſcued, eſcaped the danger of them, proved good mettall, and ſwift of pace; and there upon were named Lycoſpades. And for that many approoved this reaſon of his, and gave teſtimonie with him that he ſpake a trueth, occaſion was miniſtred thereby, to ſearch into the cauſe thereof; and namely, how and by what reaſon ſuch an accident as this might make horſes more generous and better ſpirited; and verily, the moſt part of the company there preſent, were of opinion, that the ſaid occurrent bred cowardiſe in horſes, rather than ſtomacke and generoſitie; and ſo, by reaſon that they became timorous thereby, and apt to be frighted upon every occaſion, therefore their motions were more quicke and lively; like as other wild beaſts alſo, when they chance to be entangled within net and toile: but I my ſelfe inferred, and ſaid : That it would be well and thorowly conſidered, whether it were not cleane contrary to that which appeared at the firſt ſight, and which they opined; for colts become not more ſwift and fleet of foot for avoiding the perill of being worried and devoured by wolves that ſet upon them, but rather, if they had not bene nimble and full of courage before, naturally, they could never have gotten away cleere, as they did, from the wolfe; no more than *Ulyſſes* proved a wiſe man, becauſe he avoided the danger of that giant *Cyclops Polyphemus*; but for that he was by nature prudent and wiſe, he found meanes to ſave himſelfe.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the fleſh of thoſe ſheepe which have beene wolfe-bitten, is tenderer, but their wooll more ſubject to breed lice and vermin, than others?

VPon the former diſcourſe of horſes, inferred there was a ſpeech alſo, concerning ſheepe that had bene bitten by the wolfe; for that it is a received opinion, that this biting of theirs maketh their fleſh more delicate in the eating, but their wooll apt to ingender lice. As for the reaſon that my ſonne in law *Patrocles* yeelded, as touching the ſweetneſſe of their fleſh, it ſeemed to be true; for thus he argued : That this beaſt by meanes of his biting, cauſed the fleſh to eat more ſhort and tender, for that his breath is ſo ardent and fierie-hot, that it is able to reſolve and digeſt within his ſtomacke, the hardeſt bones that be; which is the reaſon (quoth he) that ſuch fleſh as the wolfe hath bitten, is ſooner mortified, and doth putrifie more quickly than others : mary, for the wooll we were not ſo well reſolved, as ſuppoſing that the ſame did not breed lice, but rather draw them forth, and let them out to be ſeene, by a certeine inciſive or abſterſive facultie that it hath; as alſo through the heat thereof, whereby it openeth the pores of the skinne; which propertie is infuſed into the wooll of a ſheepe, by meanes of the tooth and breath of the wolfe, which altereth not onely the fleſh, but even the very wooll and ſhag-haire of the beaſt which he hath worried and killed. And this reaſon is confirmed by experience and example; for it is well knowen unto us all, that hunters, butchers, and cooks, ſometimes with one blow knocke downe their beaſts, and lay them along ſoone dead and breathleſſe in a moment; others againe, hardly and with much ado are able to kill them, after many a ſtroake; and that which yet is more woonderfull than ſo, ſome of them infuſe together with the axe or knife of iron, wherewith the beaſt is ſlaine, ſuch a qualitie that the ſame putrifieth preſently, and will not laſt ſweet one day to an end: others againe, though they be not longer about the killing of a beaſt than the other, yet the fleſh of beaſts ſo ſlaine, doth not ſo ſoone corrupt, but continueth ſound and ſweet a good while after. And that true it is, that the varietie & alteration occaſioned by the ſundry ſorts of death, and killing of beaſts, paſſeth and extendeth as farre as to their very skin, their haire, nailes, houſes and clees; *Homer* himſelfe doth teſtifie, who of their hides and skinnes is wont thus expreſly to write:

The hide it was of ſturdy ox,
Sticked with knife, or brain'd by knocks.

For the skinne of thoſe beaſts which die not for age, nor of long maladie, but are killed violently, is more firme, faſt, and tough: and true it is, that of thoſe tame-living creatures, which have beene bitten by wilde beaſts, the houſes, clees, and nailes turne blacke, the haire ſheadeth, and the skinnes become riveled, ſoone teare and fall a pieces.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether our aunceſtors did better, who when they were at ſupper, fedde every man by himſelfe, and knew his owne part, than we in theſe daies who eat our victuals all together, and feed in common?

THat yeere wherein I was head magiſtrate in my countrey, and bare that provoſtſhip whereof the yeere tooke name, moſt of the ſuppers were private repaſts of ſacrifices, where every man had his part and portion ſet out; wherewith ſome were woonderfully well pleaſed; but others blamed the manner thereof, as uncivill, unſociable, and illiberall, ſaying: That ſo ſoone as the garland or coronet of the beaſt ſacrificed was taken off his head, and laid down, we ought to reduce our tables to the auncient order and old accuſtomed faſhion againe: For it is not I ſuppoſe (quoth *Agias*) for to eat and drinke ſimply, that we invite one another, but for to eat and drinke together for companie and good-fellowſhip; whereas this parting and diviſion of fleſh and other viands into portions, doth aboliſh all communication & ſocietie, making indeed many ſeverall ſuppers, and many men to ſit at ſupper apart, but not one ſupping with another, or fellow-gueſt in one meſſe; when every man takes as it were from the butchers ſtall his own joint of meat, or a piece of fleſh by juſt waight, or at a certeine ſize, & ſo ſets his part before him. For is not all one I pray you, and what difference is there I would faine know, to allow ech one of the gueſts at table his owne cup by himſelfe, & to fill every man his Congious or gallon of wine, yea, and to allow him his table apart from others? like as by report the linage of *Demophon* ſometime ſerved *Oreſtes*, and ſo to bid them drinke without any regard or heed of others? what diverſitie (I ſay) is in this, and the manner of theſe our daies; namely, to ſet before every man his lofe of bread, and piece of fleſh, for to feed by himſelfe, as it were at his owne manger? Surely all the oddes is, that we have no commaundement to keepe ſilence and ſay never a word when we are at our meat, as thoſe had who interteined and feaſted *Oreſtes*, and verilie even this haply ought to provoke and bring us that are met, to the communion & participation of al things at a feaſt or banquet; namely: that we talke there one to another, that we be partakers together of one ſong of a minſtrell wenches muſicke delighting us all, and one as well as another, with her playing upon a pſalterie or pipe, & ſinging thereto. Moreover, that ſtanding cup of amitie and good-felowſhip, which is ſet in the very middes of the company, for to drinke out of it, one to another, and that without any limitation or reſtreint to certeine bounds, ſtandeth as it were a ſource and lively fountaine of love and good will, and hath no other ſtint and meaſure, but the thirſt and diſpoſition of every one, to drinke at his pleaſure: not like to this moſt unjuſt diſtribution of bread and fleſh to every one, which masketh it ſelfe with a falſe colour of equality among thoſe who are unequall; for even that, as even and equall as it ſeemeth and in manner all one, is too much for him that needs but a little, and too little for him, who hath need of much. Like as therefore (my good friend) he is a ridiculous and fooliſh leech, who to many and ſundrie patients, ſicke of diverſe and different diſeaſes, exhibiteth and giveth medicines juſt of one weight, and exactly of the ſame meaſure; even ſo were the maſter of a feaſt woorthy to be laughed at, who having invited to his table ſundry perſons who are not hungry or thirſty alike, would enterteine and ſerve them all indifferently after one order, meaſuring the equalitie of his diſtribution, by proportion arithmeticall and not geometricall. True it is (I confeſſe) that we go or ſend al of us to the taverne for to buy our wine, by one & the ſame meaſure juſt, which is allowed and ſet downe by the publicke State; but to the table, every man brings his owne ſtomacke, the which is filled not with an equall quantitie of meat or drinke, to all others, but with that which ſufficeth ech one. As touching thoſe * banquets that *Homer* ſpeaketh of, wherein every man had his part cut out; to what purpoſe ſhould we bring them hither from military diſcipline, and the cuſtome of a campe, to the manner and faſhion of theſe daies? but more reaſon it is that we reſolve and propoſe unto our ſelves, for to imitate heerein the humanity & courteſie of thoſe in old time, who highly honored, not only thoſe who lodged ordinarily, and made their abode with them under one rouſe, but alſo ſuch as drunke of the ſame cuppe, eat of the ſame meat, and fedde out of one diſh with them, inſomuch as they enterteined and reverenced their ſocietie in all things. Away therefore (I pray you) with thoſe ſhort meales and ſlender pittances of *Homer*; which in my conceit are ſomewhat too ſcant and pinching, and as a man would ſay, over hungry and thirſtie; as having kings and princes for the maſters and makers of them, who be more ſparing of their purſes, and looking more neerely to their expences, than thoſe good hoaſts and keepers of ordinaries in *Italy*; as who being in armes and arranged in batell raie, and ready to joine in conflict with the enemie, could remember preciſely, how many times ech one of their gueſts who dined or ſupped with them, tooke the cuppe and dranke. Yet commend me to thoſe banquets and feaſts which *Pindarus* writeth of, for ſurely they are much better; in which, as he ſaith:

* δαῖτας.

> *Full oft a prince, and perſon honorable,*
> *Among them all, ſat at ſome ſtately table.*

For why? ſuch feaſts had the communication of all things together: and verily this was the felowſhip and knot indeed of true friends, whereas the other was a diſtraction and ſeparation of perſons, who made ſemblance to be the greateſt friends, and yet could not agree and communicate together, ſo much as in the feeding of one diſh of meat. *Agias* had good audience given him, and was well commended for the reaſons which he alledged; and then we ſet one of the company to come upon him in this manner, ſaying: That *Agias* thought it very ſtrange and was offended that he ſhould have an equall portion which others allowed him, carying as he did before him ſuch a grand-paunch; and in truth, a great eater he was, and given exceeding much to belly cheere: For a common * fiſh (as *Democritus* was wont to ſay) hath no bone. And yet this is that (quoth I) which eſpecially and above all induceth us to the uſe of theſe portions, and not without good reaſon, conſidering that we acknowledge fatall neceſſitie by the name of μοῖρα: for according as the old lady *Jocaſta* ſaid in *Euripides*:

> *That which uniteth cities and great States,*
> *And knits in league confederates.*

is nothing els but equalitie: and nothing in the world hath ſo much need thereof, as the ſocietie and communion at the table; which is grounded upon nature, and law of neceſſitie, nothing ſo much; the uſage whereof, is not newly taken up, nor drawen in, as needful, by opinion of others, but right neceſſarie in it ſelfe. For at an ordinary or common repaſt, where folke feed together of one diſh; if one eat more than his fellowes, certes, he that can not plie his teeth ſo faſt, and commeth ſhort of him, doth maligne and repine at him for it; like as that galley which maketh way, and skuddeth before others, is ſpighted by thoſe that come dragging behinde. For mee thinks it is not an auſpicate beginning of a feaſt, nor agreeable to amitie and good fellowſhip, to ſnatch or lurch one from another, to have many hands in a diſh at once, to croſſe one another with the elbow, and to be with hand or arme in his fellowes way, ſtriving a vie who ſhould be more nimble with his fingers; but ſurely, all theſe faſhions are abſurd, unſeemely, and (as I may ſay) dog-like, ending many times in ſnarling, jarring, bitter taunts, revilings, and cholericke brawles, not onely of the gueſts one with another, but alſo againſt thoſe that furniſhed the boord, and the maſters of the feaſt. But ſo long as theſe wiſe faeries, μοῖρα and Λάχεσις, that is to ſay, portion and partition, had the ordering of ſuppers, dinners and great feaſts, diſpenſing and ſetting out an equalitie for to mainteine the ſocietie there, a man ſhould never ſee any illiberall or mechanicall diſorder: for in thoſe daies, ſuppers were called Δαῖτες; gueſts at the table, Δαιτυμόνες; the carvers ſerving at the table, δαιτροὶ; for that they divided, cut out, and gave to everie one their due portions. And verily, the Lacedæmonians had among them certeine diſtributers of fleſh, whom they called κρεωδαίτας, and thoſe were no meane men of the vulgar ſort, but principall perſons of the State, inſomuch as *Lyſander* himſelfe was by king *Ageſilaus* ordeined and created Κρεωδαίτης in *Aſia*, that is to ſay, an officer for the diſtribution of fleſh-meat in the campe there.

* That is to ſay, if a fiſh be eaten in common, it is not knowen how much one hath eaten of it more than his fellowes, by the bones lying upon his trencher.

there. But downe went theſe diſtributions and diviſions, when ſuperfluities and coſtly cates crept into feaſts, and were ſerved up to the table; for they could not then (as I ſuppoſe) ſo handſomely cut into even portions, their pie-meats, paſties, tarts, marchpaines, and ſuch devices of paſtrie; they might not ſo well divide ther flawnes, cuſtards, egge-pies, florentines, and daintie puddings, going under the name of κάνδυλοι and καρυκεῖαι; ne yet their blamangers, jellies, chawdres and a number of exquiſit ſauces, and delicate junkets of all ſorts, ſent up and brought to the boord: but being overcome with the pleaſure of ſuch lickorous viands, they tooke to them, an abandoning of all equall diſtribution of parts and portion. A good argument and ſufficient proofe hereof, a man may gather by that which we ſee yet at this day; namely, that the feaſts at ſacrifices, and ſome publike banquets, are made after the antique maner, and ſerved up by even portions, to ſhew the ſimplicity and pure feeding that was in olde time: ſo that I ſuppoſe, whoſoever would bring up againe that diſtribution, ſhould withall revive the ancient frugalitie. But ſome man haply, will ſay: That where private proprietie is in place, publicke communitie is turned out of doores. True indeed, in caſe that propriety reteine not equalitie: for it is not the poſſeſſion of a mans owne, and of a thing in proper; but the uſurping of another mans right, or the covetous encroching upon the common, that hath brought injuſtice, debate and trouble into the world; which enormities, the lawes do repreſſe, by the bounds, limits and meaſure of that which a man holdeth as proper & his owne, and thereupon they be called in Greeke, νόμοι, of the power and authoritie which they have to part equally unto every one, that which was common among all. For otherwiſe, if you admit not this diſtribution, you have no more reaſon to allow that the maſter of the feaſt ſhould deale among his gueſts, to every one his coronet or chaplet of flowers, nor his owne place to ſit at the boord. Nay, if any one peradventure, bring with him his ſhee-friend and ſweet-heart, or a minſtrell wench to play and ſing, they muſt be common to him and his friends, that all our goods may be huddled pell-mell, and made ἕν, that is to ſay, one, according as *Anaxagoras* would have all. But if it be ſo, that the challenge in proprietie of this or that, is no trouble nor hinderance of ſocietie and communion, conſidering, that other matters of principall regard and greateſt importance, are allowed for to be common, (I meane conference in talke, courteſies and kindneſſes of drinking one to another, and mutuall invitings) let us ſurceaſe and give over, thus to deſpiſe, diſcredit and condemne this laudable maner of portions, and the lotterie in partage, which (as *Euripides* ſaith) is the daughter of *Fortune, which giveth not the prerogative and preeminence, either to riches, or credit and nobilitie; but going (as it happeneth) aſwell one way as another, cheereth up the heart of a poore and abject perſon, and depriveth no ſort and condition whatſoever, of libertie; but by acquainting the great, wealthy and mighty perſon with an equalitie, ſo as he repine not and grudge thereat, reclaimeth him unto temperance and moderation.

*τύχης, ſome ψυχῆς, that is, the ſould: others σιγῆς, that is, ſilence.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Contents, or Chapters thereof.

1 *Whether it be commendable to weare chaplets of flowers upon the head, at a table.*
2 *Of the Ivie, whether it be hot or cold by nature.*
3 *What the reaſon is that women be hardly made drunke, but old men very ſoone.*
4 *Whether women by their naturall conſtitution and complexion, be hotter or colder than men.*
5 *Whether wine of the owne nature and operation be colde.*
6 *Of the meet time and ſeaſon to company with a woman.*

7 *What is the cauſe that Muſt or new wine, doth not eaſily overturne the braine, or make one drunke.*

8 *How it commeth to paſſe, that thoſe who be thorow drunke indeed, are leſſe troubled in the braine, than ſuch as are but in the way unto it, and as it were halfe drunke.*

9 *What is the meaning of this old proverbe: Drinke five or three, but never foure.*

10 *Why fleſh-meats corrupt and putrifie ſooner in the moone ſhine, than in the ſunne.*

THE THIRD BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or banquet-queſtions.

The Preamble or Proëme.

Simonides the poet, ô *Soſſius Senecio*, ſeeing upon a time a ſtranger at the table, ſitting ſtill, and ſaying never a word, when others were merrie, and dranke liberally, ſaid unto him: My friend, if you be a foole, you doe wiſely; but if you be a wiſe man, you do as fooliſhly: for it is a great deale better for a man (as *Heraclitus* was woont to ſay) to hide his own folly and ignorance, than to diſcover the ſame; and that iwis is a very hard matter to doe; when we are ſet upon a merrie pinne, and drinking wine luſtily: for as the poet *Homer* ſaid very well:

Wine makes a man, were he both wiſe and grave,
One while to ſing, and other whiles to rave:
To ſport, to play, and laugh full wantonly
To leape, to daunce, and foot it deintily:
Words to let fall, and ſecrets to reveale
Which better were to hold in and conceale.

In which verſes, the poet if I be not deceived, doth covertly and by the way imply a difference betweene liberall drinking of wine, or being ſomewhat cup-ſhotten, and drunkenneſſe indeed: for to ſing, to laugh, and to daunce, be ordinarie matters, incident to thoſe who have taken their liquor well, and be heat with wine, but to prate like a foole, and * blurt out that, which better had beene kept in, be the effects and acts of ſuch as have powred in too much, and be ſtarke drunken; and herefore *Plato* ſaid: That the affections and conditions of the vulgar ſort of men, be diſcovered farre better in drinking than otherwiſe. And when *Homer* ſaith:

They had not yet by wine and words,
Knowen one another at their bords.

*εἴπειν δ' βέλτερον ἢ σιωπᾶν. not βλέπειν δ' βέλτερον, ἢ σιωπᾶν: as the Latine tranſlatour ſeemeth to reade.

it is evident that he wiſt well enough of what power and force wine was; namely, to engender and multiply many words: for ſurely, we come not to the knowledge of men and their maners, by eating and drinking, in caſe they eat and drinke and ſay nothing. but for that drinke induceth and draweth on folke to ſpeake much; and much ſpeech detecteth and layeth open many things, which otherwiſe would have lien hidden; therefore by good conſequence, drinking together giveth a great light and knowledge one of another: and therefore wee may by good right reproove *Aeſope* in this wiſe: What meane you good ſir, to ſeeke for thoſe windowes, through which one man might looke into another, and ſee into his neighbours heart? for wine ſetteth the dores wide enough open unto us, and bewraieth what we have within; not ſuffering us to be ſtill and ſilent, but taking from us the maske and viſour of all diſſimulation, and ſhewing what we are in our colours, as if we ſtood in no feare at all of law, but were a great way out of the ſight of our tutors and ſchoole-maſters that kept us in awe. Wine then is enough for *Aeſope*, for *Plato*, and for all thoſe who ſearch after meanes to diſcover the ſecrets of mens hearts: but ſuch as deſire not in this wiſe to trie and ſift one another; but rather be willing to converſe together with mirth and recreation, theſe men (I ſaie) are wont to propoſe queſtions, and enterteine ſuch diſcourſes when they meet; whereby the ill parts and imperfections of the ſoule, if they have any, may be concealed and hidden; but the beſt gifts thereof, and that which ſavoureth moſt of civilitie and erudition, may appeere and gather more ſtrength, as being conducted and trained by the guidance of learning and good literature, to the faire meddowes and pleaſant paſtures wherein ſhe taketh delight to walke and feed; in which regard, I have for your ſake compiled this third Decade of banquet-queſtions and table diſcourſes; whereof the firſt concerneth chaplets of flowers:

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether it be commendable to weare upon the head, flower-garlands at the table.

THere was a ſolemne feaſt or banquet one day at *Athens*, which *Eraton* the profeſſour in muſicke made, having ſacrificed before unto the muſes: and to this feaſt he invited many; among that faire company, certaine queſtions were mooved, and much good talke paſſed as touching chaplets of flowers: for by occaſion that after ſupper was done, many ſuch coronets of all ſorts went about, and were dealt round among the gueſts; *Ammonius* beganne to ſcoffe and laugh at us; who in ſtead of laurell chaplets, did ſet upon our heads roſe-garlands: For that (quoth hee) theſe chaplets of flowers be girliſh gaudes, and more meet indeed for plaiſull maidens and yoong women, than the aſſemblies of philoſophers and learned men: And I woonder much at this *Eraton*, that reprooving and deteſting as he doth the flower-works, (as it were in ſong and muſicke, and blaming faire *Agathon*; who by report firſt brought up the Chromaticke muſicke; and when he ſet out the tragædie of the Myſians, inſerted it within other plaine muſicke) ſhould himſelfe as you ſee, heape upon us at this feaſt a number of wreathes, garlands, and chaplets of flowers, filling the whole place with ſweet ſmels and pleaſant ſavours; and when he ſhutteth up the dore of our eares, againſt the delights and pleaſures of muſicke; ſhould in the meane while ſet open the windowes of our eies and noſethrils, giving entrance thus another way unto them, for to pierce unto the ſoule, making a coronet and garland to ſerve for pleaſure and looſeneſſe; which ſhould be a matter of religion and devotion: and yet I muſt needs ſay, that theſe oiles and perfumes yeeld a ſweeter ſavour, and more exquiſit pleaſant odour, than theſe chaplets of flowers, that fade and wither in the hands of the garland-makers: howbeit, for all that, they are allowed no place in banquets and aſſemblies of philoſophers; being an idle pleaſure, not accompanied with any profit whatſoever, nor ariſing from any ſource of naturall neceſſitie or appetite: for like as thoſe who come as ſhadowes to a feaſt, being brought thither by ſome friends, who are themſelves bidden gueſts, according to the ordinarie cuſtome of courteſie, finde themſelves no leſſe welcome and well intreated than the reſt, as *Ariſtodemus* was, whom *Socrates* brought with him to a feaſt, which *Agathon* made; but if one goe of himſelfe preſumptuouſly, not invited nor brought thither by a friend; he is wel woorthy to have the dore ſhut upon him; even ſo the pleaſures of eating and drinking, which neceſſitie hath invited, and doe accompanie the naturall appetite, are admitted and have place among wiſe men: but as for others which come before they bee bidden or ſent for, and preſſe to get in without any reaſon, onely upon a diſordinate luſt, are to be kept out and excluded.

At theſe words of *Ammonius*, certeine yoong men who were not as yet acquainted with his faſhions, being diſmaied and abaſhed; began gently, and without more a doe to plucke off and pull in ſunder their coronets. But I (who knew well inough that he mooved this talke onely by way of exerciſe, and becauſe hee would draw us on to debate the matter) addreſſed my ſpeech unto *Tryphon* the phyſician in this wiſe: Of all loves *Tryphon*, be ſo good as lay downe as wel as we, this goodly chaplet which you have upon your head, ſo fragrant & flagrant, both of moſt beautifull red roſes; or elſe declare preſently as you are woont to do emany times among us, the profit and commodity that this flower garland doth conferre unto our drinking of wine ſo freely. But here *Eraton* interpoſing himſelfe: How is it ordeined (quoth he) that we receive no pleaſure free, but it bringeth alwaies one ſalarie or other with it; & ever as we ſolace our ſelves and be merie, we are diſpleaſed and diſcontented, in caſe wee enjoy not our delights with ſome hire or reward to cheere the ſame: as for ſweet ſmels or coſtly oiles, and compound perfumes, there is ſome reaſon peradventure why we ſhould be ſomewhat aſhamed of them; as alſo for the rich purple colours we may be abaſhed, in regard of the affected curioſitie and ſuperfluous expence thereof; which we are to reject, as being odours deceitfull, and fraudulent robes and colours; as ſometime ſaid that barbarous Scythian: but colours and odours ſuch as be naturall, are ſimple, pure, and ſincere, not differing in that reſpect from the fruits of trees which nature bringeth foorth. Were it not then meere folly to gather the juice and liquor of ſuch fruits, and in the meane time reject and condemne the fairer colours and ſweet ſavours, that the ſeaſons of the yeere do yeeld, onely for the delightſome aſpect and pleaſure that floweth (as it were) out of them, if they affoord not otherwiſe ſome vertue and propertie which is good and profitable? It ſeemeth rather yet, that we ſhould do the contrary; namely, if it be true as you philoſophers ſay, that nature doth nothing in vaine and for no purpoſe, that ſhe hath created and produced theſe things, for the pleaſure onely of man, as ſerving to no other purpoſe, but onely for to cheere up our ſpirits, and content our outward ſenſes. Marke this moreover and beſides, how unto trees and plants that proſper and grow, nature hath given leaves, to ſave and defend their fruits; as alſo that under their covert, themſelves (one while warmed and another while cooled and refreſhed) might be able the better to endure the injuries of the aire, and change of ſeaſons. As for flowers, they yeeld no commoditie at all, by their tarrying upon the plant, unleſſe it be this, that we have delight in ſmelling, and pleaſure in beholding them for a time, in that there exhale and breathe from them, woonderfull ſweet ſavors; and they diſcover unto us an infinit ſort of tinctures and colours, by no art of man imitable. And therefore, when we ſtrip trees of their leaves, they ſeeme diſpleaſed and grieved thereat; they feele (as it were) the ſmart and paine of a wound; and there is left (by that meanes) a hurt and ſore like an ulcer; and being thus deſpoiled of their naturall beauty and heart, they are ill-favoured to ſee to, and deformed: ſo that we ought not onely (as **Empedocles** ſaith)

The leaves of laurel wholly to forbeare,
And to abſtaine her branches for to teare.

but alſo we are to ſpare the leaves and boughs of all other trees, and not by their deformitie to adorne our ſelves, robbing and ſpoiling them perforce and againſt nature; whereas, if we gather and crop their flowers, we do them no hurt nor wrong at all. For this maner of dealing with them, reſembleth vintage and gathering grapes from the vine; and if they be not plucked in due time, they ſhed of their owne accord, all faded and withered. Like as therefore, they be barbarous people, who clad themſelves with the felles and skinnes of ſheepe, in ſtead of making cloth of their wooll, to apparell their bodies; even ſo me thinks, that they who twiſt and plait their chaplets, of leaves, rather than flowers, doe not uſe plants ſo well as they ought to doe. Thus much I thought good to deliver unto you, in defence of thoſe that make and ſell flower garlands; for Grammarian I am not, nor much read in poets, to alledge teſtimonies out of their poems; wherein it is to be found, that in olde time, the victors who wan the prize of the ſacred games, were crowned all with chaplets of flowers; howbeit, thus much I will be bold to avouch out of them: That the roſe-garland was peculiarly deſtined and appropriat to the muſes; for ſo I remember, I have read in one place of *Sappho* the poetreſſe, where ſpeaking of a great rich woman, yet altogether ignorant, unlettered, and a meere ſtranger to the muſes, ſhe writeth thus:

All dead thou ſhalt intombed lie,
And leave no name nor memorie:
For roſes none thou could'ſt come by,
That flower on mountaine Pierie.

But now it is time to heare what teſtimonie *Tryphon* will alledge out of his phyſicke. Then *Tryphon* taking in hand the matter in queſtion: Our ancients (quoth he) in alder time, were not ignorant of all theſe points; neither forgat they to treat thereof, as having exceeding great uſe of plants in the practiſe of phyſicke. For proofe wherof, there remaine at this day, moſt evident arguments; for the Tyrians offer unto *Agemonides*, and the Magneſians unto *Chiron* (who were the firſt that profeſſed and practiſed phyſicke in thoſe parts) the primices and firſt gatherings of thoſe herbs and roots wherewith they were wont to cure and heale their patients; and prince *Bacchus*, not onely for the invention of wine (a moſt puiſſant medicine, I may ſay to you, and a pleaſant) was eſteemed a ſufficient phyſician; but alſo for that he taught thoſe who were ſurpriſed and raviſhed with Bacchanal furie, to crowne their heads with ivie, and brought that plant into honour and reputation by that meanes; for that it hath a propertie in nature repugnant and contrary unto the qualitie of wine, repreſſing and quenching the coldneſſe which it hath, the predominant heat thereof, that men might take leſſe harme thereby, and ſo withſtand drunkenneſſe. And verily, the names of certeine plants, do plainly ſhew the great induſtrie and carefull diligence of our forefathers in this behalfe. For the walnut-tree they called in Greeke* Καρύα, for that it ſendeth from it a certeine heavie and ſomniferous vapour, which hurteth the head of thoſe who lie under the ſhade and boughs thereof, whereby it cauſeth them to be drowſie. The daffodil likewiſe, ſeemeth to have taken the name* *Narciſſus*, becauſe it benummeth the ſinewes, and ingendreth a heavie ſleepineſſe or ſtupefaction: which is the reaſon that *Sophocles* tearmed

it

* Of κάρα, the head, or κάρος, drowſineſſe.

* νάρκη, benummedneſſe.

it the ancient coronet of the great gods, meaning thereby the gods terreſtriall. Moreover, it is ſaid that the herbe Rue had the denomination in Greeke Πήγανον, of the vertue which it hath; by reaſon that with the drineſſe wherewith it is endued, and the ſame occaſioned by exceſſive heat, it is ſo aſtringent, that it * knitteth, bindeth and hardeneth the naturall ſeed of man, and is a great enemie to conception and women with childe. As for the * Amethyſt, aſwell the herbe as the ſtone of that name, they who thinke that both the one and the other is ſo called, becauſe they withſtand * drunkenneſſe, miſcount themſelves, and are deceived; for in trueth, both are named ſo of the colour: and as for the leafe of the herbe, it hath no freſh and lively hew, but reſembleth a * wineleſſe weake wine, as one may ſay, that either drinketh flat and hath loſt the colour, or els is much delaied with water. Many other plants may be alledged to this purpoſe, whoſe properties and naturall vertues have impoſed their names: but theſe examples may ſuffice to ſhew the ſtudious induſtrie and great experience of our anceſtours; in regard whereof, they uſed to weare chaplets of leaves and flowers upon their heads, whiles they ſat drinking wine; for ſtrong wine and pure of it ſelfe, having begun to aſſaile the head, and to enervate or enfeeble the whole body, by ſeizing upon the originall fountaine of the nerves and ſenſes, to wit, the braine, doth mightily trouble and diſquiet a man: for the remedie of which inconvenience, the ſent and ſmell, breathing from flowers, ſerveth marvellous well, for that the ſame doth defend and fortifie as with a rampar, the caſtle and citadell (as it were) of the head, againſt the aſſaults and impreſſions of drunkenneſſe. For theſe flowers, if they be hot, gently unſtop and open the pores, and in ſo doing, make way and give vent for the heady wine to evaporate and breathe out all fumoſities; and contrariwiſe, if they be temperatly colde, by cloſing gently the ſaid pores, keepe downe and drive backe the vapours ſteaming up into the braine. And of this vertue are the garlands of violets and roſes, which by their ſmell and comfortable ſent, repreſſe and ſtay both ache and heavineſſe of head. As for the flower of * Privet, Saffron and Baccaris, that is to ſay, Our Ladies gloves, or Nard Ruſticke, bring them ſweetly to ſleepe, who have drunke freely: for theſe ſend from them a milde aire, breathing after a ſmooth and uniforme manner; the which doth ſoftly compriſe and lay even, the unequall diſtemperatures, the troubleſome acrimonies and diſorderly aſperities, ariſing in the bodies of thoſe who have overdrunk themſelves; whereupon there enſueth a calme, and thereby the ſtrength of the headie wine is either dulled, or elſe rebated. Other ſorts of flowers there be, the odours whereof being ſpred and diſperſed about the braine, purge mildly the pores and paſſages of the ſenſes and their organes, ſubtiliat and diſcuſſe gently, without trouble and offence, with their moderate heat, the humors and all moiſt vapours, by way of rarefaction, and warme the braine comfortably, which by nature is of a cold temperature: and for this cauſe eſpecially thoſe pettie garlands or poeſies of flowers which they hung in old time about their necks, they called ὑποθυμίδας, as if one would ſaie ſuffumigations, and they annointed all their breſt-parts with the oiles that were expelled or extracted from them. *Alcyus* alſo teſtifieth as much, where hee willeth to powre ſweet oile upon his head that had ſuffered much paine, and upon his breſt all grey; for even ſo ſuch odors are directed up as farre as to the braine, being drawen by the ſenſe of ſmelling. So it was not becauſe they thought that the ſoule, which the Greeks call θύμος was ſeated and kept reſidence within the heart, that they called theſe wreathes and garlands about their necks ὑποθυμίδας, as ſome would have it, for then more reaſon it had beene to have tearmed them Ἐπιθυμίδας, but it was as I ſaid before, of the exhalation or evaporation upward from the region of the breaſt, againſt which they were worne pendant: neither are wee to woonder, that the exhalations of flowers ſhould have ſo great force; for we finde it written in records, that the ſhadow of * *Smilax* eſpecially when it is in the flower, killeth them that lie a ſleepe under it; alſo from the Poppie there ariſeth a certeine ſpirit, when the juice is drawen out of it, which they call *Opium*, and if they take no better heed, who draw the ſame, it cauſeth them to ſwoone and fall to the ground: there is an herbe called Alyſſon, which whoſever hold in their hands, or doe but looke upon it, ſhall preſently be ridde of the yexe or painfull hickot; and they ſay, it is very good alſo for ſheepe and goates, to keepe them from all diſeaſes, if the ſame be planted along their cotes and folds: the Roſe, alſo named in Greeke Ῥόδον, was ſo called, for that it caſteth from it an * odoriferous ſmell, which is the reaſon that it quickly fadeth, and the beautie paſſeth ſoone away; cold it is in operation, although it carie the colour of fire, and not without good cauſe; for that the little heat that it hath, flieth up to the ſuperficies of it, as being driven outwardly from within, by the native coldneſſe that it hath.

* πήγνυσι.

* ἀπὸ τοῦ α ςερητικοῦ & μέθυ, wine.

* μέθη.

* ἀοίνα. ὄινα.

* κύπρου, or κυπείρου as the French tranſlation.

* The Yewgh tree as I take it.

* ῥεῦμα ὀδώδης.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether Ivie of the owne nature be cold or hot.

THis ſpeech of *Tryphon* we greatly praiſed: but *Amonius* ſmiling: It were not meet (quoth he) to kicke and ſpurne againe, nor to overthrow ſo beautifull and gay a diſcourſe as this was, embelliſhed and adorned with as great varietie as the garlands whereof it treated, and which he undertooke to defend and mainteine: but that I cannot tell how it is come to paſſe that the Ivie is enterlaced in the chaplet of flowers, and ſaid by the naturall coldneſſe that it is to have a vertue and propertie to extinguiſh and quench the forcible heat of new wine: for contrariwiſe, it ſeemeth to be hot and ardent, and the frute which it beareth being put into wine, and infuſed therein, giveth it power to inebriat and make drunke, yea, and to trouble and diſquiet the bodie by the inflammation that it cauſeth: by reaſon of which exceſſive heat, the very body thereof groweth naturall crooked, after the manner of wood that curbeth and warpeth with the fire; alſo the ſnow which oftentimes cōtinueth and lieth many daies upon other trees, flieth in great haſte from the Ivie tree; or to ſpeake more properly, is preſently gone, thawed and melted, if it chance to ſettle upon it, & that by reaſon of the heat; and that which more is, (as *Theophraſtus* hath left in writing) *Harpalus* the lieutenant generall under *Alexander* the Great, in the province of *Babylon*, by expreſſe order and direction from the king his maſter; endevoured and did what he might to ſet in the kings orchard there, certaine trees and plants which came out of *Greece*, and ſuch eſpecially as yeelded a goodly ſhade, caried large leaves, and were by nature cold; for that the countrey about *Babylon* is exceeding hot and ſcorched with the burning heat of the ſunne; but the ground would never enterteine nor abide the Ivie onely; notwithſtanding that *Harpalus* tooke great paines, and emploied moſt carefull diligence about it: for plant it as often as he would, it dried and died immediatly; and why? hotte it is of the owne nature, and was planted in a mould farre hotter than it ſelfe, which hindered it for taking root; for this is a generall and perpetuall rule: that all exceſſive enormities, of any object, deſtroy the force and powers of the ſubject: in which regard, they deſire rather their contraries; in ſuch ſort, as that a plant of cold temperature requireth an hot place to grow in; and that which is hot demaundeth likewiſe a cold ground: and this is the reaſon, that high mountaine countries, windie, and covered with ſnow; beare ordinarily trees that yeeld torch-wood and pitch, as pines, cone trees, and ſuch like: And were it not ſo, my good friend *Tryphon*, yet this is certeine; that trees which by nature are chill and cold, ſhedde their leaves every yeere; for that the ſmall heat which they have, for very penurie retireth inwardly, and leaveth the outward parts naked and deſtitute: whereas contrariwiſe, heat and uncteous fattineſſe, which appeereth in the olive, laurell and cypreſſe trees, keepe themſelves alwaies greene, and hold their leaves, like as the Ivie alſo doth for her part. And therefore good father *Bacchus* hath not brought into uſe and requeſt the Ivie, as a preſervative and preſent helpe againſt the encounter of drunkenneſſe, nor as an enemie to wine, who directly calleth wine μέθυ and ſurnameth himſelfe μεθυμναῖος thereupon: but in mine opinion, like as they who love wine, if they cannot meet with the liquor of the grape, uſe a counterfet wine or barley broth, called beere & ale, or els a certeine drinke made of apples, named cydres or els date-wines; even ſo, he that gladly would in winter ſeaſon weare a chaplet of vine branches, ſeeing it altogether naked and bare of leaves, is glad of the Ivie that reſembleth it; for the body or wood thereof is likewiſe writhed and crooked, and never groweth upright, but ſhutteth out heere and there, to and fro at a venture; the ſoft fattie leaves alſo after the ſame maner grow diſperſed about the branches without all order; & beſides all this, the very berries of the Ivie growing thick & cluſtered together like unto greene grapes, when they begin to turne, doe repreſent the native forme of the vine: and yet albeit the ſame yeeldeth ſome helpe and remedie againſt drunkenneſſe; we ſay, it is by occaſion of heat, in opening the pores and ſmall paſſages in the body, for to let out the fumes of wine, and ſuffer them to evaporate and breathe forth, or rather by her heat helpeth to concoct and digeſt it, that for your ſake (good *Tryphon*) *Bacchus* may ſtill continue a phyſician. At theſe words, *Tryphon* ſtaied a while, and made no anſwere, as thinking with himſelfe, and ſtudying how to reply upon him. But *Eraton* calling earneſtly upon every one of us that were of the yoonger ſort, ſpurned us forward to aide and aſſiſt *Tryphon* our advocate, and the patron of our flower-chaplets, or els to plucke them from our heads, and weare them no longer. And *Ammonius* aſſured us (for his part) that if any one of us would take upon him to anſwere, he would not recharge againe, nor come upon him with a rejoinder. Then *Tryphon* himſelfe moved us to ſay ſomewhat to the queſtion. Whereupon I began to ſpeake and ſaid: That it belonged not to me, but rather unto *Tryphon*, for to proove that Ivie was colde, conſidering that he uſed it much in phyſicke to coole and binde, as being an aſtringent medicine: but as touching that which ere-while was alledged; namely, that the Ivie berie doth inebriat, if it be ſteeped in wine; it is not found to be true; and the accident which it worketh in thoſe who drinke it in that maner, can not well be called drunkenneſſe, but rather an alienation of the mind and trouble of the ſpirit; like to that effect which henbane worketh, & many other plants, which mightily diſquiet the braine, and tranſport our ſenſes and underſtanding. As for the tortuoſitie of the bodie and branches, it maketh nothing to the purpoſe and point in hand; for the works and effects againſt nature, can not proceed from faculties and powers naturall; and pieces of wood do twine and bend crooked, becauſe fire (being neere unto them) draweth and drieth up forcibly, all the native and kindly humour; where as the inward and naturall heat, would rather ferment, enterteine and augment it. But conſider better upon the matter and marke rather, whether this writhed-bunching forme of the Ivie wood (as it groweth) and the baſeneſſe, bearing ſtill downward and tending to the ground, be not an argument rather of weakneſſe, and bewray the coldneſſe of the bodie, being glad (as it were) to make many reſts and ſtaies; like unto a pilgrim or wayfaring traveller, who for wearineſſe and faintneſſe ſitteth him downe and repoſeth himſelfe many times in his way, and ever and anon riſeth againe and beginneth to ſet forward: in regard of which feebleneſſe, the Ivie hath alwaies need of ſome prop or other to ſtay it ſelfe by, to take hold of, to claſpe about and to cling unto, being not able of her owne power to riſe, for want of naturall heat, whoſe nature is to mount aloft. As touching Snow, that it thaweth and paſſeth away ſo ſoone, the cauſe is, the moiſture and ſoftneſſe of the Ivie leafe; for ſo wee ſee that water diſpatcheth and diſſolveth preſently, the laxitie and ſpongeous raritie thereof, being (as it is) nothing els but a gathering and heaping of a number of ſmall bubbles couched & thruſt together: and hereof it commeth, that in over-moiſt places, ſobbed and ſoaked with water, ſnow melteth aſſoone as in places expoſed to the ſun. Now for that it hath leaves alwaies upon it, and the ſame (as *Empedocles* ſaith) firme and faſt, this proceedeth not of heat, no more than the fall and ſhedding of leaves every yeere, is occaſioned by colde. And this appeareth by the myrtle tree and the herbe *Adiantum*, that is to ſay, Maidenhaire, which being not hot plants, but colde, are alwaies leaved and greene withall: and therefore ſome are of opinion, that the holding of the leaves, is to be aſcribed to an equality of temperature: but *Empedocles* (over and beſides) attributeth it to a certeine proportion of the pores, thorow which the ſap and nouriſhment doth paſſe and pierce equally into the leaves; in ſuch ſort, as it runneth ſufficiently for to mainteine them: which is not ſo in thoſe trees which loſe their leaves, by reaſon of the laxitie or largeneſſe of the ſaid pores and holes above, and the ſtraightneſſe of them beneath; whereby, as theſe doe not ſend any nouriſhment at all, ſo the other can hold and reteine none, but that little which they received, they let goe all at once: like as we may obſerve in certeine canals or trenches, deviſed for to water gardens and orchards, if they be not proportionable and equall; for where they be well watred and have continuall nouriſhment, and the ſame in competent proportion, there the trees hold their owne, and remaine firme, alwaies greene, and never die. But the Ivie tree, planted in *Babylon*, would never grow, and refuſed there to live. Certes, it was well done of her, and ſhe ſhewed great generoſitie, that being (as ſhe was) a devoted vaſſaile to the god of *Bœotia*, and living (as it were) at his table, ſhe would not goe out of her owne countrey, to dwell among thoſe Barbarians; ſhee followed not the ſteps of king *Alexander*, who entred alliance, and made his abode with thoſe ſtrange and forren nations, but avoided their acquaintance all that ever ſhe could, and withſtood that tranſmigration from her native place: but the cauſe thereof, was not heat, but colde rather; becauſe ſhee could not endure the temperature of the aire, ſo contrary to her owne: for that which is ſemblable and familiar, never killeth any thing, but receiveth, nouriſheth and beareth it, like as drie ground, the herbe thyme, how hot ſoever the ſoile be. Now for the province about *Babylon*, they ſay, the aire in all that tract is ſo ſoultrie hot, ſo ſtuffing, ſo groſſe, and apt to ſtifle and ſtop the breath, that many inhabitants of the wealthier ſort, cauſe certeine bits or bagges of leather to be filled with water, upon which, as upon featherbeds, they lie to ſleepe and coole their bodies.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What the cauſe is, that women hardly are made drunke, but olde men, very ſoone?

FLorus one day ſeemed to marvell, that *Ariſtotle* having in his treatiſe of drunkenneſſe, ſet downe this poſition: That olde men are ſoone ſurprized and overſeene with wine, but contrariwiſe, women, hardly and very ſeldome; rendred no reaſon thereof, conſidering that his maner otherwiſe, is not to propoſe any ſuch difficulties, but hee doth decide and cleere the ſame. And when he had made this overture, he mooved the companie to inquire into the cauſe thereof, and a ſupper it was, where familiar friends were met together. Then *Sylla* ſaid: That the one was declared by the other: for if we comprehend the cauſe aright, as touching women, it were no hard matter to finde out a reaſon for old men; conſidering that their natures and conſtitutions be moſt oppoſit and contrary, in regard of moiſture and drineſſe, roughneſſe and ſmoothneſſe, ſoftneſſe and hardneſſe: for firſt and formoſt, ſuppoſe this of women undoubtedly, that their naturall temperature is very moiſt, which cauſeth their fleſh to be ſo tender, ſoft, ſmooth, ſlicke and ſhining; to ſay nothing of their naturall purgations every moneth: when as therefore wine meeteth with ſo great humiditie, being overcome by the predominancy thereof, it loſeth the edge and tincture (as it were) together with the force that it had, ſo as it becommeth dull, every way diſcoloured and wateriſh. And verily to this purpoſe, ſomewhat may be gathered out of the words of *Ariſtotle*; for he ſaith: That thoſe who make no long draught when they take their wine, nor drinke leaſurely, but powre it downe at once (which manner of drinking they called ἀμυστίζειν,) are not ſo ſubject to drunkenneſſe as others; for that the wine maketh no long ſtay within their bodies, but being forcibly thruſt foorth, ſoone paſſeth thorow: and ordinarilie we may obſerve, that women drinke in this manner; and very probable it is, that their bodies by reaſon of continual attraction of humours downward, to the nether parts for their monethly termes, is full of many conduits and paſſages, as if they were divided into chanels, pipes, and trenches, to draw foorth the ſaid humours; into which the wine no ſooner falleth, but away it paſſeth apace, that it cannot ſettle nor reſt upon the noble and principall parts, which if they bee once troubled and poſſeſſed, drunkenneſſe doth ſoone enſue. Contrariwiſe, that old men want naturall humiditie, their very name in Greeke ſeemeth to implie ſufficiently, for called they are γέροντες, not becauſe they are ῥέοντες εἰς γῆν, that is to ſay, inclining and ſtouping downward to the earth, but becauſe they are already in their habitude of bodie γεώδεις and γηρεοί, that is to ſay, earthly: Moreover, their ſtiffeneſſe and unpliable diſpoſition, the roughneſſe alſo of their skinne, argueth their dry nature and complexion: it ſtandeth therefore to good reaſon, that when they liberally take their wine, their bodies which are rare and ſpungious within, by occaſion of that drineſſe, quickly catcheth and ſucketh up the ſame, and then by long ſtaying there, it worketh up into the head, cauſeth the braine to beat, and breedeth heavineſſe there; & like as land-flouds gently glide over thoſe fields which be ſolide & hard, waſhing them onely aloft, and making no mire & dirt; but if the ground be light and hollow they enter and ſoke farther in; even ſo wine being ſoone caught, and drawne by the drineſſe of old mens bodies, ſtaieth there the longer time: and were not this ſo, yet we may obſerve that the verie nature of old men admitteth the ſame ſymptomes and accidents which drunkenneſſe maketh. Now theſe accidents occaſioned by drunkenneſſe, are very apparent, to wit, the trembling and ſhaking of their limbes, faltering in their toong, and ſpeaking double, immoderate and laviſh ſpeech, pettiſhneſſe and aptneſſe to choler, forgetfulneſſe and alienation of the minde and underſtanding; the moſt part whereof being incident to old men, even when they are beſt in health and in moſt ſober, a little thing God wot will ſet them cleane out, and any ſmall agitation whatſoever will doe the deed: ſo that drunkenneſſe in an old man engendreth not new accidents, but ſetteth on foot and augmenteth thoſe which be already common and ordinary with them. To conclude, there is not a more evident argument to proove and confirme the ſame than this; that nothing in the world reſembleth an old man more, than a yoong man when hee is drunke.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether women by their naturall complexion be colder or hotter than men?

WHen *Sylla* had delivered his minde to that effect; *Apollonides* an expert profeſſour and well ſeene in raunging a battel in array, ſeemed by his words to approove well of that which had bene alledged as touching old men; but he thought, that in the diſcourſe of women, the onely courſe was left out and overſlipt, to wit, the coldneſſe of their conſtitution, by meanes whereof, the hotteſt wine is quenched, and forgoeth that fierie flame which flieth up to the head, and troubleth the braines: and this was received as a very probable and ſufficient reaſon, by all the company there in place. But *Athryilatus* the phyſician, a Thaſian borne, interjected ſome ſtaie of farther ſearching into this cauſe: For that (quoth hee) ſome are of opinion that women are not cold, but hotter than men; yea, and others there be, (and that is a greater matter) who hold, that wine is not hotte at all but cold. *Florus* woondering, and amazed heereat: This diſcourſe and diſputation (quoth he) as touching wine I refer to him there; and with that pointed at me; for that not many daies before wee had diſputed together about that argument: But as for women (quoth *Athryilatus*) that they bee rather hot than cold, they argue thus: Firſt and formoſt, they are ſmooth, and not hairie on their face and bodie, which teſtifieth their heat, which ſpendeth and conſumeth the excrement and ſuperfluitie that engendreth haire. Secondly, they proove it by their abundance of bloud, which ſeemeth to be the fountaine of heat in the body; and of bloud women have ſuch ſtore, that they are ready to be inflamed, yea, to frie and burne withall, if they have not many purgations, and thoſe quickly returning in their courſe to diſcharge and deliver them thereof. Thirdly, they bring in the experience obſerved at funerals, which ſheweth evidently, that womens bodies be farre hotter than mens; for they that have the charge of burning and enterring of dead corſes, doe ordinarily put into the funerall fire one dead body of a woman to tenne of men: For that one corps (ſay they) helpeth to burne and conſume the reſt; by reaſon that a womans fleſh conteineth in it I wot not what unctuoſitie or oileous matter, which quickly taketh fire, and will burne as light as a torch, ſo that it ſerveth in ſtead of drie ſticks to kindle the fire, and ſet all a burning. Moreover, if this be admitted for a truth, that whatſoever is more frutefull and apter for generation, is alſo more hot: certeine it is, that yoong maidens be ripe betimes, readier for marriage, yea and their fleſh pricketh ſooner to the act of generation, than boies of their age; neither is this a ſmall and feeble argument of their heat: but for a greater and more pregnant proofe thereof, marke how they endure very well any chilling cold, and the injurie of winter ſeaſon, for the moſt part of them leſſe quake for cold than men doe, and generally need not ſo many clothes to weare.

Heereat *Florus* began to argue againſt him and ſaid: In my conceit, theſe very arguments will ſerve well to confute the ſaid opinion; for to beginne with the laſt firſt, the reaſon why they withſtand cold better than men, is becauſe every thing is leſſe offended with the like: beſides, their ſeed is not apt for generation, in regard of their coldneſſe, but ſerveth in ſtead of matter onely, and yeeldeth nouriſhment unto the naturall ſeed of man. Moreover, women ſooner give over to conceive, and ceaſe child-bearing, than men to beget children: and as for the burning of their dead bodies, they catch fire ſooner I confeſſe, but that is by reaſon that commonly they be fatter than men; and who knoweth not, that fatte and greaſe is the coldeſt part of the bodie; which is the cauſe that yoongmen and thoſe that uſe much bodily exerciſe, are leaſt fatte of all others: neither is their monthly ſickneſſe & voidance of bloud, a ſigne of the great quantity and abundance, but rather of the corrupt qualitie and badneſſe thereof; for the crude and unconcocted part of their bloud being ſuperfluous, and finding no place to ſettle and reſt, nor to gather conſiſtence within the bodie by reaſon of weakneſſe, paſſeth away, as being heavy and troubled, altogether for default and imbecillitie of heat to overcome it: and this appeereth manifeſtly by this, that ordinarily when their monthly ſickneſſe is upon them, they are very chill, & ſhake for cold, for that the bloud which then is ſtirred and in motion, ready to be diſcharged out of the bodie, is ſo raw and cold. To come now unto the ſmoothneſſe of their ſkinne, and that it is not hairie; who would ever ſay that this were an effect of heat? conſidering that we ſee the hotteſt parts of mans bodie to be covered with haire? for ſurely all ſuperfluities and excrements are ſent out by heat, which alſo maketh way, boring as it were holes through the ſkinne, and opening the paſſages in the ſuperficies thereof. But contrariwiſe wee may reaſon, that the ſlickneſſe of womens ſkinne is occaſioned by coldneſſe, which doth conſtipate and cloſe the pores thereof. Now that womens ſkinne is more faſt and cloſe than mens; you may learne and underſtand by them (friend *Athrylatus*) who uſe to lie in bedde with women, that annoint their bodies with ſweet oiles, or odoriferous compoſitions; for even with ſleeping in the ſame bed with them, although they came not ſo neere as to touch the women, they finde themſelves all perfumed, by reaſon that their owne bodies which be hot, rare, and open, doe draw the ſaid ointments or oiles into them: Well, by this meanes (quoth he) this queſtion as touching women hath beene debated *pro & contrà*, by oppoſit arguments right manfully.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether wine be naturally cold of operation?

But I would now gladly know, (quoth *Florus* ſtill) whereupon your conjecture and ſuſpicion ſhould ariſe, that wine is cold of nature? why? And doe you thinke (quoth I) that this in an opinion of mine? Whoſe then (quoth the other?) I remember (quoth I) that not of late, but long agoe, I light upon a diſcourſe of *Ariſtotle* as touching this probleme: and *Epicurus* himſelfe in his *Sympoſium* or banquet, hath diſcuſſed the queſtion at large; the ſumme of which diſputation (as I take it) is thus much: For (he ſaith) that wine is not ſimplie of it ſelfe hot, but that it conteineth in it certeine atomies or indiviſible motes cauſing heat, and others likewiſe that engender cold; of which ſome it caſteth off and loſeth when it is entred into the bodie, others it taketh unto it, from the very bodie it ſelfe wherein it is; according as the ſame petie bodies be of nature and temperature, fitted and agreeable unto us; in ſuch ſort, as ſome when they be drunke with wine, are well heat; others againe contrariwiſe, be as cold. Theſe reaſons (replied *Florus*) directly bring us by *Protagoras* into the campe of *Pyrrho*, where we ſhall meet with nothing but incertitude, and be ſtill to ſeeke, and as wiſe as we were before: for plaine it is, that in ſpeaking of oile, milke, honie, and likewiſe of all other things, we ſhall never grow to any particular reſolution of them, what nature they bee of, but ſtill have ſome evaſion or other, ſaying: That they become ſuch and ſuch, according as ech of them is mixed and tempered one with another: But what be the arguments that your ſelfe alledge, to prove that wine is cold? Thus I ſee well (quoth I) that there be two of you at once, who preſſe and urge mee to deliver my mind *ex tempore*, and of a ſudden: the firſt reaſon then that commeth into my head is this, which I ſee ordinarily practiſed by phyſicians upon thoſe who have weake ſtomacks: for when they are to corroborate and fortifie that part, they preſcribe not any thing that is hot; but if they give them wine, they have preſent eaſe and helpe thereby; ſemblablie, they repreſſe fluxes of the belly, yea, and when the bodie runneth all to diaphoreticall ſweats, which they effect by the meanes of wine, no leſſe, nay much more than by applying ſnow, confirming and ſtrengthening thereby the habit of the bodie, which otherwiſe was ready to melt away and reſolve: now if it had a nature and facultie to heat, it were all one to applie unto the region of the heart, as fire unto ſnow: furthermore, moſt phyſicians do hold, that ſleepe is procured by cooling; and the moſt part of ſoporiferous medicines which provoke ſleepe, be cold; as for example, Mandragoras and poppie Juice: but theſe I muſt needs confeſſe, with great force and violence doe compreſſe, and (as it were) congeale the braine to worke that effect; whereas wine cooling the ſame gently, with eaſe and pleaſure repreſſeth and ſtaieth the motion thereof; ſo that the difference onely betweene it and the other, is but in degree, according to more and leſſe. Over and beſides, whatſoever is hot, is alſo generative and apt to ingender ſeed; for howſoever humiditie giveth it an aptitude to run and flow, it is ſpirit, by the meanes of heat, that endueth it with vigor & ſtrength, yea, and an appetite to generation: now they that drinke much wine, eſpecially, if it be pure of it ſelfe, and not delaied, are more dull and ſlow to the act of generation, and the ſeed which they ſow, is not effectuall, nor of any force and vigor to ingender; their medling alſo and conjunction with women, is vaine, and doth no good at all, by reaſon that their ſeed is cold and feeble: furthermore, all the accidents and paſſions which colde worketh, doe befall unto thoſe that be drunke; for they tremble and ſhake, they are heavie and dull of motion, and looke pale; the ſpirit in their joints and members, is unquiet, and mooveth diſorderly; their tongues falter, ſtut and be double; laſt of all, their ſinewes in the extremities of the bodie, are drawen up in maner of a crampe, and benummed; yea, and in many, drunkenneſſe endeth in a dead palſie or generall reſolution of all parts; namely, after that the wine hath utterly extinguiſhed and mortified their naturall heat. Phyſicians alſo are woont to cure theſe ſymptones and inconveniences procured by exceſſive drinke and ſurfet, by laying the patients preſently in bedde, and covering them well with clothes, for to bring them to an heat; the next morrow they put them into the baine or hot-houſe, and rub them wel with oile; they nouriſh them with meats which do not trouble the maſſe of the body; and thus by this cherriſhing, they gently fetch againe and recover the heat which wine had diſſipated and driven out of the bodie. And foraſmuch as (quoth I) in things apparent and evident to the eie, we ſearch for the like faculties which lie hidden and ſecret, how can we doubt what drunkenneſſe is, and with what it may be compared? for according as I have before ſaid, drunken folke reſemble (for all the world) old men: and therefore it is, that great drunkards ſoone wax old, many of them become bald before their time, and grow to be grey and hoarie ere they be aged; all which accidents ſeeme to ſurprize a man for defect of heat.

Moreover, vineger (in ſome ſort) reſembleth the nature and propertie of wine: now of all things that are powerfull to quench, there is none ſo repugnant and contrarie to fire, as vineger is; and nothing ſo much as it, by the exceſſive coldneſſe that it hath, overcommeth and repreſſeth a flame. Againe, we ſee how phyſicians uſe thoſe fruits to coole withall, which of all others be moſt vinous, or repreſent the liquor of wine; as for example, pomgranates and other orchard apples. As for honie, do they not mix the ſubſtance thereof with raine-water and ſnow, for to make thereof a kinde of wine, by reaſon that the cold doth convert the ſweetneſſe for the affinitie that is betweene them, into auſteritie, when it is predominant and more puiſſant? what ſhould I ſay more? have not our ancients in olde time, among ſerpents, dedicated the dragon? and of all plants, conſecrated Ivie to *Bacchus*, for this cauſe, that they be both of a certeine colde and congealing nature? Now if any doe object for proofe, that wine is hot; how for them that have drunke the juice of hemlocke, the ſovereigne remedie and counterpoiſe of all other, is to take a great draught of ſtrong wine upon it; I will replie to the contrary, and turne the ſame argument upon them; namely, that wine and the juice of hemlocke mingled together, is a poiſon incurable, & preſently killeth thoſe who drinke it, remedileſſe. So that there is no more reaſon to prove it hot, for reſiſting hemlocke, than colde, for helping the operation of it; or els we muſt ſay, that it is not coldneſſe whereby hemlocke killeth thoſe that drinke it ſo preſently, but rather ſome other hidden qualitie and propertie that it hath.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of the convenient time for a man to know his wife carnally.

CErteine yoong men, who were new ſtudents, and had lately taſted of the learning conteined in ancient books, were ready to teare *Epicurus* in pieces, and inveighed mightily againſt him as an impudent perſon; for propoſing and moving ſpeech which was neither ſeemly nor neceſſarie, in his *ſympoſium* or banquet, as touching the time of meddling with a woman: for that an ancient man, well ſtept in yeres as he was, ſhould make mention & begin talke of venerous matters, and namely, at a banquet, where many yoong men were in place, to particularize and make queſtion in this ſort: Whether it were better for a man to have the uſe of his wife, before ſupper or after; ſeemed to proceed from a laſcivious minde, and incontinent in the higheſt degree. Againſt which, ſome there were, who alledged the example of * *Xenophon*, who after his ſupper or banquet, brought his gueſts (not on foot, but on horſe-backe, riding a gallop away home) to lie with their wives. But *Zopyrus* the phyſician, who was very well ſeene and converſant in the books of *Epicurus*, ſaid: That they had not read diligently and with adviſement, his booke called *Sympoſium*, that is to ſay, The banquet: For he tooke not this queſtion (quoth he) to treat of at the beginning, as a theame or ſubject matter expreſly choſen and of purpoſe, whereto all their talke ſhould be directed, and in nothing els to be determined and ended: but having cauſed thoſe yoong men to riſe from the table for to walke after ſupper, he entred into a diſcourſe, for to induce them to continence and temperance, and to withdraw them from diſſolute luſt of the fleſh, as being at all times, a thing dangerous, and ready to plunge a man into miſchiefe, but yet more hurtfull unto thoſe who uſe it upon a full ſtomacke, after they have eat and drunke well, and made good cheere at ſome great feaſt. And if (quoth *Zopyrus*) he had taken for the principall ſubject, the diſcourſe of this point, is it pertinent and beſeeming a philoſopher,

*See *Xenophon* in the end of his *Sympoſium* or banquet.

pher, not to treat and conſider at all of the time and houre proper and meet for men to embrace their eſpouſed wives? or much better ſo to doe, in due ſeaſon and with diſcretion? and is it (I pray you) not diſcommendable, to diſpute thereof elſwhere and at other times? and altogether diſhoneſt, to handle that queſtion at the table or at a feaſt? for mine owne part, I thinke cleane contrary; namely, that we may with good reaſon reprove and blame a philoſopher, who openly in the day time, ſhould diſpute in publicke ſchooles, of this matter, before all commers, and in the hearing of all ſorts of people; but at the table, where there is a ſtanding cup ſet before familiars and friends, and where other-whiles it is expedient to vary and change our talke, which otherwiſe would be but lewke warme or ſtarke colde for all the wine, how can it be unſeemely or diſhoneſt, either to ſpeake or heare ought that is holſome and good for men, as touching the lawfull company with their wives in the ſecret of marriage? for mine owne part, I proteſt unto you, I could wiſh with all my heart, that thoſe Partitions of *Zeno*, had beene couched in ſome booke entituled, *A banquet or pleaſant treatiſe*, rather than beſtowed (as they are) in a compoſition ſo grave and ſerious, as are the books of policie and government of State. The yoong men at theſe words, were cut over the thumbs; and being abaſhed, held their tongues, and ſat them downe quietly. Now when others of the company requeſted *Zopyrus* to rehearſe the words and reaſons of *Epicurus*, as touching this point. I am not able (quoth he) in particular, to decipher, and preciſely to ſet them downe as he delivered them; but I ſuppoſe the philoſopher feared thoſe violent concuſſions and motions, which are felt in the time of that conjunction; for that our bodies by that meanes, be woonderfullly ſtirred and diſquieted, in regard eſpecially of the wine, which being of it ſelfe ſtirring and cauſing much turbulent agitation, it ſetteth the bodie ordinarily out of quiet repoſe: if then the full maſſe thereof, being in ſuch an agitation, meet not with a ſetled calme and reſt, by ſleepe, but runneth on ſtill headlong to other troubleſome motions, cauſed by the ſports of *Venus*, ſo that the cords and ligaments, which are wont to hold our bodies entire, and mainteine them firme and ſtrong, be ſlacked and looſed, great danger there is, that the foundation being thus ſhaken, the whole edifice wil fall to the ground: for ſurely at ſuch a time, the very genitall ſeed is not ſo apt and ready to paſſe away with eaſe, being ſo pent and conſtipate (as it is) by reaſon of repletion; ſo that it muſt be fetched away perforce, all troubled and confuſed. In which regard (quoth *Epicurus*) a man is to goe about this buſineſſe, when the bodie is at quiet and well ſetled; namely, after that the concoction and digeſtion both, of our food, is perfectly finiſhed, which all that time runneth to and fro, and willingly avoideth all ſuch diſquietneſſe; untill (I ſay) the bodie have need of new nouriſhment. And for to confirme this opinion of *Epicurus*, a man may adjoine a reaſon out of phyſicke; namely: That the opportunity of the morrow-morning, when the concoction is thorowly performed, is moſt ſafe and ſure; whereas to ſtruggle or meddle with a woman immediatly after ſupper, is never without danger: for who can tell (before the meat be well concocted) whether after the panting agitation by the act of *Venus*, there will not enſue another cruditie and indigeſtion, ſo as a double inconvenience and ſurfet upon ſurfet may follow thereupon? Then *Olympicus* taking his turne to ſpeake and opine: As for me, I am (quoth he) infinitly well pleaſed with that ſentence of *Climas* the Pythagorean; who being demanded the queſtion, when the beſt time was to embrace a woman? Marie (quoth he) when thou art minded to do thy ſelfe moſt harme: for that which *Zopyrus* ſaid even now of the fit time, carrieth ſome reaſon with it: and as for the other, it hath (I ſee well) many and ſundry difficulties and inconveniences, and is altogether unſeaſonable for this purpoſe. Like as therefore, *Thales* the wiſe, being importuned by his mother (who preſſed hard upon him) to marrie; pretily put her off, ſhifting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: for at the firſt time, when ſhe was in hand with him, he ſaid unto her: Mother, it is too ſoone, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had paſſed the flower of his age, and that ſhe ſet upon him the ſecond time, and was very inſtant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is paſt; even ſo, it were good for every man to carry and governe himſelfe in theſe amatorious games of *Venus*, that when he goes to bed at night, he ſay to himſelfe: It is not yet time; and when hee riſeth in the morning: Now there is no time left. Heereupon *Soclarus*: Theſe be indeed (quoth he) *Olympicus*, the parts of champions, and require ſuch as would enter combat for to win a prize at the ſacred games: theſe matters (I ſay) altogether, are for thoſe to performe, who can drinke wine freely, and make a game of it, yea, and eat fleſh as luſtily: but ſurely, this ſpeech of yours, little befitteth this time and place; for heere are a ſort of freſh and luſtie yoong men newly married,

By whom, wot well, the works, in ſome degree,
Of love and Venus, *muſt performed be.*

Neither is dame *Venus* as yet,retired and fled altogether from us; for we ſtil in chanting hymnes unto the gods,pray devoutly other-whiles unto her,in this wiſe:

O Venus,*ladie deere and goddeſſe faire,*
Hold backe olde age, keepe from us hoarie haire.

But let us conſider now (if you thinke it good) whether *Epicurus* hath done well and decently, as he ought to doe, in taking away *Venus* from the night ſeaſon; or whether he hath not rather offended againſt all right and reaſon in ſo doing; conſidering that *Menander*, a man well ſeene in love-matters, ſaith: That ſhee is acquainted with her above all other gods and goddeſſes: for in mine opinion, well ordeined was this vaile and ſhade of darkeneſſe, to cover thoſe that are minded to performe theſe acts, and in ſome ſort to hide the pleaſure from them, and not to come unto this game by day-light, thereby to chaſe from out of their eie-ſight all ſhame and to give meanes unto laſcivious wantonneſſe, for to be bold and confident; and finally, to imprint the memorie of the act ſo lively, that it may remaine long after in the minde, for to kindle and revive ſtill, new luſts and fleſhly deſires: For the eie-ſight (as *Plato* ſaith) paſſeth moſt ſwiftly thorow the fleſhly affections of the body into us, that is to ſay, into our ſoule, and evermore awakeneth and raiſeth freſh and new concupiſcence, repreſenting with great force and vehemencie, the images of pleaſure, and putting us in minde to purſue the ſame; whereas contrariwiſe, the night taking away the greateſt part of ſuch acts as be moſt furious,lulleth nature aſleepe,and bringeth her (as it were) to bed, in ſuch ſort, as it doth not exorbitate or breake forth by meanes of the ſight,into laſcivious looſeneſſe. But over and beſides all this,what reaſon or ſenſe is there in this, that a married man, returning all jolly, freſh and merry, from a feſtivall ſupper,and peradventure with a gay chaplet of flowers upon his head, yea, and perfumed with ſweet and odoriferous oiles,ſhould come home,go to bed, turne his backe unto his wife, pull the clothes about him round, and ſo lie to ſleepe all night; and the morrow after, in broad day light and in the mids of houſhold occaſions and other affaires,ſend for his wife out of the nourſerie or womens roome, for to come unto him about ſuch a matter; or in the morning, turne unto her and imbrace her in his armes, at ſuch a time as the cocke treads his hennes? for the even-tide (my good friend *Olympicus*) is the end and repoſe of all our day-labours paſt, and the morning is the beginning of new travels. Of the evening, god *Bacchus* is the ſuperintendent and preſident, who is ſurnamed *Lyſius* or *Liber*, for that he freeth us from all paines-taking; and accompanied he is in this preſidencie of his, with the muſes, to wit,faire *Terpſichore,* who loveth daunces, and pleaſant *Thalia*, who delighteth in feaſts and banquets; whereas the morning riſeth betimes by the breake of day,to do ſervice unto *Mynerva*,ſurnamed *Ergane*,the work-miſtreſſe or patroneſſe of artiſans; to *Mercurie* likewiſe, the maſter of merchants and occupiers: and therefore upon the evening, attend ſongs, muſicke, minſtrelſie, plaies, daunces, weddings,

Maſques, mommeries, feaſts and banquets,
Noiſe of hautboies, fluits, and cornets.

In the morning a man ſhall heare nothing but the thumping ſounds of the ſmithes hammer and ſledges, beating and knocking upon the anvill; the graſhing noiſe of ſawes; the morow-watch of Publicans,Cuſtomers and Toll-gatherers,crying after thoſe that come in or go forth; the ajournements of ſerjeants and criers, calling for apparance in the court before the judges; publications of edicts and proclamations; ſummons to attend and be ready to make court, and to do duetie unto ſome prince,great lord or governour of State; at which time, all pleaſures be gone and out of the way.

Of Venus *then there is no talke,*
The ſlaves of Bacchus *do not walke*
With Ivie dight: the gameſome ſport
Of gallant youths, is all-a-mort:
For why? as day growes on apace,
Cares and troubles come in place.

Moreover, you ſhall never reade, that the poet *Homer* reporteth of any woorthy prince and demi-god, that in the day-time he lay either with wife or concubine; onely he ſaith, that *Paris*, when he fled out of the battell, went and couched himſelfe in the boſome and lap of his *Helena*; giving us thereby to underſtand, that it is not the part of an honeſt minded husband, but the act of a furious and wanton-given adulterer, to follow ſuch pleaſures in the day-time. Neither doth it follow (as *Epicurus* ſaith) that the bodie takes more harme by performing this duetie of marriage after ſupper, than in the morning, unleſſe a man be ſo drunke or overcharged with meats, that his bellie is ready to cracke; for certeinly, in ſuch a caſe it were very hurtfull and dangerous indeed: but if one have taken his meat and drinke ſufficiently, be wel in health, and in ſome meaſure cheerefull; if his bodie be apt and able, his minde well diſpoſed thereto; if hee interpoſe ſome reaſonable time betweene, and then fall to clip and imbrace his wife; he ſhall not thereby incurre any great agitation that night, nor feare the heavie load and repletion of meat; neither will this action worke him any dammage, or coole him too much, ne yet diſquiet and remoove out of their place, the atomies (as *Epicurus* ſaith); but if hee compoſe himſelfe afterwards to ſleepe and repoſe, he ſhall ſoone ſupplie againe that which was voided, and repleniſh the veſſels with a new afflux of ſpirits, which were emptied by the ſaid evacuation. But of all things, eſpeciall heed would be taken, not to play at this game of *Venus* in the day time; for feare leſt the body and minde both, being troubled already with the cares and travels of ſundry affaires, be by this meanes more exaſperat and inflamed, conſidering that nature hath not a ſufficient and competent time betweene, to repoſe and refreſh her ſelfe: for all men (my good friend) have not that great leaſure which *Epicurus* had, neither are they provided for their whole life-time, of that reſt and tranquillity, which he ſaid, that he got by good letters and the ſtudy of philoſophy: nay, there is not one in maner, but every day he finds himſelfe amuſed and emploied about many affaires and buſineſſes of this life, which holde him occupied; to which, it were neither good nor expedient for a man to expoſe his body, ſo reſolved, enfeebled and weakened with the furious exploit of concupiſcence. Leaving him therefore to his fooliſh opinion of the gods, that being immortall and happy, they have no care of our affaires, nor buſie themſelves therewith, let us obey the lawes, maners and cuſtomes of our owne countrey, as every honeſt man ought to do; namely, to be ſure in the morning to go into the temple, and to lay our hands upon the ſacrifice, if haply a little before, we have done ſuch a deed. For in trueth, well it were, that interpoſing the night and our ſleepe betweene, after a ſufficient time and competent ſpace, we ſhould come to preſent our ſelves pure and cleane, as if wee were riſen new men with the new day, and purpoſing to leade a new life, as *Democritus* was woont to ſay.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that Muſt or new wine doth not inebriate or make folke drunke?

THe maner was in *Athens*, to give the aſſay, and to taſte new wines the eleventh day of the moneth [February] which day they named *Pithœgia*: and verily in olde time, they obſerved this ceremonie, to powre out the firſt drawing thereof unto the gods, before they dranke of it, making their praiers devoutly, that the uſe of this medicinable drinke might be holſome and healthfull, not noiſome nor hurtfull unto them. But in our countrey this moneth is called Προστατήριος, the ſixt day of which moneth, the manner was to pierce their veſſell firſt, and taſte new wines, after they had ſacrificed to good *Fortune*, and good *Dæmon*, and that the weſterne winde Zephyrus had done blowing; for of all windes, this is it that moſt troubleth, diſquieteth, and turneth wine: and looke what wine may eſcape this ſeaſon, great hope there is that it will hold and continue good all the yeere after: according to which cuſtome my father upon a time ſacrificed as his maner was; and after ſupper finding that his wine was good & commendable, he propoſed this queſtion unto certeine yoong men that were ſtudents with mee in philoſophie: How it came to paſſe that new wine would not make a man drunke: the thing ſeemed at the firſt unto many a very ſtrange and incredible paradox: But *Agias* ſaid: That this new ſweet wine was every way offenſive unto the ſtomacke, and quickly glutted it; by reaſon whereof a man could hardly drinke ſo much of Muſt, as were ſufficient to overturne his braines: for that the appetite is quickly dulled and wearied, for the ſmall pleaſure that it taketh, ſo ſoone as it feeleth no more thirſt. Now that there is a difference betweene ſweet and pleaſant, the poet *Homer* knew well enough and gave us ſo much to underſtand when he ſaid:

With cheeſe and hony that is ſweet:
With pleaſant wine, a drinke moſt meet.

For in truth wine at the firſt is to be counted ſweet, but in the end it becommeth pleaſant, namely, after it hath age, and by the meanes of working, ebullition and concoction, paſſed to a certeine harſhneſſe and auſteritie. But *Ariſtænetus* of *Nica* ſaid: That he well remembred how he had read in a certeine place in ſome books: That Muſt mingled with wine ſtaieth & repreſſeth drunkenneſſe; he added moreover and ſaid: That there were phyſicians who ordeined for them that had overdrunke themſelves; to take when they went to bed, a piece of bread dipped in hony and to eat it? If then it be ſo, that ſweet things doe mittigate and dull the force of wine: good reaſon it is, that newe wine ſhould not inebriate, untill the ſweetneſſe thereof be turned into pleaſantneſſe. We approoved greatly the diſcourſe of theſe two yoong men, for that they fell not upon triviall and common reaſon, but had deviſed new: for theſe be they that are alledged by every man, and ready at hand, to wit; the heavineſſe of Muſt or new wine, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, which maketh the belly ſoluble, and ſo it breaketh thorow the quantitie of flatilent and muddy ſpirits that abide therein, together with the waterie ſubſtance, of which the ventoſities directly get foorth, as expelled by force; but the aquoſitie by the owne nature enfeebleth the ſtrength of the wine: like as contrariwiſe age augmenteth the power thereof, for that the watrie ſubſtance is now gone; by reaſon whereof, as the quantitie of the wine is diminiſhed, ſo the qualitie and vertue is encreaſed.

THE EIGHT QUESTION.

What the reaſon is, that they who be throughly drunke, are leſſe braine-ſicke than thoſe who are but in the way of drunkenneſſe.

SEeing then (quoth my father) that we have begun already to diſquiet the ghoſt of *Ariſtotle*, it ſhall not be amiſſe to trie what we can ſay of our ſelves, as touching thoſe whom wee call ἀκροθώρακας, that is to ſay, who are wel heat with wine, but not yet ſtarke drunk: for howſoever *Ariſtotle* was ordinarily very quicke and ſubtile in reſolving ſuch queſtions, yet in mine opinion he hath not ſufficiently and exactly delivered the reaſon thereof; for as farre as I can gather out of his words (he ſaith) That the diſcourſe of reaſon in a man who is ſober, judgeth aright and according to the truth of things as they be: contrariwiſe, his ſenſe and underſtanding who is cleane gone, & as they ſay dead drunke, is done and oppreſſed altogether: as for the apprehenſion and imagination of him who hath taken his wine well, and is but halfe drunke, is yet ſound, mary his reaſon and judgement is troubled already and crackt: and therefore ſuch judge indeed, but they judge amiſſe, for that they follow their phantaſies onely: but what thinke you of this? For mine owne part (quoth I) when I conſider with my ſelfe his reaſon, it ſeemeth ſufficiently to have rendred a cauſe of this effect; but if you would have us to ſearch farther into the thing, and deviſe ſome ſpeciall new matter? marke firſt, whether this difference which hee maketh betweene them, ought not to be referred to the bodie: for in theſe that have well drunke, there is nothing but the diſcourſe of reaſon onely troubled; becauſe the bodie being not yet thorowly drenched and drowned in wine, is able to doe ſervice unto the will and appetite; but if it be once off the hookes, (as they ſay) or utterly oppreſſed, it forſaketh and betraieth the appetites, and breaketh day with the affections, being ſo farre ſhaken and out of joint, that it can ſerve no more, nor execute the will: whereas the other having the bodie ſtill at commaund, and ready to exorbitate together with the will, and to ſinne with it for companie, are more ſeene and diſcovered, not for that they be more fooliſh, and have leſſe uſe of reaſon, but becauſe they have greater meanes to ſhew their follie. But if we ſhould reaſon from another principle, and go another way to worke (quoth I) he that will conſider well the force of wine, ſhall finde no let, but that in regard of the quantitie, it altereth and becommeth divers, much like unto the fire, which if it be moderate, hardeneth and baketh the tile or pot of claie; but in caſe it bee very ſtrong, & the heat exceſſive, it melteth & diſſolveth the ſame: and on the otherſide; the ſpring or ſummer ſeaſon at the beginning breedeth fevers and ſetteth them on fire, which in the progreſſe and middes thereof being growen to their heights, decline and ceaſe altogether. What ſhould hinder then, but the minde and underſtanding which naturally is diſquieted and troubled with wine, after it is once off the wheeles, and cleane overturned by the exceſſive quantitie thereof ſhould come into order * againe, and be ſetlet as it was before? Much like therefore as Ellebore beginneth his operation to purge, by overturning the ſtomacke, and diſquieting the whole maſſe of the body; and if it be given in a leſſe doſe or quantitie than it ſhould be; well it may trouble, but purge it will not: alſo as wee ſee ſome, who take medicines for to provoke ſleepe, under the juſt and full quantitie which is preſcribed, in ſtead of ſleepe and repoſe, finde themſelves more vexed and tormented than before; and others againe, if they take more, ſleepe ſoundly:

* Heereupon haply many riſe a proverb: That a man may drinke himſelfe ſober.

ſoundly; even ſo it ſtandeth to good reaſon, that the brain-ſickneſſe of him who is halfe drunk, after it is growen once to the higheſt ſtrength and vigour, doth diminiſh and decay; to which purpoſe now wine ſerveth very well, and helpeth much: for being powred into the body with great abundance, it burneth and conſumeth that ſpice of madneſſe which troubleth the minde and uſe of reaſon; much after the maner of that dolefull ſong, together with the heavy ſound of hautboies in the funerals of dead folke, at the firſt mooveth compaſſion, and ſetteth the eies a weeping, but after it hath drawen the ſoule ſo to pittie and compaſſion, it proceedeth farther, and by little and little it ſpendeth and riddeth away all ſenſe of dolour and ſorrow; ſemblably a man ſhal obſerve, that after the wine hath mightily troubled, diſquieted the vigorous & couragious part of the ſoule, men quickly come to themſelves, & their minds be ſetled in ſuch ſort as they become quiet, and take their repoſe when wine and drunkenneſſe hath paſſed as farre as it can.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of the common proverbe: Drinke either five, or three, but not fower?

WHen I had thus ſaid; *Ariſton* crying out aloud as his maner was: I ſee well now (quoth he) that there is opened a reentrance, and returne againe of meaſures into feaſts and banquets, by vertue of a moſt juſt and popular decree: which meaſures by meanes of (I wot not what) ſober ſeaſon, as by a tyrant have beene this long time baniſhed from thence: for like as they who profeſſe a canonicall harmonie in ſounding of the harpe, doe holde and ſay: That the proportion Hemiolios or Seſquialterall, produceth the ſymphonie or muſicall accord Diapenta, of the duple proportion ariſeth that Diapaſon: but as for the mucſike or accord called Diateſſaron, which of all others is moſt obſcure and dull, it conſiſteth in the proportion Epitritos; even ſo, they that make profeſſion of skill in the harmonies of *Bacchus*, have obſerved, that three ſymphonies or accords there are, betweene wine & water, namely, Diapenta, Diatrion, & Diateſſaron, ſinging and ſaying after this manner: Drinke five, or three, and not fower; for the fift ſtandeth upon the proportion Hemiolios, or Seſquialterall to wit, when three parts or meaſures of water be mingled with two of wine; and the third conteine the duple proportion; namely when two parts of water be put to one of wine; but the fowrth anſwereth to the proportion of three parts of water powred into one of wine; and verily this meaſure or proportion Epitritos, may fit ſome grave and wiſe ſenatours ſitting in parliament; or the *Archontes* in the counſell chamber *Prytaneum* for to diſpatch waightie affaires of great conſequence: and it may beſeeme well enough ſome logicians that pull up their browes, when they are buſie in reducing, unfolding, and altering their Syllogiſmes; for ſurely it is a mixture or temperature ſober and weake enough: as for the other twaine, that medley which carieth the proportion of two for one, bringeth in that turbulent tone of the Acrothoraces before ſaid; to wit, of ſuch as are ſomewhat cup-ſhotten and halfe drunke:

Which ſtirs the ſtrings and cords of ſecret hart,
That mooved ſhould not be, but reſt apart.

For it neither ſuffereth a man to bee fully ſober, nor yet to drench himſelfe ſo deepe in wine, that hee bee altogether witleſſe and paſt his ſenſe: but the other ſtanding upon the proportion of two to three, is of all others the moſt muſicall accord, cauſing a man to ſleepe peaceablie, and to forget all cares, reſembling that good and fertile corne-field which *Heſiodus* ſpeaketh of,

That doth from man all cares and curſes drive,
And children cauſe to reſt, to feed, and thrive.

It appeaſeth and ſtilleth all proud, violent, and diſordred paſſions ariſing within our heart, inducing in the ſtead of them a peaceable calme and tranquillitie. Theſe ſpeeches of *Ariſton* no man there, would croſſe or contradict; for that it was well knowen he ſpake merily: but I willed him to take the cup in hand, and as if he held the harpe or lute, to tune and ſet the ſame, to that accord and conſonance which he ſo highly praiſed, and thought ſo good. Then came a boy cloſe unto him, and powred out ſtrong wine; which he refuſed, ſaying, (and that with a laughter) That his muſicke conſiſted in reaſon and ſpeculation, and not in the practiſe of the inſtrument. But my father added thus much moreover to that which had beene ſaid: That as hee thought, the auncient poets alſo had to great reaſon feigned; that whereas *Jupiter* had two nurſes, to wit, *Ida* and *Adraſtia*; *Iuno* one, namely, *Euboea*; *Apollo* likewiſe twaine, that is to ſay, *Alethia*, and *Corythalia*; *Bacchus* had many more; for that he was ſuckled and nurſed by many nymphes, becauſe this god forſooth had need of more meaſures of water, ſignified by the nymphs to make him more tame, gentle, wittie, and wiſe.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that any killed fleſh will be naught and corrupt ſooner under the raies of the moone, than in the ſunne?

ENthydemus of *Sunium*, feaſted us upon a time at his houſe, and ſet before us a wilde bore, of ſuch bigneſſe, that all wee at the table woondred thereat; but he told us that there was another brought unto him farre greater; mary naught it was, and corrupted in the cariage, by the beames of the moone-ſhine: whereof he made great doubt and queſtion, how it ſhould come to paſſe; for that he could not conceive, nor ſee any reaſon, but that the ſunne ſhould rather corrupt fleſh, being as it was, farre hotter than the moone. Then *Satyrus*: This is not the thing (quoth he) whereat a man ſhould marvell much in this caſe; but rather at that which hunters practiſe; for when they have ſtrucken downe either a wilde bore, or a ſtagge, and are to ſend it farre into the citie, they uſe to drive a ſpike or great naile of braſſe into the body, as a preſervative againſt putrefaction. Now when ſupper was done, *Enthydemus* calling to minde his former queſtion, was in hand withall againe, and ſet it now on foot: And then *Moſchion* the phyſician ſhewed unto them, that the putrefaction of fleſh was a kinde of eliquation and running all to moiſture; for that corruption bringeth it unto a certeine humiditie, ſo as whatſoever is ſappie or corrupted, becommeth more moiſt than it was before: Now it is well knowen (quoth he) that all heat which is mild and gentle, doth ſtirre, dilate, and ſpred the humours in the fleſh: but contrariwiſe, if the ſame be ardent, fierie, and burning, it doth attenuate and reſtreine them: by which appeereth evidently the cauſe of that which is in queſtion; for the moone gently warming bodies, doth by conſequence moiſten the ſame; whereas the ſunne by his extreme heat catcheth up and conſumeth rather that humiditie which was in them: unto which *Archilocus* the poet alludeth like a naturall philoſopher when he ſaid:

I hope, the dogge ſtarre Sirius,
In firie heat ſo furious
With raies moſt ardent will them ſmite,
And numbers of them dry up quite.

And *Homer* more plainly ſpake of *Hector*, over whoſe body lying along dead: *Apollo* (quoth he) diſplaied and ſpred a darke and ſhadowy cloud:

For feare leſt that the ſcorching beames,
of ſunne aloft in ſkie,
Should on his corps have power, the fleſh
and nerves to parch and dry.

Contrariwiſe, that the moone caſteth weaker and more feebler raies; the poet *Ion* ſheweth, ſaying:

The grapes doe finde no helpe by thee,
to ripen on the vine,
And never change their colour blacke,
that they might make good wine.

Theſe words thus paſſed: And then all the reſt (quoth I) is very well ſaid, & I approove thereof; but that al the matter ſhould lie in the quantity of heat, more or leſſe cōſidering the ſeaſon, I ſee not how it ſhould ſtand; for this we find, that the ſunne doth heat leſſe in winter, & corrupteth more in ſummer: whereas we ſhould ſee contrary effects, if putrefactions were occaſioned by the imbecillity of heat; but now it is far otherwiſe, for the more that the ſuns heat is augmented, the ſooner doth it putrifie & corrupt any fleſh killed: and therefore we may as wel inferre, that it is not for default of heat, nor by any imbecillitie thereof; that the moone cauſeth dead bodies to putrifie, but we are to referre that effect to ſome ſecret propertie of the influence proceeding from her: for that all kinds of heat have but one qualitie, and the ſame differing onely in degree, according to more or leſſe: that the very fire alſo hath many divers faculties, and thoſe not reſembling one another, appeareth by daily & ordinary experiences: for gold-ſmiths melt and worke their gold with the flame of light ſtraw and chaffe: phyſicians doe gently warme (as it were) in *Balneo* thoſe drougues, and medicines which they are to boile together moſt all with a fire made of vine cuttings; for the melting, working, blowing, and forming of glaſſe, it ſeemeth that a fire made of Tamarix is more meet than of any other matter whatſoever; the heat cauſed by olive-tree wood, ſerveth well in drie ſtouphs or hot houſes, and diſpoſeth mens bodies to ſweat; but the ſame is moſt hurtfull to baines and baths; for if it bee burned under a furnace, it hurteth the boord-floores and ſeelings; it marreth alſo the verie foundations and ground-workes: whereupon it commeth, that Aediles for the State, ſuch as have any skill and underſtanding, when they let to ferme the publicke baines unto Publicans and Fermers, except ordinarily olive-tree wood, forbidding expreſly, thoſe that rent them at their hands, not to uſe the ſame; as alſo not to caſt into the furnace or fire with which they give an heat unto them, the ſeed of Darnell; for that the ſmoaks and fumes which ariſeth from ſuch matters, ingender head-ach and heavineſſe of the braine, together with a dizzineſſe and ſwimming in the head, in as many as waſh or bathe in them. And therefore, no marvell it is, that there ſhould be ſuch a difference betweene the heat of the ſunne and of the moone, conſiderig that the one by his influence doth drie, and the other by her power diſſolveth humors, and in ſome bodies (by that meanes) cauſeth rhewmes: and therefore diſcreet and carefull nourſes take great heed how they expoſe their ſucking babes againſt the raies of the moone, for that ſuch infants (being full of moiſture, like to ſappy-greene wood) will (as it were) warpe, twine, and caſt at-one ſide by that meanes. And an ordinary thing it is to be ſeene, that whoſoever ſleepe in the moone-ſhine, be hardly awakened, as if their ſenſes were ſtupefied, benummed, and aſtonied: for ſurely, the humors (being diſſolved and dilated by the influence of the moone) doe make bodies heavie. Moreover, it is ſaid, that the *full-moone (by relaxing and reſolving humors in this wiſe) helpeth women in travell of child-bearing, to eaſie deliverance. Whereupon, in my judgement, *Diana*, which is nothing els but the very moone, is called *Lochia* or *Ilithria*, as having a ſpeciall hand in the birth of children; which *Timotheus* directly teſtifieth in theſe verſes:

* διχομήνιος, or ful-moone as ſome interpret it.

> *Thorow azure skie, with ſtarres beſet,*
> *by moone that giveth ſpeed*
> *Of child-birth, and doth eaſe the paine*
> *of women, in their need.*

Moreover, the moone ſheweth her power moſt evidently even in thoſe bodies, which have neither ſenſe nor lively breath; for carpenters reject the timber of trees fallen in the ful-moone, as being ſoft and tender, ſubject alſo to the worme and putrifaction, and that quickly, by reaſon of exceſſive moiſture; husbandmen likewiſe, make haſte to gather up their wheat and other graine from the threſhing-floore, in the wane of the moone, and toward the end of the moneth, that being hardened thus with drineſſe, the heape in the garner may keepe the better from being fuſtie, and continue the longer; whereas corne which is inned and laied up at the full of the moone, by reaſon of the ſoftneſſe and over-much moiſture, of all other, doth moſt cracke and burſt. It is commonly ſaid alſo, that if a leaven be laied in the full-moone, the paſte will riſe and take leaven better; for although it have but a little leaven, & leſſe in quantitie than ordinary, yet it faileth not by the ſharpneſſe thereof (by meanes of rarefaction) to make the whole maſſe and lumpe of dow to ſwell and be leavened.

To returne now unto fleſh that is caught, and beginneth to putrifie, it is occaſioned by nothing els but this, that the ſpirit which mainteineth and knitteth the ſame faſt, turneth into moiſture, and ſo by that meanes, it becommeth over-tender, looſe, and apt to runne to water: an accident, which wee may obſerve in the very aire, which reſolveth more in the full of the moone, than at any other time, yea, and yeeldeth greater ſtore of dewes: which the poet *Alcman* ſignifieth ænigmatically and covertly unto us, when he ſaith in one place, that dew is the daughter of the aire and the moone; for theſe be his words:

> *What things on earth, the dew as nourſe doth feed,*
> *Whom* Jupiter *and moone betwixt them breed.*

Thus evident teſtimonies we have from all parts, that the light of the moone is wateriſh, and hath a certeine propertie to liquifie, and by conſequence, to corrupt and putrifie.

As for the braſen ſpike or naile above mentioned, if it be true (as ſome hold and ſay) that being driven into the body, it preſerveth the fleſh for a time from rottenhead and putrifaction: it ſeemeth to worke this effect, by a certeine aſtrictive qualitie and vertue that it hath; for the flower of braſſe, called *Ver-de-gris*, phyſicians doe uſe in their aſtringent medicines: and by report, thoſe that frequent mines, out of which braſſe-ore is digged, finde much helpe thereby for bleered and rheumaticke eies; yea, and ſome thereby have recovered the haire of their eie-lids, after they were ſhed and fallen off: for the ſmall ſcales or fine powder in maner of flowre, which commeth and falleth from the braſſe-ſtone *Chalcitis*, getting cloſely into the eie-lids, ſtaieth the rhewme, and repreſſeth the flux of weeping and waterie eies: and thereupon it is ſaid, that the poet *Homer* hath given theſe attributes and epithites unto braſſe, calling it *εὐήνορα and νώροπα. Beſides, *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the wounds inflicted by ſpeares and lances with braſen heads, by ſwords alſo made of braſſe, are leſſe painfull, and be ſooner healed, than thoſe which are given by the ſame weapons of iron and ſteele; for that braſſe hath a kinde of medicinable vertue in it, which the ſaid weapons doe leave behinde them immediatly in the wounds. Moreover, that aſtringent things be contrary unto thoſe that putrifie; and that preſervatives or healing matters, have an oppoſit facultie to ſuch as cauſe corruption, it is very plaine and evident; ſo that the reaſon is manifeſt of the ſaid operation: unleſſe haply ſome one will alledge, that the braſen ſpike or naile in piercing thorow the fleſh, draweth unto it the humours thereof, conſidering that there is evermore a flux in that part which is hurt and wronged. Over and beſides, it is ſaid, that there appeareth alwaies ſome marke or ſpot, blacke and blew, about that very place of the fleſh, bewraying (as it were) ſome mortification; a probable argument, that all the reſt remaineth ſound and entire, when the corruption runneth and floweth thither as it doth.

*I ſuppoſe *Homer* uſed the words in a farre other ſenſe, by *Moſchions* leave be it ſpoken, who was a better phyſician, than a grammarian, as it ſhould ſeeme.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

1 *Whether the food conſiſting of many and ſundrie viands, is eaſier of digeſtion, than the ſimple.*

2 *Why it is thought that Muſhromes are ingendred by thunder; wherein alſo the queſtion is made, wherefore it is a neceſſarie opinion, that thoſe who lie aſleepe, are not ſmitten with lightning.*

3 *What is the reaſon that to a wedding ſupper, many gueſts were invited.*

4 *Whether the viands which the ſea affoordeth, be more delicate than thoſe of the land.*

5 *Whether the Jewes in a religious reverence that they have of ſwine, or upon an abomination and abhorring of them, forbeare to eat their fleſh.*

6 *What god the Jewes worſhip.*

7 *Why the dayes of the weeke, bearing the names of the ſeven planets, are not diſpoſed and reckoned according to the order of the ſaid planets, but rather cleane contrary; where, by the way, there is a diſcourſe as touching the order of nailes.*

8 *What is the cauſe that rings and ſignets were worne eſpecially upon the fourth finger, or that, next from the middle.*

9 *Whether wee ought to carrie in our ſeale-rings, the images of the gods engraven, or of wiſe perſonages.*

10 *What is the reaſon that women never eat the middle part of a Lectuce.*

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or banquet-queſtions.

The Proëme.

POlybius in times paſt (ô *Soſsius Senecio*) gave unto *Scipio Africanus* this good advertiſement: Never to depart out of the market or common place, where citizens daily aſſembled about their affaires, untill he had gotten one new friend or other, more than he had before. Where you muſt underſtand this name of friend, not preciſely as the Stoicks doe, nor after the ſubtile acceptation of the word, according to curious Sophyſters; namely, for him that continueth firme, faſt for ever and immutable; but after a civill and vulgar maner, for a wel-willer, as *Dicæarchus* meant, when he ſaid: That we ought to make all men our well-willers, but honeſt men onely our friends: for ſurely, this true friendſhip and amitie can not be gotten and purchaſed, but in long time, and by vertue; whereas that good-will of civill perſons, may be gained by affaires and dealings one with another, by conference and converſing, and other-whiles, by playing and gaming together; namely, when opportunitie of time and place meeteth therewith, which helpeth not a little to the winning of humane affection and favour among men. But conſider now, whether that leſſon and precept of *Polybius* may be fitted, not onely to the market and common place aforeſaid, but alſo to a feaſt or banquet; namely, That a man ought never to riſe from the table, nor to depart from the company met at a feaſt, before he know, that he hath acquired the love and good affection of ſome one of thoſe there aſſembled; and ſo much the rather, becauſe men repaire ordinarie to the publike place of the citie about other negotiations and buſineſſe; but to a feaſt, wiſe and diſcreet perſons come as much to get new friends, as to do pleaſure unto thoſe whom they have already: and therefore (as it were) a baſe, abſurd and illiberall part, to ſeeme to carry away from a feaſt or banquet any thing whatſoever; ſo to goe from thence with more friends than he brought thither at his entrance, is a delectable, honeſt and honourable thing: like as on the contrary ſide, he that is negligent and careleſſe in this behalfe, maketh that meeting and fellowſhip unpleaſant and unprofitable unto himſelfe, and ſo he goes his way as one that had ſupped with his bellie, and not with his minde and ſpirit; for he that commeth as a gueſt to ſupper among others, commeth not onely to take his part with them, of bread, wine, meats and junkets, but to communicate alſo in their diſcourſes in their learning, yea, and their pleaſant courteſie, tending all in the end, to good will and amitie. For wreſtlers to catch and take faſt hold one of another, had need of duſt ſtrewed upon their hands; but wine at the table, eſpecially when it is accompanied with good talke, is that which giveth meanes to lay holde upon friends, and to knit them together. For * ſpeech doth transfuſe and derive by diſcourſe and communication, as it were, by conduits and pipes, courteſie and humanity, from the bodie to the mind; for otherwiſe, diſperſed it is, and wandreth all over the bodie, and doth no other good at all, but onely fill and ſatisfie the ſame. And like as marble taketh from iron red-hot, the fluxible moiſture, by cooling it, and maketh that ſoftneſſe to become hard and ſtiffe, whereby it is more apt to reteine the impreſſion of any forme received; even ſo honeſt diſcourſe and talke at the table, ſuffereth not the gueſts that are eating and drinking together, to run endlong ſtill, and be carried away with the ſtrength of wine; but ſtaieth them, and cauſeth their mirth and jollitie (proceeding from their liberall drinking) to be well tempered, lovely, well beſeeming, yea, and apt to be ſealed (as it were) with the ſignet of amity and friendſhip, if a man know with dexteritie, how to handle and manage men, when they are thus made ſoft and tender, yea, and capable of any impreſſion, through kinde heat, by the meanes of wine and good cheere.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether the food conſiſting of ſundry ſorts of viands, be eaſier of digeſtion, than the ſimple?

THe firſt queſtion then, of this fourth Decade of Table-diſcourſes, ſhall be concerning diverſitie of meats: for by occaſion of the ſolemne feaſt * *Elaphebolia*, for the celebration

* λογος, rather οἶνος, wine.

* That is to ſay, The Stag killing.

whereof we went to the city *Hyampolis*. *Philon* the phyſician invited us, who (as it ſhould ſeeme) had made great preparation of good cheere, to enterteine us magnificently; and ſeeing with *Philinus* a yoong lad his ſonne, feeding heartily upon drie bread without calling for any other meat to it, tooke occaſion to breake out into this admiration: O *Hercules*, now ſurely here is the common proverbe verified indeed!

They fought in place all full of ſtone,
But from the earth could lift up none.

and therewith he leapt forth, and ran into the kitchin to fetch ſome good victuals for them: and after he had ſtaied a pretie while away, he came againe and brought nothing with him, but a few drie figs and ſome cheeſe; which when I ſaw: This is (quoth I) the ordinary faſhion of thoſe, who having made proviſion of rare and exquiſit things, which alſo be coſtly and ſumptuous, do neglect thoſe which be good and neceſſarie, whereof afterwards, they finde a miſſe and want. I never remembred (quoth *Philon*) that our *Philinus* heere, ſeemeth to feed after the maner of * *Soſtratus*, who never (by report) did eat or drinke any thing, all his life time, but onely milke: but as for him, very like it is, that upon ſome change of minde, he began this maner of diet, and that he had not alwaies lived ſo; but this *Philinus* here, like another *Chiron*, feedeth his ſonne (like as *Achilles* was brought up from his very infancie) with ſuch meats as have no bloud in them, that is to ſay, of the fruits of the earth. And thinke you not, that by this certeine demonſtration, he verifieth that which is written of the graſhoppers; namely, that they live of the aire and dew? I never thought upon a ſupper (quoth *Philinus*) or a feaſt of an hũdred beaſts killed for ſacrifice, as they were when *Ariſtomenes* feaſted his friends; for otherwiſe, I would have come from home well provided before-hand of ſimple viands, which be holſome and healthfull, as preſervatives hanging about our necks, againſt theſe ſumptuous, ſurfetous & feaverous feaſts; for that I have heard many times phyſicians ſay: That ſimple viands are eaſier of digeſtion, than varietie of meats, like as they be alſo readier at hand, and ſooner provided. Then *Marcion* directing his ſpeech unto *Philo*: This *Philinus* heere (quoth he) marres all your proviſion of good cheere, frighting as he doth your gueſts, and (what lies in him) withdrawing them from eating thereof: but if you will requeſt me, I ſhall anſwer in your behalfe, I will pawne my ſelfe alſo and be their warrant, yea and proove unto them afterwards, that the diverſitie of meats is more eaſie to bee concocted and digeſted, than their ſimplicitie and uniformitie, to the end that they may in the meane time be the bolder and better aſſured to fall unto their victuals, & make merry with that plentifull fare that you have ordeined for us: Then *Philo* entreated *Marcion* ſo to doe.

* Or *Zoroaſtres*.

Now after that we had ſupped, we called upon *Philinus* to ſet in hand with the accuſation of this multiplicitie of ſundry and divers viands: Why (quoth he againe) I am not the author of this poſition; neither is it I that have ſaid ſo; but this good hoſt of ours *Philo* heere, who evermore telleth us: Firſt and formoſt, that thoſe beaſts which feede upon a ſimple kinde of meat, and the ſame alwaies one, live more healthie than men; whereas they that be kept up and crammed in coupes, cages, mewes, & bartons, or otherwiſe franke-fed & fatted, are in greater danger to fall into diſeaſes, & more ſubject to cruditics, for that their meat is ſet before them mingled, compounded, and in ſome ſort delicately condited. Secondly, there was never yet any phyſician ſo bold and venterous in making new experiments, who durſt offer unto his patient ſicke of an ague, any meat or nouriſhment ſo compounded of divers ſorts; but ordeined there is for them alwaies the ſimpleſt that can be had, & leaſt ſmelling of the kitchin and cooks craft; as that which is moſt eaſie to be concocted in the ſtomacke: for in truth our meats ſhould ſuffer alteration, and be wrought by the naturall faculties within us: and like as the colours which are moſt ſimple doe ſtrike the deepeſt die, and give the beſt tincture; and among oiles that which hath no ſent at all, taketh beſt the aromaticall drougues and odors of the perfumes, and ſooner turneth or chaungeth than any other; even ſo the ſimpleſt nouriſhment is that, which moſt eaſily is altered and concocted by the vertue digeſtive: whereas if there be many and ſundry qualities, and thoſe of a contrary operation, they corrupt ſooneſt; for that they fight and runne one againſt the other, and ſo hinder concoction; much like as in a citie, the confuſed multitude of many nations hudled together from all parts, hardly will ever grow to any agreement, & conſiſtence well united and accordant; for that ech partie leaneth to their owne rites, ſtriveth to draw all to their owne commoditie, and followeth their private affections againſt others, hardly or never agreeing and framing well with ſtrangers. Moreover, we may have a moſt evident and infallible argument of this by the familiar example of wine, for nothing there is that ſo doth inebriate, as varietie and change of wines; and it ſeemeth that drunkenneſſe is nothing els but the indigeſtion of wine: and therefore our great profeſſed drinkers avoid all that ever they can, mixt and brewed wines; yea & they that are the brewers and minglers thereof, doe it as ſecretly as it is poſſible; like to thoſe that lie in ambuſh: for ſurely every change brings with it inequallity, and a kinde of extaſie, putting all out of frame; which is the cauſe likewiſe that muſicians are very wary how they ſtirre or ſtrike many ſtrings together, & yet there is no other harme at all to be ſuſpected but the mixture and varietie. This I dare be bold to affirme, that a man will ſooner beleeve & conſent to a thing where contrary reaſons be alledged, than make good concoction, and digeſtion of divers and ſundry faculties: but becauſe I would not bee thought to ſpeake in jeſt, leaving theſe prooves, I will come to the reaſons of *Philo*: for wee have heard him oftentimes ſay: That it is the quality of the meat that cauſeth difficultie of digeſtion, and that the mixture of many things is pernicious, and engendreth ſtrange accidents: and therefore we ought to take knowledge by experience, what is friendly and agreeable to nature, that we may uſe the ſame, and reſt contented therein; and if peradventure there bee nothing of the owne nature hard to be concocted, but that it is the quantitie alone that troubleth and hurteth our ſtomacke, and there corrupteth, ſo much the rather in mine advice we ought to forbeare divers ſorts of viands, wherewith *Philoes* cooke exerciſing his art cleane contrarie to his maſters, hath even now empoiſoned and bewitched us, by diverſifying our appetite and by novelties and change, not ſuffring it to bee wearie, and to refuſe any thing, feeding it ſtill with one thing after another, and cauſing it by this varietie to paſſe the bonds of contentment in reaſon; much like unto the foſter-father of lady *Hypſipyle*:

Who being ſet in meddow gay,
Flower after flower did crop away:
And yet his minde ſo childiſh was,
And in deſire ſo farre did paſſe,
That bootie none would him content,
Vntill the flowers moſt part off went.

In this caſe therefore it were good withall to remember the wiſe inſtruction of *Socrates*, who giveth us counſell to take heed and beware of thoſe viands which draw men on to eat, when they are not hungry, wherein his meaning was this and none other; that we ſhould avoid and feare the diverſitie and pluralitie of meats: for this is it that cauſeth us to exceed the bounds of ſuffiſance, farther than needfull is, and reteineth our pleaſure in things that content the eie and the eare, in venereous matters, in plaies, games, and all kindes of ſport, being continually refreſhed and renewed ſtill with a ſingularitie and ſuperfluitie that hath many heads: whereas in ſimple and uniforme pleaſures, the attractive delight never exceedeth the neceſſitie of nature. To be ſhort, of this minde I am: That a man would better endure a muſician, who commended a confuſion of many ſtrings diſcordant; or a maſter of wreſtlers who praiſed the annointing of bodies for exerciſe, with ſweet oiles and perfumed ointments; than a phyſitian who recommended this multiplicitie and varietie of viands; for ſurely ſuch alterations and changes from one diſh to another, muſt needs force and drive us out of the right way to health.

After that *Philinus* had thus ſaid: I am of this minde (quoth *Marcion*) that not onely they who disjoine and ſever profit from honeſtie, incurre the malediction of *Socrates*, but alſo thoſe who diſtinguiſh pleaſure and health a ſunder, as if pleaſure forſooth were repugnant, or an enimie unto it, and not rather a friend and companion thereof: for ſeldome and even againſt our wils (quoth he) doe we make any uſe of paine, as being an inſtrument too boiſterous and violent, whereas no man, would he never ſo faine, can chaſe pleaſures away, and baniſh them, but they will preſent themſelves alwaies in our feeding, in ſleeping, in waſhing, bathing, ſweating, and annointing our bodies; they enterteine, foſter, and cheriſh him that is over-travailed and wearie, putting away quite by a certeine familiar propertie, agreeable unto nature, whatſoever is ſtrange and offenſive: for what manner of paine, what want, what poiſon is there how ſtrong ſoever it be, that riddeth or diſpatcheth a maladie ſo ſoone or ſo preſently, as the bath in due time; or wine given to thoſe that have need, and when their heart doth faint? Our meat going downe into the ſtomacke merily, and with pleaſure, diſſolveth incontinently all wambles, reducing and reſtoring nature againe into her owne eſtate; as if faire weather and a calme ſeaſon were come againe; whereas on the contrarie ſide, the ſuccors and remedies which are procured by dolorous and painfull meanes, by little and little, hardly & with much adoo are brought about and effected, even with wrong and injurie offered unto nature: let not *Philinus* therefore ſet himſelfe in oppoſition againſt us, in caſe we doe not hoiſe up and ſpred all our ſailes, to flie away from pleaſures: but endevour and ſtudie wee rather to draw delight and health together, for to make a marriage betweene them, for which we have more reaſon than ſome philoſophers, to match pleaſure with honeſty. For firſt and formoſt (*Philinus*) mee thinks in the very entrance of your diſcourſe, that you are greatly deceived; ſetting downe this ſuppoſall for a ground: That brute beaſts feed more ſimply than men, and in that regard live more healthfully; for neither the one nor the other is true: and as for the former, diſprooved plainly it is by the teſtimonie of the goates, of whom the poet *Eupolis* writeth, who highly commend and praiſe their paſture, as being mingled, and conſiſting of the varietie of all plants and herbes; who ſing and ſay in this manner:

We feed in plenty everie where
Upon the plants which earth doth beare;
The ſtatly Firre we bark and bruſe
The Holme likewiſe with mightie bowghes;
The tender crops of Arbute tree
Which beares a frute like Strawberie;
Do yeeld us foode, and many mo
Which both on hilles and dales do grow;
As namly ſweet tree Trifolie
On which we love to eate daily;
The Juniper with fragrant ſmell,
The Yewgh ſay-greene and leav'd as well;
Wilde Olives and fruitfull Lentisk,
Which yeelds the holſome gumme Maſtick,
Aſh, Figge-tree, Okes that high doe grow,
Ivie, Lings which creepes as low;
Whins, Tamarix, Gorſe and Broome,
Chaſte-tree, Brambles, all and ſome,
Mollein, Longwoort, Aſphodell,
Ladan ſhrub that ſweet doth ſmell:
Beech trees, with triangled Maſt,
Thyme and Sav'ry, be our repaſt.

For even theſe trees, ſhrubbes, and herbes, heere reckoned up, have no doubt infinit differences in taſte, juice, ſavour, ſent, & vertue; and yet there be a number more beſides theſe left out unnamed. And as for the ſecond point, *Homer* refuteth it by an evident experience, ſhewing that murrens and peſtilent contagions, ſeized firſt upon brute beaſts: beſides, their ſhort life witneſſeth ſufficiently how diſeaſed they be, and ſubject to many accidents and infirmities; for there is not one of them to ſpeake of, that liveth long, unleſſe haply ſome man will give inſtance of the raven and the crow, which we know and ſee to eat much, and to feed of all ſorts of victuals. Moreover, mee thinks that reaſoning from the diet of ſicke-perſons, you have not gone by a right rule to diſcerne the meats which be of eaſie or heavie digeſtion; for labour and exerciſe, yea and to cut and chew the meat well, ſerve much for concoction; but for all that they agree not to thoſe who are in a feaver: furthermore, I ſuppoſe, that you feare without juſt occaſion, the repugnance and contrarietie of divers and ſundry meats: for ſet the caſe that either nature doth out of different and diſlike meats, chuſe and take that which is agreeable unto it; the divers nouriſhment tranſmitting many and ſundry qualities, into the maſſe and bulke of the body, diſtributeth unto every part that which is meet and fit for it: ſo as that commeth to paſſe which *Empedocles* delivered in theſe verſes:

Sweet will to ſweet, and therewith loves to joine;
The bitter runnes to that which bitter is;
Looke what is ſharpe with ſharpe doth well combine,
With ſaltiſh parts ſalt ſorteth not amiſſe.

This goeth one way, and that another, ech one to that which is ſutable thereto, after that the mixture by the heat which is ſeated in the ſpirits is dilated and ſpred abroad, the like alwaies follow their owne kinde: for a body mingled and compounded of ſo many things aſſembled together as ours is, by all reaſon doth contract, enterteine and accompliſh the temperature thereof by varietie of matter, rather than by a ſimple uniformitie thereof; or if it were not ſo, but that the concoction ſo called, be it which hath force to alter and change our viands; yet the ſame will both ſooner and alſo better be performed in ſundry and divers meats, than in that which is one and ſimple: for never will the like receive any paſſion or alteration by the like; but contrarietie and repugnancie is that, which ſooner turneth and changeth the qualities being enfeebled by the mixture of their contrarie: and if you reſolve once (ô *Philinus*) to condemne all that which is mixed and compounded; do not reproove and revile this *Philo* heere, for interteining onely his friends at the table with ſo coſtly fare and varietie of deintie diſhes? but alſo, yea and ſo much the rather, whenſoever he compoundeth and mixeth thoſe roiall confections, and thoſe cordiall electuaries that be counter-poiſons, which *Eraſiſtratus* was woont to cal: The very hands of the gods; condemne them (I ſay) of vanitie, curioſitie, and abſurditie, who confound and mixe together minerals, herbs, theriacall trochiſts, made of the parts of venemous ſerpents, for the compoſition of their treacles; yea and in one word, whatſoever land or ſea affoordeth: for by your advice, good it were to abandon al theſe mixtures, and reduce all phyſick to plaine ptiſans, thinne barley water, cucumber ſeeds, all ſimple, or at the moſt to oile and water mingled together: yea, but this pluralitie and diverſitie of viands, doth by your ſaying, raviſh, tranſport, and enchant our appetite as it were, beſides it ſelfe, inſomuch as it hath no more maſtry of it ſelfe: I anſwer my good friend: That the ſame draweth after it puritie and neatneſſe; it maketh a good ſtomacke; it cauſeth a ſweet breath; and in one word, procureth cheerefulneſſe in us, and a diſpoſition both to eat more, and to drinke better: for otherwiſe why take we not courſe branne in ſtead of the fine flower of meale to thicken our pots? or why dreſſe wee not and prepare * cives and golden thiſtles, as well as wee doe the tender crops and heads of garden ſperage? why reject wee not this odoriferous, fragrant, and delicate wine of ours, to drinke ſome ſavage and hedge drinke; as cyder made of apples, even out of the tubbe which reſounds with the conſort and muſicke of gnats and flies round about? for you will ſay (I am ſure) that an healthfull diet is not the flying and avoiding of pleaſure altogether; but rather a moderation and temperature of pleaſures, making uſe of that appetite which is obedient to profit: for like as pilots and maſters of ſhips have many devices and meanes to eſcape a bluſterous and violent winde when it is aloft, but when the ſame is allaied and downe, there is no man able to raiſe and ſet it up againe; even ſo to withſtand the appetite, and to repreſſe the ſame when it doth exceed, is not ſo hard and difficult a matter; but to ſtirre up, to provoke, & corrobrate the ſame when it is loſt, & decaied before due time; or to give an edge unto it, being dull, and faint, is a maſtrie indeed, and a piece of worke (my friend, I may ſay unto you) not ſo eaſily done: whereby it appeares, that the nouriture of divers viands, is better than the ſimple food, and that which by reaſon is alwaies of one ſort, doth ſoone ſatisfie and give one enough, by how much more eaſie it is to ſtay nature, when ſhe is too ſpeedie and haſtie, than to ſet her forward, being weary and drawing behinde: and whereas ſome haply there bee, who ſay, that repletion and fulneſſe is more to be feared and avoided than inanition and emptineſſe, that is not true; but rather the contrary: in deed, if repletion and ſurfet grow to corruption or to ſome maladie, it is hurtfull; but emptineſſe (if it bring and breed none other harme els) is of it ſelfe adverſe and contrary to nature. Let theſe reaſons therefore be oppoſed, as it were, diſſonant and ſounding of a contrary ſtring, againſt thoſe which you (*Philinus*) have phyloſophically diſcourſed: as for others of you heere, that for ſaving money, and to ſpare coſt, ſticke to ſalt and * cumin; you are ignorant for want of experience, that varietie is more pleaſant, and the more delectable that a thing is, the more agreeable it is to the appetite, (provided alwaies that you ſhunne exceſſe and gourmandiſe) for ſurely it cleaveth quickly to the body which is deſirous of it, going, as one would ſay before, and ready to meet it halfe-way for to receive it, having the eie-ſight to prepare the way: whereas contrariwiſe, that which is lothſome or not pleaſing to the appetite, floteth and wandereth up and downe in the bodie, and findeth no enterteinment, in ſuch ſort, as either nature rejecteth it quite, or if ſhe receive it, the ſame goes againſt her heart, & ſhe doth it for pure need, and want of other ſuſtenance: now when I ſpeake of diverſitie & variety of viands; note thus much and remember, that I meane not theſe curious works of paſtry; theſe exquiſit ſawces, tarts, and cakes, which go under the name of *Aburtacæ, Canduli,* & *Carycæ*; which are but ſuperfluous toies and vanities: for otherwiſe *Plato* himſelfe alloweth varietie of meats at the table, to theſe generous and noble-gentlemen his citizens, whom he deſcribeth in his common-wealth, when hee ſetteth before them, bulbs, ſcalions, olives, ſalade herbes, cheeſe, and al manner of deinties that woorth would affoord; and over & above al theſe, he would not defraud nor cut feaſts ſhort of their junckets & banquetting diſhes at the end of al.

* γίθια.

* *κύμινον,* ſome reade *κύαμον,* that is to ſaie beanes.

THE

THE SEGOND QUESTION.

What is the reaſon of this opinion ſo generally received, that Muſhromes be engendred of thunder? and that thoſe who lie aſleepe are not thought to be ſmitten with lightning?

AT a certeine ſupper, where we were in the city *Elis*, *Agemachus* ſet before us Muſhromes of an exceeding bigneſſe; whereat when the companie ſeemed to woonder, one who was there preſent, ſmiled and ſaid: Certes, theſe may beſeeme well the great thunders that we have lately had within this few daies; by which words he ſeemed pleaſantly to ſcoffe at this vulgar opinion: That Muſhromes ſhould breed of thunder. Now ſome were there, who ſaid: That thunder cauſed the earth to chinke and open, uſing the meanes of the aire, as it were a wedge to cleave it, and withall, that they who ſeeke for Muſhromes, by thoſe crevices gueſſe where they are to be found; whereupon aroſe this common opinion: That they were engendred of thunder, and not ſhewed thereby; as if a man ſhould imagine that a ſhowre of raine breedeth ſnailes, and not rather cauſe them to creepe foorth and be ſeene abroad. But *Agemachus* ſeemed then in good earneſt to confirme the ſaid received opinion, by experience, praying the company, not to conclude by & by that a thing was incredible, becauſe it was ſtrange and wonderfull: For (quoth hee) there be many other effects of thunder, lightning, and other meteores or celeſtial impreſſions right admirable; whereof it were very hard, if not altogether impoſſible, to comprehend the cauſes and the reaſons. For this ridiculous round root called the Bulb, which maketh us ſo good ſport, and is growen into a by-word, little though it be, eſcapeth not by that meanes from thunder, but becauſe it hath a propertie cleane contrary unto it; like as the figge tree alſo, and the skin of the ſeale or ſea-calfe, and of the beaſt *Hyena*, with whoſe skinnes, mariners and ſailers are wont to clothe the ends of their croſſe-ſaile-yards, whereupon they hang their ſailes: gardeners alſo and good husbandmen, call thoſe ſhowres that fall with thunder, ἐυάλδεα, that is to ſay, good to water their grounds, and ſo they thinke them to be. In ſumme, it were great ſimplicity and meere folly to woonder heereat, conſidering that we doe ſee before our eies, things more admirable than this, and indeed of all other, moſt incredible; namely, out of moiſt clouds, fire to flaſh, and from the ſame (ſoft as they be) ſo great cracks and horrible claps of thunder: Well, I am (quoth he) in theſe matters ſomewhat talkative and full of words, becauſe I would ſollicit and move you to be more willing to ſearch into the cauſe, for that I meane not to deale hardly otherwiſe with you, and ſeeme to preſſe you every one to lay downe your part toward the paiment for theſe my great Muſhromes. Why (quoth I) *Agemachus* himſelfe ſeemeth in ſome ſort to have pointed with his very finger to the reaſon hereof; for I aſſure you, at this preſent I can not thinke of any one, more probable than this; namely, that together with thunder, there falleth downe many times a certeine genitall water, apt to ingender; and the cauſe thereof, is heat mingled among: for, that pure, light, & piercing ſubſtance of the fire, being now converted into lightning, is gone and paſſed away; but the more weightie, groſſe and flatilent part remaining behinde, enwrapped within the cloud, altereth and taketh quite the coldneſſe away, and drinketh up the moiſture, making it more flateous and windie, in ſuch ſort, as by this meanes eſpecially, theſe raines gently and mildly enter & pierce into plants, trees and herbs, upon which they fall, cauſing them within a while to thrive in bigneſſe, and infuſing within them a particular temperature and a peculiar difference of juice. As we may obſerve otherwiſe, that the dew maketh the graſſe to be better ſeaſoned (as it were) and fitter to content the appetite of ſheepe and other cattell: yea, and thoſe clouds upon which that reflexion is made, which we call the rain-bow, fill thoſe trees and wood upon which they fall, with a paſſing ſweet and pleaſant odor; wherof, the prieſts of our countrey be not ignorant, but acknowledge as much, calling the ſame *Iriſſcepta*, as if the rain-bow did reſt or ſettle upon them. Much more probable it is, that when theſe waters and raines together with their ventoſities & heats, occaſioned by thunders & lightnings, come to pierce deepe into the earth, it turneth and rolleth round, and by that meanes are ingendred therein ſuch like nodoſities and knobs, ſoft and apt to crumble, which we call Muſhromes; like as in our bodies there breed and ariſe certeine flatuous tumors, named Kirnels or Glandules, formed by occaſion of I wot not what bloudy humors and heats withal: for a Muſhrome ſeemeth not to be a plant, neither without rain & moiſture doth it breed, having no root at all, nor any ſprout ſpringing from it; it is wholly entire of it ſelfe round about, and holding upon nothing, as having the conſiſtence onely of the earth which hath bene a litle altered & changed.

And if you thinke this reaſon to be but ſlender, I ſay unto you more, that the moſt part of thoſe accidents which follow upon thunder and lightning, are of the like ſort; and therefore it is eſpecially, that in theſe effects there is thought to bee a certeine divinitie. Then *Dorotheus* the oratour who was in the companie: Truth it is (quoth he) that you ſay, for not onely the vulgar ſort of ſimple and ignorant people are of that opinion, but ſome alſo of the philoſophers; and for mine owne part I know as much by experience, that the lightning which of late fell upon our houſe, wrought many ſtrange and woonderfull things: for it emptied our ſellers of wine, and never did hurt unto the earthen veſſell wherein it was; and whereas there lay a man a ſleepe, it flew over him, yea, and flaſhed upon him, without any harme at all to his perſon, or ſienging ſo much as his clothes; but having a certeine belt or pouch wherein were certeine pieces of braſſe money, it melted and defaced them all ſo confuſedly, that a man could not know by the forme or impreſſion, one from another: the man went thereupon to a certeine Pythagorian philoſopher, who as happe was ſojourned there, and demaunded of him what the reaſon might bee thereof, and what it did preſage? But the philoſopher, when hee had cleered and aſſoiled his minde of ſcrupulous feare and religion, willed him to ponder and conſider of the matter apart by himſelfe, and to pray unto the gods. I heare ſay alſo, that not long ſince there was a ſouldiour at *Rome*, who keeping the Centinell, upon one of the temples of the citie, chaunced to have a flaſh of lightning to fall very neere unto him, which did him no hurt in the world in his body, but onely burnt the latchets of his ſhoes: and whereas there were certeine ſmall boxes and cruets of ſilver within wooden caſes, the ſilver within was found all melted into a maſſe in the bottome, and the wood had no injurie at all, but continued ſtill entire and ſound. But theſe things a man may chuſe whether he will beleeve or no. Howbeit, this paſſeth all other miracles, which we all, (I ſuppoſe) doe know very well; namely, that the dead bodies of thoſe who have beene killed by lightning, continue above ground and putrifie not: for many there be who will neither burne nor enterre ſuch corſes, but caſt a trench or banke about, and ſo let them lie as within a rampar; ſo as ſuch dead bodies are to be ſeene alwaies above ground uncorrupt; convincing *Clymene* in *Eurypides* of untruth, who ſpeaking of *Phaethon* ſaid thus:

Beloved mine, but ſee where dead he lies,
In vale below, and therewith putrifies.

And heereupon it is, (as I take it,) that brimſtone taketh the name in Greeke θεῖον, for the reſemblance of that ſmell which thoſe things yeeld that have beene ſmitten with lightning, which no doubt have a fierie and piercing ſent: and this may bee the reaſon likewiſe in my conceit, that dogges and fowles of the aire forbeare to touch any dead bodies, which in this ſort are ſtriken from heaven. Thus farre foorth have I laid the firſt ſtone for a ground-worke of this cauſe, as alſo of the Bay-tree: Now let us intreat him heere to finiſh and make out the reſt, for that he is well acquainted with Muſhromes, leſt haply that befall unto us which ſometimes to the painter *Androcydes* did; for whē he painted the gulfe *Scylla*, he portraied more naturally & to the life, the fiſhes all about, than any thing elſe beſides; whereby men judged that hee ſhewed more affection therein, than cunning of his art, for that naturally he loved to feed upon good fiſhes; and even ſo ſome one might ſay; that we have diſcourſed ſo much of Muſhromes, the breeding and generation whereof is ſo doubtfull, as you ſee, for the pleaſure and delight that we take in eating of them. Conſidering now that in theſe points our diſcourſe ſeemed to carrie ſome probabilitie, and that everie man was perſwaded well enough that the cauſe and reaſon thereof was cleere; and withall my ſelfe began to ſpeake and adviſe, that it was now time as the manner was in comedies, to ſet up thoſe engins deviſed for to counterfet thunder; ſo to inferre a diſputation at the table of lightning; to which motion all the company condeſcended, but paſſing over all other points, very deſirous and earneſt they were to heare a diſcourſe as touching this one: What the reaſon might be that men a ſleepe be never ſmitten or blaſted with lightning. Now albeit I ſaw well well enough, that I ſhould gaine no great praiſe, in touching a cauſe, whereof the reaſon was common, yet I beganne to ſet to it and ſaid: That the fire of lightning was fine and ſubtill, as that which tooke the originall and beginning from a moſt pure, liquid, and ſacred ſubſtance, which if there had beene in it any moiſture or terreſtriall groſeneſſe mingled among, the celeritie of motion is ſuch, that it would have purged and caſt it foorth: Nothing is ſmitten with lightning (quoth *Democritus*) that cannot reſiſt the fire from heaven; and therefore ſolide bodies, as iron, braſſe, ſilver, and gold, be corrupted and melted therewith, by reaſon that they hold out, and withſtand it: contrariwiſe, ſuch as bee rare, full of holes, ſpungious, ſoft, and lux, lightning quickly pierceth through, and doth them no harme;

as for example, clothes or garments, and drie wood; for ſuch as is greene will burne, becauſe the moiſture within maketh reſiſtance, and ſo catcheth fire withall. If then it be true, that thoſe who lie a ſleepe be never ſtricken dead with thunder and lightning, ſurely wee muſt ſearch heere for the cauſe, and never goe farther; for the bodies of men awake, are ſtronger, more firme and compact, yea, and able to make more reſiſtance, as having all their parts full of ſpirits, by which ruling, turning, and welding the naturall ſenſes and holding them together as it were with an engine, the living creature becommeth ſtrong, faſt, knit, and uniforme: whereas in ſleepe it is ſlacke, looſe, rare, unequall, ſoft, and as it were all reſolved, by reaſon that the pores be open, for that the ſpirit hath forſaken and abandoned them; which is the cauſe likewiſe that voices, odors, and ſavours, paſſe through them, unheard and unſmelled: for why? that which ſhould reſiſt, and in reſiſtance ſuffer and take impreſſion, meeteth not with thoſe objects, that are preſented unto it, and leaſt of all, when they pierce with ſuch ſwiftneſſe and ſubtilitie, as the fire of lightning doth; for that which of it ſelfe is leſſe firme & ſtrong for to reſiſt offenſive things, nature doth defend, fortifie, and furniſh with remedies againſt that which offendeth, by putting before them hard and ſolide munitions; but looke what things bee of incomparable force, and invincible, they leſſe offend and hurt that which yeeldeth, than that which maketh head and reſiſtance: adde moreover heereunto, that they who lie a ſleepe are leſſe affraid, affrighted, or aſtonied, by occaſion whereof and of nothing elſe, many have died; onely (I ſay) for feare of death, without any harme at all done unto them: and this is the very cauſe that ſhepheards teach their ſheepe to runne and gather round together, into a troupe when it thundreth, for that they which are diſperſed and ſcattered aſunder, for very feare take harme, and caſt their yoong ones in time of thunder: yea and an infinit number have beene knowen to lie dead on the ground, by reaſon of thunder, without any marke or ſtroke, wound, ſcorch or burne ſeene upon them, whoſe life and ſoule for very feare hath flowen out of their bodies, like a birde out of a cage: for according as *Euripides* ſaith:

The very blaſt of ſome great thunder-clap,
Hath many a one ſtrucke ſtone-dead with a flap.

And foraſmuch as otherwiſe the ſenſe of hearing, is of all others moſt ſubject to ſuffer violent paſſions, and the fearefull frights occaſioned by ſounds and noiſes, worke greateſt troubles in the minde: againſt it, the privation of ſenſe is a ſure bulwarke and rampar to a man that lieth aſleepe; whereas they who are awake, be many times killed with feare of the thing before it commeth: for a fright (to ſay a trueth) knitting, cloſing, and compreſſing the body faſt, giveth more ſtrength a great deale to the ſtroake when it comes, for that it findeth more reſiſtance.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Why at a wedding or bride-ſupper, men uſe to invite more gueſts, than at other times?

AT the wedding of my ſonne *Autobulus* (ô *Soſsius Senecio*) one who came frō *Chæronea*, was with us to ſolemnize the feaſt; & a great nūber there were beſides of other honorable perſonages; which gave unto him occaſion for to demand this queſtion: What the cauſe might be, that ordinarily we invite more gueſts to ſuch a marriage ſupper, than to any other feaſt? conſidering that even thoſe law-givers who impugned moſt, the ſuperfluitie and riot of feaſts, have preciſely & expreſly ſet downe the number of thoſe perſons, whom they would have to be bidden gueſts to a wedding: For of the ancient philoſophers (quoth he) the man that treated of this argument and the cauſe thereof, to wit, *Hecatæus* of *Abdera*, hath written nothing in my judgement worth ought, nor to the purpoſe; for thus he ſaith: That they who marry wives, bid many perſons to their wedding, to the end that many may take knowledge and beare witneſſe, that being free borne and of free condition, they take wives likewiſe of like free birth and condition. For the comicall poets, cleane contrary, mocke and laugh at thoſe, who make proud and ſumptuous feaſts at their marriage, ſetting out the ſame with great pompe and magnificence, as if that were no ſure bond nor linke to be truſted unto, wherewith they would ſeeme to knit wedlocke; like as *Menander* ſaid to one, who willed the bridegrome to make a ſtrong rampar all about, of pots, pannes and platters;

When that is done on every ſide,
What is all this to your new bride?

But leſt we might not ſeeme to finde fault with others at our pleaſure, for that we have nothing of our owne to ſay, which is the eaſieſt matter in the world; I ſhewed firſt and formoſt, that there was no occaſion of feaſting, ſo publike nor ſo much divulged and celebrated, as marriage: for ſay that we ſacrifice unto the gods, or feaſt a friend for his farewell when he is to goe a long voiage, or enterteine a traveller and ſtranger that paſſeth by our houſe, or commeth of purpoſe to viſit us, we may do all without the privitie of kinſefolke & friends: but a nuptiall feaſt (where the wedding-ſong and caroll of *Hymenæus* is chanted aloud; where the torches are to be ſeene light-burning; where the hautboies and pipes play merrily and reſound; where (as *Homer* ſaith) the very women and maidens ſtand woondering at their doores, to ſee and heare) is notoriouſly knowen and proclaimed to the whole world; in regard whereof, becauſe there is none ignorant of theſe eſpouſals and feſtivall ſolemnities, men being aſhamed to leave out any, invite generally, all their kinſefolke, familiar friends and acquaintance, as whom in ſome ſort it doth concerne, and who have an intereſt in the thing. When we all had approoved this, *Theon* taking in hand the queſtion: Surely all this (quoth he) may goe for currant, for it carrieth great probabilitie therewith; but you may adde moreover (if you pleaſe) thus much: That theſe marriage feaſts are not onely for friends, but alſo for kinſefolke and allies; for that a whole kindred, race and generation, come to have another new alliance to be incorporated into them: and that which more is, when two houſes in this wiſe be joined together; both he who receiveth the woman, thinketh that hee ought to enterteine and feaſt the kindred and friends of him that giveth her; and he who giveth her, likewiſe taketh himſelfe bound to doe as much reciprocally, by the kinſefolke and friends of the receiver; whereby the feaſt and number of them who are bidden, groweth double. Now foraſmuch as many marriage complements, and (to ſay a trueth) the moſt part in maner all, are performed at weddings by women, ſurely where the goodwives be, great reaſon there is, that of neceſſitie their husbands alſo ſhould be welcome for their ſakes, and ſo thereby the companie ſtill doth increaſe.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether the viands which the ſea affoordeth, be more delicate than thoſe of the land?

G*Alepſus* a town in *Eubœa*, where there be baths naturally of hot waters, is a proper ſeat and place fitted by nature, for ſundry honeſt pleaſures, beautified with many faire houſes and lodgings, in ſuch ſort, as it is reputed the publike hoſtelrie of all *Greece*: and albeit there be great game there, of hunting and hawking, and woonderfull plentie aſwell of fowle as other veniſon, yet is the market no leſſe ſerved from the ſea, nor their tables leſſe furniſhed with daintie fiſh; for that indeed along the coaſt, the ſea is very deepe, and the water faire, nouriſhing an infinit number of excellent fiſhes. This towne flouriſheth more in the mids of Spring, than at any other ſeaſon of the yeere; for much concourſe there is thither at that time, who converſe familiarly one with another, feaſting mutually, and taking the benefit of that great affluence of victuals, and abundance of all good things; where having nothing els to doe of great importance, they paſſe the moſt part of the time in deviſing and diſcourſing together of good letters and matters of learning: but whenſoever *Calliſtratus* the profeſſour of rhetoricke is at home, hardly may a man ſup any where els but at his houſe; for, a man ſo full of courteſie he is and hoſpitalitie, that there is no ſaying of him nay. Now for that willingly he uſed to bring thoſe together who were learned and profeſſed ſcholars, his company was ſo much more pleaſant and delectable; for many times he would ſeeme among other ancient perſons of olde time, to imitate *Cimon*, making his whole and onely pleaſure, to feaſt many in his houſe, and thoſe from all parts: but moſt of all, and in maner continually, he followed the example and ſteps of *Celeus*, of whom it is written, that he was the firſt who daily aſſembled to his houſe, a number of honourable perſons, and of good marke, which aſſembly he called *Prytanium*. The ſpeeches ordinarily at theſe meetings in *Calliſtratus* his houſe, was ſorting well and ſutable to ſuch companie: but one day above the reſt, when the table ſtood furniſhed with all maner of diſhes that a mans heart could wiſh for, it miniſtred matter and occaſion to enquire as touching viands, whether were better, thoſe of the land or thoſe of the ſea? And when all others in maner with one accord and voice, commended them which the land did yeeld, as being of ſo divers and ſundry ſorts, yea and thoſe innumerable; *Polycrates* calling *Symmachus* by name: You ſir, (quoth hee) who are (as one would ſay) a water-animall, bred and fed within ſo many ſeas, environing round about your ſacred citie *Nicopolis*, will not you mainteine and defend your tutelar god *Neptune*? Yes that I will (quoth *Symmachus*) I heartily pray and beſeech you to joine with me in this cauſe, whom I take for mine adjoint and aſſiſtant; conſidering that you enjoy the benefit of the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant coaſt of all the ſea. Beginne we then (quoth *Polycrates*) our diſcourſe with our uſuall cuſtome and manner of ſpeech: For like as among ſo many poets as there be, wee give but one by way of excellencie, ſimply the name of poet; to wit *Homer*, for that of all others he is the principall; ſo there being in the world many daintie cates, and exquiſit viands, yet uſe of ſpeech hath caried it ſo, that fiſh alone, or eſpecially is named ὄψον, that is to ſay, meat, for that indeed it is the chiefe and very beſt: heereupon it comes, that we call thoſe gluttons that love belly cheere ſo well, ὀψοφάγους, and φιλόψους, not for that they love beefe ſo well as *Hercules* did: who as the poet ſaith:

When that he had fedde well of fleſh,
Did eat greene new figges gathered freſh.

Neither doe wee name ſuch an one φιλόσυκον, that is to ſay, a lover of figges, as *Plato* was, or φιλοβότρυν, that is to ſay, one that loveth grapes as well, like as *Arceſilaus* did; but ſuch as haunt ordinarily the fiſh ſtalles, and have a quicke eare, to heare the market bell, or liſten to the clock, that giveth warning when the fiſh-market is open: And *Demoſthenes* when hee objected unto *Philocrates*: That with the money that hee received for betraying his countrey, hee bought whoores, & fiſhes; reproched the man no doubt for his lecherie and gluttony: and it is pretily ſaid of *Cteſiphon*, when as one of theſe gluttons and bellie-gods, in the court or counſell houſe cried out: That he ſhould cracke and burſt in the middes: Doe not ſo (quoth hee) my good friend in any caſe, make us not a bait heere, for to be devoured of fiſhes: and he that made theſe little verſes:

Thou liv'ſt of capers as thy meat,
*When as of *Sturgeon thou maiſt eat.*

* ἀνθίαν, if it were not a ſturgeon, it was ſome delicate fiſh.

What was his meaning thinke you? or what meaneth this common word of the people, when they ſpeake one to another, for to be merry and make good cheere: Come, ſhall wee to the ſtrond or ſhore to daie? Is it not as much as if they meant; that to ſuppe by the water ſide had no fellow for pleaſure and delight, as in truth it hath not; for ſurely their purpoſe is not to goe unto the ſhore for the love that they have to ſee the billowes of the ſea, or the gravell ſtones and ſands caſt up; why then? becauſe they would eat ſome good peaſe pottage there, or make their meales with capers? no forſooth; for who goes thither for that purpoſe? but it is becauſe they that dwell along the banke by the water-ſide, are provided alwaies of foiſon and ſtore of good fiſh, & the ſame freſh & ſweet. Moreover, ſea-fiſh carieth an higher price beyond al reaſon, than other meat that commeth to the market: inſomuch as *Cato* declaming and inveighing openly before the people againſt the ſuperfluitie and exceſſe in *Rome* citie, brake out into this ſpeech, not hyperbolically and over-reaching the truth, but as it was indeed: That a fiſh at *Rome* was deerer ſold than a fatte oxe: for they ſell a little barrell of fiſh at ſuch an high price, as an hundred oxen would not coſt ſo much, at a ſolemne ſacrifice, where they goe before bores, goates, and other beaſts, yea and the ſtrewing of ſacred meale. Certes, the beſt judge of the vertue and ſtrength of medicinable drougues and ſpices, is the moſt expert phyſician; likewiſe no man is able ſo well to judge of ſong and harmonicall meaſures, as the beſt and moſt experienced muſician; and conſequently we may inferre, that the meeteſt judge as touching the goodneſſe and deintineſſe of meats, is he who loveth them beſt: for we muſt not take to arbitrate and determine ſuch a controverſie and queſtion as this, *Pythagoras* or *Xenocrates*; but rather *Antagoras* the poet, *Philoxenus* the ſonne of *Eryxis*, and *Androcydes* the painter; who being to make a picture for to repreſent the gulfe *Scylla*, drew even the fiſhes about it moſt emphatically with a kinde of affectionate minde unto them; and in one word, more lively and naturally than all the reſt, becauſe he loved fiſh ſo well, and fedde upon them with ſuch contentment. *Antagoras* the poet was upon a time in the campe of king *Antigonus*, who finding him verie buſie all untied & unbuttoned, in ſeething of congers in a pan, came cloſe unto him, & rounding him in the eare: Sirha, (quoth hee) thinkeſt thou that *Homer* thy maſter, when hee deſcribed the noble acts of *Agamemnon*, was buſie about boiling of congers: unto whom *Antagoras* turned againe, and replying in this wiſe preſently: And thinke you ſir (quoth he) that when *Agamemnon* exploited thoſe brave feats of armes, he went up and downe in his campe ſpying, peeping, and prying into every corner ſo buſily as you doe, for to ſee if he could find one ſeething a conger? Thus much *Polycrates*: and to conclude and knit up his ſpeech: For mine owne part (quoth he) this I thought good to ſay in the behalfe of fiſhes, induced thereto as well by the proofe of teſtimonies as cuſtome and uſuall ſpeech.

But I (quoth *Symmachus*) will handle this matter ſoberly, and in good earneſt, going more ſubtilly and liker a logician to worke, in this manner: For if that be counted dainty and delicate which ſeaſoneth meat, and giveth it the moſt pleaſant taſte; we muſt needs confeſſe, that ſimply to be the beſt, which mainteineth the appetite, and giveth an edge to the ſtomacke that continueth longeſt: like as therefore thoſe philoſophers ſurnamed Elpiſtiques affirme: That there was nothing that mainteined life, and held bodie and ſoule longer together than Hope; for that without hope which doth mittigate and allay all travels, it is unpoſſible to live; even ſo ſo we muſt needs graunt and yeed, that to keepe and preſerve appetite beſt, without which all other viands be lothſome and odious: but nothing ſhall you finde of that propertie and effect, comming out of the earth; but ſuch a thing the ſea affoordeth, and that is ſalt, without which nothing to ſpeake of is ſavorie, nothing toothſome nor to be eaten: for even our very bread is not pleaſing to our taſte, if there be no ſalt within it: which is the reaſon that *Neptune* and *Ceres* be alwaies worſhipped together in one temple: In ſumme, ſalt is as it were the ſauce of ſauces, and that which ſeaſoneth all the dainties whatſoever. And heereupon it was that thoſe worthies and demi-god princes, who encamped before *Troy*, and made profeſſion of ſparie and ſimple diet, as religious votaries, and who cut off all curious ſuperfluitie and exceſſe, over and above neceſſarie food, inſomuch as they did not eat once of fiſh; notwithſtanding they had a ſtanding legier, hard upon the ſtraights of *Helleſpont*, could not endure to be ſerved at the table without ſalt; witneſſing thereby, that it is the onely viand which cannot be rejected or left out: for like as colours of neceſſitie require light; even ſo all thoſe ſapours and juices within meats, have need of ſalt, to ſtirre up the ſenſe of taſte, and to provoke appetite, otherwiſe they are but flat, unpleaſant to the tongue, and lothſome: for dead carrions (as *Hercules* ſaith) would be caſt foorth, rather than dung and ordure: and what is the fleſh that wee eat, but a dead thing, and part of a dead carcaſe? but when the ſtrength of ſalt is put thereto, it is in ſtead of life, to give a grace and commendable taſte unto it: and this is the reaſon, that before other food, we take thoſe things that be ſharpe and ſaltiſh, and in one word, whatſoever do ſtand moſt of ſalt; for ſuch be allectives of the appetite, which being drawen on, and entiſed as with a bait, by the meanes of theſe vantcurriers and preparatives, it commeth more freſh, and with a better edge, ready to ſet upon other meats; whereas, if we ſhould begin with them firſt, our ſtomacke would quickely be done and gone: I will yet ſay more than ſo; namely, that all the kinds of ſalt, ſerve not onely to give a good reliſh to our meats, but alſo draw on our drinks, and cauſe us to make a quarrel to the cup. As for that oinion which *Homer* talketh of, and praiſeth for a ſpeciall dainty to commend drinke, it was more meet indeed for mariners & rowers at the oare, than kings and and princes: but in trueth, thoſe meats that be powdred or corned a little with ſalt; for that they be ſavoury in the mouth, give all wines a pleaſant verdure to pleaſe the taſte, and to goe downe the throat merrily; the ſame make any water potable and delightſome, having beſides, no ſuch ranke and ſtrong ſent, as the onion leaves behinde it. That which more is, ſuch meats doe rarefie other viands, and prepare them for concoction and digeſtion, in ſuch ſort, as ſalt being eaten, imparteth unto the bodie the delight of a deintie viand, and the might of an holſome medicine.

To come now unto other meats, wherewith we are furniſhed from the ſea: beſides, that they are paſſing ſweet, they be alſo of all others moſt harmleſſe; for albeit they be of a fleſhly ſubſtance, yet they lie not heavie upon the ſtomacke, they be eaſily concocted, and ſoone paſſe downward: witneſſe hereof, our *Zeno* here, yea and beleeve me, *Crato*, who ſo ſoone as men be ſicke or ill at eaſe, before all other directions, betake them to fiſh diet. Furthermore, it ſoundeth to good reaſon, that the ſea breedeth and feedeth for us, living creatures, more holſome than any others, by how much they be more exerciſed, conſidering that the very aire which doth breathe and ſend forth, for the purity and ſimplicitie thereof is moſt agreeable unto us. Well ſaid of you (quoth *Lamprias*) and fully to the point; howbeit, ſomewhat will I adde more out of my phyloſophicall learning: My grandfather (I remember) was woont ordinarily to ſay of the Jewes by way of mockerie, that they abſteined from the eating of that fleſh, which of all others, deſerved moſt juſtly to be eaten; even ſo may we ſay, that man hath not ſo great right and reaſon to feed upon any viands whatſoever, as thoſe that come out of the ſea: for, ſay that there were no other communion and fellowſhip betweene us and theſe land-creatures; yet at leaſtwiſe, thus much there is, that many of them eat of the ſame food with us, draw in the ſame aire, waſh and drinke as we doe, yea, and otherwhiles we are abaſhed, and take pity of them, when we kill them for our food, making a lamentable crie as they do: and for that we have made ſome of them familiar unto us, inſomuch as they can do many things anſwerable to the education which they had; whereas the fiſhes in the ſea and rivers, are altogether ſtrangers unto us, as being bred, nouriſhed and living in another world; no voice of theirs, no aſpect of countenance, nor ſervice at all which either they have done or can doe for us, can exempt them or crave mercy at our hands, for to have their lives ſaved. For what uſe ſhould we make of thoſe creatures which we can not keepe alive with us? or what charitable affection can we beare toward them? the place where we live, is to them no leſſe than hell; for no ſooner come they into it, but dead they are immediatly.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether it is upon any reverent and religious opinion of ſwine, that the Jewes abſteine from their fleſh, or becauſe they deteſt and abhorre them?

After theſe ſpeeches thus paſſed, ſome there were, who prepared and addreſſed themſelves to diſpute in oppoſition againſt that which had beene ſaid: but *Calliſtratus* breaking off and puting by all further diſputation of this argument: What thinke you (quoth he) of that by-ſpeech, diſcharged againſt the Jewes by *Lamprias*; namely, that they forbeare to eat of that fleſh which deſerveth moſt juſtly of all others to be eaten? For my part (quoth *Polycrates*) I thinke it paſſing well ſpoken; but this moreover and beſides, troubleth my head, and maketh me doubt, whether this nation, upon any honour or reverent regard of ſwine, or for meere abomination and hatred of the beaſt, doth abſteine from their fleſh? as for that which themſelves alledge, it reſembleth fables and deviſed tales; unleſſe haply they have ſome other ſerious and ſecret reaſons, which they are loth to deliver before the face of the world. To ſay what I thinke (quoth *Calliſtratus*) I am verily perſwaded, that the ſwine is in ſome honour among them: for admit that it be a foule and ilfavoured beaſt, what then? that it be filthie beſides, what of that? I can not ſee that it is more ugly in ſhape to ſee to, or more untoward of nature to be endured, than the bettill, the crocodile, or the cat; which notwithſtanding, the Aegyptian prieſts do honour and reverence as moſt holy creatures, ſome in one place and ſome in others: and as for the hogge, it is ſaid, that they regard and honour it by way of thankſgiving, as gratefull perſons, acknowledging a benefit received from that beaſt, in that it ſheweth them the maner how to til and eare the ground, breaking up the earth, digging and rooting (as he doth) into it with his ſnout: and withall, what ſay you to this, that he hath ſhewed the making of a plough-ſhare, which ſome thinke, thereupon tooke the name ὕνις, as derived of the word ὗς, that is to ſay, a ſwine. And verily, the Aegyptians at this day, ſuch as inhabit the low-countrey and the flats along the river *Nilus*, have no need of other plough than the ſwines ſnout; for when the river is returned againe within his banks, after he hath watered the plaines & champian field ſufficiently, the peaſants of the countrey doe no more but follow preſently with their ſeed, and put in all their hogges after it, who partly trampling with their feet, and in part turning up the ſoft earth with their noſes, cover the ſeeds which the husbandmen have caſt upon the ground. No marvell therefore, if there be ſome nations, who in this reſpect forbeare to eat ſwines fleſh, conſidering there be other beaſts, who for as ſmall matters as theſe, yea, and ſome that be meere ridiculous and to be laughed at, have had right great honours done unto them, by barbarous nations: for it is ſaid, that the Aegyptians make a god of the ſilly blinde mouſe Mygate: and why ſo? becauſe darkeneſſe was before light, and is of greater antiquitie: alſo they have an opinion, that this creature is ingendred of mice in the fifth generation, or at the fifth time that they breed, and that in the verie change of the moone; alſo, that the liver of it doth decreaſe, as the moone is in the wane, and doth decay with her light.

Moreover, they conſecrate the lion unto the ſunne, for that it is the onely foure-footed beaſt having crooked clawes, which bringeth forth whelps that can ſee: alſo, for that the lion is verie wakefull, and ſleepeth paſſing little, and whiles he ſleepeth, his eies do ſhine againe. Moreover, they ſet lions heads gaping for the ſpouts of their fountaines, becauſe (forſooth) the river *Nilus* bringeth new waters into their fields, and corne-grounds, when the ſunne paſſeth thorow the ſigne *Leo* in the Zodiacke: and as for the blacke ſtorke *Ibis*, which they likewiſe honor, they ſay, that when it is firſt hatched, ſhe weigheth two drammes, that is to ſay; juſt as much as the heart of a yoong infant newly borne doth peiſe; alſo that of the two legs and the bill ſtretched foorth one from the other, and reſting upon the ground, is made the true proportion of a triangle

angle with three equall ſides: And why ſhould the Aegyptians be blamed and condemned for ſo great folly and abſurditie, ſeeing that by report, the very Pythagoreans themſelves adored and worſhipped a white cocke; and among other ſea fiſhes they abſteined from the barble and the nettle fiſh; conſidering alſo that the Magicians, who were of the ſect of *Zoroaſtres*, honored above all living creatures upon earth the Urchin or hedghogge, but hated water-mice; ſaying: That he ſhould doe beſt ſervice, and moſt acceptable to the gods, yea and be right bleſſed and happie himſelfe, who could kill the greateſt number of them.

This giveth me occaſion to thinke, that if the Jewes had held ſwine hateſull, and abominable creatures, they would have killed them, like as the Magicians did the ſaid mice; whereas contrariwiſe they are as well forbidden to kill them, as to eat them: and peradventure there is good reaſon, that as they honour the aſſe, for that ſometime in a great drought he ſhewed them a place wherein was a fountaine of water; even ſo they reverence the ſwine, for teaching them how to ſowe and till the ground. And verily ſome man haply might ſay, that this people abſteineth likewiſe from eating the hare, hating and abhorring the ſame, as an impure and uncleane beaſt: It is not without ſome cauſe (quoth *Lamprias*, taking the word out of his mouth) that they forbeare eating of the hare, for the reſemblance that it hath to the aſſe, whom they myſtically doe worſhip; for the colour of them both is all one; the eares be long and bigge withall; their eies great and ſhining; in which reſpects there is a marvellous ſimilitude betweene them, in ſuch ſort, that of a great and ſmall beaſt, there is not to be found ſuch a reſemblance againe in any other; unleſſe peradventure among other ſimilitudes, they imitate heerein the Aegyptians, who eſteeme the ſwiftneſſe of this beaſt divine, yea, and the exquiſit perfection of ſome naturall ſenſes, admirable: for the eies of hares be ſo vigorous and indefatigable, that they will ſleepe open eied, and their hearing ſo quicke, that the Aegyptians having them in ſuch admiration therefore, when they would ſignifie in their Hieroglyphick characters, perfect hearing, doe paint and pourtrey hares: as for ſwines fleſh, the Jewes have in great abhomination, for that barbarous nations do of all other diſeaſes abhorre ſaint *Magnus* evill, or the white leproſie moſt, as well for that they ſuppoſe, that theſe maladies may be engendred, by feeding upon their fleſh, as alſo becauſe, looke what perſons they do aſſaile, them they doe eat & conſume in the end; and this we doe ſee ordinarily, that a ſwine under his belly is full of a kind of leproſie, and covered all over with a white ſcurffe, called *Pſora*; which infection ſeemeth to proceed from ſome evill habit, and inward corruption within the body, bewraying it ſelfe in the outſide of the skinne: to ſay nothing of the filthineſſe of this beaſt, both in feeding and otherwiſe, which muſt needs impart ſome evill qualitie to the fleſh; for there is not another beaſt againe, that taketh ſuch pleaſure in durt and ordure, loving to wallow and welter in the moſt mirie and ſtinking places that be, as it doth; unleſſe they be ſuch as breed and bee nouriſhed in thoſe places: furthermore, it is ſaid, that the ſight of their eies is ſo bent and fixed downeward, that they can ſee nothing on high, no, nor once ſo much as looke up to the skie, unleſſe they be caſt upon their backs with their feet upward; ſo that the balles of their eies by this means be turned quite contrary to the courſe of nature: and verily this beaſt howſoever otherwiſe ordinarily it be given to cry and grunt exceeding much, yet if the feet be turned upward (as is before ſaid) it will be ſilent and ſtill; ſo much aſtonied and amazed it is to ſee the face of heaven, which it is not woont to doe, and ſo for feare of ſome greater harme, it is thought that it giveth over crying: Now if wee may come in with poeticall fables to make up our diſcourſe; it is ſaid, that faire *Adonis* was killed by a wilde bore: and *Adonis* is thought to be no other than *Bacchus* himſelfe; which opinion may be confirmed by many ceremoniall rites, in ſacrificing both to the one and the other, which are the very ſame: although ſome hold that *Adonis* was the minion whom *Bacchus* loved, as appeereth by *Phanocles* the poet, a man well ſeene in love-matters, in theſe verſes:

Bacchus *who tooke ſo great delight*
The hilles and forreſts for to range:
Of faire Adonis *had once a ſight,*
And him to raviſh made it not ſtrange.

Symmachus marvelling at this laſt ſpeech of his above the reſt: How now (quoth he) will you *Lamprias* indeed inſert and tranſcribe the tutelar god of your country:

Bacchus *I meane ſurnamed* Evius,
Who women doth to rage incite:

And in ſuch ſervice furious,
And franticke worſhip takes delight.

among the ſecret ceremonies of the Hebrewes? Or doe you not thinke there is ſome reaſon that he is the very ſame god whom they love. Then *Meragenes*: Let *Lamprias* alone (quoth he) as for my ſelfe who am an Athenian, I anſwer & ſay unto you aſſuredly, that he and *Bacchus* are both one: but the moſt part of the arguments and conjectures which proove it, may not be uttered and taught, but unto thoſe who are profeſſed in the abſolute religion and confraternitie trietericall, of *Bacchus* in our country: howbeit, that which we are not forbidden to ſpeak among friends, and namely at the table, amidde our cuppes, and when we take pleaſure in the gifts and benefits of this god, (if it pleaſeth the cōpany) ready I am to deliver: and when they all willed & requeſted him ſo to doe: * Firſt and formoſt (quoth he) the ſeaſon and whole manner of their principall and greateſt feaſt, is altogether proper and convenient unto *Bacchus*; for that which they call their faſt, they celebrate in the very middes and heat of vintage, at what time as they bring tables abroad, and furniſh them with all kinds of fruit: they ſit under tents or boothes, which are made principally of vine branches and ivie, wrought, twiſted, & interlaced one within another; and the even or day before it, they call the feaſt of tabernacles or pavilions: within a few daies after, they celebrate another feaſt, and the ſame is not under a figure, and covertly, but openly, and directly in the name of *Bacchus*: there is a third ſolemnitie yet among them, named *Cradephoria*, of carying vine braunches and *Thyrſophoria*, of bearing javelins dight with ivie, and in that manner enter they into their temple, but what they doe within we know not: howbeit very probable it is, that they performe there certeine Bacchanales or rites in the honor of *Bacchus*; for they uſe little trumpets to invocate upon their god, ſuch as the Argives have in their Bacchanale ſolemnitie; then come others playing upon harpes and lutes, whom they call in their language *Levites*, a denomination haply derived of *Lycius*, the ſurname of *Bacchus*, or rather of *Evius*: It ſeemeth alſo to me, that their feaſts of Sabbats is not altogether diſagreeable with *Bacchus*; for there be many places yet in *Greece* even at this day, where they call the prieſts *Bacchi*, by the name of *Sabbi*: who in their Bacchanales and ceremoniall ſports, eftſoones reiterate theſe voices, *Euoi* and *Sabboi*, as appeareth in the oration of the crowne which *Demoſthenes* made againſt *Aeſchines*; as alſo in the poet *Menander*. And this name, Sabbat, if a man ſhould ſay, it was impoſed upon this feaſt of σοβήσεως, that is to ſay, of the inordinate motion and turbulent agitation of the prieſts of *Bacchus*, it were not altogether abſurd and without reaſon; for even they themſelves teſtifie no leſſe: for they ſolemnize and honor the Sabbat with mutuall feaſting and inviting one another to drinke wine, untill they be overſeene therewith, unleſſe ſome great occaſion do occurre that hindereth them; and even then, they thinke yet that they muſt needs taſte ſtrong wine. Howbeit, ſome man may haply ſay, that theſe arguments be but bare conjectures and preſumptions, that cary with them ſome little probablitie: but verily, that which is done among them, is a forcible & neceſſarie proofe. Firſt and formoſt, their high prieſt ſhewing himſelfe abroad, and going before with a miter upon his head, at theſe feaſts, argueth no leſſe, who alſo is clad in a veſture of Stags ſkinne, wrought richly with golde; arraied beſide, in a long robe, downe to his feet, and wearing buskins; beſides, there be many little belles pendant round about the border and skirt of his robe, which gingle and ring as he goeth, like as alſo among us: this maner of reſounding they uſe ſtill in their ſacrifices, and they ſurname the nourſes of their god, *Cholcodrytæ*: and beſides, there is a *Thyrſe* or *Javelot* with tabours to be ſeene expreſly printed aloft, againſt the walles of their temple; all which ceremonies, certeinly can agree to no other god, but unto *Bacchus*.

* See the blindneſſe and vanitie of theſe pagans: who for want of the true light out of holy ſcriptures run on ſtill in darkneſſe, caried with the wings onely of humane wit and learning.

Moreover, in none of all their oblations do they offer honie, for that they thinke it marreth and corrupteth wine when it is mingled with it; and yet this was the liquor which they uſed in olde time, to ſerve God withall in their libaments; and whereof they dranke untill they were drunke, before the vine-tree was knowen: and even at this day, thoſe barbarous nations, who drinke no wine, uſe a certeine drinke made of honie, correcting the exceeding ſweetneſſe thereof with certeine tart and auſtere roots reſembling (in ſome ſort) the verdure of wine: theſe oblations, the Greeks preſent unto their gods, and thoſe they call *Nephalia* and *Meleſponda*, as one would ſay, Sober and confected with honie: for that honie hath a natural propertie adverſe and contrary unto wine. To conclude, that this is the ſame God which they worſhip, a man may collect by this one argument, which is of no ſmall force; namely, that among many puniſhments which they have, this is the moſt ſhamefull and ignominious, when they are forbidden

den to drinke wine; wo are puniſhed even ſo long as it pleaſeth him to ſet downe, who is the judge, and hath power to impoſe the penaltie; and thoſe who are thus puniſhed, * * * *

The end of this diſcourſe is wanting, as alſo the diſcuſſing and deciding of the other five queſtions propoſed in the forefront of this fourth booke.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

1 *Wherefore we willingly heare and ſee them who counterfeit thoſe that be either angry or ſorowfull; but ſuch as be wroth or heavie inded, we love not either to heare or ſee.*

2 *That there was an ancient game of prize, performed in Poetrie.*

3 *Why the * Pitch-tree is conſecrated to* Neptune *and* Bacchus; *alſo that in the beginning, men uſed to crowne with branches of the ſaid tree, thoſe who wan the prize at Iſthmicke ſolemnitie of ſacred games; afterwards, with a garland of * Smallach; and now againe, they begin to take up the crowning of them with Pitch-tree.*

* πίτυς.

* σελίνω, some take it for parſley.

4 *What is the meaning of theſe words in* Homer: Ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιρε.

5 *Of thoſe that invite many to ſupper.*

6 *What is the cauſe of ſitting pent and with ſtreight roome at the beginning of ſupper, but at large afterward, toward the end.*

7 *Of thoſe who are ſaid to eie-bite or to bewitch.*

8 *What is the reaſon that the poet called an Apple-tree*, ἀγλαόκαρπον; *and why* Empedocles *named Apples*, ὑπέρφλοια.

9 *What is the reaſon, that a Fig-tree being it ſelfe in taſte moſt ſharpe and biting, bringeth foorth a fruit exceeding ſweet.*

10 *Who are they that are ſaid in the common proverbe to be* περὶ ἅλα ϗ κύμινον.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or table-queſtions.

The Proëme.

What your opinion is at this preſent (ô *Soſsius Sinecio*) as touching the pleaſures of the ſoule and bodie, I wot not;

For that now many a mountaine high,
And ſhady foreſt ſtand betweene;
The roaring ſeas likewiſe do lie,
So as to part us, barres they beene.

for you ſeemed not greatly, long agoe, to approove and allow their ſentence, who holde: That there is nothing properly and particularly delightſome, nothing pleaſant unto the ſoule, nothing at all that it deſireth, or joieth in, of it ſelfe; but that it liveth onely according to the life of the bodie, laughing (as it were) and ſporting with it in the pleaſant affections thereof; and contrariwiſe, mourning at the heavie paſſions afflicting it: as if the ſoule were no other thing, but a very matter apt to take the impreſſion of ſundry formes, or a mirror to receive the images and reſemblances of thoſe objects which are preſented unto the fleſh and body: for as by many reaſons, a man may eaſily refute the blind and illiberall falſitie of this opinion; ſo, by this eſpecially; that after the table is taken away, and ſupper done, men of learning and knowledge incontinently fall to diſcourſe and deviſe together (as it were) at a banquet, delighting and ſolacing one another with pleaſant talke, wherein the bodie hath no part at all, unleſſe it be very little and a farre off: which experience beareth witneſſe, that this is the proviſion of daintie cates, and delicate pleaſures laid up peculiarly for the ſoule; and that theſe be the onely delights indeed of the minde, whereas thoſe other be but baſtards and ſtrangers infected with the ſocietie of the bodie: like as therefore nurſes whiles they give pappes and panades unto their little babes, have ſome ſmall pleaſure in feeding them, by taſting the ſame in their owne mouthes before; but after they have filled their infants bellies, and brought them a ſleepe, ſo as they crie no more, then they goe themſelves to their owne refection, meet for them, they eate and drinke and make good cheere; even ſo the ſoule doth participate with the deſires and appetites of the bodie, in manner of a nurſe attending upon it, ſerving it, and framing herſelfe in ſome ſort to do it pleaſure, and ſatisfie the neceſſities thereof: but after that the body is ſufficiently ſerved, laied at reſt and repoſe, then being delivered of her obſequious ſervice and buſineſſe about the bodie, ſhe betaketh herſelfe from thenceforward unto her owne pleaſures and delights; making her repaſt, and taking her ſolace in diſcourſes of learning, in good letters, in ſciences and hiſtories, and in ſeeking to heare ſomewhat, and know more ſtill of that which is ſingular. What ſhould a man ſay any more of this? conſidering and ſeeing as he doth, that even baſe mechanicall and unlettered fellowes, after ſupper, ordinarily withdraw their minds, and employ the ſame upon other pleaſures and recreations, farre remooved from the body, propoſing darke riddles ænigmaticall queſtions, and intricate propoſitions of names compriſed under notes of certeine numbers, hardly to be aſſoiled or geſſed at? and after all this, come in banquets, which make way unto plaiers, jeſters, counterfet pleaſants, giving roome to *Menander*, and the actours of his comedies: all which ſports and paſtimes are not deviſed for to eaſe and take away any paine of the body, ne yet to procure ſome gentle motion and kinde contentment in the fleſh; but onely for that the ſpeculative and ſtudious part of the minde, which naturally is in every one of us, doth demaund & call for ſome particular pleaſure and recreation of her owne, when wee are once diſcharged of the buſineſſe and offices whereabout we are emploied for the body.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that willingly we heare and ſee thoſe who counterfet them that be angrie, or ſorrowfull; but love not to heare or ſee the parties themſelves in thoſe paſſions?

OF ſuch matters there paſſed many diſcourſes, when you were preſent with us at *Athens*, at what time as the comedian actor *Strato* flouriſhed; for hee was then in ſo great name and reputation, that there was no talke but of him. But one time above the reſt, wee were invited and feaſted by *Boëthus* the Epicurean, and with us there ſupped many more of that ſect: now after ſupper, the freſh remembrance of the comedie which we had ſeene acted, gave occaſion unto us, being ſtudents and lovers of learning, to fall into a diſcourſe and queſtion about the cauſe, why we cannot abide but are greatly diſcōtented, to heare the voices of thoſe who are angrie, ſorrowful, timorous, or affrighted? and contrariwiſe, what the reaſon is, that they who counterfet theſe paſſions, and repreſent their words, their jeſtures and behaviour, doe much delight and pleaſe us? And verily, all in manner there in place, opined the ſame, and were in one ſong; for they gave this reaſon and ſaid: Inaſmuch as he who counterfeiteth thoſe paſtimes, is better than he who ſuffereth them indeed; & in regard that he who is not affected himſelfe, excelleth the other; we knowing ſo much, take pleaſure and are delighted: but I, albeit, that I ſet foot (as men ſay) in the daunce of another, ſaid thus much: That we being naturally framed for to diſcourſe by reaſon, and to love things that ſavour of wit, and be artificially done, affect and eſteeme thoſe who have a dexteritie therein, if a thing ſucceed accordingly: for like as the Bee delighting in ſweetneſſe, flieth from flower to flower, ſeeking buſily where ſhee may finde any matter that will affoord ſubſtance for hony; even ſo a man by nature ingenious, ſtudious alſo of arts, and elegancie, is woont to cheriſh, love, and embrace every action, and worke, where he knoweth there was wit and underſtanding emploied in the finiſhing of it: if then one come and preſent unto a yoong childe, a little loafe of bread indeed, and withall tender unto him a prety puppie or bulkin, or heighfer made of paſte or dough; you ſhall ſee that he will run rather to theſe counterfet devices, than to the other: and even ſo it is alſo in other things; for if one offer him a piece of ſilver in the maſſe unwrought; and another tender unto him a little beaſt or a cup made of ſilver, he will much ſooner make choiſe of that which he ſeeth to have ſome artificiall workmanſhip joined with it, and to ſavour of wit and cunning: and therefore it is, that children at this age take more delight, both to heare ſuch covert ſpeeches as ſhew one thing and meane another; as alſo thoſe plaies and paſtimes which have ſome wittie matters contrived, or ambiguous difficulties interlaced therein: for that which is ſmoothly poliſhed and curiouſly wrought, draweth and allureth unto it mans nature of the owne accord, as being proper unto it, and familiar, although it be not taught to imbrace it. Foraſmuch as therefore, hee who is angry or grieved in good earneſt, ſheweth nothing elſe but common and ordinary paſſions; but in repreſenting and counterfeiting of the ſame, there is a certeine dexteritie and ſubtiltie of wit to be ſeene, eſpecially if it ſpeed well and take effect; therefore we delight to behold the one, and are diſpleaſed to ſee the other. For the proofe heerof, marke how we are affected, ſemblaby in other objects, ſhewes, and ſights, preſented unto us: for with griefe and ſorrow of heart we looke upon thoſe who are either dying or lie grievouſly ſick: contrariwiſe, with joy we behold, yea and admire either *Philoctetes* painted in a table; or queene *Jocaſta* portraied in braſſe; upon whoſe viſage it is ſaid; that the workman tempered a little ſilver with the braſſe, to the end that this mixture of mettals together, might repreſent naturally, and to the life indeed, the face and colour of one ready to faint, and yeeld up the ghoſt: And this (quoth I) my maſters, (to you I ſpeake who are Epicureans) is an evident argument on the Cyrenaiques ſide againſt you; to proove that in paſtimes and ſports, preſented to the eie and the eare, the pleaſure conſiſteth not in ſeeing or hearing, but in the underſtanding: for an odious and unpleaſant thing it is, to heare a henne keepe a creaking or cackling, and a crow untowardly and untunably crying; and yet hee that can well and naturally counterfet either the cackling of an henne, or the crying of the crow, pleaſeth and contenteth us woonderfull well: ſemblably, to looke upon thoſe who are in ptiſicke or conſumption, is but a loveleſſe ſight; and yet we joy and take delight to ſee the pictures or images of ſuch perſons; for that our underſtanding is pleaſed and contented with the imitation & reſemblance of them, as a thing proper and peculiar unto it: for otherwiſe, what joy and contentment have men, or what outward occaſion have they ſo much to admire and woonder at *Parmenons* ſow? inſomuch as it is growen to be a common by-word: This *Parmenon* was by report, one that counterfeited paſſing well, the grunting of an hogge; for which his ſingular grace and gift therein, his concurrents upon an envious humour, would needs aſſay to doe as much in deſpight of him: but men being already foreſtalled with a prejudicate opinion of him, would ſay thus: Well done; but nothing to *Parmenons* hogge: and therefore, one of them having gotten a little porket indeed under his arme, made it for to ſqueake and crie; but the people hearing the noiſe of a ſwine indeed: All this (ſay they) is nothing to *Parmenons* hog; whereupon the partie let the ſaid live hog run among them all, for to convince them of their corrupt judgement, caried away with an opinion, and not grounded upon trueth and reaſon. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that one and the ſame motion of the ſenſe, doth not affect the minde alike, when there is not an opinion, that the action was performed wittily and with artificiall dexterity.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

That there was in old time a game of prize for poets.

AT the ſolemnitie of the Pythicke games, there was ſome queſtion and talke upon a time, about the cutting off, and putting downe of certeine plaies and paſtimes, foiſted in, to the others that were ancient and of the firſt inſtitution: for whereas at the firſt, there were but three onely that plaied their prizes; to wit, the Pythian plaier of flute or pipe, the harper, and the ſinger to the harpe: after they had once admitted the actour of tragedies, no ſooner was this gate (as one would ſay) ſet open, but they were not able to reſiſt and keepe out an infinit number of other plaies and ſports, that ruſhed and thruſt themſelves in after him: by occaſion whereof, there was much varietie and a frequent concourſe at this ſolemnitie, which I muſt needs ſay, was no unpleaſant ſight to beholde: but ſurely it reteined not the ancient gravity and dignitie beſeeming the Muſes indeed; for by this meanes, the judges and umpires were much troubled; beſides, there grew many quarrels and enmities, which could not otherwiſe be; for where there are ſo many contending for the prize, there can not chuſe but be a number of mal-contents, that miſſed the garland. But among all others, it was thought good by the judges, to remoove and baniſh from the ſolemnitie, a number of thoſe who penned orations, and all the ſort of poets that came thither to verſifie for the beſt game; which they did not (I aſſure you) for any hatred unto learning and good letters, but for that they who preſent themſelves to theſe learned combats, be ordinarily the moſt notable perſons of all others; the judges before-ſaid, reverenced them, and in ſome ſort, pitied their caſe, eſteeming them all worthy men, and well deſerving of good letters, howbeit, not able all to gaine the victory. We therefore, being at this councell, labored to dehort thoſe who went about to change and alter ſetled cuſtomes, and who blamed in any of theſe ſacred games, multiplicity and variety, as if they found fault with many ſtrings in an inſtrument, or a conſort of voices in vocall muſicke. Now, in ſupper time when we were in *Petræus* his houſe, who was the preſident and governour of the ſaid ſolemnitie, and courteouſly had invited us, the queſtion was revived and ſet on foot a freſh; and we tooke upon us to defend the cauſe of the Muſes, ſhewing, that poetrie was no moderne profeſſion, nor entred but lately among the combats of ſacred games, but that of ancient time it had won the victorie, and gained the crowne. There were in the company, ſome who thought by theſe words of mine, that I meant to alledge old teſtimonies, and to cite ſtale and triviall examples for proofe of the cauſe; to wit, the funerals of *Oeolycus* the Theſſalian, and of *Amphidamas* the Chalcidian, at which, *Homer* and *Heſiodus* made verſes one againſt another for the victorie, as ſtories make mention: but caſting by and rejecting all theſe evidences ſo much toſſed and divulged already by Grammarians; and namely, the funerall obſequies and honours done to *Patroclus* in *Homer*, where they read not ἠμόνας, that is to ſay, launcers of darts, but ῥήμονας, that is to ſay, makers of orations and eloquent oratours, as if *Achilles* had propoſed rewards and prizes for orations; leaving (I ſay) theſe matters, I affirmed: That when *Acaſtus* celebrated the funerals for his father *Pelias*, he exhibited a combat of poets for the beſt game, wherein *Sibylla* went away with the victory. Hereat many ſtood up, and oppoſed themſelves againſt me, demanding a reall caution at my hands for to make good that which I had averred, for that it ſeemed unto them a very ſtrange narration and incredible: but as good hap was, I called to remembrance, that I had read ſo much in the Chronicle of *Lybia*, cōpiled by *Aceſander*, where the ſtory is put downe: And this booke (quoth I) is not in every mans hand to reade; howbeit, I thinke verily, that the moſt of you have beene carefull to peruſe thoſe records which *Polemon* the Athenian, a diligent writer and a learned antiquarie, who hath not beene idle and ſleepie in ſeeking out the antiquities and ſingularities of *Greece*, hath ſet downe in writing, as concerning the treaſures of the city *Delphos*: for there you ſhal find written, that in the treaſurie of the Sicyonians, there was a golden booke, given and dedicated by *Ariſtomache* the poetreſſe of *Erythræa*, after ſhe had obteined the victorie, & gotten the garland at the ſolemnitie of the Iſthmicke games: Neither have you any reaſon (quoth I) to eſteeme *Olympia*, and the games thereof, with ſuch admiration above the reſt, as if it were another fatall deſteny immutable, and which can not be changed nor admit alteration in the plaies there exhibited: as for the Pythian ſolemnitie, three or foure extraordinarie games it had, reſpective unto good letters and the Muſes, adjoined and admitted to the reſt: the Gymnicke exerciſes and combats performed by men naked, as they were at firſt ordeined, ſo they continued for the moſt part ſtill, and hold on at this day; but at the Olympian games, all, ſave onely running in the race, were taken up afterwards, and counted as acceſſories: likewiſe, there have bene many of them which at firſt were inſtituted, ſince put downe and aboliſhed; namely, κάλπη, that is to ſay, an exerciſe and feat of activitie, when the concurrent mounted on horſebacke, in the mids of his courſe leapeth downe to the ground, taketh his horſe by the bridle, and runneth on foot with him a full gallop: as alſo another, called ἀπήνη, which was a courſe with a chariot drawen by two mules: moreover, there is taken away now, the coronet ordeined for children that atchieved the victorie in *Pentathlus*, that is to ſay, five ſeverall feats: to be ſhort, much innovation, change and altering there hath beene in this feſtivall ſolemnitie, from the firſt inſtitution; but I feare me, that you will call upon me againe for new pledges and cautions, to proove and juſtifie my words, if I ſhould ſay, that in olde time at *Piſæ*, there were combats of ſword-fencers, fighting at the ſharpe to the uttrance, man to man, where they that were vanquiſhed or yeelded themſelves died for it; and if my memorie failed mee that I could not bring out mine author, and name him unto you; I doubt, you would laugh and make a game of mee, as if I had overdrunke my ſelfe, and taken one cup to many.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the pitch-tree is held conſecrated unto Neptune *and* Bacchus: *And that in the beginning the victours at the Iſthmian games were crowned with a garland of pine-tree branches, but afterwards with a chaplet of ſmallage or parſley, and now of late, with the foreſaid pitch-tree?*

* πίτυς. Some take it for the pine: and in truth the word πίτυς agreeth to both: neither mattereth it, if all this be underſtood of the pine.

There was a queſtion propounded upon a time: Why the manner was to crowne thoſe with pine or pitch-tree branches, who gained the prize at the Iſthmick games? For ſo it was, that during the ſaid feſtivall ſolemnity, *Lucanius* the high prieſt made a ſupper at *Corinth*, at his owne houſe, and feaſted us: where *Praxiteles* the geometrician, a great diſcourſer, told us a poeticall tale, and namely; that the body of *Melicerta* was found caſt up, & driven upon the body of a pine-tree, by the ſea at a full tide; for that there was a place not farre from *Megara*, named *Cales Dromos*, that is to ſay, the race of the faire lady; whereas the Megarians doe report, that dame *Ino* carrying her yoong babe within her armes, ranne and caſt her-ſelfe headlong into the ſea: But it is a common received opinion (quoth he) that the pine is apropriat for the making of coronets, in the honour of *Neptune*: whereupon when as *Lucanius* the high-prieſt added moreover and ſaid: That the ſaid tree being conſecrated unto *Bacchus*, it was no marvell nor abſurditie if it were dedicated alſo to the honour of *Melicerta*. Occaſion was taken to ſearch into the cauſe; wherefore the auncients in old time held the ſaid tree ſacred unto *Bacchus* and *Neptune* both? For mine owne part I ſaw no incongruitie therein; for that theſe two gods be the lords and rulers over one generall principle, or element, to wit, humidity or moiſture, conſidering alſo that they generally in manner all, ſacrifice unto *Neptune*, under the ſurname φυτάλμιος, as one would ſay, protectour of plants; and unto *Bacchus* likewiſe, by the name or addition Δενδρίτης, that is to ſay, the preſident over trees: and yet it may be ſaid, that the pine more particularly apperteineth not to *Neptune*; not as *Apollodorus* is of opinion, becauſe it is a tree that loveth to grow by the ſea-ſide, or for that it delighteth in the windes as the ſea doth: (for ſome there be of this minde) but eſpecially in this regard; that it affoordeth good timber, and other ſtuffe for building of ſhips; for both it, and alſo other trees, which for their affinitie may goe for her ſiſters, to wit, pitch-trees, larike-trees, and cone-trees, furniſh us with their wood, moſt proper to flote upon the ſea, and with their roſin alſo and pitch, to calke and calfret; without which compoſition, be the joints never ſo good and cloſe, they are to no purpoſe in the ſea: as for *Bacchus* they conſecrated the pitch-tree unto him, for that pitch doth give a pleaſant ſeaſoning unto wine: for looke where theſe trees doe naturally grow, the vine there by report yeeldeth pleaſant wine; which *Theophraſtus* imputeth to the heat of the ſoile; for commonly the pitch tree groweth in places of marle or white clay, which by nature is hot, and ſo by conſequence helpeth the concoction of wine; like as ſuch kinde of clay yeeldeth water, of all others moſt light and ſweet: beſides, if the ſame be blended with wheat, it maketh the greater heape, for that the heat thereof doth cauſe it to ſwell, and become more full and tender: moreover the vine receiveth many commodities and pleaſures more from the pitch tree, for that it, with thoſe things which be, is good & neceſſarie, both to commend and alſo to preſerve wines; for it is an ordinary thing with all men, to pitch thoſe veſſels into which they put up their wines, yea, and ſome there be who put roſin even into the wine: as for example, thoſe of *Eubœa* in *Greece*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants by the *Po* ſide; and that which more is, from out of *Gaule* by *Vienna*, there is brought a certeine pitch-wine, called *Piſſites*, which the Romanes ſet much ſtore by, becauſe it giveth it not onely a delectable ſent, but alſo a better ſtrength, taking from it in a ſmall time the newneſſe and the watery ſubſtance thereof, by the meanes of a milde and kinde heat. This being ſaied, there was an oratour there, a man of great reading a ſingular ſcholar, and an excellent humanitian, who cried out in this manner: And is it ſo indeed? as who would ſay, it were not very lately, and but the other day, that the pine tree yeelded garlands and chaplets at the Iſthmian games? for heeretofore the victors there, were crowned with wreathes and coronets made of ſmalach leaves: and this appeereth by that which we may heare out of a certeine comedie, a covetous miſer ſpeake in this wiſe:

Theſe Iſthmique games I gladly would part fro,
For price that ſmallach wreaths in market go.

And *Timæus* the hiſtoriographer writeth; that when the Corinthians marched in battell ray under the conduct of *Timoleon* againſt the Carthaginians, for the defence of *Sicily,* they encountred in the way certeine folk, who carried bunches of ſmallach: now when many of the ſouldiors tooke this occurrence for an ill preſage (becauſe ſmallach is taken to be an unluckie herbe; inſomuch as when we ſee one lie extreame ſicke, & in danger of death, we ſay: That he hath need of nothing elſe but ſmallach) *Timoleon* willed them to be of good cheere, and put them in minde of the victorious chaplets of ſmallach at the Iſthmian games, wherewith the Corinthians crowned the winners. Moreover the admirall galley of king *Antigonus* was called *Iſthura*, for that without any ſowing or ſetting, there grew ſmallach of it ſelfe about the poupe thereof: and this obſcure & ænigmaticall epigram under darke and covert words, ſignifieth plainly, earthen veſſels ſtuffed and ſtopped with ſmallach: and in this manner it goeth:

This Argive earth which ere while was full ſoft,
Now baked hard with fire, the bloud deepe-red
Of Bacchus *hides within, but loe aloft,*
It Iſtmick branches beares in mouth and head.

Certes, they have not read thus much, who vaunt ſo greatly of the Pitch-tree chaplet, as if it were not a moderne ſtranger and new commer, but the ancient, proper, and naturall garland, belonging to the Iſthmian games. Which words of his, mooved the yoonger ſort not a little, as being delivered by a man who had ſeene and read much; and *Lucanius* the high-prieſt himſelfe, caſting his eie upon me, and ſmiling withall: Now by *Neptune* (quoth he) I ſweare, what a deale of learning is heere! howbeit, others there were, who bearing themſelves (as it ſhould ſeeme) upon mine ignorance and want of reading, were perſwaded of the contrary, and avouched, that the Pitch-tree branches were the ancient garlands in the Iſthmicke ſolemnitie, as naturall unto that countrey; and on the other ſide, the coronet of Smallach was a meere ſtranger, brought from *Nemea* thither upon an emulation, in regard of *Hercules,* whereby it had indeed the name, for a time; inſomuch as it ſupplanted the other, and woon the credit from it, as being counted a ſacred herbe, and ordeined for this purpoſe; but afterwards, the Pine-garland flouriſhed againe and recovered the ancient reputation, ſo at this day it is in as great honour, as ever it was. Heereupon I ſuffered my ſelfe to be perſwaded, and gave ſo good eare, that many teſtimonies for confirmation of this opinion I learned, yea, and ſome of them I bare away and remembred; and namely, that out of them, *Euphorion* the poet, who ſpake of *Melicerta,* much after this maner:

The yoong man dead, they did bewaile,
and then his corps they laid
Upon greene branches of Pine-tree,
whereof the crownes were ſaid
To have beene made, thoſe to adorne
with honour glorious,
Who at the ſacred Iſthmicke games
were deem'd victorious:
For why? as yet the murdering hand,
ſir Charon *had not ſlaine,*
The ſonne of Neme, *wofull dame,*
where as with ſtreame amaine
Aſopus *runnes: ſince when, began*
the wreathe of Smalach greene,
To binde the head of champions,
all bravely to be ſeene.

Alſo out of *Callimachus*, who hath expreſſed this matter more plainly, where he bringeth *Hercules* in, ſpeaking after this maner:

And it, though much inferiour,
and more terreſtriall,

Employ they ſhall in Iſthmicke games,
when in memoriall
Of god Aegæon *they with crownes*
the victours brave do decke,
According to Nemeæan rites,
and thereby give the checke
To chaplets made of Pine-tree faire,
wherewith the champion
For victorie, ſometime was dight
at games Corinthian.

Over and beſides, if I be not deceived, I have light upon a certeine commentarie of *Procles*, writing of the Iſthmian ſolemnitie; namely, that at the very firſt inſtitution thereof, ordeined it was: That the victorious coronet ſhould be made of Pitch-tree branches; but afterwards, when theſe games were accounted ſacred, they tranſlated thither from the Nemæan ſolemnities, the chaplet of Smallach: now this *Procles* was one of the ſcholars in the Academie, what time as *Xenocrates* taught and flouriſhed.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of theſe words in Homer: Ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε?

SOme of the companie where I ſupped upon a time, thought *Achilles* ridiculous, in that he willed his friend *Patroclus* * to fill out purer wine, and leſſe delaied, giving a reaſon withall, ſaying:

For now are come to viſit me for love,
My deereſt friends, and whom I beſt approve.

* For ſo he interpreteth ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε.

But *Niceratus* the Macedonian, a familiar friend of ours, oppoſed himſelfe directly, and ſaid: That ζωρότερον, in this place of *Homer*, ſignifieth not meere wine of it ſelfe, without water, but hot wine, as if the primitive word ζωρὸν, were derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωτικοῦ καὶ τῆς ζέσεως, that is to ſay, vitall heat and ebullition: And therfore meet it was (quoth he) that (ſeeing his good friends were in place) there ſhould be filled out for them, a cup of freſh wine, new drawen, and full of life and ſparkling ſpirits; like as we our ſelves uſe to do, when as we powre out and offer unto the gods, our ſacred libations: but *Soſicles* the poet, calling to minde, and alledging a ſentence of *Empedocles*, whoſe words be theſe, ſpeaking of the generall mutation of the univerſall world,

What thing before moſt ſimple was and pure,
*Became now * mixt by compound temp'rature.*

* ζωρότερον.

ſaid: That the philoſopher meant by the word ζωρὸν, as much as εὔκρατον, that is to ſay, well tempered: Neither ſee I (quoth he) any thing to the contrary, but that *Achilles* might bid *Patroclus* to prepare and dreſſe a cuppe of wine, ſo tempered as it ſhould be drunke: neither muſt you thinke it a ſtrange phraſe or maner of ſpeech, if he ſaid, ζωρότερον for ζωρὸν; for we are wont likewiſe, to put θηλύτερον in ſtead of θῆλυ; as alſo δεξιτερὸν for δεξίον: for received now it is, by ordinarie cuſtome, to uſe the comparatives of ſome words for the poſitives. Then *Antipater*, a friend of ours there preſent, ſaid: That in olde time they were woont to call the yeere by the name of ὦρος, and [ζα] in compoſition with other words, ſignifieth as much as the greatneſſe of a thing, ſo that olde wine, that had lien many yeeres in this place, *Achilles* called ζωρότερον. As for my ſelfe, I inferred thus much, and put them in mind: That ſome thinke ζωρότερον ſignfieth [hotter,] and by hotter, the meane quicker, ſooner, or with more ſpeed; for in that ſenſe other-whiles we bid our ſervants to beſtirre themſelves more hotly about their worke, meaning they ſhould make more haſte, and diſpatch their buſineſſe. But in the end, I declared unto them, that their diſputation and arguing about this point, was but childiſh, in caſe they were afraid to confeſſe, that ζωρότερον betokened that which was more pure and of it ſelfe, without tempering or delaying; as if (forſooth) *Achilles* had committed here, ſome incongruitie or abſurditie, as *Zoilus* the Amphipolitane would ſeeme to tax him; who conſidered not firſt and formoſt: that *Achilles* ſaw *Phœnix* and *Ulyſſes*, two ancient perſonages, who tooke no great pleaſure to have much water in their wine, no more than all other olde men, who love to drinke it meere and pure; in regard of whoſe age, he gave commandement to delay it leſſe for them: againe, having beene (as he was) the ſcholar of *Chiron*, and learned of him, the regiment of health, as one not ignorant what diet was meet for mens bodies, he thought thus with himſelfe, that thoſe bodies which are at repoſe and eaſe, having beforetime beene uſed to travell, required a more remiſſe, ſoft and tender temperature, as that which is fitter and meeter for them; for ſo he cauſed among other forrage and provender, his horſes to be ſerved with ſmallach; for that ſteedes ſtanding idle in the ſtable, and doing nothing, will be troubled with the paines in their feet; for which infirmitie this ſmallach is a ſovereigne remedie: neither ſhould yee find (and reade the *Ilias* throughout) that ſmallach or any ſuch kinde of fodder was given to other horſes than to thoſe who ſtood ſtill, and laboured not. *Achilles* therefore being well ſeene in phyſicke, was both carefull about his horſes to provide for them, as the time required, and alſo conſiderat and reſpective to his owne body, for to ordeine the lighteſt diet, (as moſt holſome) for himſelfe who tooke his eaſe, and was not emploied in bodily exerciſe; whereas he did not in that manner interteine thoſe perſonages, who all the day had beene in the field, and performed martiall exploits, and warlike ſervice, but gave order to powre out for them, ſtronger wine and leſſe delaied. Now that *Achilles* otherwiſe of himſelfe greatly loved not wine, for that he was by nature ſower and implacable, appeereth by theſe verſes of the ſame poet:

For gentle nature he had none,
he was not ſoone appeas'd,
But irefull, fierce, and violent,
and once mov'd hardly, pleas'd.

And in one place, ſpeaking liberally of himſelfe, he ſaid:

That many nights he ſlept no winke,
Of ſundry matters he did ſo thinke.

Now who knoweth not, that ſhort ſleepes agree not to thoſe that drinke meere wine, neither will they ſerve their turne: alſo when as he conteſted with *Agamemnon*, and reviled him, at the firſt word hee gave him the tearme Οινοβάρες, wine-bibber or drunkard; as if drunkenneſſe and wine-bibbing were the vice which his heart abhorred moſt: And therefore to conclude, conſidering all theſe circumſtances, great reaſon he had, that ſeeing right honourable perſonages were come unto him, and thoſe of good yeeres, he ſhould be well adviſed to take order, not to temper wine for them, as his manner was for himſelfe; becauſe the ſame had beene too ſmall, and not agreeable for their perſons.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Of thoſe who invite many gueſts to ſupper.

VPon my returne from *Alexandria*, all my friends one after another feaſted me, for my welcome home, and to beare me company, they invited with me, as many as they thought, in regard of kindred or friendſhip, were any way toward me; in ſuch ſort, as by reaſon of the multitude of gueſts, our meetings were ordinarily more tumultuous, and ſooner diſſolved than they had woont to be: the diſorder therefore of ſitting at ſuch feaſts, gave us occaſion to diſcourſe much of that matter. But *Oneſicrates* the phyſician when hee feaſted me in his turne, as others did; bad not very many, but thoſe onely whom he knew to be my ſpeciall friends, and moſt familiar with me: whereupon I called to minde a ſentence written by *Plato*, as touching a citie, and thought with my ſelfe, that it might very well be applied unto a feaſt: for like as a citie which ſtill groweth and augmenteth, in the end becomes no more a citie; for that there is a certeine bigneſſe prefixed & limited unto it, which it muſt not outgrow; even ſo there is a juſt proportion in the greatneſſe of a feaſt, within the which it is ſtill a feaſt; but if it paſſe and exceed the ſame, (I meane) in the number and multitude of gueſts, ſo as they cannot ſalute and ſpeake one to another conveniently, they have no meanes to cheere up and drinke one to another reciprocally, nor exerciſe their mutuall knowledge kindly; ſurely it is no more to be called a feaſt: for there ſhould not be at a feaſt, as in a campe, meſſengers and curriers betweene; nor after the manner of a great galley, ſpeciall ſervitors, going from one to another, to cheere them up, and bidde them be merie; but the gueſts ought to ſpeake and talke one with another; for that a feaſt muſt be diſpoſed after the maner of a daunce, ſo as he who ſits loweſt may heare him that is higheſt. After I had thus much ſaid, my grandfather *Lamprias* began to ſpeake, and that with ſo loud a voice and ſo ſtrong, that all the companie might heare him: There is then (quoth he) a kinde of meane and moderation, whereof we had need, not onely in eating and drinking at a feaſt, but alſo in the bidding and inviting of gueſts; for ſurely there may be an exceſſe in unmeaſurable curteſie and humanitie, when it cannot omit nor leave out any of thoſe with whom a man heeretofore hath feaſted or made merrie, but draweth all of them, as if the caſe were to goe for to ſee a plaie, behold ſolemne ſights, or to heare muſicke: and for mine owne parr I thinke that the good man of the houſe, or maſter of a feaſt, is not ſo much woorthy to be blamed or laughed at, for being at a fault of bread or drinke for his gueſts; as when hee hath not roome enough to place them; of which he ought to make proviſion with the largeſt, not onely for thoſe who are formally invited, but alſo for commers in, and ſuch as bid themſelves; for ſtrangers alſo that paſſe by: moreover, if there chaunce to be ſome want of bread or wine, the fault may be laid upon the ſervants, as if they had made it away, or plaied the theeves; but if there be no roome left, it cannot chuſe but be imputed to the negligence and indiſcretion of him who invited the gueſts: ***Heſiodus*** is woonderfully much commended for writing thus:

> *At firſt no doubt it was ſo caſt,*
> *That there might be a* Chaos *vaſt.*

For in the beginning of the world, requiſit is was that there ſhould bee a void place for to receive and comprehend all thoſe things that were to be created: Not (quoth hee) as my ſonne yeſterday made a ſupper, according to that which *Anaxagaras* ſaid: All things were hudled and jumbled together pell-mell, confuſedly: and admit that there bee place and roome enough, yea, and proviſion of meat ſufficient, yet neverthelesſe, a multitude would be avoided, as a thing that bringeth confuſion, and which maketh a ſocietie unſociable, and a meeting unmeet and not affable: certes, leſſe harme it were, and more tolerable a great deale, to take from them who are bidden to our table, their wine, than their communication and felowſhip of talk; and therefore ***Theophraſtus*** called (merrily) barbars ſhops, dry banquets without wine; for the good talke that is betweene a number of perſons ſitting there one by another: but they who bring a ſort together into one place, thrumbling them one upon another, deprive them of all conference, and diſcourſing reciprocally, or rather indeed they bring it ſo to paſſe, that but verie few can commune & converſe together; for by that meanes they ſort themſelves apart, two by two, or three by three, for to have ſome talke: as for thoſe who are ſet farder of, hardly they can not diſcerne, no nor know them, being diſtant and remooved a ſunder, as a man would ſay the length of an horſe race:

> *Some, where* Achilles *tents are pight*
> *cloſe for to make their ſtay:*
> *And ſome, where* Ajax *quarter is,*
> *as farre another way.*

Thus you ſhall ſee how ſome rich men heereby, otherwhiles ſhew their fooliſh magnificence to no purpoſe, in building halles, and dyning chambers, conteining thirtie tables a piece in them, yea, and ſome of greater capacitie than ſo: and verily this manner of preparation for to make ſuppers and dinners, is for folke that have no amitie nor ſocietie one with another, when there is more need of ſome provoſt of a field to marſhal thē, than an vſher of an hall to ſee good order among them: but theſe men may in ſome ſort well bee pardoned for doing ſo; becauſe they thinke their riches no riches, but that it is blinde, deafe, lame alſo, or ſhut up, that it cannot get forth, unleſſe it have a number of witneſſes, like as a tragedie, many ſpectators: but as for us, this remedie we have of not aſſembling ſo many at once together; namely to bidde often, and to make divers ſuppers; to invite (I ſay) our friends and well-willers at ſundrie times, by few at once, and ſo by this meanes wee may make amends for all, and bring both ends together: for they that feaſt but ſeldome, and as they ſay δι᾽ ἅρματος, that is to ſay, by the cart loades, are forced to put in the roll all thoſe that any way belong unto them, either by kinred, friendſhip or acquaintance whatſoever: whereas they who ordinarily picke out three or fower at a time, and doe ſo oft, make their feaſts as it were little barks, to diſcharge their great hulkes, and the ſame to goe light and nimble: moreover, when a man conſidereth continually with himſelfe the cauſe why he inviteth his friends; it maketh him to obſerve a difference and choiſe in that great multitude of them: for like as for every occaſion & buſineſſe that we have, we aſſemble not all ſorts of people, but ſuch onely as be meet for ech purpoſe; for if we ſhould have need of good counſell, we call for thoſe who be wiſe; if we would have a matter pleaded, we ſend for eloquent oratours; if a voiage or journey performed, wee ſeeke for ſuch as will take up with ſhort meales, and who have little elſe to doe, and be beſt at leiſure; even ſo in our invitations and feaſts, we muſt have regard ever and anon to chuſe thoſe who are meet, and will ſort well together: meet men I call theſe for example ſake: if he be a prince or great potentate whō we invite to ſupper, the fitteſt perſons to beare him company, be the head officers, the magiſtrates and principall men of the citie, eſpecially if they be friends, or already acquainted: if we make a marriage ſupper, or a feaſt for the birth of a childe, thoſe would be bidden who are of kindred and affinitie; and in one word, as many as are linked together by the bond of *Jupiter Homoginos*, that is to ſay, the protectour of conſanguinitie: and in all theſe feaſts and ſolemnities, we ought evermore to have a carefull eie to bring them together who are friends or well willers one to another: for when we ſacrifice unto ſome one god, we make not our praiers to all others, although they be worſhipped in the ſame temples, & upon the ſame altars; but if there be three cups or boules brought full unto us, we powre libations out of the firſt to ſome, the ſecond we offer to others, and the laſt we beſtow likewiſe upon a third ſort: for there is no envie abideth in the quire ordaunce of the gods: ſemblably, the daunce and quire of friends is divine, in ſome ſort, if ſo be a man know how to diſtribute and deale his courteſie and kindneſſe decently among them, and as it were to goe round about with them all.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that gueſts at the beginning of a ſupper ſit cloſe together at the table, but afterwards more at libertie?

THeſe words thus paſſed, and then immediately a new queſtion was mooved; namely, What the cauſe might be, that men commonly at the beginning of dinner or ſupper, ſit at the table very ſtreight and cloſe, but toward the end more at large; whereas it ſhould ſeeme by all reaſon, that they ſhould doe cleane contrary, for that then their bellies be full? Some of the company attributed this unto the forme and poſiture of their bodies, as they ſit; for that ordinarily men ſit to their meat, directly at their full breadth, groveling forward, and put their right hands ſtreight foorth upon the table; but after they have well ſupped, they turne themſelves more to a ſide, & ſit edge-wiſe, taking up no place now, according to the ſuperficies of the body, not ſitting (as a man would ſay) by the ſquire, but rather by the line and the plumb: like as therefore the cockal bones occupie leſſe roome when they fall upon one of their ſides, than if they be couched flat; even ſo every one of us at the firſt ſitteth bending forward, and fronteth the table with his mouth and eies directly upon it; but afterwards hee chaungeth that forme, from front to flanke, and turneth ſidelong to the boord. Many there were who aſcribed the reaſon of this, to the yeelding of the couch or bed, whereon men ſit at their meat; for being preſſed downe with ſitting, is ſtretched broader and wider, like as our ſhooes with wearing and going in them, grow more ſlacke and eaſie for us by little and little, untill in the end they be ſo large, that we may turne our feet in them. Then the good old man ſpake merrily and ſaid: That one and the ſame feaſt had alwaies two preſidents and governors different one from another: at the beginning hunger, which cannot skill of keeping any good order; toward the end, *Bacchus*, and him all men know very well, and confeſſe to have beene a very ſufficient captaine, and an excellent leader of an armie: like as therefore *Epaminondas* (when as other captaines by their ignorance and unskilfulneſſe had brought the armie of the Thebanes into a place ſo narrow that all was thruſt together, and the ranks and files came one upon another, and cruſhed themſelves) tooke upon him the place of a commaunder, and not onely delivered it out of thoſe ſtreights, but alſo reduced it into good order of battell; even ſo god *Bacchus* ſurnamed *Lyæus*, and *Choreus*, that is to ſay, a deliverer, and maſter of daunces, finding us at the beginning of ſupper thruſting one another, and having no elbow roome, by reaſon of hunger that throumbleth us together like a ſort of dogges, bringeth us againe into a decent order, whereby wee ſit at eaſe and libertie enough like good fellowes.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of thoſe who are ſaid to bewitch with their eie.

THere grew ſome queſtion upon a time, at the table, as touching thoſe who are reported to be eie-biters, or to bewitch with their eies; and when others (in maner all) paſſed it over with laughing, as a frivolous and ridiculous thing: *Metrius Florus*, who had invited us to his houſe, tooke the matter in hand, and ſaid: That the effects or events rather, which daily we doe obſerve, do make marvellous much to the brute and voice that goeth of the thing; but for want of yeelding a good reaſon thereof, and ſetting downe the true cauſe, the report many times of ſuch matters wanteth credit: But unjuſtly (quoth he) and wrongfully in mine opinion; for an infinit number there be of other matters, that have a reall eſſence, and are notoriouſly knowen to be ſo, although we are ignorant of their cauſe; and in one word, whoſoever ſeeketh in each thing for a probable reaſon, overthroweth miracles and woonders in all; for where wee faile to give reaſon of a cauſe, there begin we to doubt & make queſtion, & that is as much to ſay, as to play the philoſophers: ſo as we may inferre conſequently: They that diſcredit things admirable, do in ſome ſort, take away and aboliſh all philoſophie: but we ought (quoth he) in ſuch things as theſe, to ſearch * Why they are ſo, by reaſon; and learne * That they are ſo, by hiſtorie and relation; for hiſtories do report unto us many narrations of like examples. Thus we know, that there be men, who by looking wiſtly and with fixed eies upon little infants, doe hurt them moſt of all; for that the habit and temperature of their bodies which is moiſt, tender, and weake, ſoone receiveth alteration by them, and changeth to the woorſe; whereas leſſe ſubject they be to ſuch accidents, when their bodies are better knit, more ſtrong and compact. And yet *Philarchus* writeth in his hiſtorie of a certeine nation and people inhabiting the realme of *Pontus* in times paſt, called Thybiens, who were by that meanes peſtiferous and deadly, not onely to yoong babes, but alſo to men growen; for looke how many either their eie, their breath or their ſpeech could reach unto, they were ſure to fall ſicke, and pine away: and this harme was felt and perceived (as it ſhould ſeeme) by merchants, who reſorted into thoſe parts, and brought from thence, ſlaves to be ſolde. But as for theſe, the example peradventure is not ſo ſtrange and wonderfull, becauſe the touching, contagion, and familiar converſing together, may yeeld a manifeſt reaſon and cauſe of ſuch accidents: and like as the wings of other fowles, if they be laied together with thoſe of the eagle, periſh, conſume, and come to nothing, for that the plume and downe of the feathers fall off and putrifie; even ſo, there is no reaſon to the contrary, but that the touching of a man ſhould be partly good & profitable, and in part hurtful and prejudiciall: mary, that folke ſhould take harme by being ſeene onely, and looked on, is an accident which (as I ſaid before) we know to be; but for that the cauſe thereof is ſo difficult & hard to be hunted out, the report of it is incredible: Howbeit (quoth I then) you wind the cauſe already; you have met (in ſome ſort I ſay) with the tracts and footing thereof, and are in the very way of finding it out, being come already to thoſe defluxions that paſſe from bodies; for the ſent, the the voice, the ſpeech and breath, be certeine defluxions and ſtreames (as it were) flowing from the bodies of living creatures, yea, and certeine parcels thereof, which move and affect the ſenſes, when as they ſuffer by the ſame, lighting and falling upon them: and much more probable it is, that ſuch defluxions, proceed from the bodies of living creatures, by the meanes of heat & motion; namely, when they be enchafed and ſtirred; as alſo that the vitall ſpirits then doe beat ſtrongly, and the pulſes worke apace, whereby the body being ſhaken, caſteth from it continually, certeine defluxions, as is before ſaid; and great likelihood there is alſo, that the ſame ſhould paſſe from the eies, more than from any other conduit of the bodie: for the ſight being a ſenſe very ſwift, active and nimble, doth ſend forth and diſperſe from it, a wonderfull fierie puiſſance, together with a ſpirit that carrieth and directeth it; in ſuch ſort, that a man by the meanes of this eie-ſight, both ſuffereth and doth many notable effects, yea, and receiveth by the objects which he ſeeth, no ſmall pleaſures or diſpleaſures; for love (one of the greateſt and moſt vehement paſſions of the minde) hath the ſource and originall beginning at the * eie; inſomuch, as he or ſhe that is ſurpriſed therewith, doth even reſolve and melt with beholding the beautie of thoſe perſons whom they love, as if they would run and enter into them: and therefore, a man may verie well marvell at thoſe, who confeſſing that we ſuffer and receive hurt by the eie, thinke it a ſtrange matter to doe harme by the ſame; for the very aſpect and regard of ſuch perſons as are in the flower of their beautie, and that which paſſeth from their eies, whether it be light or flowing of of the ſpirits, doth liquefie and conſume thoſe who be enamoured on them, with a certeine pleaſure mingled with paine, which they themſelves call Bitter-ſweet: for nothing ſo much are they wounded or affected, either by hearing or feeling, as by ſeeing and being ſeene, ſo deepe is the penetration, and ſo ſtrong the inflamation by the eie; which maketh mee other-whiles to thinke, that no experience and proofe they have ever had what love is, who wonder at the Median *Naphtha* neere to *Babylon*, that it ſhould burne and catch a flame, being a great way off from

* Διὰ τί.

* ὅτι.

* ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾷν τὸ ἐρᾷν.

the fire; for even ſo, the eies of faire and beautifull creatures, kindle fire within the very hearts and ſoules of poore lovers, yea, though they looke not upon them but a farre off: but we know full well, and have often ſeene the remedy of thoſe who are troubled with the jaundice; namely, that if they can have a ſight of the bird * *Charadrios*, they are preſently cured; for this bird hath ſuch a nature and temperature, that it draweth to it ſelfe, and receiveth the maladie paſſing from the patient, as it were a fluxion, and that by the conduit of the eies; which is the reaſon that theſe birds are never willing to ſee a perſon who hath the jaundice, neither can they endure ſo to doe, but turne aſide and avoid it all that ever they can, by cloſing their eies together, not envying (as ſome thinke) the cure of that diſeaſe by them, but fearing to be hurt and wounded themſelves: and of all other maladies, it is well knowen, that they who converſe with them whoſe eies be inflamed and bleered, are ſooneſt and moſt of all infected therewith, ſo quicke a power and ſo readie, hath the ſight to ſet upon another, and inflict the contagion of that infirmitie. Then *Patrocleas*: True it is that you ſay (quoth he) in bodily paſſions and diſeaſes; but as for thoſe which be more ſpirituall, and concerne the ſoule, among which I reckon this kind of witching, how can it be, and how is it poſſible, that the only caſt and regard of the eie ſhould tranſmit any noiſance or hurt into the bodie of another? Why? know you not (quoth I) that the ſoule (according as it is diſpoſed) doth likewiſe affect and alter the bodie? the very congitation of *Venus*, cauſeth the fleſh to riſe; the ardent heat in couragious maſtives and band-dogges, which are put upon wilde beaſts for to encounter them when they are baited, dimmeth their eie-ſight, and oftentimes makes them ſtarke blinde; ſorrow, avarice, and jealouſie, alter the colour and complexion of the face, drie up the habit and conſtitution of the bodie; and envie no leſſe ſubtile than the reſt, and piercing directly to the very ſoule, filleth the body alſo with an untoward and badde diſpoſition, which painters lively doe repreſent in thoſe tables which conteine the picture of envies face: when as therefore they who be infected with envie, doe caſt their eies upon others, which becauſe they are ſeated neere unto the ſoule, doe catch and draw unto them verie eaſilie this vice, and ſo ſhoot their venemous raies, like unto poiſoned darts upon them; if ſuch chance to be wounded and hurt thereby, whom they looke upon, and wiſtly behold: I ſee no ſtrange thing, nor a matter incredible; for verilie the biting of dogges is much more hurtfull and danderous when they be angry than otherwiſe; and the ſperme or naturall ſeed of men doth ſooner take effect, and is more apt for generation, when they meddle with women whom they love; and generally the paſſions and affections of the ſoule, doe fortifie and corroborat the powers, and faculties of the bodie: and heereupon it is, that thoſe preſervatives againſt witchcraft called προβασκάνια, are then thought to do good againſt envie, when the eie-ſight of the envious perſon is withdrawen and turned away by ſome filthie and abſurd object, that it cannot make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the patient whom he would hurt: Lo ſeigneur *Florus* (quoth I) heere is mine eſcot for our good cheere at this meeting, in ready coine paid downe upon the naile head: Well done (quoth *Soclarus*) but firſt before you goe, we muſt allow the money for good and currant; for I aſſure you, there be ſome pieces that ſeeme counterfet; for if we ſuppoſe that to be a truth, which is commonly reported, as touching thoſe who are thus bewitched and eie-bitten; it is not I am ſure unknowen to you, that many are of opinion, that there be of their friends and kinsfolke, yea, and ſome of their fathers alſo, who carrie about them witching eies; in ſuch ſort as their very wives will not ſo much as ſhew unto them their owne babes, nor ſuffer ſuch to looke upon them any while together: how then ſhould this effect of witcherie proceed from envie? Nay what will you ſay to thoſe (I pray you) who are named for to eie-bite and bewitch their owne ſelves? You have heard I am ſure thus much; or at leaſtwiſe you have read this Epigram.

* Some take it for the Lariot.

Faire was ſometime Eutelidas,
His face and haire full lovely was;
But ſee, one day when needs he would
(Unhappy man) himſelfe behold
In river ſtreame that ſoftly ran,
His beautie, than he ſoone began
So to admire, that for envie
Bewitch't he was by his owne eie;
And fell anon by malady,
To pine away and ſo to dy.

For it is reported of this *Eutelidas*, that looking upon himſelfe in the river water, he was ſo farre in love with his owne beautie, and ſo deepely affected with the ſight thereof, that he fell ſicke, and ſo both beautie and the good plight of his bodie went away at once: but ſee now what ſhift you can make to ſalve theſe abſurdities? or what anſwer you will deviſe to avoid them? As for that (quoth he) I ſhall doe it at ſome other time ſufficiently: but now drinking thus as you ſee me, out of ſo great and large a boule, I dare be bold to averre, and that confidently, that all perturbations and paſſions of the minde, if they ſettle and continue long in the ſoule, doe ingenerate therein evill habitudes; & theſe, after they have in proceſſe of time gotten the ſtrength and become another nature, upon every ſmall occaſion, are ſtirred, and oftentimes drive men perforce, and even againſt their willes to thoſe familiar and accuſtomed paſſions: for doe but marke timorous and fearefull cowards, how they be affrighted even with ſuch things as be ſafe, and doe preſerve them; cholericke perſons are angrie many times, and fall out with their beſt friends; laſcivious wantons can not conteine, but in the end they will offer abuſe and vilanie to the moſt holy & ſacred bodies that be for: cuſtome hath a wonderfull power to conduct & cary the habit unto that vice which is familiar unto it; & looke who is apt to take a fall, will ſtumble at every ſmall hob that lies in his way: and therefore it is not a matter to make a woonder of, if they who have gotten in themſelves habit of envie, and bewitching, bee incited and mooved according to the particular propertie of their paſſion, even againſt thoſe who are moſt deare unto them; and being once mooved and ſtirred, they doe not that which they will themſelves, but that whereunto they are ſo inclined and diſpoſed; for like as a round bowle or ball runneth like it ſelfe; and ſemblablie a roller or cylender moveth as a roller or cylender, both of them after the different figure thereof; even ſo, whoſoever they be that have thus contracted an habitude of this eie-biting envie, their diſpoſition mooveth and driveth them enviouſly upon all things; howbeit it carieth a great likelihood that they ſhould hurt them, who are moſt familiar unto them, and beſt beloved than any other: and therefore that good *Eutelidas* and all other ſuch as he, who are ſaid to charme and bewitch themſelves, incurre this hard extremity, not without great appearance of reaſon: for as *Hippocrates* ſaith in his aphoriſmes: The good habit or plight when it is at the height is dangerous; and bodies when they are come to the higheſt point, they can not hold and ſtand ſo, but preſently muſt incline and bend to the contrarie: when as men therefore are growen ſuddenly all at once, and ſee themſelves in a better ſtate than they hoped for; inſomuch as they wonder & behold themſelves with admiration, then be ſure the body is neere unto ſome change, and then being caried according to their habitude to the woorſe, they bewitch themſelves: and this is wrought the rather, by meanes of thoſe fluxions which reſt upon waters, looking-glaſſes, or any ſuch mirrors by way of repercuſſion; for that they rebound backe, & breath as it were againe upon thoſe who looke in them, ſo, that the hurt & damage which they have done to others, lighteth upon themſelves: this haply befalling many times to little children, doth impute (though falſly and unjuſtly) the cauſe to theſe that looke upon them. When I had finiſhed my ſpeech, *Caius* the ſonne in law of *Florus*, began to ſpeake in this wiſe: Why then belike the images that *Democritus* ſpeaketh of are of no reckoning nor account, no more than the idols of *Aegina* and *Megara*, as the proverbe goes; for this philoſopher ſaith: That there goe foorth certeine images out of the eies of envious perſons, and thoſe not altogether without a kinde of ſenſe and inclination, but rather full of their malice and envious witcherie who ſend them forth; with which, when the ſaid images come to ſettle, remaine, and reſt upon thoſe who are envied, they trouble and offend the bodie, ſoule and underſtanding: for this I take to be the meaning of that great philoſopher, and that hee hath delivered his opinion to this effect, under thoſe divine and magnificent words: So he doth no doubt (quoth I) but I marvell much, how you perceived not that I have taken nothing from thoſe defluxions, but onely life and will; which I did, for feare leſt if now (being farre within night, and very late) I had talked of ſpirits, idols, and apparitions, having ſenſe and underſtanding, I ſhould have put you into ſome fright, and ſcared you with them: and therefore, if you thinke it ſo good, let us referre and put off the conſideration of theſe thing untill to morrow morning.

THE EIGHT QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that the poet Homer *called the Apple-tree* , ἀγλαόκαρπον , *that is to ſay, bearing fruit* ; *and* Empedocles *named Apples*, ὑπέρφλοια, *that is to ſay, flouriſhing*.

AS we were merry together at a feaſt one day, in our citie *Chæronea*, we were ſerved with all ſorts of fruits in great abundance ; by occaſion whereof, it tooke one of the companie in his head to pronounce theſe verſes out of *Homer* :

σῦκαί τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι
---- Καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.

That is to ſay:
The ſweet Fig-trees and apple-trees, that beare a fruit ſo faire,
The Olive-trees likewiſe all greene ----

whereupon aroſe ſome queſtion , why the poet gave unto apple-trees the attribute *of bearing faire fruit ?* and *Tryphon* verily the phyſician, anſwered : That it might be ſpoken of the ſaid tree, by way of compariſon ; which being but ſmall to ſpeake of, and making as little ſhew, bringeth forth ſo faire, ſo great, and ſo goodly fruit. Another ſaid : That compounding (as he did) beautie or goodneſſe, of all parts and in every reſpect , he could not ſee the ſame in any other fruits covered with a rinde, but onely in this : for to touch and feele, it is as ſmooth and net as the violet, ſo as it doth not ſtaine or ſoile the skin, filling with a ſweet ſent, him that handleth it ; in taſte, it is pleaſant; to ſmell unto, moſt delectable ; and to the eie, as lovely ; ſo as contenting thus as it doth , all the ſenſes in a maner, by good right it is ſo praiſed and commended. We liked well of this diſcourſe , and ſaid, it was ſufficient to ſolve the queſtion. But whereas *Empedocles* hath written thus :

οὕνεκεν ὀψίγονοί τε σίδαι καὶ ὑπέρφλοια μῆλα.
Why pomgranates ſo late doe grow,
And apples beare a lovely ſhow ?

I underſtand well (ſaid I) this epithite ὀψίγονοι, given unto σίδαι, that is to ſay, pomgranats, becauſe the fruit commeth not to maturitie or ripeneſſe, untill it be about the end of Autumne, when as now the extreame heats be decaied and gone ; for their moiſture, ſo thin, feeble and wateriſh as it is, the ſunne will not ſuffer it to thicken, or grow to any conſiſtence, unleſſe the aire begin to change and incline unto coldneſſe ; and therefore *Theophraſtus* ſaith , that it is the onely tree that doth ripen and concoct her fruit, beſt & ſooneſt, in the ſhade. But I doubt in what ſenſe this wiſe philoſophicall poet giveth this addition of ὑπέρφλοια, unto apples ? conſidering that the man is not woont to imbeliſh and adorne the matters and things whereof he treateth , with the gaieſt and moſt glorious adjectives, as with freſh and lively colours, to enrich and beautifie his ſtile, or to ſet out his verſes ; for there is not an epithite that he uſeth, but ſerves for to repreſent and expreſſe either the ſubſtance or els ſome facultie and vertue of the thing. Thus he calleth our bodie environing the ſoule, χθόνα ἀμφίβροτον, that is to ſay, earth circummortall ; the aire he tearmeth, νεφεληγερέτην, that is to ſay, gathering clouds ; as alſo, the liver, πολυαίματον, that is to ſay, full of bloud. When I had thus put this doubt to queſtion, there were certeine Grammarians in place, who ſaid : That *Empedocles* called apples , ὑπέρφλοια, in regard of their vigor : for poets by this verbe φλοιεῖν, underſtand thus much; namely, to be growen apace to the vigour, flower, and full ſtrength. And the poet *Antimachus* in this ſenſe , tearmed the city of the Cadmeans , φλοίουσαν ὀπώραις, that is to ſay, flouriſhing with ſtore of fruits. Semblably, *Aratus* ſpeaketh of the Canicular-ſtarre, *Sirius*, in this wiſe :

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔρρωσεν, τῶν δὲ φλόον ὤλεσε πάντα.

That is to ſay :
In ſome he did confirme their vigour,
And marr'd in others all their verdeur.

In which place , he calleth the viriditie or greenneſſe , and the verie flower or beautie of fruits, φλόον. They added moreover, and ſaid : That among the Greeks, ſome there were, who ſacrifice to *Bacchus*, ſurnamed φλοῖος. Foraſmuch as therefore , the apple mainteineth it ſelfe longeſt in viriditie and vigour, of all other fruits, therefore the philoſopher named it, ὑπέρφλοιον. But *Lamprias* my grandfather ſaid : That this adjection or prepoſition ὑπὲρ, ſignifieth not only , much,&

greatly, but alſo, above, or with-out-foorth: for in this acception, the head or lintell of a doore, we name ὑπέρθυρον, that is to ſay, above the doore; and likewiſe, an upper-roome, chamber, or loft, ὑπερῷον: and *Homer* the poet, meaneth the outward fleſh of a beaſt ſacrificed, by the word ὑπέρτερα; like as the inward, by the vocable ἔγκατα. Conſider then (quoth he) whether *Empedocles* had not a reſpect heereunto, by attributing this ſaid epithite unto an apple; that whereas other fruits are incloſed & covered within a certeine barke as it were, which in Greeke is called φλοιὸς, and have without-forth, thoſe that we tearme λεπύχανα, κελύφη, ὑμένας καὶ λοβοὺς, that is to ſay, ſhelles, rindes, cods and pannicles to cover them, that barke or ſhell (if I may ſo ſay) which the apple hath, lieth within; namely, a glutinous and ſmooth tunicle or coat, which we call the core or the corque, wherein the pepins or ſeeds lie conteined; but the fleſhie part or meat thereof for to be eaten, is all without the ſaid core, in which reſpect, it may by good right be named ὑπέρφλοιον.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the Figge-tree, being of all other trees moſt bitter and ſharpe in taſte, yeeldeth a fruit moſt ſweet?

AFter this, demaunded it was, why the figge, ſo fat and ſweet a fruit as it is, groweth upon a tree moſt bitter? for the very leafe of a figge-tree by the reaſon of the aſperitie and roughneſſe that it hath, is called *Thrion*, and the wood is full of juice; ſo that when it burneth, you ſhall ſee it caſt up a moſt eager and bitter ſmoke, and when it is burnt, the aſhes make a leie very ſtrong, and marvellous deterſive, becauſe of the acrimonie and ſharpeneſſe thereof: yea, and (that which is moſt admirable) whereas all other trees and plants clad with leaves and bearing fruit, put foorth a flower before, onely the figge-tree never ſheweth bloſſome: and if it be true which is moreover ſaid; that it is never blaſted, or ſmitten with lightning, a man may attribute and aſcribe it to the bitterneſſe and evill habitude of the ſtocke; for it ſhould ſeeme that lightning and thunder never touch any ſuch things, no more than the ſkinne of a ſea-calfe, or of the beaſt *Hyæna*. Heere the good old man (our grandſire) taking occaſion to ſpeake, ſaid: No marvell then, if all the ſweetneſſe bee found in the fruit, the reſt of the tree be harſh and bitter: for like as when the cholericke humour is caſt into the bagge or bladder of the gall, the proper ſubſtance of the liver it ſelfe remaineth very ſweet, even ſo the figge-tree having ſent all the ſweetneſſe and fatneſſe it had into the fruit, remaineth it ſelfe diſfurniſhed of it; for that within the trunke of the ſaid tree there is otherwiſe ſome ſweetneſſe and good juice, though it be but a little; I make an argument from the herbe rue; which they ſay: If it grow under or neere a figge-tree; becommeth more pleaſant in ſmell, and in taſte more milde, by receiving and enjoying ſome ſmall ſweetneſſe from it; whereby that exceſſive, ſtrong and odious qualitie of rue is abated and extinct; unleſſe peradventure a man will reaſon cleane contrary, and ſaie, that the figge-tree drawing ſomewhat from rue, for the owne nouriture, taketh from that herbe ſome part of the bitterneſſe and acrimonie thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Who be they who according to the common proverbe, are ſaid, περὶ ἅλα καὶ κύμινον, *that is to ſay, about the ſalt and cumin? and ſo by the way, why the poet* Homer *nameth ſalt divine.*

FLorus asked us one day when we were at ſupper in his houſe, who they were whom we tearmed by an uſuall by-word, to be about the ſalt and cumin: *Apollophanes* the grammarian, one of our companie, ſolved the queſtion readily in this manner: They (quoth he) who are ſuch friends and ſo familiar that they ſuppe together, with ſalt and cumin, are meant by this common ſpeech. But then we mooved a new queſtion, namely: How it came to paſſe, that ſalt was ſo highly honoured? for that *Homer* directly ſaith:

> *And then anon when this was done,*
> *He ſtrewed ſalt divine upon.*

And *Plato* affirmeth, that the bodie and ſubſtance of ſalt by mans lawes, is moſt ſacred and holie: The difficultie of this queſtion he enforced ſtill, and augmented the more; for that the

Aegyptian prieſts who live chaſte, abſteine altogether from ſalt, inſomuch as their verie bread which they eat is not ſeaſoned with ſalt: And if it were (quoth he) ſo divine and holy, why have they it in ſo great deteſtation? Then *Florus* willed us to let the Aegyptians goe with their ſuperſtitious faſhions; and to alledge ſomewhat of the Greeks as touching this ſubject argument: Whereupon I began and ſaid: That the Aegyptians themſelves were not heerein contrarie to the Greekes; for the ſanctimonie and profeſſion of chaſtitie, forbiddeth procreation of children, laughing, wine, and ſuch like things; which otherwiſe be good, and not to be rejected: and as for ſalt, haply thoſe who have vowed to live a chaſte and pure life, doe forbeare it, for that by the heat which it hath, (as ſome thinke) it provoketh thoſe who uſe it, unto lecherie: and probable it is beſides, that ſuch votaries doe refuſe ſalt, becauſe of all other meats, it is moſt delicate; & a man may well ſay: That it is the viand of viands, & the ſauce as it were to ſeaſon all others: and therefore ſome there be who attribute unto theſe ſalts, the very tearme of Charites or the Graces; for that they make that which is neceſſarie for our food, to be pleaſant & acceptable unto us: Shall wee ſay then (quoth *Florus*) that ſalt was called divine in this reſpect? And if we did ſo (quoth I) wee have no ſlender reaſon to induce us thereunto; for men are wont to attribute a kinde of divinity unto things which are paſſing common, and the commoditie whereof reacheth farre (as for example) to water, light, & the ſeaſons of the yeere; as for the earth, her above the reſt, they repute not onely divine, but alſo to be a goddeſſe: & there is none of all theſe things rehearſed, that ſalt giveth place unto, one jot, in regard of uſe and profit; being as it is a fortification to our meats within the bodie, and that which commendeth them unto our appetite: but yet conſider moreover, if this be not a divine propertie that it hath, namely, to preſerve and keepe dead bodies free from putrifaction a long while, and by that meanes to reſiſt death in ſome ſort, for that it ſuffereth not a mortall bodie wholly to periſh, and come to nothing: but like as the ſoule being the moſt divine part of us, is that which mainteineth all the reſt alive, and ſuffereth not the maſſe and ſubſtance of the bodie to be diſſolved, and ſuffer colliquation; even ſo, the nature of ſalt, taking hold of dead bodies, and imitating heerein the action of the ſoule, preſerveth the ſame, holding and ſtaying them that they runne not headlong to corruption, giving unto all the parts an amitie, accord & agreement one with the other: and therefore it was elegantly ſaid by ſome of the Stoicks: That the fleſh of an hogge was even from the beginning no better than a dead carion, but that life being diffuſed within it, as if ſalt were ſtrewed throughout, kept it ſweet, and ſo preſerved it for to laſt long. Moreover you ſee, that wee eſteeme lightning, or the fire that commeth by thunder, celeſtiall and divine, for that theſe bodies which have beene ſmitten therewith, are obſerved by us to continue a great while unputrified and without corruption: What marvell is it then, if our auncients have eſteemed ſalt, divine, having the ſame vertue and nature, that this divine and celeſtiall fire hath? Heere I ſtaied my ſpeech, and kept ſilence. With that, *Philinus* followed on and purſued the ſame argument: And what thinke you (quoth he) is not that to be held divine, which is generative, and hath power to ingender, conſidering that God is thought to be the originall authour, creatour, and father of all things? I avowed no leſſe, and ſaid it was ſo: And it is (quoth he) an opinion generally received, that ſalt availeth not a little in the matter of generation, as you your ſelfe touched ere-while, ſpeaking of Aegyptian prieſts: they alſo, who keepe and nouriſh dogs for the race, when they ſee them dull to performe that act, and to doe their kinde, do excite and awaken their luſt and vertue generative, that lieth (as it were) aſleepe, by giving them aſwell as other hot meats, ſalt fleſh, and fiſh both, that have lien in brine & pickle: alſo, thoſe ſhips & veſſels at ſea, which ordinarily are fraight with ſalt, breed commonly an infinit number of mice and rats; for that (as ſome hold) the females or does of that kinde, by licking of ſalt onely, will conceive and be bagged without the company of the males or bucks: but more probable it is, that ſaltneſſe doth procure a certeine itching in the naturall parts of living creatures, and by that means provoketh males & females both, to couple together: and peradventure this may be the reaſon that the beauty of a woman which is not dull and unlovely, but full of favor, attractive, and able to move concupiſcence, men uſe to name ἁλμυρὸν καὶ δριμὺ, that is to ſay, ſaltiſh or well ſeaſoned: And I ſuppoſe that the poets have fained *Venus* to have beene engendred of the ſea, not without ſome reaſon; and that this tale, that ſhe ſhould come of ſalt, was deviſed for the nonce, to ſignifie and make knowen under thoſe covert tearmes, that there is in ſalt a generative power: certes, this is an ordinarie and generall thing among thoſe poets, to make all the ſea-gods, fathers of many children, and very full of iſſue. To conclude, you ſhall not finde any land-creature, or flying fowle, for fruitfulneſſe, comparable to any kinde of fiſhes bred in the ſea; which no doubt this verſe of *Empedocles* had reſpect unto:

Leading a troupe, which ſenſeleſſe were and rude,
Even of ſea-fiſh, a breeding multitude.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Summarie.

1 *What is the reaſon, that men faſting, be more athirſt than hungrie.*
2 *Whether it be want of food that cauſeth hunger and thirſt, or the transformation and change of the pores and conduits of the bodie, be the cauſe thereof.*
3 *How commeth it, that they who be hungrie, if they drinke, are eaſed of their hunger; but contrariwiſe, thoſe who are thirſtie, if they eat, be more thirſtie.*
4 *What is the reaſon that pit-water, when it is drawen, if it be left all night within the ſame aire of the pit, becommeth more cold.*
5 *What is the cauſe that little ſtones, and plates or pellets of lead, if they be caſt into water, cauſe it to be the colder.*
6 *Why ſnowe is preſerved, by covering it with ſtraw, chaffe, or garments.*
7 *Whether wine is to run thorow a ſtrainer.*
8 *What is the cauſe of extraordinarie hunger or appetites to meat.*
9 *Why the poet* Homer, *when he ſpeaketh of other liquors, uſeth proper epithits, onely oile he calleth moiſt.*
10 *What is the cauſe that the fleſh of beaſts ſlaine for ſacrifice, if they be hanged upon a fig-tree, quickly become tender.*

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or banquet-queſtions.

The Proëme.

Plato being minded to draw *Timotheus* the ſonne of *Conon* (ô *Soſſius Senecio*) from ſumptuous feaſts and ſuperfluous banquets, which great captaines commonly make, invited him one day to a ſupper in the Academie, which was philoſophicall indeed and frugall, where the table was not furniſhed with thoſe viands which might diſtemper the bodie with feaverous heats and inflamations, as *Iōn* the poet was wont to ſay; but ſuch a ſupper I ſay, upon which ordinarily there follow kinde and quiet ſleeps, ſuch fanſies alſo, and imaginations as ingender few dreames, and thoſe ſhort; and in one word, where the ſleeps do teſtifie a great calmneſſe and tranquillitie of the bodie. The morrow after, *Timotheus* perceiving the difference betweene theſe ſuppers and the other, ſaid: That they who ſupped with *Plato* over-night, found the pleaſure and comfort therof the next day; and to ſay a trueth, a great helpe and ready meanes to a pleaſant and bleſſed life, is the good temperature of the body, not drenched in wine, nor loaden with viands, but light, nimble, and ready, without any feare or diſtruſt to performe all actions and functions of the day-time. But there was another commodity no leſſe than this,which they had,who ſupped with *Plato*, namely,the diſcuſſing and handling of good and learned queſtions, which were held at the table in ſupper time: for the remembrance of the pleaſures in eating and drinking, is illiberall and unbeſeeming men of worth, tranſitorie beſides, and ſoone at an end; like unto the odor of a perfume and ſweet ointment, or the ſmell of roſt in a kitchin a day after; whereas diſcourſes philoſophicall,and diſputations of learning,when they be remembred afterwards,yeeld alwaies new pleaſure and freſh delight unto thoſe that were at them, yea, and cauſe them who were abſent and left out, in hearing the relation thereof, to have no leſſe part of learning and erudition, than they who were preſent: for thus we ſee, that even at this day, ſtudents and profeſſours of learning, have the fruition, and enjoy the benefit of *Socrates* his banquets, no leſſe than they themſelves who were perſonally preſent, and had their reall part of them at the time: and verily, if corporall matter,as dainty diſhes and exquiſit fare, had ſo greatly affected and delighted their minds with pleaſure; *Plato* and *Xenophon* ſhould have put downe in writing, and left unto us the memoriall,not of the diſcourſes there held, nor of the talke which then paſſed, but rather of the furniture of the table,& have made a note of the delicate viands,paſtrie works, confitures and junkets ſerved up in *Callias* or *Agathus* houſes: whereas now of all ſuch matters there is no mention at all,as if they were of no account, nor worth the naming,notwithſtanding very like it is, there was no want of proviſion, no ſpare of coſt, nor defect of diligence in that behalfe: but on the otherſide penned they have moſt exactly, and with great diligence the diſcourſes of good letters and philoſophy, which then and there paſſed merrily; and thoſe they have commended unto poſterities, to give us example, that we ought not onely to deviſe and reaſon together when we are at the boord, but alſo to call to minde afterwards, what good talke had paſſed and to keepe the ſame in memorie.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the reaſon, that thoſe who be faſting are more thirſty than hungry?

NOw ſend I unto you *Soſſius Senecio*, this ſixth booke of banquet diſcourſes; whereof the firſt queſtion is: Why thoſe who be long faſting, are more thirſtie than hungry? for it may ſeeme contrary unto all reaſon; that thirſt rather than hunger ſhould enſue much faſting; for that the want of dry food, would ſeeme by courſe of nature to require a ſupplie of nutriment by the like. Then began I in this manner to argue, before the companie there in place: That of all things within us, and whereof we conſiſt, our naturall heat either alone or principally, had need of nouriture and maintenance: for thus verily wee doe obſerve in outward elements, that neither aire, water, nor earth, deſire nutriment; neither doe they conſume whatſoever is neere unto them; but it is fire onely that requireth the one,and doth the other; which is the reaſon that all yoong folke doe eat more than elder perſons; for that they be hotter; yea and old men and women can endure to faſt better,becauſe their naturall heat is already decaied and feeble in them; like as it is in thoſe living creatures which have but little bloud: for ſmall need have they of nouriture, for default of naturall heat. Moreover, thus much we may obſerve in everie one of our ſelves, that our bodily exerciſes, our loud outcries and ſuch like matters, as by motion doe augment heat,make us to take more pleaſure in our meat, and to have a better appetite to eat: now the principall, moſt familiar and naturall food of heat, in mine opinion, is moiſture, as we may ſee by daily experience, that burning flames of fire increaſe by powring oile thereto;& of all things in the world, aſhes are the drieſt,becauſe the whole humiditie is burnt up and conſumed; but the terreſtriall ſubſtance deſtitute of all liquor, remaineth alone: ſemblably,the nature of fire is to ſeparate and divide bodies, by taking away the moiſture which held them ſodered and bound together: when as therefore wee faſt long, our naturall heat draweth forcibly unto it; firſt, all the humours out of the reliques of our nouriſhment; which done, the inflammation thereof paſſeth farther,and ſetteth upon the very radical humour within our fleſh, ſearching every corner for moiſture to feed and nouriſh it: there being cauſed therefore a woonderfull drineſſe in our bodie, like as in earth or clay that is parched with heat; our fleſh by conſequence commeth to ſtand more in need of drinke than of meat, untill ſuch time as we have taken a good draught; by meanes whereof our heat being well refreſhed and fortified, worketh and procureth appetite to ſolide and dry nouriſhment.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether it be want of food that cauſeth hunger and thirſt, or rather the transformation and change of the conduits and paſſages within our bodies?

THis diſcourſe being thus ended, *Philo* the phyſician went about to impugne and overthrow the firſt poſition; mainteining, that thirſt proceeded not from default of any nouriſhment, but was to be imputed unto the change of the forme in certaine paſſages of the body: and for demonſtration heereof, hee alledged of the one ſide this experience: That they who be a thirſt in the night, if they ſleepe upon it, loſe their thirſtineſſe, although they drinke never a drop: on the other ſide, that they who have the ague, if their fit decline, or be off them, or in caſe the feaver be cleane paſt and gone, preſently they are eaſed of their drought: likewiſe there be many, who after they have beene bathed, yea, and beleeve me, others when they have vomited, are ridde of thirſtineſſe; and yet they get moiſture neither by the one nor the other; but they are the pores and petie conduits of the body that ſuffer mutation, becauſe they be altered and transformed into another ſtate and diſpoſition; and this appeereth more evidently in hunger: for many ſicke folke there be, who at one time have need of nouriſhment, and yet want appetite to their meat; ſome there are againe, who let them eat and fill themſelves never ſo much, have never the leſſe appetite to meat, nay, their greedie hunger encreaſeth the more: ſemblablie, you ſhall have many of thoſe who lothed their meat, to recover their ſtomacke and appetite quickly, by taſting a few olives or capres, condite with ſalt pickle: whereby it appeareth plainly; that hunger is not occaſioned by default of nouriſhment, but through the ſaid alteration or paſſion of the pores and conduits of the body: for ſurely ſuch meats as thoſe, although they diminiſh the want of nouriſhment, by addition of more food, yet neverthleſſe cauſe hunger; and even ſo the poinant acrimonie of theſe ſalt viands, contenting the taſte and pleaſant to the mouth, by knitting, binding, and ſtrengthening the ſtomacke; or contrariwiſe, by relaxing or opening the ſame, do procure unto it, and breed therein a certeine gnawing and a diſpoſition to the liking of their meat, which we call appetite. The reaſon of theſe arguments ſeemed unto me very wittily deviſed, and framed pretily, for to carrie a good ſhew of probabilitie; howbeit, to be contrary unto the principall end of nature, to which the appetite doth leade and conduct every living creature, deſirous to ſupplie that which is wanting, to fill that which is emptie, and purſuing alwaies that which is meet for it and familiar, but yet defectuous: for to ſay, that the thing wherein principally a living creature differeth from a liveleſſe bodie, was not given unto us for the tuition, maintenance and preſervation of our health and ſafetie, even as it were of our eies that be ſo proper and familiar to the body, and to feare ſuch occurrents as be adverſe thereto; but to thinke that the ſame is onely a paſſion, change, and alteration of the pores occaſioned according as the ſame be made either bigger or ſmaller; is (to ſpeake plainly) the faſhion and part of thoſe who make no reckoning at all of nature. Moreover, to confeſſe, that to quake for colde, hapneth unto our bodie for want of heat familiar and naturall unto it, and with one breath to denie, that hunger and thirſt proceed not from defect of moiſture and nouriſhment, is very abſurd: and yet, more unreaſonable and monſtrous it were to affirme, that nature deſireth evacuation, when ſhe feeleth her ſelfe charged with fulneſſe, and withall, hath a deſire to repletion; not becauſe ſhe findeth her ſelfe over-emptie, but upon ſome other paſſion comming I know not how, nor which way. Certes, theſe needs and repletions in the bodies of living creatures, reſemble properly the accidents that fall out in agriculture and husbandry; for the earth ſuffereth many ſuch defects, and requireth as many helpes and remedies: againſt drought, we ſeeke to moiſten by watering; for burning with heat, to coole moderately; when things are frozen, to heat them againe, and keepe them warme, by laying (as it were) many coverings over; and looke what is not in our power to doe, we pray unto the gods for to helpe and furniſh us therewith; namely, ſweet and milde dewes, pleaſant and comfortable windes; ſo that nature alwas ſeeketh ſupplie of that which is defective, for to preſerve her ſtate and temperature. And in my conceit, this word τροφὴ, which ſignifieth nouriſhment, ſeemeth to import as much as τηροῦν τὴν φύσιν, that is to ſay, preſerving nature; & preſerved it is in plants verily, & trees inſenſibly (as *Empedocles* ſaid) by the aire about them, when they are refreſhed and watered thereby in convenient maner, as need requireth: but as for us, our appetite cauſeth us to ſeeke and procure that, for default whereof, we have not our kinde temperature. But let us conſider better, ech one of thoſe reaſons by it ſelfe, which have bene delivered, and how untrue they be; for firſt and formoſt, thoſe viands which have a quicke, ſharpe and pleaſing taſte, by reaſon of their acrimonie, procure no appetite at all in thoſe parts, which be capable of nouriture, but only a certeine biting or gnawing in them, much like unto that itching, when ſomething is applied unto the skin, that doth plucke and fret it: and ſay, that this paſſion or affection (whatſoever it is) procureth appetite, it ſtandeth to great reaſon, that by ſuch ſharpe and quicke viands, thoſe matters which cauſed fulneſſe, comming to be attenuated and made more ſubtill, are diſcuſſed, diſſolved, and ſo diſſipated as they ought to be; by which meanes, conſequently there followeth a want and defect; not for that the pores and paſſages be altered or changed into another forme, but rather, becauſe they be now voided, cleere and purged; conſidering that thoſe juices which be ſharpe, eager, quicke, piercing and ſaltiſh, by attenuating and making tender the matter that they meet with and worke upon, do diſcuſſe, diſgregate and ſcatter the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as they ingender and procure a new appetite. To come now unto thoſe who ſleepe upon their thirſtineſſe, they be not the pores which by their transformation allay thirſt, but by reaſon that they receive humiditie from the fleſhie parts, and are filled with a vapourous moiſture from thence: and as for vomits, in caſting up one thing which is adverſe to nature, they give her meanes to enjoy another which is friendly and familiar thereto: for thirſt is not a deſire ſo much of an exceeding great quantitie of moiſture, as of that which is kinde and familiar; and therefore, although a man have within him great abundance of that moiſture which is unnaturall, yet nevertheleſſe, he wanteth ſtill; for that his thirſt giveth place to no other humiditie, but unto that which is proper and naturall, and whereof it is deſirous: neither commeth mans bodie into a good temper againe, before ſuch time as that humiditie be removed and gone, which was enemie to nature; and then the waies and paſſages receive willingly that moiſture which is friendly and familiar unto her: as to the ague beforeſaid, it driveth indeed the moiſture inwardly into the center (as it were) of the bodie; for when the middle thereof is all on a fire, thither runneth and retireth all the humiditie, where it is thruſt together and reteined; and by reaſon that there is ſuch ſtore thereof, preſſed and pent in, it falleth out often times, that many being ſicke of the ague, do caſt and vomit it up, for to be diſcharged thereof, and be exceeding thirſtie withall, for want of moiſture, and for the drineſſe that is in other parts of the bodie, which call for humiditie: when as then the fever either declineth or hath intermiſſion, ſo as the ardent heat within, is gone from thoſe interior parts in the center and middle of the bodie, the moiſture returneth againe into the outward habit, it ſpreadeth (I ſay) and is diſperſed thorowout, according to the naturall courſe thereof; ſo as at once it bringeth eaſe to the parts within, and withall, cauſeth the fleſh and skin without, to be ſmoothe, ſoft and moiſt, whereas before it was rough, hard and drie; yea, and many times it mooveth ſweats; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the want which before cauſed thirſt, now ceaſeth and is gone, while the moiſture is returned from the place wherein before it was ſtreightly preſſed and kept in, unto that which is deſirous and hath need of it, and where it is at large and more at libertie: for like as in an orchard or garden, although there be a pit conteining plentie of water, unleſſe a man draw ſome out of it, and therewith water the ground, it can not chuſe but the herbs, plants and trees will be as one would ſay, athirſt, and at a fault for nouriſhment; even ſo it fareth in our bodies; if all the moiſture be gotten to one place, no marvell if the reſt do want and become exceeding drie, untill ſuch time as it run againe, and that there be a new diffuſion thereof; like as it falleth out with thoſe who are ſicke of an ague, when the fit is paſt, or the fever hath left them, and to thoſe who ſleepe upon thirſt; for in theſe, ſleepe bringeth backe the moiſture from the center and middle of the bodie, diſtributing it to all the members and parts thereof, and ſo maketh an equall diſtribution and ſupply thorowout.

But this transformation and change of the pores from which it is ſaid that hunger and thirſt doth proceed; what kinde of thing is it I would gladly know? For mine owne part, none other differences ſee I, but of more and leſſe, and according as they be either ſtopped or opened; when they bee obſtructed or ſtopped, receive they cannot either drinke or meat; when they be opened and unſtopped, they make a voide and free place; and ſurely that is nothing els but the want of that which is proper and naturall: For the reaſon (my good friend *Philo*) why clothes which are to be died, be dipped firſt in alome water, is becauſe that ſuch water hath a piercing, ſcouring, and abſterſive vertue, by meanes whereof, when all the ſuperfluous filth in them is conſumed and rid away, the pores being opened, reteine more ſurely the tincture which is given unto the clothes, onely becauſe they receive the ſame better, by reaſon of the emptineſſe occaſioned by want.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that when men be hungry, if they drinke, are delivered from their hunger: but contrariwiſe, when they be athirſt, if they eate, are more thirſty than before?

WHen thoſe diſcourſes were thus paſſed; he who invited us to ſupper, began in this wiſe: It ſeemeth unto me (my maſters) that this reaſon as touching the voidance and repletion of pores, carieth with it a great apparence of truth, and namely in the ſolution of another queſtion beſides, to wit: Why in them who be hungry, if they drinke, their hunger ceaſeth immediately? and contrariwiſe, they who are a thirſt, if they eat, are ſtill more thirſtie? I am of opinion (quoth he) that thoſe who alledge and urge theſe pores and their effects, doe render the reaſon and cauſe of this accident, very eaſilie, and with exceeding great probabilitie however in many points, they enforce the ſame not ſo much as probably: for whereas all bodies have pores, ſome of one meaſure, and ſymmetry, others of another; thoſe which be larger than the reſt, receive food ſolid as well as liquid both together; ſuch as bee narrower and more ſtreight admit drinke; the avoidance and evacuation of which, cauſeth thirſt, like as of the other, hunger: and therefore if they who be a thirſt doe eat, they finde no ſuccour and benefit thereby, becauſe the pores by reaſon of their ſtreightneſſe, are not able to receive drie and ſolid nutriment, but continue ſtill indigent and deſtitute of that which is their due, and fit for them: whereas they who be hungry, in caſe they drinke, finde comfort thereby, for that the liquid nouriture entring into thoſe large pores, and filling thoſe concavities of theirs, doe ſlake and diminiſh mightily the force of their hunger.

As touching the event and effect (quoth I) true it is (as I thinke) but I cannot accord and give my conſent to the ſuppoſition of the cauſe pretended: For if (quoth I) a man ſhould hold, that with theſe pores and conduits (upon which ſome ſtand ſo much, ſo greatly embrace and mainteine ſo ſtoutly) the fleſh is pierced, and by meanes thereof full of holes; ſurely he would make it very looſe, quavering, flaggie, and ſo rotten, that it would not hang together: moreover, to ſay that the ſame parts of the body doe not receive meat and drinke together, but that they doe paſſe and runne (as it were) thorough a ſtreiner or canvaſe bolter, ſome one way and ſome another; me thinks is a very ſtrange poſition, & a meere deviſed fiction: for this verie mixture of humiditie, tempering and making tender the meats received, together with the cooperative helpe of the inward naturall heat, and the ſpirits, doth cut, ſubtiliate, and mince the foode, with all manner of inciſions, ſhreddings, and diviſions, no tooles, no knives, nor inſtruments in the world ſo fine and ſmall; inſomuch as every part and parcell of the ſaid nouriſhment is familiar, meet & convenient for ech part & member of the bodie; not applied & fitted as it were to certeine veſſels and holes to be filled thereby; but united & perfectly concorporate to the whole, and every part thereof: but if this were not ſo, yet the maine point of the queſtion is not aſſoiled for all that; for they who eat, unleſſe they alſo drinke to it, are ſo farre off from allaying their thirſt, that contrariwiſe they increaſe the ſame; and to this point there is not yet a word ſaid. Conſider now (ſaid I) whether the poſitions & reaſons which we ſet downe, are not probable & apparent? firſt we ſuppoſe, that moiſture being conſumed by drineſſe, is cleane periſhed & gone; & that drineſſe being tempered & ſuſteined by moiſture hath certeine diffuſions, & exhalations: ſecondly we hold, that neither hunger is a general & univerſal want of dry food, nor thirſt, of moiſture, but a certeine ſcantneſſe and defect of the one and the other, when there is not enough and ſufficient; for thoſe who altogether doe want the ſame, bee neither hungrie nor thirſtie, but die preſently: Let theſe ſuppoſals be laid for grounds, it will not be from henceforth hard, to know the cauſe of that which is in queſtion: for thirſt increaſeth upon them that eat, becauſe meats by their drineſſe doe gather together, ſucke and drinke up the humidity diſperſed, and which is left but ſmall and feeble, in all the bodie, cauſing the ſame to evaporate away; like as we may obſerve without our bodies, how dry earth and duſt, do quickly ſnatch, diſpatch, and conſume quite the liquor or moiſture that is mingled therewith: contrariwiſe, drinke neceſſarily ſlaketh hunger; for by reaſon that moiſture drenching and ſoking that little meat which it findeth dry and hard, raiſeth from it certeine vapors and moiſt exhalations, and thoſe it doth elevate and carrie up into all the body, applying the ſame to the parts that ſtand in need: and therefore *Eraſiſtratus* not unproperly tearmed moiſture, the wagon of the viands: for being mixed and tempered with ſuch things as otherwiſe of themſelves by reaſon of their drineſſe or other evill diſpoſition, be idle, and heavy, it raiſeth and lifteth up: and heereupon it commeth, that many men who have beene exceeding hungry, onely by bathing or waſhing themſelves, without any drinke at all, have woonderfully aſwaged and allaied their hunger: for the moiſture from without, entring into the body, cauſeth them to be more ſucculent and in better plight; for that it doth enlarge the parts within, ſo that it doth mitigate the fell mood, and appeaſe the cruell rage of hunger. To conclude, this is the reaſon that they who are determined to pine themſelves to death by utter abſtinence from all ſolid meats, live and continue a long time if they receive but water onely, even untill the time that all be quite evaporate, ſpent and dried up, which might nouriſh and be united unto the bodie.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that pit or well-water being drawen, if it be left all night within the aire of the pit, becommeth colder than it was?

WE had a certeine gueſt who lived delicatly, and loved to drinke cold water; for to pleaſe and content whoſe appetite, our ſervants drew up a bucket of water out of the pit or wel, and ſo let it hang within the ſame (ſo that it touched not the top of the water) all the night long; wherewith he was ſerved the morrow after at his ſupper, and he found it to be much colder than that which was newly drawen: now this ſtranger, being a profeſſed ſcholar and indifferently well learned, told us, that he had found this in *Ariſtotle* among other points, grounded upon good reaſon, which he delivered unto us in this wiſe: All water (quoth he) which is firſt heat, becommeth afterwards more colde than it was before; like to that which is provided and prepared for kings: firſt, they ſet it on the fire untill it boile againe; which done, they burie the pan or veſſell wherein it is, within ſnow; and by this device it proves exceeding colde: no otherwiſe than our bodies, after that we have bene in the ſtouph or baines, be cooled much more by that meanes: for relaxation occaſioned by heat, maketh the bodie more rare, and cauſeth the pores to open, and ſo by conſequence, it receiveth more aire from without, which environeth the bodie, and bringeth a more ſudden and violent change: when as therefore water is firſt chafed (as it were) and ſet in an heat by agitation and ſtirring within the bucket whiles it was in drawing, it groweth to be the colder by the aire which environeth the ſaid veſſell round about. This ſtranger and gueſt of ours, we commended for his confident reſolution and perfect memory; but as touching the reaſon that he alledged, we made ſome doubt: for if the aire in which the veſſell hangeth be colde, how doth it inchafe the water? and if it be hot, how cooleth it afterwards? for beſide all reaſon it is, that a thing ſhould be affected or ſuffer contrarily from one and the ſame cauſe, unleſſe ſome difference come betweene. And when the other held his peace a good ſpace, and ſtood muſing what to ſay againe: Why (quoth I) there is no doubt to be made of the aire; for our very ſenſes teach us, that colde it is, and eſpecially that which is in the bottome of pits; and therefore impoſſible it is, that water ſhould be heat by the cold aire: but the trueth is this rather, although this cold aire can not alter all the water of the ſpring in the bottome of the well, yet if a man draw the ſame in a little quantitie, it will do the deed, and be ſo much predominant as to coole it exceedingly.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that little ſtones and ſmall plates or pellets of lead, being caſt into water, make it colder?

YOu remember I am ſure (doe you not, ſaid I) what *Ariſtotle* hath written, as touching pibble ſtones and flints, which if they be caſt into water, cauſe the ſame to be much colder and more aſtringent: And you remember (quoth he) aſwell, that the philoſopher in his Problemes hath onely ſaid it is ſo; but let us aſſay to finde out the cauſe, for it ſeemeth very difficult to be conceived and imagined: You ſay true indeed (quoth I); and a marvell it were if we could hit upon it: howbeit, marke and conſider what I will ſay unto it: Firſt to begin withall; doe you not thinke that water is ſooner made colde by the aire without, if the ſame may come to enter into it? alſo, that the aire is of more force and efficacie, when it beateth againſt hard flints, pibbles or whetſtones? for they will not ſuffer it to paſſe thorow, as veſſels either of braſſe or earth; but by their compact ſoliditie, reſiſting and ſtanding out againſt it, they put it by from themſelves, and turne it upon the water; whereby the coldneſſe may be the ſtronger, and the water thorowout be fully affected therewith: and this is the reaſon, that in Winter time, running rivers be much colder than the ſea; for that the cold aire hath greater power upon them, as being driven backe againe from the bottome of the water; whereas in the ſea it is diſſolved, and paſſeth away, by reaſon of the great depth thereof encountring there nothing at all, upon which it may ſtrike and beat: but it ſeemeth there is another reaſon, that waters, the thinner and cleerer they be, ſuffer the more from the colde aire; for ſooner they be changed and overcome, ſo weake and feeble they are: now hard whetſtones and little pibbles, doe ſubtiliat and make the water more thin, in drawing to the bottome where they be, all the groſſe and terreſtriall ſubſtance that trouble it; in ſuch ſort, as the water by that meanes, being more fine, and conſequently weaker, ſooner is vanquiſhed and ſurmounted by the refrigeration of the aire. To come now unto lead: cold of nature it is, and if it be ſoaked in vineger, and wrought with it, maketh ceruſe of all deadly poiſons, the coldeſt. As for the ſtones aforeſaid, by reaſon of their ſoliditie, they have an inward coldneſſe conceived deeply within them; for as every ſtone is a piece of earth gathered together and congealed (as it were) by exceeding colde, ſo the more compact and maſſie that it is, the harder is it congealed, and conſequently, ſo much the colder: no marvell therefore it is, if both plummets of lead and theſe little hard pibbles aforeſaid, by repercuſſion from themſelves, inforce the coldneſſe of water.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that men uſe to keepe ſnowe within chaffe, light ſtraw, and clothes?

VPon theſe words, that ſtranger and gueſt of ours, after hee had pauſed a while: Lovers (quoth he) above all things, are deſirous to talke with their paramours; or if they can not ſo doe, yet at leaſtwiſe they will be talking of them; and even ſo it fareth at this time betweene me and ſnowe; for, becauſe there is none heere in place, nor to be had, I will ſpeake of it; and namely, I would gladly know the reaſon why it is wont to be kept in ſuch things as be very hot; for we uſe to cover and ſwaddle it (as it were) with ſtraw and chaffe, yea, and to lap it within ſoft clothes, unſhorne rugges, and ſhaggie frize; and ſo preſerve it a long time in the owne kinde, without running to water: A woonderfull matter, that the hotteſt things ſhould preſerve thoſe which are extreame colde! And ſo will I ſay too (quoth I) if that were true: but it is farre otherwiſe, and we greatly deceive our ſelves, in taking that by and by to be hot it ſelfe, which doth heat another; and namely, conſidering that we our ſelves uſe to ſay, that one and the ſelfe ſame garment in Winter keeps us warme, and in Summer cooleth us; like as that nourſe in the tragedy, which gave ſucke unto *Niobes* children:

With mantles courſe, and little blanquets worne,
She warm's and cool's her pretie babes, new borne.

The Almaigns verily put on garments onely for to defend their bodies againſt the rigour of cold: the Aethiopians weare them not, but to ſave themſelves from ſoultrie heat: wee in *Greece* uſe them for the one purpoſe and the other; and therefore why ſhould wee count them to be hot, becauſe they warme us, rather than cold, for that they coole us? yet of the twaine, if wee would be judged by the outward ſenſe, wee might repute them rather cold than hot: for when we put on our ſhirts or inner garments firſt, our naked skinne findes them cold; and ſo when we goe into our beds, wee feele the ſheetes and other clothes of themſelves as cold; but afterwards they helpe to heat us; but how? being themſelves full of heat, which commeth from us, they hold in our heat, and withall, keepe off the cold aire from our bodies. Thus you ſee how they that be ſicke of the ague, or otherwiſe, burne with heat, change continually their linnens and other clothes about them, becauſe ever as any freſh thing is laid upon them, they feele it cold, and take comfort therein; no ſooner is it caſt over them, & lien a while, but it becommeth hot, by reaſon of the ardent heat of their bodies: like as therefore a garment being warmed once by us, doth warme us againe; even ſo, if it be made cold by ſnow, it keepeth it cold reciprocally; but made cold it is by ſnow, for that there ariſeth from it a ſubtill ſpirit, or vapour which doth it; & the ſame ſo long as it abideth within, holdeth it together concrete and ſolid in the owne nature ; contrariwiſe, when it is gone, ſnowe melteth and turneth to water ; then that white freſh colour vaniſheth away, which came by the mixture of the ſaid ſpirit & humiditie together, cauſing a kinde of froth : when as ſnowe therefore is lapped within clothes, both the cold is held in thereby, and the outward aire kept out, that it cannot enter in, to thaw and melt the ſubſtance of the ſnow thus gathered and congealed together ; now to this purpoſe they uſe ſuch clothes as have not yet come under the fullers hand, nor beene dreſſed, burled, ſhorne, and preſſed; and that for the length and drineſſe of the ſhagge haire and flocks, which will not ſuffer the cloth to lie heavie and preſſe downe the ſnow, and cruſh it being ſo ſpungious and light as it is: and even ſo the ſtraw and chaffe, lying lightly upon it, and ſoftly touching it, breaketh not the congealed ſubſtance thereof; and otherwiſe beſides, the ſame lieth cloſe and faſt together, whereby it is a cauſe that neither the coldneſſe of the ſnow within, can breath foorth, nor the heat of the aire without enter in. To conclude that the excretion and iſſuing out of that ſpirit, is the thing that cauſeth the ſnowe to fore-give, to fret, and to melt in the end, is apparent to our outward ſenſes, for that the ſnow when it thaweth engendreth winde.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether wine is to runne thorough a ſtreiner before it be drunke?

NIger one of our citizens left the ſchooles, having converſed but a ſmall while with a moſt excellent and renowmed philoſopher; yet ſo long, as in that time he had not learned any good thing at his hands, but ſtollen from him ere he was aware, that, whereby he was offenſive and odious unto others; and namely, this bad cuſtome he had gotten of his maſter, boldly to reproove and correct in all things, thoſe who were in his company: when as therefore we were upon a time with *Ariſton* in his houſe at ſupper together, he found fault generally with all the proviſion, as being too ſumptuous, curious, and ſuperfluous; and among other things, hee flatly denied: That wine ought to paſſe through a ſtreiner before it be powred foorth and filled to the table; but he ſaid: It ſhould be drunke as it came out of the tunne, as *Heſiodus* ſaid, whiles it hath the ſtrength and naturall force, and as nature hath given it unto us; for this manner of depuration and clarifying of it by a ſtreiner, firſt doth enervate and cut as it were the ſinewes of the vigour and vertue, yea and quench the native heat that it hath; for it cannot chuſe, but the ſame will exhale, evaporate, and flie away with the ſpirit and life thereof being ſo often filled and powred out of one veſſell into another: Againe, (quoth he) it bewraieth a certeine curioſitie, delicacie, and waſtfull wantonneſſe, thus to conſume and ſpend the good and profitable, for that which is pleaſant onely and delectable: for like as to cut cocks for to make them capons, or to geld ſowes and make them gualts, that their fleſh may be tender, deintie, &(againſt the nature of it) effeminate, was never ſurely the invention of men, ſound in judgement, and of honeſt behaviour, but of waſtfull gluttons, and ſuch as were given over to belly cheere; even ſo verily they that thus ſtreine wine, doe geld it, they cut the ſpurres and pare the nailes thereof; if I may be allowed ſo to ſpeake by way of Metaphor, yea and doe effeminate the ſame; whiles they are not able either to beare it by reaſon of their infirmitie and weakeneſſe, nor drinke it in meaſure, as they ſhould becauſe of their intemperance: but ſurely this is a ſophiſticall device of theirs, and an artificiall tricke to helpe them for to drinke more, and excuſe them for powring it downe ſo merrily; for by this meanes the force of wine they take away, leaving nothing but bare wine; much like unto thoſe who give water boiled unto ſicke & weak folke, who cannot endure to drinke it cold, & yet beyond meaſure deſire it; for the very edge of wine they take off, & looke what ſtrength & vertue was in it, the ſame they rid away and expell quite: that in ſo doing they marre it, for ever: this may bee a ſufficient argument, that wine thus miſuſed, will not laſt nor continue long in the owne nature, but turne quickly to be very dregs; it loſeth (I ſay) the verdure thereof preſently, as if it were cut by the roote, from the owne mother, which are the lees thereof. Certes in old time they were wont directly to call wine it ſelfe τρύγα, that is to ſaie, Lees: like as we uſe to tearme a man by a diminutive ſpeech, a ſoule or an head, giving unto him the denomination of thoſe principall parts onely; and even at this day wee expreſſe the gathering of the vine fruit, by the verbe τρυγάν: Alſo in one place *Homer* called wine Διατρυγίον, and as for wine it ſelfe, it was an ordinary thing with him, to call it αἴθοπα καὶ ἐρυθροι, that is to ſay, blackiſh and redde, not pale and wanne, by often ſtreining and clenſing, ſuch as *Ariſton* heere ſerveth us with: heereat *Ariſton* laughing at the matter: Not ſo my good friend (quoth he) not pale, bloudleſſe and diſcoloured: but that which at the very firſt ſight ſheweth it ſelfe pleaſant, milde, and lovely, where as you would have us to ingurgitate and drench our ſelves with a wine as blacke as the night, thicke, groſſe, and duskiſh, like a darke cloud: the clarifying and purification thereof you condemne, which in truth is nothing elſe, but the caſting up as it were by vomit of all the choler that it had, and the diſcharging it of that which is heavy, heady in it, able to make men ſicke and drunken, to the end that being more light, cheerefull, and leſſe cholerick, it might go into our bodies for to be intermingled with us, even ſuch as *Homer* ſaith: thoſe worthies and demi-gods, at the warre of *Troy*, uſed to drinke: for *Homer* when he named wine αἴθοπα, meant not blackiſh and thicke, but tranſparent, neat and bright; for having before attributed unto braſſe, theſe epithites, ἀνυῶρ, and νῶροψ, that is to ſay, meet for men, & reſplendent, he would not have called it αἴθοψ afterwards, if hee had not meant blacke and duskiſh by that attribute. Like as therefore, the ſage *Anacharſis,* when he reproved ſome other faſhions among the Greeks, commended yet their char-coales, for that leaving the ſmoake without doores, they brought the fire into the houſe; even ſo you my maſters, that are wiſe men and great ſcholars, may haply blame us in other reſpects, if you liſt: but in caſe when we have rejected and diſpatched away that which was turbulent, cholericke and furious in wine, we make it then looke clere, and taſte pleaſant of it ſelfe, without any ſophiſtication; if we do not (I ſay) turne or take off the edge quite, and grinde out all the ſteele (as it were) but rather ſcouring away ruſt and canker, fourbiſh and glaze it, and ſo preſent it unto you for to drinke; what hainous fault (I pray you) have we committed? but you will ſay (forſooth) it hath more ſtrength in it when it is not thus clarified with ſtreining: and ſo (by your leave, good ſir) hath a franticke, lunaticke, and madde man, when he is in his fits; but after that he is well purged with Ellebor, or by good regiment in diet, brought to be ſtaied, and reduced into his right minde and ſenſes againe, that violent and extraordinary force is gone, but the true naturall ſtrength of his owne, and his ſetled temperature remaine ſtill in his bodie, together with his right wits; even ſo this cleanſing and clarifying of wine, by ridding away that headineſſe which troubleth the braine, and cauſeth rage, bringeth it to a milde habit and holſome conſtitution. Certes, for mine owne part, I holde there is a great difference betweene affected curioſitie, and ſimple neatneſſe or elegancie: for thoſe women that paint themſelves, perfume and beſmeere their bodies with coſtly odours, and balmes, or otherwiſe glitter in their ornaments of golde, and go in their rich purple robes, are by good right thought to be curious, coſtly, and wanton dames; but if a woman uſe the bath, waſh her skin, annoint her ſelfe with ordinary oile, yea, and weare the treſſes of her owne haire, diſpoſed and laied in order decently, no man will finde fault with her for it. This diſtinction in womens dreſſing and attire, the poet *Homer* hath elegantly and properly expreſſed, in the perſon of *Juno,* when ſhe dreſſed and trimmed her ſelfe, in this wiſe:

With pure Ambroſia firſt, her corps
immortall, from all ſoile
And filth, ſhe cleans'd, then it ſhe did
anoint with glibber oile.

Thus farre foorth, there is nothing to be ſeene in her, but carefull diligence and matronlike cleanlineſſe; marie when ſhe comes to carquans, chaines, borders, and buttons of gold, when ſhe hangs on her pendant earerings moſt curiouſly and artificially wrought, and not ſtaying there, proceeds in the end to take in her hand that enchanting tiſſue and girdle of *Venus*; beleeve me, heere was ſuperfluous ſumptuoſitie, heere was vanitie and wantonneſſe in deed, not beſeeming a wife or dame of honour; ſemblably, they that colour their wine with the ſweet wood of aloe or cinomon, and otherwiſe give it a tincture and pleaſant aromatization with ſaffron, doe even as much as thoſe who curiouſly tricke up and ſet out a woman, for to bring her to a banquet, and to proſtitute her as a courtiſan; whereas they that do no more but purge out of it, the groſſe filthineſſe, and that which is good for nothing, make it by that meanes, pure, holſome and medicinable: for otherwiſe, if you admit not this, you may aſwell ſay, that all things that you ſee heere, is nothing but needleſſe ſuperfluitie, and affected curioſitie, beginning even at the verie houſe and the furniture thereof: for why is it (will you ſay) thus pargetted and laied over with a coat of plaiſter? why is it open and built with windowes on that ſide eſpecially, where it may receive the pureſt aire and freſheſt windes, or where it may enjoy the light of the ſunne tending Weſtward toward his ſetting? why are theſe pots and drinking cups, every one of them rubbed and ſcoured on every ſide, ſo neat and cleane, that they glitter and ſhine againe, ſo as a man may ſee himſelfe in them? And ought (good ſir) theſe boules and goblets to be kept cleane without all filth, or ſweet without evill ſent; and muſt the wine which we drinke out of them, be full of filthie dregges, or otherwiſe ſtained with any ordure and corruption? but what need I runne thorow all the reſt? the very workemanſhip and painefull labour about the wheat whereof our bread heere is made, what is it els (I beſeech you) but cleanſing and purging? ſee you not what a doe there is about it before it be brought to this paſſe? for there muſt be not onely threſhing, fanning, winnowing, riddling, grinding, ſifting, ſerſing and boulting out the branne from the flowre, while it is in the nature of corne and meale; but alſo it requireth to be kned and wrought, that no roughneſſe remaine behind in the dough; ſo that being thus united and concorporat into a lumpe of paſte, it may be made bread fit for our eating: what abſurditie then is there in this, if ſtraining and cleanſing of wine riddeth it from that feculent and dreggie matter, as if it were courſe brannes or groſſe grounds, eſpecially ſeeing the doing of it, is not any wiſe chargeable nor laborious?

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe of that extraordinarie hunger, called βυλίμος?

THere is a ſolemne ſacrifice uſed among us, received by tradition from our anceſtors, which the provoſt or chiefe governour of the city for the time being, performeth at publicke the altar, but other private citizens beſides, in their own houſes: and this ſolemnity is called, The baniſhment of ***Bulimos***, that is to ſay, of hunger or famine: and the maner is at ſuch a time, for everie maſter of an houſe, to take one of his ſlaves, and when he hath ſwinged him well with weeds of the withie called Chaſt-tree, to thruſt him out of the doores by the head and ſhoulders, ſaying withall: Out with * ***Bulimos***, but come in wealth and health. Now that yeere wherein I was provoſt, many there were at my ſacrifice, invited to the feaſt; and after we had performed all ceremonies and complements therto belonging, and were ſet at the table, ſome queſtion there was moved, firſt, as touching the vocable it ſelfe βυλίμος, what it ſhould ſignifie, and afterwards of the words uttered unto the ſlave when he is driven out; but moſt of all, of that maladie ſo called, and of the accidents and circumſtances thereof. As for the tearme ***Bulimos***, every man in maner, was of opinion, that it betokened a great and publike famine, but eſpecially we Greeks of ***Aeolia***, who in our dialect uſe the letter * π for β, for we commonly do not ſay, ***Bulimos***, but ***Pulimos***, as if it were ***Polylimos*** or ***Polilimos***, that is to ſay, a great famine, or a generall famine thorowout the citie: and it ſeemed unto us, that ***Bubroſtis*** was another thing different from it; and namely, by a ſound argument which we had from the Chronicles penned by ***Metrodorus***, as touching the acts of ***Iönia***, wherein thus much he writeth: That the Smyrneans who in old time were Aeolians, uſe to ſacrifice unto ***Bubroſtis***, a blacke bull, as an holocauſt or burnt offering, which they cut into pieces with the hide, and ſo burne it all together. But foraſmuch as all maner of hunger reſembleth a maladie (and principally, this called βυλίμος) which commeth upon a man when his bodie is affected with ſome unkind and unnaturall indiſpoſition, it ſeemeth that by great reaſon, as they oppoſe wealth to povertie, ſo they ſet health againſt ſickneſſe: & like as the heaving and overturning of the ſtomacke, a diſeaſe when as men are ſaid Ναυτίαν, tooke that name firſt upon occaſion of thoſe who are in a ſhip, & when they ſaile or row, fal to be ſtomack ſicke, and are apt to caſt: but afterwards by cuſtome of ſpeech, whoſoever feele the like paſſion of the ſtomacke, and a diſpoſition to vomit, are ſaid ναυτιᾶν, that is to ſaie, to be ſea ſicke; even ſo the verbe βυλιμιᾶν, and the noune βύλιμος, taking the beginning as is before ſaid, there is come unto us, and ſignifieth a dogs-appetite or extraordinary hunger. And to this purpoſe wee all ſpake, and made a contribution as it were of all our reaſons, to make out a common ſupper or collation: but when we came to touch the cauſe of this diſeaſe; the firſt doubt that aroſe among us was this; that they ſhould moſt be ſurprized with this maladie, who travell in great ſnowes: like as ***Brutus*** did of late daies; who when he marched with his army from ***Dyrrhachium*** to ***Apollonia***, was in danger of his life, by occaſion of this infirmitie: it was a time when the ſnowe lay very deepe; in which march he went ſuch a pace, that none of thoſe who had the carriage of victuals overtooke him, or came neere unto him: now when as he fainted ſo for feebleneſſe of ſtomacke, that he now ſwooned and was ready to give up the ghoſt; the ſouldiers were forced to runne in haſte unto the walles of the city, and to call for a loafe of bread, unto their very enemies, warding and keeping the watch upon the walles, which when they had preſently gotten, therewith they recovered ***Brutus***: whereupon afterwards, when he was maſter of the towne, hee

* That is to ſay, hunger and famine: it ſeemeth by that which followeth, that they put poverty alſo before *Bulimos*, in oppoſition to health.

* p. for b.

grievouſly intreated all the inhabitants, for the courteſie which he had received from thence. This diſeaſe hapneth likewiſe to horſes and aſſes, eſpecially when they have either figges or apples a load: but that which of all the reſt is moſt woonderfull, there is no manner of food or ſuſtenance in the world, that in ſuch a caſe ſo ſoone recovereth the ſtrength, not of men onely, but of labouring beaſts alſo, as to give them bread, ſo that if they eat a morſell thereof, bee it never ſo little, they will preſently finde their feet, and be able to walke.

Hereupon enſued ſilence for a while; and then I (knowing well enough, how much the arguments of ancient writers are able to content and ſatisfie ſuch as are but dull and ſlow of conceit; but contrarywiſe unto thoſe that be ſtudious, ripe of wit and diligent, the ſame make an overture and give courage and heart to ſearch and inquire further into the truth) called to minde and delivered before them all a ſentence out of *Ariſtotle*, who affirmeth: That the ſtronger the cold is without, the more is the heat within our bodies, and ſo conſequently, cauſeth the greater colliquation of the humours in the interior parts. Now if theſe humours thus reſolved, take a courſe unto the legges, they cauſe laſſitudes and heavineſſe; if the rheume fall upon the principall fountaines and organs of motion and reſpiration, it bringeth faintings and feebleneſſe. I had no ſooner ſaid, but as it is wont in ſuch caſes to fall out, ſome tooke in hand to oppugne theſe reaſons; and others againe to defend and mainteine the ſame: and *Soclarus*, for his part: The words (quoth he) in the beginning of your ſpeech were very well placed, and the ground ſurely laid; for in truth the bodies of thoſe who walke in ſnow, are evidently cold without, and exceedingly cloſed faſt and knit together; but that the inward heat occaſioned thereby, ſhould make ſuch a colliquation of humors, and that the ſame ſhould poſſeſſe and ſeize upon the principall parts and inſtruments of reſpiration, is a bold and raſh conceit, and I cannot ſee how it ſhould ſtand: Yet rather would I thinke, that the heat being thus kept in, and united together, and ſo by that meanes fortified, conſumeth all the nouriſhment; which being ſpent, it cannot chuſe, but the ſaid heat alſo muſt needs languiſh even as a fire without fewell; and heereupon it is, that ſuch have an exceeding hunger upon them, and when they have eaten never ſo little, they come preſently to themſelves againe; for that food is the maintenance of naturall heat: Then *Cleomenes* the phyſician: This word λιμός, that is to ſay, hunger (quoth hee) in the compound βουλίμος, ſignifieth nothing elſe, but is crept into the compoſition of it I know not how, without any reaſon at all; like as in the verbe καταπίνειν, which betokeneth to devoure, or ſwallow downe ſolid meat, πίνειν, that is to ſay, to drinke, hath no ſenſe or congruitie at all; no more than κύπτειν, that is to ſay, to bend downward, or fall groveling, hath any thing to doe in the verbe ἀνακύπτειν, that ſignifieth to riſe aloft, or to hold up the head as birds doe in drinking; for ſurely βουλίμος or βουλίμια, ſeemeth not unto me to be any hunger, as many have taken it; but it is a paſſion of the ſtomacke, which concurring indeed with hunger, engendreth a fainting of the heart, and an aptneſſe to ſwoone: and even as odors and ſmels doe fetch againe and helpe thoſe that be in a ſwoone; ſo bread doth remedie and recover thoſe who are feeble and faint, by this *Bulimia*, not for that ſuch have need of ſuſtenance; (for let it be never ſo little that they take, they are revived and refreſhed thereby) but becauſe it fetcheth the ſpirits againe, and recalleth the power and ſtrength of nature that was going away. Now that this *Bulimos* or *Bulimia*, is a faintneſſe of the heart, and no hunger at all, appeereth evidently by an accident that we obſerve in thoſe draught beaſts, whereof we ſpake before, ſubject to this infirmitie; for the ſmell of figges and apples worketh not in them any defect or want of nouriſhment; but cauſeth rather a gnawing in the mouth of the maw, a plucking (I ſay) and contention in the brim of the ſtomacke. As for me, on the otherſide, although I thought theſe reaſons indifferently well alledged; yet I was of opinion, that if I went another way to worke, and argued from a contrarie principle, I could mainteine a probabilitie, and uphold, that all this might proceed rather by way of condenſation, than rarefaction: for the ſpirit of breath that paſſeth from the ſnowe in manner of ſubtile aire, is the moſt cutting edge, and fineſt deciſion or ſcale, comming from the concretion of that meteor or congealed ſubſtance, which I wot not how, is of ſo keene and piercing a nature, that it will ſtrike thorough, not fleſh onely, but veſſels alſo of ſilver and braſſe: for we ſee that they are not able to conteine and hold ſnowe in them, but when it commeth to melt, it conſumeth away, and covereth the outſide of ſuch veſſels, glazed over with a moſt ſubtill moiſture, as cleere as iſe, which no doubt the ſaid ſpirit, breath, aire, or edge, (call it what you will) left behinde it, when it paſſed through thoſe inſenſible pores of the ſaid veſſels; this ſpirit then thus penetrative and quicke as a flame, when it ſmiteth upon their bodies who goe in ſnowe, ſeemeth to ſcorch and ſindge the ſuperficiall outſide of the ſkinne, in cutting and making way thorough into the fleſh in manner of fire; whereupon enſueth a great rarefaction of the body, by meanes whereof, the inward heat flying foorth, meeteth with the cold ſpirit or aire without in the ſuperficies which doth extinguiſh and quench it quite, and thereby yeeldeth a kinde of ſmall ſweat or dew, ſtanding with drops upon the outſide, and ſo the naturall ſtrength of the bodie is reſolved and conſumed: now if a man at ſuch a time ſtirre not, but reſt ſtill, there is not much naturall heat of the bodie that paſſeth thus away; but when motion by walking or otherwiſe doth quickly turne the nutriment of the bodie into heat, and withall the ſaid heat flieth outward thorough the skinne thus rarefied; how can it otherwiſe be, but all at once there ſhould enſue a great ecclipſe (as it were) and generall defect of the naturall powers? And that true it is, that the ſame doth not alwaies cloſe, knit, and binde together the bodie, but otherwiſe melt and rarefie the ſame, it appeereth manifeſtly by this experience; that in ſharpe and nipping winters, many times plates or plummets of leade are knowen to ſweat and melt: this obſervation alſo, that many do fall into this infirmitie called *Bulimia,* who are not hungrie, doth argue rather a defluxion and dilatation, than a conſtipation of the bodie; which no doubt in Winter is rarefied by that ſubtiltie of the ſpirit, whereof I ſpake, and eſpecially, when travell and ſtirring, doth ſharpen and ſubtiliat the heat within the body: for being thus made thin, and wearied beſides, it flieth forth in great abundance, and ſo is diſperſed thorowout the body. As for thoſe figs and apples, it is like, that they do exhale and evaporate ſuch a ſpirit, as doth ſubtiliate and diſſipate the naturall heat of labouring beaſts that carrie them: for it ſtandeth by good reaſon in nature, that as ſome be revived and refreſhed with one thing, and ſome with another; ſo contrariwiſe, ſome things do diſſipate the ſpirits in one, and others in another.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Why the poet Homer *to other liquors giveth proper epithites and attributes, and oile onely he calleth moiſt?*

THere was a great queſtion alſo another time: What might the reaſon be, that there being ſo many liquors as there are, the poet *Homer* is wont to adorne every one of thẽ with their ſeverall and proper epithits, and namely, to call milke, white; hony, yellow; and wine, red; but oile alone he ordinarily noteth by an accident common unto them all, and tearmeth it moiſt? to which, this anſwere was made: That as a thing is named, Moſt ſweet, which is altogether ſweet; and Moſt white, which is altogether white; (now you muſt underſtand, that a thing is ſaid to be ſuch and ſuch altogether, when there is nothing mixed with it of a contrary nature) even ſo we are to call that Moiſt, which hath not one jot of drineſſe mingled among; and ſuch a qualitie doth properly agree unto oile: for firſt and formoſt, the poliſhed ſmoothneſſe that it hath, doth ſhew that the parts thereof be all uniforme and even thorowout; and feele it whereſoever you will, you ſhall finde it equall in every reſpect, and one part accordeth with another ſo, as the whole agreeth to withſtand both mixture and colde: beſides, to the eie-ſight it yeeldeth a moſt pure and cleere mirror to behold the face in; for why? there is no roughneſſe nor ruggedneſſe in it, to diſſipate the reflexion of the light; but by reaſon of the humiditie or moiſture thereof, all the light (how little ſoever it be) doth rebound and returne againe upon the ſight: whereas contrariwiſe, milke alone, of all other liquors, ſendeth backe none of theſe images and reſemblances, like as a mirror or looking-glaſſe doth, for that it hath a great deale of terreſtriall ſubſtance in it: moreover, of all liquid matters, oile onely maketh the leaſt noiſe when it is ſtirred or ſhaken, for that it is ſo moiſt thorowout; whereas in other liquors, the parts which be hard and earthy, in running, flowing, and moving, do encounter, ſmite and hit one another, and ſo conſequently make a noiſe, by reaſon of their weight and ſoliditie: and that which more is, it remaineth ſimple of it ſelfe, without admitting any mixture or compoſition with any other liquor whatſoever, for that it is ſo firme, compact, or faſt; and good reaſon, for it hath no wandering holes here and there, betweene terrene and hard parts, which might receive any other ſubſtance within: moreover, all the parts of oile, for that they be ſo like one unto the other in a continued union, do joine paſſing well together, however they will not ſort with other liquors; and by reaſon of this tenuitie and continuitie, when oile doth froth or fome, it ſuffereth no winde or ſpirit to enter in: furthermore, this humiditie of oile, is the cauſe that it feedeth and nouriſheth fire, for mainteined it is with nothing that is not moiſt, and this is the onely liquor that may be burned, as we may ſee evidently in the wood which we dayly burne; namely, that the airie ſubſtance therein, flieth up in ſmoake; that which is terreſtriall, turneth into aſhes; and there is nothing but that, which is moiſt or liquid, that flameth out, burneth light, and is conſumed cleane: for why? fire hath no other ſuſtenance to feed upon; and therefore, water, wine, and other liquors, ſtand much upon a feculent, muddie & earthly matter, which is the cauſe that if a man do caſt them upon a fire or flame, by their aſperitie, they diſgregate, and by their weight, choke & quench it; but oile, (for that moſt properly and ſincerely it is moiſt, and by reaſon alſo that it is ſo ſubtile) ſoone receiveth alteration, and being overcome by the fire, is quickly inflamed: but the greateſt argument to prove the moiſture of oile, is this, that a little thereof will ſpread and go a great way; for neither honie, nor water, nor any other liquid thing whatſoever, in ſo ſmall a quantitie can be dilated and drawen ſo far as oile, but for the moſt part, they are ſpent and gone by occaſion of their ſiccity: and verily, oile being ſo pliable and ready to be drawen every way, ſoft alſo and glib, is apt to run all over the body, when it is anointed, it floweth and ſpreadeth a great way, by meanes of the humiditie of all parts which are ſo moveable, in ſuch ſort, as it continueth a long time, and hardly will be rid away, it ſticketh and cleaveth ſo faſt: for a garment, if it be dipped and drenched all over in water, will ſoone be drie againe; but the ſpots and ſtaines with oile, require no ſmall adoe to be ſcoured out and cleanſed, for that it taketh ſo deepe an impreſſion; and all becauſe it is ſo fine, ſubtile and exceeding moiſt: and *Ariſtotle* himſelfe ſaith, that even wine alſo being delaied with water, if it be gotten into a cloth, is hardly fetched out, for that now it is more ſubtile than before, and pierceth farther within the pores thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe, that the fleſh of beaſts killed for ſacrifice, if it be hung upon a fig-tree, becommeth more tender within a while?

Ariſton had a cooke commended highly by thoſe who uſed to ſup with his maſter, for ſingular skill in his art; and namely, for that among all other viands which he handled and dreſſed paſſing well, hee ſerved up a cocke unto the table before us, newly killed and ſacrificed unto *Hercules*, the fleſh whereof did eat as ſhort and tender as if he had hung by the heeles a day or two before: and when *Ariſton* ſaid that it was an eaſie matter ſo to doe; and that there needed no more, but preſently when his throat was cut, to hang him upon a fig-tree, we tooke occaſion thereby to ſearch into the cauſe of this effect: Certes, that there paſſeth from the figge-tree a ſharpe aire and ſtrong ſpirit, our verie eieſight will teſtifie; as alſo the common ſpeech that goeth of a bull, who if he be tied to a fig-tree, how wilde, ſavage and fell ſoever he was before, will ſoone be meeke and quiet, abide to be handled, and in one word, lay downe his furious rage, as if it were cleane daunted: But the principall cauſe heereof was attributed to the acrimonie and ſharpe qualitie of the wood, for the tree is more ſucculent than any other; inſomuch as the verie figge it ſelfe, the wood alſo and the leafe, be all full of juice; alſo whiles it burneth in the fire, there ariſeth from it a bitter biting ſmoake, very hurtfull to the eies; and when it is burnt, there is made of the aſhes a ſtrong leie, very deterſive and ſcouring, which bee all ſignes of heat: and moreover, whereas the milkie juice of the fig-tree will cauſe milke to turne and cruddle, (ſome ſay,) it is not by the inequality of the figures of milke, which are comprehended and glewed as it were therewith, namely, when the united and round parts thereof are caſt up to the ſuperficies, but for that the foreſaid juice by meanes of heat, doth reſolve the waterie ſubſtance of the liquor, which is not apt to gather conſiſtence and be thickned: moreover, this is another ſigne thereof, that notwithſtanding the juice be in ſome ſort ſweet, yet it is good for nothing, and maketh the woorſt and moſt unpleaſant drinke in the world; for it is not the inequalitie therof, that cauſeth the ſmooth parts to gather a crud, but the heat which maketh the cold and cruddie partes to coagilate. A good proofe of this we have from ſalt, which ſerveth to this purpoſe, becauſe it is hot; but it impeacheth this interlacing and glutinous binding pretended, for that by nature it doth rather diſſolve and unbinde. To come againe therefore unto the queſtion in hand; the fig-tree ſendeth from it a ſharpe piercing and inciſive ſpirit: and this is it, that doth make tender, and as it were concoct the fleſh of the ſaide foule: and as great an effect ſhould one ſee, if he had put him in a heape of wheat or ſuch corne, or covered him all over with ſalt nitre; and all by reaſon of heat: and that this is true that wheat is hot, may be gathered by the veſſels full of wine, which are hidden within a heape of wheat; for a man ſhall ſoone finde that the wine will be all gone.

THE SVENTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie.

1 *AGainſt thoſe who reproove* Plato *for ſaying, that our drinke paſſeth thorough the lungs.*

2 *What is that which* Plato *calleth* Κεϱάσϐολος? *and why thoſe ſeedes which fall upon beeſes hornes, become hard in concoction?*

3 *Why the middle part in wine, the higheſt in oile, and the bottome of hony is beſt?*

4 *Wherefore the* Romans *in old time obſerved this cuſtome; never in any caſe to take away the table cleane, nor to ſuffer a lampe or candle to goe out?*

5 *That we ought to take great heed of thoſe pleaſures which naughtie muſicke yeeldeth, and how we ſhould beware of it?*

6 *Of thoſe gueſts who are called ſhadowes, and whether a man may goe to a feaſt unbidden, if hee be brought thither by thoſe who were invited? when? and unto whom?*

7 *Whither it be lawfull and honeſt to admit ſhe-minſtrels at a feaſt or banquet?*

8 *What matters eſpecially it is good to heare diſcourſed upon at the table?*

9 *That to ſit in counſell or conſult at a table, was in old time the cuſtome of Greeks, as well as of Perſians.*

10 *Whether they did well that ſo conſulted at their meat?*

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or banquet-diſcourſes.

The Proëme.

THe Romans have commonly in their mouthes, ô *Soſsius Senecio*, the ſpeech of a pleaſant conceited man and a curteous, whoſoever he was, who when he had ſupped alone at any time, was wont thus to ſay: Eaten I have this day, but not ſupped; ſhewing thereby, that meales would never be without mirth and good companie, to ſeaſon the ſame, and to give a pleaſant taſte unto the viands. ***Euenus*** verily uſed to ſay: That fire was the beſt ſauce in the world: and as for ſalt, ***Homer*** called it divine; and moſt men gave it the name of the Graces; for that being mingled or otherwiſe taken with moſt of our meates, it gives a kinde of grace, and commendeth them as pleaſant and agreeable to the ſtomacke. But to ſay a truth, the moſt divine ſauce of a table or a ſupper, is the preſence of a friend, a familiar, and one whom a man knoweth well; not ſo much for that he eateth and drinketh with us, but rather becauſe as he is partaker of our ſpeeches, ſo he doth participate his owne unto us, eſpecially if in ſuch reciprocall talke there be any good diſcourſes, and thoſe which be profitable, fit, and pertinent to the purpoſe; for much babling indeed and laviſh ſpeech that many men uſe at the boord, and in their cuppes, bewraieth their vaine folly, driving them oftentimes into inconſiderate and paſſionate fits, and to perverſe lewdneſſe; and therefore no leſſe requiſite it is, and needfull, to make choiſe of ſpeeches, than of friends to be admitted to our table: and in this caſe we ought both to thinke, and alſo to ſay, contrary unto the auncient Lacedæmonians; who when they received any yoong man or ſtranger into their guild-halles, called *Phiditia,* where they uſed to dine and ſuppe in publicke together, would ſhew unto them the dores of the place and ſay: Out at theſe there never goeth word: but we acquainting our ſelves with good words, and pertinent ſpeeches at the table, in our diſcourſes, are willing and content, that the ſame ſhould go forth all, and be ſet abroad to all perſons whatſoever; for that the matters and arguments of our talke are void of laſcivious wantonneſſe, without backbiting, ſlaundering, malice, and illiberall ſcurrilitie, not beſeeming men of good education: as a man may well judge by theſe examples following in the Decade of this ſeventh booke.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Againſt thoſe who reproove Plato, *for ſaying: That our drinke paſſeth by the lungs.*

IT hapned one day in ſummer time, that one of the company where I was at ſupper, came out with this verſe of *Alcæus,* which every man hath readily in his mouth, and pronounced it with a loud voice:

τέγγε πλεύμονας οἴνῳ, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται.

That is to ſay:

Now drinke and wet thy lungs with wine,
For why? the hot Dogge-ſtarre doth ſhine.

No marvell (quoth *Nicias*) then, (a phyſician of the city *Nicopolis*): if a poet as *Alcæus* was, were ignorant in that, which *Plato* a great philoſopher knew not: and yet *Alcæus* in ſome ſort may be borne out in ſaying ſo, and relieved in this wiſe; namely, that the lungs being ſo neere as they are unto the ſtomacke, enjoy the benefit of the liquid drinke, and therefor it was not improperly ſaid: That they be wette and ſoked therewith: but this famous philoſopher by expreſſe words hath left in writing, that our drinke directly paſſeth for the moſt part, thorow the lungs: ſo that he hath given us no meanes of any probabilitie in the world, to excuſe and defend him, would we never ſo faine, ſo groſſe is his errour, and ignorance ſo palpable: for in the firſt place, (conſidering it is neceſſary, that the drie nouriſhment ſhould be mingled with the liquid) plaine it is, that there ought to be one common veſſell, which is the ſtomacke, for to receive them both together; to the end, that it might tranſmit and ſend into the bellie and panch beneath, the meat well ſoaked and made ſoft: beſides, ſeeing that the lungs be ſmooth and every way compact and ſolide, how is it poſſible, that if a man drinke a ſupping or grewell, wherein there is a little meale or flowre, it ſhould get thorow, and not ſtay there? for this is the doubt that *Eraſiſtratus* objected very well againſt *Plato.* Moreover, this philoſopher having conſidered moſt parts of the bodie, and ſearched by reaſon, wherefore they were made; and being deſirous to know (as became a man of his profeſſion) for what uſe nature had framed every one, he might have thought thus much: That the wezill of the throat, otherwiſe called Epiglottis, was not made for nothing and to no purpoſe; but ordeined for this, that when we ſwallow any food, it might keepe downe and cloſe the conduit of the winde-pipe, for feare that nothing might fall that way upon the lights; which part no doubt, is woonderfully troubled, tormented, and torne (as it were) with the cough, when any little thing is gotten thither, where the breath doth paſſe to and fro: Now this wezill abovesaid, being placed juſt in the middes, and indifferent to ſerve both paſſages, when we ſpeake, doth ſhut the mouth of that conduit or wezand that leadeth to the ſtomacke; and as we either eat or drinke, falleth likewiſe upon the winde-pipe that goeth to the lungs, keeping that paſſage pure and cleere, for the winde and breath to go and come at eaſe, by way of reſpiration. Furthermore, thus much we know by experience: That thoſe who take their drinke leaſurely, letting it go downe by little and little, have moiſter bellies than thoſe who powre their liquor downe at once; for by this meanes the drinke is caried directly into the bladder, paſſing away apace and with violence, making no ſtay; whereas otherwiſe, it reſteth longer with the meat, which it ſoaketh gently, and is better mingled and incorporate into it: but wee ſhould never ſee the one or the other, if at the firſt, our drinke and meat went apart, and had their ſeverall waies by themſelves, when wee ſwallow them downe; for wee conjoine our meat and drinke together, ſending them both one after another, to the end that the liquor might ſerve in ſtead of a waggon, according as *Eraſiſtratus* was woont to ſay, for to carrie and convey the meat and the nouriſhment into all parts.

After that *Nicias* had made this diſcourſe, *Protogenes* the Grammarian added moreover, and ſeconded him in this wiſe, ſaying: That the poet *Homer*, firſt of all other, ſaw well enough, and obſerved, that the ſtomacke was the proper receptacle and veſſell to receive our food, as the winde-pipe, which they called in olde time, ἀσφάραγος, to admit the winde and the breath: and hereupon it came, that they uſed to call thoſe who had big and loud voices, ἐισφαράγυς, that is to ſay, wide-throated, meaning by the throat, the winde-pipe, and not the gullet, wezand or gorge: and therefore when he had ſaid of *Achilles*, charging *Hector* with his launce:

* λαυκανίω.

*He ran him through his * gorge at firſt,*
A ſpeeding wound and deadly thruſt.

A little after he added, and ſaid:

* ἀσφάραγον.

*His * winde-pipe yet he went beſide,*
And did not it in twaine divide.

He meaneth by ἀσφάραγος, the proper inſtrument of the voice and conduit of the breath, which he cut not quite in ſunder as he did the other, named λαυκανία or λευκανία, that is to ſay, the wezand or gullet.

upon theſe words, all was huſht for a time, untill *Florus* tooke upon him to ſpeake in the behalfe of *Plato*: And ſhall we thus indeed ſuffer this philoſopher (quoth he) to be condemned, when he is not heere in place to anſwere for himſelfe? No (ſaid I) that we will not; but we will joine unto *Plato*, the poet *Homer* alſo, and put them both together; who is ſo farre off from averting and turning away the liquor from the wind-pipe, that he ſendeth both drinke and meat together out of it; for theſe be his words to that effect:

* φάρυγος.

*There guſht out of his * winde pipe, wine good ſtore,*
And gobs of mans-fleſh, eaten new before.

unleſſe peradventure ſome one will dare to ſay, that this *Cyclops Polyphemus*, as he had but one eie in his head, ſo likewiſe he had no more but one conduit for his meat, drinke, and voice; or els mainteine that in this place the poet, by φάρυγξ, meaneth the ſtomacke, and not the winde-pipe or wezill pipe, which hath bene named ſo, by all men generally, aſwell ancient as moderne writers: and this cite I not for want of teſtimonies, but as induced thereto for the trueth ſake: for there be witneſſes enough to depoſe on *Platoes* ſide, and thoſe of good credit and authority: for let *Eupolis* the comicall poet go by, if you pleaſe, who in his comedie named *Colaces*, that is to ſay, Flatterers or Paraſites, thus ſaith:

For why? this rule and precept ſtreightly gave
Protagoras: *To drinke; that men might have*
Their lungs well wet and drencht with liquor cleere,
Ere that in skie the Dog-ſtarre doth appeere.

And paſſe-by, if you will, that elegant and ſweet conceited poet *Eratoſthenes*, whoſe words be theſe:

With good meere-wine do not forget
The bottome of thy lungs to wet.

Euripides verily, who in expreſſe tearmes writeth thus in one tragedie,

The wine ſought all the conduits round about,
And ſo did paſſe the lung-pipes cleane throughout.

ſheweth evidently, that he was quicker ſighted than *Eriſtratus*, and ſaw further into the thing than he did; for well he knew that the lungs have many pipes in them, and be (as it were) bored thorow with many holes, by which the liquor paſſeth: for our winde or breath had no need of ſuch conduits and ſmall pipes to ſend it out; but the lungs were made ſpungeous and full of cavernoſities or holes, in maner of a colander or ſtrainer, for liquors, yea, and other matters that go downe together with the liquors: neither is it more unmeet (my good *Nicias*) for the lungs to tranſmit and give paſſage unto meale, or any good thicke grewell, than for the ſtomacke; for our ſtomacke or gullet is not, as ſome thinke, ſmooth and ſlipperie, but hath a kinde of roughneſſe and certeine rugged wrinkles, of which by all likelihood, ſome ſmall crummes and parcels of our meat doe take holde, and ſticking thereto, are not at once ſwallowed downe, and caried away: but a man is not able indeed to affirme Categorically, either the one or the other; for nature is ſo wittie and induſtrious in all her operations, that no eloquence will ſerve to expreſſe the ſame; neither is it poſſible to explicate and declare ſufficiently the exquiſit workmanſhip and perfection of thoſe principall inſtruments which ſhe uſeth, I meane thoſe that ſerve for the ſpirit or breath and the heat: howbeit, in the favour of *Plato* I am willing to cite more witneſſes,

neſſes, to wit, *Philiſtion* the Locrien, a very auncient writer, and renowmed for his excellencie in your arte of phyſicke; and *Hippocrates* of *Cos*: for theſe men have allowed no other way nor paſſage for our drinke than *Plato* hath: and as for the wezill that you ſtand ſo much upon, and have in ſuch reputation, *Dioxippus* was not ignorant of it: but he ſaith, that about it, the humiditie or liquor in ſwallowing is divided and ſevered, and ſo glideth or ſlippeth into the windepipe; but the meat rolleth into the ſtomacke, and within the ſaid winde-pipe, there falleth no part of the meat; howbeit the ſtomacke receiveth together with the dry food ſome part alſo of the drinke or liquor mingled among; and this ſeemeth to ſtand well with reaſon: for the wezill is ſet before the winde-pipe as a fence or lidde, to the end that by little and little, the drinke might gently runne as by a ſtreiner into it, not ſuddenly and at once with a violence, for feare that if it were in that manner powred in, it would either ſtop or elſe ſore trouble and impeach the breath; which is the reaſon that birds have no ſuch flappe or wezill, and nature hath ordeined none for them, for they neither draw in by gulpes, nor lappe their drinke, but dipping their bils let it downe ſoftly, and ſo wet their throat: And thus much may ſerve for witneſſes in the behalfe of *Plato*. To come now unto reaſon: Firſt and foremoſt our very ſenſe doth confirme the ſame that he hath ſaid: for let the ſaid wezill-pipe be wounded, no liquor will goe downe, but as if a conduit pipe were cut in ſunder, we may ſee all of it to breake foorth and run out at the wound, notwithſtanding the weſand or ſtomacke be ſound and whole: moreover we all know by experience, that upon the malady called *Peripneumonia*, that is to ſay, the inflammation of the lungs, there followeth a moſt ardent thirſt, by occaſion of drought or heat, or elſe ſome other cauſe, which with the ſaid inflammation engendreth alſo an appetite to drinke: furthermore, there is another argument, ſtronger and more evident than this, namely; that thoſe creatures which have either no lights or verie ſmal, have no need of drink, nor deſire it; for every part of the body hath a certeine naturall appetite to doe that worke or function, unto which it is ordeined; and looke what creatures ſo ever have no ſuch parts, neither have they uſe for them, nor any deſire to that operation which is performed by them: In ſum, if it were not ſo as *Plato* ſaith; it may ſeeme that the bladder was made in vaine; for if the ſtomacke receive drinke as wel as meat, & ſende it downe into the belly, what needed the ſuperfluitie or excrement of the liquid food, that is to ſay drinke, any peculiar receptacle or paſſage by it ſelfe; for ſufficient it had beene to have had one common, as well for the one as the other, to diſcharge the excrements of both, by one ſpout as it were into the ſame draught: but now it is otherwiſe: the bladder is by it ſelfe, and the guts apart by themſelves; for that the one nutriment goeth from the lungs; the other from the ſtomacke, parting immediatly, and taking their ſeverall waies at the very ſwallowing. And heereupon it is that in the liquid ſuperfluitie which is wine, there appeareth nothing of the drie, reſembling it either in colour or ſent; and yet naturall reaſon would, that if it were mixed and tempered with it in the belly and the guttes, it ſhould bee filled with the qualities thereof, and could not poſſibly be excluded out of the body ſo pure and voide of ordure. * Againe, it was never knowen, that a ſtone hath beene ingendred in the paunch or guts; and yet good reaſon it were, that moiſture there ſhould congeale or gather to a ſtone as it doth within the bladder; if true it were that all our drinke deſcended into the belly and the guts, by paſſing thorough the ſtomacke onely: but it ſeemeth that the ſtomacke incontinently when we begin to drinke, ſucketh and draweth out of that liquor which paſſeth along by it in the wezill pipe, as much onely as is needfull and requiſit for it, to mollifie and to convert into a nutritive pap or juice the ſolid meat; and ſo it leaveth no liquid excrement at all: whereas the lungs, ſo ſoone as they have diſtributed both ſpirit and liquor from thence, unto thoſe parts that have need thereof, expell and ſend out the reſt into the bladder: Well, to conclude, more likelihood there is of truth by farre, in this, than in the other: and yet peradventure the truth in deed of theſe matters lieth hidden ſtill and incomprehenſible; in regard whereof, it is not meet to proceed ſo raſhly and inſolently to pronounce ſentence againſt a man, who as well for his owne ſufficiency, as the ſingular opinion of the world, is reputed the prince and chiefe of al philoſophers, eſpecially in ſo uncerteine a thing as this, and in defence whereof there may bee ſo many reaſons collected out of the readings and writings of *Plato*.

* Untrue.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

What is meant in* Plato *by this word* κερασβόλος, *and why thoſe ſeeds which in ſowing light upon oxe hornes, become hard and not eaſie to be concocted.

THere hath beene alwaies much queſtion and controverſie about Κερασβόλος, and Ατεράμων, not who or what is ſo called (for certeine it is, that ſeeds falling upon ox hornes, according to the common opinion, yeeld frute, hard and not eaſily concocted; whereupon by waie of Metaphor, a ſtubborne and ſtiffe-necked perſon, men uſe to tearme Κερασβόλον, and ατεράμονα) but as touching the cauſe, why ſuch graine or ſeeds hitting againſt the hornes of an ox, ſhould come to be ſo untoward: And many times refuſed I have, yea, and denied my friends to ſearch into the thing; the rather for that *Theophraſtus* hath rendred ſo darke and obſcure a reaſon, raunging it among many other examples which he hath gathered and put downe in writing of ſtrange and wonderfull effects, whereof the cauſe is hard to be found; namely: That an henne after that ſhe hath laid an egge, turneth round about, and with a feſture or ſtraw ſeemeth to purifie and halow her-ſelfe, and the egge alſo; that the ſea-calfe or ſeale * conſumeth the pine, and yet ſwalloweth it not downe; ſemblably, that ſtagges hide their hornes within the ground and burie them; likewiſe, that if one goat hold the herbe *Eryngium*, that is to ſay, ſea-holly, in his mouth, all the reſt of the flocke will ſtand ſtill: Among theſe miraculous effects, *Theophraſtus* (I ſay) hath put downe the ſeeds falling upon the hornes of an ox; a thing knowen for certeine to be ſo, but whereof, the cauſe is moſt difficult, if not impoſſible to be delivered. But at a ſupper in the citie *Delphi*, as I ſat one day, certeine of my familiar friends came upon me in this maner, that ſeeing not onely, according to the common ſaying:

From bellie full beſt counſell doth ariſe,
And ſureſt plots men in that caſe deviſe.

but alſo we are more ready with our queſtions, and leſſe to ſeeke for anſweres, when as wine is in our heads, cauſing us to be forward in the one, and reſolute in the other; they would requeſt me therefore to ſay ſomewhat unto the foreſaid matter in queſtion: howbeit, I held off ſtill, as being well backed with no bad advocates, who tooke my part, and were ready to defend my cauſe; and by name, *Euthydemus* my colleague or companion with me in the ſacerdotall dignitie, and *Patrocleas* my ſonne in law, who brought foorth and alledged many ſuch things, obſerved aſwell in agriculture, as by hunters; of which ſort is that which is practiſed by thoſe who take upon them skill in the foreſight and prevention of haile; namely, that it may be averted and turned aſide, by the bloud of a mould-warpe, or linnen ragges, ſtained with the monethly purgations of women: Item, that if a man take the figs of a wilde fig-tree, and tie them to a tame fig-tree of the orchard, it is a meanes that the fruit of the ſaid fig-tree ſhall not fall, but tarrie on, and ripen kindly: alſo that ſtags weepe ſalt teares, but wilde bores ſhed ſweet drops from their eies, when they be taken: For if you will ſet in hand to ſeeke out the cauſe hereof (quoth *Euthydemus*) then preſently you muſt render a reaſon alſo, of ſmallach and cumin; of which, the former, if it be troden under foot and trampled on in the comming up, men have an opinion it will grow and proſper the better; and as for the other, they ſow it with curſes and all the fowleſt words that can be deviſed, and ſo it will ſpring and thrive beſt. Tuſh (quoth *Florus*) theſe be but toies and ridiculous mockeries, to make ſport with: but as touching the cauſe of the other matters above ſpecified, I would not have you to reject the inquiſition thereof, as if it were incomprehenſible. Well (quoth I) now I have found a medicine and remedie, which if you do uſe, you ſhall bring this man with reaſon to our opinion, that you alſo your ſelfe may ſolve ſome of theſe queſtions propounded: It ſeemeth unto me therefore, that it is colde, that cauſeth this rebellious hardneſſe aſwell in wheat and other corne, as alſo in pulſe; namely, by preſſing and driving in, their ſolid ſubſtance, untill it be hard againe; for heat maketh things ſoft and eaſie to be diſſolved: and therefore they do not well and truely, in alledging againſt *Homer*, this verſicle:

ἔτος φέρει οὐχὶ ἄρουρα.
The yeere, not field,
Doth beare and yeeld.

For ſurely thoſe fields and grounds which are by nature hot, if the aire withall affoord a kinde and ſeaſonable temperature of the weather, bring forth more tender fruits: and therefore ſuch corne or ſeed which preſently and directly from the husbandmans hands, lighteth upon the

ground,

* μήτε καταπίνουσα τὴν πίτυν ἀναλισκομένη. Some tranſlate this place thus: Swalloweth downe her rennet when ſhe is taken: reading the Greeke as it ſhould ſeeme, καταπίνουσα τὴν πιτύαν ἁλισκομένη. I ſuppoſe neither of them both, ſound, but the originall to be corrupt: And whereas others interpret it after this manner, [caſteth up her rennet when ſhe is taken] then is it not ſo great a marvell; neither will καταπίνουσα, carie it.

ground, entring into it, and there covered, finde the benefit both of the heat and moiſture of the ſoile, whereby they ſoone ſpurt and come up; whereas thoſe which as they be caſt, do hit upon the hornes of the beaſts, they meet not with that direct poſiture or rectitude called Ευθημόσυνην, which *Heſiodus* commendeth for the beſt, but falling downe (I wot not how) and miſſing of their right place, ſeem rather to have bene flung at a venture, than orderly ſowen; & therfore the cold comming upon them, either marreth and killeth them outright, or els lighting upon their naked husks, cauſeth them to bring fruit that proveth hard and churliſh, as drie as chips, and ſuch as will not be made tender & ſidow, without they be ſteeped in ſome liquor, as having not bene covered but with their owne bare coats: for this you may obſerve ordinarily in ſtones, that thoſe parts and ſides which lie covered deeper within the ground, as if they were of the nature of plants, be more frim and tender, as being preſerved by heat, than thoſe outward faces which lie ebbe or above the earth; and therefore ſkilfull maſons digge deeper into the ground for ſtones which they meane to ſquare, worke and cut, as being melowed by the heat of the earth; whereas thoſe which lie bare aloft and expoſed to the aire, by reaſon of the cold, prove hard and not eaſie to be wrought or put to any uſe in building: ſemblably, even corne, if it continue long in the open aire, and cocked upon the ſtacks or threſhing floores, is more hard and rebellious, than that which is ſoone taken away and laid up in garners; yea, and oftentimes the very winde which bloweth whiles it is fanned or winnowed, maketh it more tough and ſtubburne, and all by reaſon of cold: whereof the experience, by report, is to be ſeene about *Philippi* a citie in *Macedonie*, where the remedie is, to let corne lie in the chaffe: and therefore you muſt not thinke it ſtrange, if you heare husbandmen report, that of two lands or ridges, running directly one by the ſide of another, the one ſhould yeeld corne tough and hard; the other, ſoft and tender: and that which more is, beanes lying in one cod, ſome be of one ſort, and ſome of another, according as they have felt (more or leſſe) either of cold or of winde.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cauſe, that the mids of wine, the top of oile, and the bottome of honie, is beſt?

MY wives father *Alexion*, one day laughed at *Heſiodus*, for giving counſell to drinke wine luſtilie, when the veſſell is either newly pierced or runneth low; but to forbeare, when it is halfe drawen; his words are theſe:

When tierce is full, or when it draweth low,
Drinke hard; but ſpare, to mids when it doth grow.

For that the wine there, is moſt excellent: For who knoweth not (quoth he) that wine is beſt in the middle, oile in the top, and honie in the bottome of the veſſel? but *Heſiodus* (forſooth) adviſeth us to let the mids alone, and to ſtay untill it change to the woorſe and be ſowre; namely, when it runneth low and little is left in the veſſell. Which words being paſſed, the companie there preſent, bad *Heſiodus* farewell, and betooke themſelves into ſearching out the cauſe of this difference and diverſitie in theſe liquors. And firſt, as touching the reaſon of honie, we were not very much troubled about it, becauſe there is none in maner, but knoweth that a thing, the more rare or hollow the ſubſtance of it is, the lighter it is ſaid to be; as alſo, that ſolid, maſſie, and compact things, by reaſon of their weight, do ſettle downward; in ſuch ſort, that although you turne a veſſell up-ſide-downe; yet within a while after, each part returneth into the owne place againe; the heavie ſinks downe, the light flotes above; and even ſo, there wanted no arguments, to yeeld a ſound reaſon for the wine alſo: for firſt and formoſt, the vertue and ſtrength of wine, which is the heat thereof, by good right gathereth about the middes of the veſſell, and keepeth that part of all others beſt; then the bottome for the vicinitie unto the lees is naught: laſtly, the upper region, for that it is next to the aire, is likewiſe corrupt; for this we all know, that the winde or the aire is moſt dangerous unto wine, for that it altereth the nature thereof; and therefore we uſe to ſet wine veſſels within the ground, yea, and to ſtop and cover them with all care and diligence, that the leaſt aire in the world come not to the wine; and that which more is, wine will nothing ſo ſoone corrupt when the veſſels be full, as when it hath beene much drawen and groweth low, for the aire entreth in apace proportionably to the place that is void; the wine taketh winde thereby and ſo much the ſooner chaungeth; whereas if the veſſels be full, the wine is able to mainteine it ſelfe, not admitting from without much of that which is adverſe unto it, or can hurt it greatly.

But the conſideration of oile put us not to a little debate in arguing: One of the companie ſaid: That the bottome of oile was the woorſt, becauſe it was troubled and muddy with the leis or mother thereof: and as for that which is above, he ſaid: It was nothing better than the reſt, but ſeemed onely ſo, becauſe it was fartheſt remooved from that which might hurt it: Others attributed the cauſe unto the ſoliditie thereof, in which regard, it will not well be mingled or incorporate with any other liquor, unleſſe it be broken or divided by force and violence; for ſo compact it is, that it will not admit the very aire to enter in it, or to be mingled with it, but keepeth it ſelfe a part, and rejecteth it by reaſon of the fine ſmoothneſſe, and contenuitie of all the parts, ſo that leſſe altered it is by the aire, as being not predominant over it: nevertheleſſe, it ſeemeth that *Ariſtotle* doth contradict and gainſay this reaſon, who had obſerved (as he ſaith himſelfe) that the oile is ſweeter, more odoriferous, and in all reſpects better, which is kept in veſſels not filled up to the brim; and afterwards aſcribeth the cauſe of this meliority or betterneſſe unto the aire: For that (ſaith he) there entereth more aire into a veſſell that is halfe emptie, and hath the more power: Then I wot not well (ſaid I) but what and if in regard of one and the ſame facultie and power, the aire bettereth oile, and impaireth the goodneſſe of wine? for we know that age is hurtfull to oile, and good for wine; which age the aire taketh from oile, becauſe that which is cooled continueth ſtill yoong and freſh; contrariwiſe that which is pent in and ſtuffed up, as having no aire, ſoone ageth and waxeth old: great apparence there is therefore of truth, that the aire approching neere unto oile, and touching the ſuperficies thereof, keepeth it freſh and yoong ſtill: And this is the reaſon, that of wine the upmoſt part is woorſt, but of oile the beſt, becauſe that age worketh in that, a very good diſpoſition, but in this, as badde:

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What was the reaſon that the auncient Romans were very preciſe, not to ſuffer the table to be cleane voided and all taken away; or the lampe and candle to be put out?

Florus a great lover of antiquitie, would never abide, that a table ſhould be taken away emptie, but alwaies left ſome meat or other ſtanding upon it: And I know full well (quoth he) that both my father and my grandfather before him, not onely obſerved this moſt carefully, but alſo would not in any caſe permit the lampe after ſupper to be put out, becauſe for ſparing of oile, and that thereby none ſhould be waſted vainly. But *Euſtrophus* the Athenian being upon a time a time at ſupper with us, hearing *Florus* making this relation: And what good gat they by this (quoth he) unleſſe they had learned the cunning caſt of *Epicharmus* our fellow-citizen; who as he ſaid himſelfe, having ſtudied a long time how he might keepe his boies and ſervants about him, from filching and ſtealing away his oile, hardly, and with much adoe at the laſt, found this meanes: for preſently after that the lampes were put out, he filled them full againe with oile; and then the next morning, he would come and ſee whether they were ſtill full. This ſpeech made *Florus* to laugh: But ſeeing (quoth he) this queſtion is ſo well ſolved, let us ſearch I pray you into the reaſon: Why in old time, as it ſhould ſeeme, our * auncients were ſo religious and preciſe, as touching their tables and lampes: firſt therefore they began with lampes and lights: And *Caſernius* his ſonne in law ſaid: That thoſe auncients as he thought, tooke it to be an ominous matter, and a very abomination indeed; that any fire whatſoever ſhould be put out, for the likeneſſe and kinred that it had with that ſacred fire which is alwaies kept inextinguible: for two waies there be (as I take it) whereby fire (like as we men) may die; the one violent, when it is quenched and put out by force, the other natural when it goeth out & dieth of it ſelfe: as for that ſacred fire, they remedied both the one & the other, in mainteining and looking to it continually with great care and diligence; the other which is common, they neglected and ſuffred to goe out of it ſelfe, without any more adoe; for ſo they themſelves quenched it not perforce, nor cauſed it to die, grudging and envying that it ſhould live, as a beaſt that doth no good, they paſſed for it no more, nor made any further reckoning. Then *Lucius* the ſonne of *Florus* ſaid: That he liked well of all the reſt which was ſaid; but as concerning the ſacred fire, he ſuppoſed, that our aunceſtours choſe it not to reverence and adore, becauſe they thought it more holy or better than other: but like as among the Aegyptians, ſome worſhipped the whole kind of dogs; others, woolves likewiſe or crocodiles; but they nouriſhed (with any eſpeciall reſpect) but one of every kinde; to wit, ſome, one dogge; others, one woolfe, and others againe, one crocodile; for

* Romans.

that impoſſible it was to keepe them all; even ſo heere in this caſe, the vigilant care and devotion which they emploied in ſaving and keeping the ſacred fire, was a ſigne and ſolemne teſtimoniall of the religious obſervance which they caried reſpectively to the whole element of fire; the reaſon was, becauſe there is nothing in the world that more reſembleth a living creature, cōſidering that it mooveth, ſtirreth, and feedeth it ſelfe; yea and by the ſhining light that it giveth, (in maner of the ſoule) laieth all things open, and maketh them to bee ſeeme; but moſt of all it ſheweth and prooveth the power that it hath, not to be without ſome vitall ſeed, or principle, in the extinguiſhing and violent death thereof; for when it is either quenched, ſuffocated, or killed by force, it ſeemeth to give a cry or ſcricke, ſtrugling as it were with death, like unto a living creature when the life is taken away by violence. And in uttring theſe words, caſting his eies upon me: What ſay you (quoth hee) unto me, can you alledge any thing better of your owne? I cannot (ſaid I) finde any fault with you, in all that you have delivered; but I would willingly adde thus much moreover; that this faſhion and cuſtome of mainteining fire, is a very exerciſe and diſcipline training us to great humanitie: for ſurely I hold it not lawfull to ſpoile our meats and viands after we have eaten thereof ſufficiently, no more than I doe for to ſtop or choke up a ſpring or fountaine after we have drunke our fill of the pure water thereof, or to take downe and dimoliſh the markes that guid men in navigation, or waifaring, upon the land, when we have once ſerved our owne turne with them: but theſe and ſuch like things we ought to leave behinde us unto poſteritie, as meanes to do them good that ſhall come after us, & have need of them when we are gone: and therefore I hold it neither ſeemely nor honeſt, to put out a lampe for mechanicall miſerie, ſo ſoone as a man himſelfe hath done withall; but he ought to mainteine & keepe it burning ſtil, that what need ſoever there ſhould be of fire, it may be found there ready, and ſhining light out; for a bleſſed thing it were in us, if poſſibly we ſo could, to impart the uſe of our owne eie-ſight, our hearing, yea and of our wiſedome, ſtrength and valour unto others for the while, when we are to ſleepe or otherwiſe to take our repoſe: conſider moreover, whether our forefathers have not permitted exceſſive ceremonies and obſervations in theſe caſes, even for an exerciſe and ſtudious meditation of thankfulneſſe, as namely; when they reverenced ſo highly the oakes bearing acornes as they did. Certes the Athenians had one fig-tree which they honored by the name of the holy and ſacred Fig-tree; and expreſly forbad to cut downe the * mulberie tree: for theſe ceremonies I aſſure you, doe not make men inclined to ſuperſtition as ſome thinke, but frame & traine us to gratitude & ſociable humanitie one toward another, when as we are thus reverently affected to ſuch things as theſe, that have no ſoule nor ſenſe. And therefore *Heſiodus* did very well, when he would not permit any fleſh or meats to be taken out of the pots or cauldrons for to be ſet upon the table, unleſſe ſome thing before had gone out of them, for an aſſay to the gods; but gave order that ſome portion thereof ſhould be offred as firſt fruits unto the fire; as it were a reward and ſatisfaction for the miniſtery and good ſervice that it hath done: The Romans alſo did as well, who would not when they had done with their lampes take from them that nouriſhment which they had once allowed, but ſuffred them to enjoy the ſame, ſtill burning and living, by the meanes thereof. After I had thus ſaid: Now I aſſure you (quoth *Euſtrophus*) hath not this ſpeech of yours made the overture and given way to paſſe forward to a diſcourſe of the table? for that our auncients thought there ſhould be alwaies ſomewhat left ſtanding upon it after dinner and ſupper, for their hoſhold ſervants and children; for ſurely glad they be, not ſo much to get wherewith to eat, as to have it in this order communicated from us and our table unto them: and therefore the Perſian kings by report, were wont alwaies to ſend from their owne boord certeine diſhes, as a liuraiſon not onely to their friends and minions, to their great captaines and lieutenants under them, to their chiefe penſioners alſo and ſquires of the body; but they would have their ſlaves, yea and their very hounds and dogs to be ſerved daily, and have their ordinary allowance ſet even upon their table: for their will and meaning was, that whoſoever did them any ſervice, & were emploied in their miniſterie, ſhould if it were poſſible be partakers of their table and fire alſo: for ſurely the moſt fell or ſavage beaſts that bee, are made tame by ſuch communication and fellowſhip in their feeding. Heereat I could not chuſe but laugh: And why then doe we not (quoth he) my good friend, put in practiſe the old order, and bring abroad the fiſh laid up for ſtore, according to the common proverbe, as alſo the Chœnix or meaſure that *Pythagoras* ſo much talketh of, & upon which he forbiddeth a man to ſit? giving us thereby a leſſon, that wee ſhould learne to leave ſomewhat for the next day, and on the even to remember and thinke upon the morrow. We Bœotians have this by-word amongſt us, common in every mans mouth: Leave ſomewhat

*μορίαν, unleſſe haply it ſhould be ἐλαίαν, that is to ſay, the olive tree, as the French interpreter ſeemeth to read it.

what for the Medes: ſince time that the Medes overran and forreied the whole province of *Phocis*, and waſted the frontiers and marches of *Bœotia*: but ſurely we ſhould have evermore ready at hand this ſaying: Save ſomething alwaies for ſtrangers and gueſts, that may come in unlooked for: And to ſpeake what I thinke; for mine owne part, I miſlike utterly that hungry table that *Achilles* kept, which evermore was found bare and void: For when as *Ajax* and *Ulyſſes* came embaſſage unto him, they found no meat at al ſtirring, whereupon he was forced even then to kill ſomewhat, and to dreſſe the ſame out of hand for their ſuppers: Another time alſo being minded to entertaine king *Priamus* friendly, when he came unto his pavilion:

He then beſtir'd himſelfe, and caught up ſoone,
A good white ſheepe, whoſe throat he cut anon.

but about cutting it up, quartering, jointing, ſeething and roſting, he ſpent a great part of the night: whereas *Eumæus* a wiſe ſcholar of as wiſe a maſter, was nothing at all troubled at the ſudden and unexpected comming of *Telemachus*, but preſently willed him to ſit downe, made him good cheere, ſetting before him platters full

Of good fleſh meats, which were of former ſtore,
All ready roſt, and left the night before.

But if you thinke that to be but a ſmall matter, and lightly to be regarded, yet I am ſure confeſſe you will; that this is not a thing of little importance; namely to refraine and and conteine the appetite, when as there is enough yet before a man, to provoke and ſatisfie it; for thoſe who are wont to abſteine from that which is preſent, have leſſe deſire to that which is abſent: Then *Lucius* added thus much, that he remembred how hee had heard his grandmother ſay: That the table was a ſacred thing: Which if it be ſo (quoth he) there ought no thing that holy is, to be emptie; and for mine owne part, I am of this minde: That the table is a repreſentation and figure of the earth; for beſides that, it feedeth us, round it is, and ſtandeth firme and ſure; in which regard, ſome have called it properly, *Veſta*: and like as we would have the earth to beare and bring forth alwaies ſome thing or other for our profit; ſo we thinke, that we ſhould never ſee the table void, nor left without ſome viands upon it.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

That we ought eſpecially to beware of the pleaſures which we take in naughtie muſicke; and how we ſhould take heed thereof.

AT the ſolemnity of the Pythicke games, *Calliſtratus* the ſuperintendant, deputed by the high commiſſion and councell of State, named *Amphyctiones*, for to overſee and keepe good order, put backe a certaine minſtrel, who plaied upon the flute, though he were a countrey man of his and a friend, becauſe he came not in time to preſent himſelfe for to be inrolled among thoſe that were to contend for the prize, which he did according to the ſtatutes and lawes of thoſe games provided in that behalfe: but one evening when he had invited us to ſupper, he brought him forth into the banquet among us, ſet out and adorned in his faire robes and chaplets magnificently, as the maner is to be ſeene at ſuch games of prize, and attended beſides with a goodly daunce and quire of ſingers, well and trimly appointed; and I aſſure you, a brave ſhew it was at the firſt entrie, and a pleaſant paſtime woorth the ſeeing and hearing: but after that hee had tried and ſounded the whole companie there met, and perceived many of them how they were inclined, and that for their delight and pleaſure which they preſently tooke, they would be carried away, and ſuffer him to do what he liſt himſelfe; namely, to play laſcivious tunes, and in geſture to repreſent the ſame accordingly; then he ſhewed himſelfe openly, and gave us an evident proofe and demonſtration; that muſicke will make thoſe more drunke, and diſtemper their braines woorſe (who inconſideratly at all times, and without all meaſure exceedingly give themſelves unto it) than all the wine that they can drinke. For now by this time, they could not be content as the were ſet at they table, to hout and hollo with open throat, and withall, to keepe a clapping with their hands one at another; but in the end, the moſt part of them leapt from the boord, and began withall, to daunce and to foot it, yea, and otherwiſe to ſhew diſhoneſt and filthy geſtures, farre unbeſeeming gentlemen, but yet ſutable to the tunes hee ſounded, and the ſongs that the reſt chanted; but afterwards, when they had made an end, and that the banquet (as it were after a fit of furious madneſſe) was come againe to it ſelfe, and better ſetled, *Lamprias* was deſirous to have ſaid ſomewhat; and rebuked in good earneſt, this miſrule and diſorder of the youth, but that he feared withall, that he ſhould be thought too rigourous, and give offence unto the companie; untill ſuch time as *Calliſtratus* himſelfe gave him his hint, and incited him ſo to do, by ſuch a ſpeech as this: For mine owne part (quoth he) even I alſo, do acquit them of intemperancie, the ſimple deſire of hearing muſicke, and ſeeing ſports: howbeit, I am not altogether of *Ariſtoxenus* opinion, when he ſaith, that theſe be the onely pleaſures that be woorth a whoupe, and at the end whereof, a man ſhould ſay, Καλῶς, that is to ſay, Oh, well and trimly done! For ſurely, men are woont to attribute ſo much unto certaine daintie meats and ſweet perfumes and ointments, calling them trim and fine, and giving this praiſe unto them, that they be well dreſſed and confected; yea, and it is an ordinary ſpeech to ſay: That it is well with us, when we have bene at a delicate and coſtly ſupper. I ſuppoſe alſo, that *Ariſtotle* himſelfe alledgeth not a ſufficient cauſe, that the ſolace and pleaſure by faire ſights and ſweet muſicke, and generally, the contentment that we have by the eie and the eare, is to be exempted from the crime of intemperancy, becauſe as he ſaith, theſe be the onely delights proper unto man; whereas in all others, brute beaſts do communicate with us, and have the benefit of them: for I ſee that there be manie creatures which have no uſe of reaſon, and yet take pleaſure in muſicke; as for example, ſtags, in flutes and pipes; and at the time when mares are to be covered with ſtallions, there is a certeine ſound of the hautboies and a ſong to it, named thereupon, *Hippothoros*: and *Pindarus* ſaith in one place, that he was moved with the ſong,

Like as the dolphin ſwimmes apace,
Directly forward to that place
Whereas the pleaſant hautboies ſound,
And whence their noiſe doth ſoone rebound;
What time, both winds and waves do lie
At ſea, and let no harmonie.

And as they daunce, they beare up their heads and eies aloſt, as joying in the object which they ſee of others likewiſe dauncing; for they ſtrive to imitate and counterfeit the ſame, ſtirring and wagging their ſhoulders to and fro: I cannot ſee therefore, what ſingularitie by it ſelfe there is in theſe pleaſures, becauſe they onely are reſpective to the ſoule, and others belong unto the bodie, and do ſeize and reſt in the bodie; whereas tunes, meaſures, daunces, and ſongs, paſſing beſides and beyond the ſenſe, doe faſten their delight and tickling pleaſure, upon the very joy and contentment of the minde; which is the reaſon that none of theſe delectations are hidden, nor have need either of darkeneſſe to cover them, or of walles to environ, encloſe, and keepe them in, as women are woont to ſay by other pleaſures; but contrariwiſe, built there are for theſe delights of the eie and eare, cirques and races, theaters and ſhew-places; and the greater company that there is with us to ſee or heare any of theſe, the greater joy we take, and the thing it ſelfe is more ſtately: but this is plaine, that deſirous we are, not of a number of witneſſes to teſtifie our intemperance and naughtie pleaſure, but we care not how many ſee our honeſt exerciſes and civill ſports or recreations.

After that *Calliſtratus* had ended his ſpeech, *Lamprias* perceiving that thoſe favourers and mainteiners of ſuch eare-ſports, tooke better heart, and became more audacious by theſe words; ſet in hand to ſpeake now in deed as he meant before, in this maner: This is not the cauſe, good ſir *Calliſtratus*, the ſonne of *Leon*; but in mine opinion, our ancient forefathers have not done well, to ſay that *Bacchus* was the ſonne of Oblivion; for they ſhould rather have ſaid, that he was his father; conſidering, that even now by his meanes you have forgotten, that of thoſe faults and miſdemeanours which are committed by occaſion of pleaſures, ſome proceed from intemperance; others from ignorance or negligence: for where the hurt and dammage is evident, there men (if they ſinne) doe it becauſe their reaſon is forced and overcome by intemperance; but looke where the hire and reward of incontinencie and looſeneſſe doth not directly enſue, nor preſently upon the committing of a fault, there all their delinquencie is to be aſcribed unto ignorance, for that ſuch leaud acts, they both approve and perpetrate, becauſe they wiſt not what hurt would follow: and therefore ſuch as doe exorbitate and miſgoverne themſelves in eating or drinking exceſſively, as alſo in the immoderate uſe of women; which enormities be ordinarily accompanied with many maladies, much expence, decay of eſtate, loſſe of goods and an ill name beſides; we uſually call looſe, diſſolute, and intemperate perſons: ſuch an one was that *Theodectes*, who being diſeaſed in his eies; whenſoever hee eſpied his ſweet heart whom he kept as his harlot, would ſalute her in theſe tearmes, χαῖρε φιλον φῶς:

All haile my ſweet and lovely light,
The onely joy of mine eie-ſight.

And ſuch another was *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*:

Who (by report) knew well what miſeries
He lived in, but yet his nature was
Inclined ſo to pleaſure, which men wiſe,
And ſages dread moſt part; that he alas
Was thereby drawen and caried unto ſin,
Out of that way which judgement ſet him in.

But thoſe who hold out manfully, and ſtand upon their owne guards, for feare they bee caught and overcome with the groſſe pleaſure of the belly, and the parts under it, of taſte and of ſmelling; and yet neverthеleſſe ſuffer themſelves to be circumvented and ſurprized by other delights, which ſecretly forelay them, and lie in ambuſh, hidden cloſe within their eies and eares; theſe men (I ſay) although they be nothing leſſe paſſionate, diſſolute, and incontinent than the others, yet we tearme them not ſo for all that: and why ſo? becauſe they know not the danger wherein they ſtand; they runne on headlong through ignorance, thinking they ſhall bee maſters over their pleaſures, yea, though they taried at the theater all the long day, from morning to night, to ſee and heare plaies and other paſtimes, without bit of bread or drop of drinke; as if forſooth an earthen veſſell or pitcher ſhould boaſt it ſelfe and ſtand much upon this, that it is not ſtirred and taken up by the belly or the bottome, and yet eaſily removed and caried from place to place by the two eares: and therefore *Arceſilaus* was woont to ſay: That it ſkilled not which way one committed filthineſſe; for behind and before, was all one: ſo that we ought to feare that wantonneſſe and pleaſure which tickleth us in our eares and eies both: neither are we to thinke a citie impregnable, which having all other gates faſt made with ſtrong locks, fortified alſo with croſſe barres, & portculliſſes, if the enemies may enter in at one other gate; nor to take our ſelves to be invincible & unconquered by pleaſures, for that we be not caught & taken within the temple of *Venus*; in caſe we ſuffer our ſelves to be taken in the chappell of the Muſes, or elſe at ſome theatre: For ſurely ſuch a paſſion may overtake and captivate our ſoule as well here as there, yea, & betake it unto pleaſures, for to hale & pull, carie & harie us as they liſt: and theſe verily doe infuſe and powre into our ſpirits, poiſons more eger and piercing, yea, and in greater varietie; I meane of ſongs, daunces, muſicall accords and meaſures, than all thoſe be, which either cooks, confectioners, or perfumers can deviſe: by the ſtrength whereof, they leade and carie us whither they will, yea, and corrupt us ſo, as that wee cannot chuſe but convince and condemne our ſelves by our owne teſtimonie againſt us: For as *Pindarus* ſaid very well:

We cannot charge, nor yet blame-worthy thinke,
What ever, for our preſent meat and drinke
The ſacred earth to us affoorded hath,
Or ſea, with windes, that is ſo fell and wrath.

And to ſay a truth, there is no daintie cates, no delicate viands, fiſh or fleſh; no nor this paſſing good wine which we drinke, that for any pleaſure & contentment which they yeeld unto us, cauſeth us to ſet up any ſuch noiſes, like as ere while, the ſound and playing of the flutes did, which filled (I ſay) not this houſe onely, but I beleeve well, the whole citie, with outcries, utas, clapping of hands, and alarmes: and therefore we are to ſtand in great feare and dread of ſuch pleaſures as theſe; for exceeding forcible they be, and moſt powerfull, as thoſe who ſtay not there, as thoſe doe which affect either taſte, feeling, or ſmelling; to wit, in the unreaſonable part of the ſoule, without paſſing any farther; but they reach unto the very judgement, and diſcourſe of reaſon: moreover, in other delights and pleaſures, although reaſon ſhould faile and not be able to withſtand them, but give over in plaine field: yet there be other paſſions a good many which will reſiſt and impeach them: for ſay there be ſome daintie and delicate fiſh to be bought and ſold in the market; nigardiſe oftentimes holdeth backe a gluttons fingers from drawing out his purſe-ſtrings, who otherwiſe would bee buſie and readie enough to helpe his deintie tooth: covetouſneſſe likewiſe otherwhiles turneth away a wanton leacher and whoremaſter from medling with a deare and coſtly courtiſane, who holdes her-ſelfe at an exceeding high price; like as *Menander* in one of his comedies bringeth in a pretie pageant of this matter: for when as a certeine baud had brought unto a banquet where divers youthes were drinking, and making merrie together, a paſſing faire wench, yoong withall, and trimly ſet out in every point, for to entice and allure them, they

Caſt downe their heads, and like good merry mates,
Fell to their junkets hard, and deinty cates.

For when it ſtands upon this point, that a man muſt take up money at intereſt, or els goe without his pleaſure; certes, it is a ſhrewd puniſhment to bridle his luſt and incontinence; for wee are not alwaies ſo willing and ready to lay our hand to our purſes: now the eies and eares of ſuch as love muſicians and minſtrels, and other ſuch gentleman-like ſports, and recreations as we call them, ſatisfie their furious appetites & affections, in ſounding muſick, plaies, & ſhewes, for nothing and without any coſt: for why? ſuch pleaſures as theſe, they may be ſped with, and enjoy in many places, at the publicke and ſacred games of prize, in theaters, and at feaſts, and all at other mens charges; and therefore an eaſie matter it is to meet with matter enough for to ſpoile and undoe them quite, who have not reaſon to governe and direct them. Heereat hee made a pauſe, and ſo there was ſome ſilence for a while: And what? would you have (quoth *Calliſtratus*) this reaſon, either to doe or ſay for to ſuccour and ſave us? for ſhe will not faſten round about our eares, thoſe little caſes or bolſters to cover our eares with, which *Xenocrates* ſpeaketh of, neither wil ſhe cauſe us to riſe from the table ſo ſoone as we heare a muſician to tune his lute or prepare his pipe: No in truth (quoth *Lamprias*) but looke how often ſoever as wee fall into the danger of theſe pleaſures, we ought to call upon the muſes for to ſuccour us; we muſt flie into that mountaine *Helicon* of our auncients: for ſuch an one as is enamoured upon a ſumptuous and coſtly ſtrumpet, we cannot tell how to match by and by with a *Penelope*, nor marrie unto *Panthea*; but if one take pleaſure in bawdy ballades, laſcivious ſongs, and wanton daunces, we may ſoone divert him from thence, by ſetting him to reade *Euripides, Pindarus*, or *Menander*; and ſo waſh a filthie eare, and furred all over with ſalt (as *Plato* ſaith) with a ſweet and potable lotion of good ſayings and wiſe ſentences: for like as magicians commaund thoſe who are poſſeſſed or haunted with evill ſpirits, to rehearſe and pronounce apart by themſelves Epheſian letters, or words for a counter-charme; even ſo when we are among theſe vanities, where minſtrels play their parts, and moriske dauncers their may-games, fetching their frisks and gambols,

Shaking themſelves in furious wiſe,
With ſtrange allarmes and hideous cries:
Wagging and flinging every way
Their necks and heads all while they play.

Let us then call to remembrance the grave, holy and venerable writings of thoſe ancient Sages, and conferring them with theſe ſottiſh ſonets, ribaud rimes, paltrie poemes, and ridiculous reaſons, we ſhall not be endangered by them, nor turne ſide (as they ſay) and ſuffer our ſelves to be carried away with them downe the ſtreame.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of ſuch gueſts as be named ſhadowes; and whether he that is called by one, may go unto another to ſupper; if he may, when, and to whom.

HOmer in the ſecond booke of his *Ilias*, writeth of *Menelaus*, how he came of his owne accord unbidden, to a feaſt that his brother *Agamemnon* made unto the princes and chiefe commanders of the armie:

For why? he well conceived in his minde,
*That * troubled much, his brother he ſhould finde.*

And as he would not neglect and overſee thus much, that either the ignorance or forgetfulneſſe in his brother, ſhould be otherwiſe ſeene; ſo he was leſſe willing to diſcover it himſelfe in failing for to come; as ſome froward and peeviſh perſons are woont to take holde of ſuch overſights and negligences of their friends, being better content in their hearts thus to be neglected, than honoured, becauſe they would have advantage, and ſomewhat to complaine of. But as touching ſuch as are not invited at all to a feaſt, nor have no formall bidding (whom now adaies, we call ſhadowes) and yet are brought in by thoſe who were invited, there aroſe one day a queſtion, how this cuſtome firſt came up and tooke beginning. Some were of opinion that *Socrates* began it, who perſwaded *Ariſtodemus* upon a time, being not bidden to goe with him to a feaſt at *Agathons* houſe, where there fell out a pretie jeſt and a ridiculous; for *Ariſtodemus* tooke

* And therefore might forget his owne brother.

no heed when he thither came, that he had left *Socrates* by the way behinde him, and ſo himſelfe entred before into the roome; which is as much as the ſhadow before the bodie, and the light comming after: but afterwards, at the feaſting and enterteinment of friends that are travellers, and paſſe by as ſtrangers, eſpecially, if they were princes or great governours, becauſe men knew not who were in their traine, and whom they deigned this honour, for to ſit at their owne table, and to eat and drinke with them; the cuſtome was to requeſt themſelves, for to bring with them whom they would, but withall, to ſet downe a determinate number; for feare leſt they ſhould be ſo ſerved as one was, who invited to a ſupper, *Philip* king of *Macedonie*, into the countrey: for he came unto his hoaſts houſe with a great retinew after him, who had not provided a ſupper for many gueſts: *Philip* perceiving that his friend was hereupon in great perplexitie, and knew not what to doe, ſent unto every one of his friends that he brought with him, a ſervitour of purpoſe to round them ſecretly in the eare, that they ſhould ſo eat of the viands before them, as that they reſerved a piece of their ſtomacke for a daintie tart or cate that was to come in: by which meanes, whiles they looked evermore when the ſaid diſh ſhould come to the table, and did eat more ſparily in hope of it, of thoſe meats which ſtood before them, there was ſufficient for them all. But whiles I ſeemed thus to play upon the point before the company there preſent, *Florus* thought good that this queſtion ought to be handled in good earneſt, and more ſeriouſly; namely, as touching thoſe ſhadowes aboveſaid: Whether it might ſtand with honeſty and good maners, to follow or goe with them who were bidden? As for *Ceſernius* his ſonne in law, he utterly condemned that faſhion: For a man ought (quoth he) to obey the counſell of *Heſiodus*, who writeth thus:

Above all others, to thy feaſt,
Invite thy friend who loves thee beſt.

If not ſo, yet be ſure at leaſtwiſe to bid thy familiars and thoſe of thine acquaintance, for to participate with thee in thy ſacred libations and thankſgivings to the gods at the table, in diſcourſes there held, in the courteſies paſſing to and fro; and namely, in drinking one to another: but now a daies it is with men that make feaſts, as with thoſe who keepe ferrie-barges or barks to tranſport paſſengers; for when they take in men aboord, they permit them to caſt into the veſſell what fardels or baggage they have beſides; for even ſo, we making a feaſt for ſome eſpeciall perſons, give them leave to fill the place with whomſoever they pleaſe; whether they be honeſt men & of worth or no, it makes no matter. And I would marvell much, if a man of quality, and one that knoweth good maners, would come thus bidden (as it were) at the ſecond hand, which is all one as unbiddē, being ſuch an one, as many times the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe knoweth not; and if he be one of his acquaintance and knowledge, and yet unbidden, ſurely it were more ſhame now to go unto his houſe, as it were, to upbraid him and caſt in his teeth, as if he came unto his feaſt without his good will, and yet would take his part thereof, even by violence and ſtrong hand. Moreover, to go before or tarrie after him, who would ſeeme to bid one to another mans table, carieth ſome ſhame with it, and would make a modeſt and honeſt man diſmaied and blanke: neither is it a decent thing to have need of witneſſes, and a warrant (as it were) betweene him and the maſter of the houſe, to inſinuate thus much, that he is come indeed, not as one formally bidden to ſupper, but as the ſhadow of ſuch and ſuch a man: beſides, to daunce attendance upon another, and obſerve when he hath bene in the ſtouph, is anointed and waſhed, waiting the houre when he will goe, ſooner or later; this in my ſimple judgement is a very baſe and mechanicall thing, ſavouring ſtrongly of the bonſon or paraſit *Gnatho*, if ever there were ſuch a ſmell-feaſt as *Gnatho*, who haunted mens tables where it coſt him naught: furthermore, if there be no time or place, wherein a mans tongue may be better permitted to ſay thus:

Art thou diſpos'd to boaſt, to cracke and brave
In meaſure? ſpeake out hardly; good leave have.

than at a banquet, where commonly there is moſt libertie allowed and intermingled in all that is done and ſaid, and every thing is well taken, as in mirth; how ſhould a man behave and governe himſelfe at ſuch a place, who is not a lawfull and naturall bidden gueſt indeed; but as a man would ſay, a baſtard and ſubreptitious crept in, and intruded I wot not how into a feaſt, without all order of inviting? for ſay that hee doe ſpeake freely at the boord, or ſay he doe not, lie open he ſhall both for the one and the other, to the calumniations of them there preſent: neither is it a ſmall inconvenience to be made, a marke for ſcurrile tearmes, and a meere laughing ſtocke, namely; when a man putteth up, and endureth the baſe name of a ſhadow, and will be content to anſwere thereunto? for I aſſure you, to make ſmall account of unſeemely words, is the next waie to leade men unto undecent and diſhoneſt deedes, and to acquaint them therewith by little and little: wherefore when I invite others to a feaſt or ſupper unto mine owne houſe, I allow them otherwhiles to bring their ſhadowes with them (for the cuſtome of a citie is much, and may not well be broken) but ſurely, when I have my ſelfe beene called upon, to goe with others to a place where I am not bidden, I have ever yet denied, and could not for any thing be brought unto it. Upon which words enſued ſilence for a time, untill *Florus* began againe in this wiſe: Certes this ſecond point is more difficult and doubtfull than the other; for when wee are to enterteine ſtrangers that be travellers (as hath beene ſaid before) we muſt of neceſſitie invite them in this order: the reaſon is, becauſe it were incivilitie and diſcourteſie, to part them and their friends in a ſtrange place, whom they were woont to have about them; and againe, it is no eaſie matter to know, whom a man hath in his company. See then (quoth I) whether they who have given libertie unto them that make a feaſt, thus to invite gueſts, that they may take others unto them (as you ſay) permit not them alſo whom they would bring, as their ſhadowes, to obey, and ſo to come unto a feaſt; for it ſtandeth not with honeſtie, to graunt and give that, which is not meet for to demaund or give; nor in one word to ſollicite or exhort one to that, whereunto he would not willingly be ſollicited, either to doe or give his conſent: but as for great States and rulers, or ſtrangers travelling by the way, there is no ſuch inviting or choiſe to be made; for enterteined they muſt be whomſoever they bring with them: but otherwiſe, when one friend feaſteth another, it were a more friendly and courteous part, for himſelfe to bid the familiars or kinsfolke of his ſaid friend, knowing them ſo well as he doth; for by this meanes greater honour he doth unto his friend, yea, and winneth more thanks at his hands againe, when the partie invited ſhall know that he loveth them beſt, that moſt willingly he deſireth to have their companie, as taking pleaſure that they be honored and intreated to come as well, for his ſake; and yet for all this, it would otherwhiles be wholly referred unto his diſcretion that is bidden: like as thoſe who ſacrifice unto ſome one god, doe honour likewiſe and make vowes unto thoſe who are partakers of the ſame temple and altar in common, although they name them not ſeverally by themſelves, * * For there is neither wine, deintie viands, nor ſweet perfumes, that give ſuch contentment and pleaſure at a feaſt, as doth a man whom one loveth and liketh well of, ſitting by his ſide or neere unto him at the table: moreover, to aske and demaund of the man himſelfe, whom one would feaſt, what viands or what banquetting diſhes or paſtry works he loveth beſt; as alſo to ſeeke and enquire of the diverſitie of wines and pleaſant odors he delighted in, were a very uncivil and abſurd part: but when a man hath many friends, many kinsfolks & familiars, to requeſt ſuch an one to bring with him thoſe eſpecially whoſe companie he liketh beſt, & in whō he taketh greateſt pleaſure, is no abſurditie at all, nor a thing that can be offenſive: for neither to ſaile in one ſhip, nor to dwell in the ſame houſe, ne yet to plead in the ſame cauſe, with thoſe whom we are not affected well unto, is ſo diſpleaſant & odious, as to ſit at a ſupper with them againſt whō our heart doth riſe; and the contrary is as acceptable: for ſurely the table is a very communion and ſocietie of mirth and earneſt, of words and deeds; and therefore if men would be merry there, and make good cheere, I ſee no need, that all manner of perſons indifferently ſhould meet, but thoſe onely who have ſome inward friendſhip, and private familiaritie one with another: as for our meats and ſauces that come up to the boord, cooks I confeſſe doe make them of all maner of ſapours, different as they be, mixing them together, and tempering, harſh, ſowre, milde, ſweet, ſharpe, ſubtill, and biting, one with another: but a ſupper or feaſt, is nothing acceptable and contenting, unleſſe it be compoſed of gueſts who are of the ſame humour and diſpoſition: and for that, as the Peripateticke philoſophers doe affirme, that there is one *Primum mobile*, above, or principall moover in nature, which mooveth onely, and is not mooved; and another thing beneath, and in the loweſt place, which is mooved onely, and mooveth not; but betweene theſe two extremities, there is a middle nature, that mooveth one and is mooved by another; even ſo, (ſay I) there is the ſame proportion among three ſorts of men; the firſt of thoſe who invite another; the ſecond of ſuch as are invited onely; and the thirde of them that doe invite others, and are invited themſelves: and now becauſe wee have ſpoken alreadie of the firſt and principall feaſt-maker, who inviteth, it were not a miſſe to ſay ſomewhat now of the other two folks: He then who is bidden, and yet hath leave to bidde others; ought in great reaſon (as I thinke) to be carefull and take heed, that he forbeare to bring with him a geat number or multitude, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to make ſpoile of his friends houſe, as of an enemies territorie, and as it were to forage there for all thoſe that belong unto him; or to doe as thoſe who come to occupie and inhabit a new countrey, that is to ſay, by bringing with him ſo many of his owne friends, diſeaſe, or at leaſtwiſe exclude and put by his gueſts, who invited him, and ſo by that meanes the maſters of the feaſts might be ſerved as they are, who ſet foorth ſuppers unto *Hecate* or *Proſerpina*, and to thoſe averruncan gods, or *apotropæi*, whom men call upon, not to doe good, but to avert evill, for they themſelves nor any of their houſe licke their lips with any jot of all that cheere; onely they have their part of all the ſmoake and troubles belonging thereto: for otherwiſe they that alledge unto us this common ſaying:

At Delphi *when one hath done ſacrifice,*
Muſt buy his owne viands, if he be wiſe.

ſpeake it but merily and by way of jeſt; but certeinly it befalleth even ſo in good truth and earneſt unto thoſe who interteine either ſtrangers or friends ſo rude and uncivill, who with a number of ſhadowes, as if there were ſo many harpies or cormorants and greedy guls, conſumed and devoured all their proviſion: ſecondly, a friend that is himſelfe ſolemnly invited, muſt be carefull, that he take not with him, for to goe unto another mans houſe, thoſe that he firſt meeteth or that come next hand, but ſuch eſpecially, as he knoweth to be friends, and of familiar acquaintance with the feaſt-maker, as if he ſtrived a vie to prevent him in bidding of them; if not ſo, to have thoſe with him, of his owne friends, whom the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe could have wiſhed and made choiſe of, to have bidden; as for example, if he be a modeſt man and a civill, to ſort him with modeſt and civill perſons; if ſtudious and learned, to furniſh his table with ſtudents & good ſcholars; if he have bene beforetime in authority, to fit him now with perſonages of power & authority; and in one word, to acquaint him with thoſe, whom he knoweth he would be willing to ſalute, and enterteine with ſpeech and communication; for this is a wiſe kinde of courteſie and great civilitie, to give unto ſuch a perſonage occaſion and meanes, to ſalute, embrace, and make much of them: whereas hee who commeth to a feaſt with ſuch about him as have no conformitie at all unto the feaſt-maker, but ſeeme meere aliens and ſtrangers; as namely, with great drunkards, to a ſober mans houſe; to a man that is a good husband, wary, and thriſty in his expenſes, with a ſort of diſſolute ruffians and ſwaggering companions; or unto a yong gentleman, that loveth to drinke heartily, to laugh, to jeſt, and to be merie, with grim ſires, and ſevere ancients, ſuch as in their talke are grave, and by their long beards, may be taken for ſages and profound clearks; ſuch an one (I ſay) is a very abſurd fellow, thus to requite the hoſpitall courteſie of his friend, with ſuch impertinent incongruity: for he that is invited, muſt be as carefull to pleaſe the firſt inviter, as the feaſt-maker, his gueſt; and then acceptable ſhall hee be and welcome indeed, if not himſelfe onely, but thoſe alſo who come with him or for the love of him, be of good carriage and lovely behaviour. As for the third perſon, who remaineth to be ſpoken of, to wit, who is bidden and brought in by another; if he take pepper in the noſe, and can not abide to be called a ſhadow; certeinely hee is afraid of his owne ſhadow: but in this caſe, there would be very great circumſpection had; for it is no point of honeſtie and good maners, to be ſoone intreated, and ready to follow every one indifferently at his call; conſidered it would be, and that not ſlightly, what he is who moveth thee to go with him to ſuch a feaſt; for if he be not a very familiar friend, but one of theſe rich magnificoes and portly perſonages, who would (as it were upon a ſcaffold) make a ſhew unto the world of a number of favourites and followers to guard and attend him at his heeles; or ſuch an one as would ſeeme to doe much for thee, or to grace and honour thee greatly by taking thee in this order with him, thou oughteſt flatly to denie him, and refuſe ſuch courteſie: well, ſay that he be a friend and familiar perſon, yet muſt not thou by and by for all that, bee ready and obey, but then onely, when there is ſome neceſſarie occaſion for to commune or ſpeake with the maſter of the feaſt or with the other partie, and that otherwiſe thou canneſt meet with no good opportunitie for to doe it; or if he be newly returned from ſome long voiage, when he hath bene a great time away, or els about to depart, and ſo ſeeme (for very good will) deſirous of thy companie at ſupper; or if it appeare that he meaneth not to take with him many, nor thoſe ſtrangers and unknowen, but either thy ſelfe alone, or ſome few others of his familiars; or after all theſe conſiderations, if thou maieſt perceive, that by this occaſion and opportunitie of thy companie, he doth practiſe to contract ſome beginning of farther acquaintance, friendſhip and amity, and namely, if he be reputed an honeſt man, and woorthy to be loved and regarded, who thus is deſirous of thy companie, and earneſt with thee to go with him; for wicked and leaud perſons, the more they ſeeme to claſpe and take hold, and hang upon us, the more we ought to ſhake them off as burres, or els to leape over them as briers and brambles: nay, admit that they be honeſt enough, who would have our companie, and bring us to a man that is is not honeſt, we ought not to go with them, leſt we chance to take poiſon with honie, that is to ſay, get the acquaintance of a naughtie man, by the meanes of an honeſt minded friend: moreover, abſurd it is, to goe unto a mans houſe whom we know not at all, or with whom we never had any maner of dealing and acquaintance, unleſſe he be a perſonage of great marke for ſingular vertue, as we have before ſaid, or that this occaſion may ſerve as a foundation or ground-worke of ſome farther love and amitie; for then it were not amiſſe to be eaſily intreated, and to go willingly without any ceremoniall complement unto him, under the wing and ſhadow of another. As for thoſe who be already our familiars, unto ſuch above all others we may be bolde to goe at the motion of another; for by that meanes we give reciprocall libertie and leave unto them for to repaire likewiſe unto us at the requeſt of others. There was one *Philip* indeed, a buffon and ſcurrile jeſter, who was wont to ſay: That to go unto a feaſt, formally invited, was ſimply more ridiculous, than to come as a ſhadow by the bidding of another: but in trueth, more honourable and pleaſant it is for honeſt men and good friends, to reſort unto their friends, who be likewiſe honeſt and vertuous, in ſeaſonable time (without being invited or expected) with other friends; for thereby they both rejoice the heart of thoſe that enterteine them, and doe honour unto ſuch as bring them: but above all, moſt undecent it is, to goe unto princes, rulers, rich men and great States, when we are not invited by themſelves, but brought by others; for in any caſe avoid we muſt, the imputation and note not undeſerved, of impudencie, incivilitie, want of good maners, or ambitious inſolence.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether it be a lawfull and decent thing, to admit minſtrell-wenches to a feaſt, for to play and ſing?

IN our citie *Chæronea*, there was held a great diſcourſe one day at the table, where *Diogenianus* the Pergamian was preſent, as touching the eare-ſports which were to be admitted at a banquet; and much adoe we had to defend our ſelves, and to confute a long bearded philoſopher that was there, one of the Stoicks ſect forſooth, who alledged againſt us, *Plato*, blaming and condemning thoſe who brought into their feaſts, minſtrell-wenches, to pipe and ſing, and to be heard, as if they were not able themſelves to enterteine good ſpeeches one with another; and yet preſent there was, a ſcholar, out of the ſame ſchoole, *Philip* a Pruſian, who ſaid: That ſuch perſonages were not to be named in this queſtion, who are brought in as ſpeakers at *Agathons* boord, for that their ſpeeches ſounded more ſweetly and melodiouſly, than all the flutes and cithrons in the world: no marvell it was therefore, that theſe minſtrels had no audience at ſuch a feaſt, but rather, that the gueſts ſitting there at the table, forgot not altogether to eat and drinke, for the great pleaſure and contentment which they tooke in hearing ſuch diſcourſes. And yet *Xenophon* was not aſhamed to endure in the preſence of *Socrates*, *Antiſthenes*, and other ſuch perſonages, a pleaſant conceited jeſter named *Philippus*; no more than *Homer* to teach men: That an onion was a good ſauce to draw on wine: And *Plato* having inſerted in manner of an interlude or comedie within his Banquet, the ſpeech of *Ariſtophanes* as touching love: at the laſt ſetting as it were the backe doores of the hall wide open, brings in a pagent, fuller of varietie and vanitie than all the reſt, to wit, *Alcibiades* little better than drunke, crowned with chaplets and garlands of flowers, and marching in a maske or mummerie: then follow the altercations and debates with *Socrates* as touching *Agathon*, and that encomiaſticall praiſe of *Socrates* (ô bleſſed ſaint *Charites*!) that even *Apollo* himſelfe (were it lawfull ſo to ſay) if he had entred in place with his harpe ready ſtrung and tuned for to play, the company would have requeſted him to ſtay his hand, untill the foreſaid ſpeech had beene finiſhed and brought to an end: And did theſe perſonages indeed (quoth hee) notwithſtanding they had ſo great grace in their diſcourſes, uſe neverthéleſſe theſe pleaſant ſports and paſtimes betweene, garniſhing their feaſts therewith, and all to make the companie to laugh and be merry? And ſhall wee being intermingled with perſons managing affaires of State, with merchants, occupiers, and with many (it may ſo fall out) altogether unlettered, and ſomewhat ruſticall, baniſh out of our feaſts and banquets this amiable delight and paſtime; or elſe riſe from the table and be gone, as if we would flie from ſuch Sirenes as ſoone as ever wee ſee them comming? It was thought a ſtrange and woonderfull matter in *Clitomachus* the campion and profeſſour of performing games of priſe; that ſo ſoone as ever there was any talke begun of love matters, hee would leave the companie and depart: and when a grave philoſopher avoideth the ſound of the flute, and goeth out of the feaſt, and as if he were afraid of a minſtrell wench, preparing her-ſelfe to ſound and ſing, * putteth on his ſhoes, and calleth incontinently to his page for to light his torch; ſhall he not in ſo doing be thought woorthie to bee hiſſed at, and laughed of every one, for taking offence, and abhorring theſe harmeleſſe pleaſures; like as theſe bettils which flie from perfumes and ſweet odors? For if there be any time or place allowed for theſe diſports, it is at feaſts and banquets principally: Then (I ſay) and there are wee to give our minds to ſuch delights; all while we ſacrifice unto *Bacchus*: For mine own part *Euripides*, howſoever otherwiſe he pleaſeth me verie well, doth not ſatisfie me heerein, when he ordeineth as touching muſicke, that tranſferred it ſhould be from feaſts and banquets, unto ſorrowes and penſive ſadneſſe: for in theſe caſes, there would be ſome good, ſober and wiſe remonſtrance at hand (like as a phyſitian with ſicke folke) to helpe al: but otherwiſe we are to mingle theſe delights of muſick with the gifts of *Bacchus*, in manner of a ſport and recreation: Certes a pretie ſpeech it was of a Lacedæmonian, who being at *Athens* one time, when new tragedies were to be acted, and the authours of them to contend for the beſt game; ſeeing the ſumptuous furniture and proviſion of thoſe who were the maſters of the revils, and ſuch paſtimes, together with the painfull labour in teaching and prompting of parts, and what adoe there was in ordering of the dances and ſhewes thereto belonging: whiles one ſtrived to goe beyond another: Oh, what a fooliſh citie is this (quoth he) to imploy ſo much travell and ſerious ſtudie in idle plaies and diſports! For to ſay a truth, when we are at our plaies, we muſt doe nothing elſe but play, and not to buy ſo deare (with ſuch coſt and diſpences, yea, and with the loſſe of time, which were better beſtowed about other good affaires) an idle ſport: marie at the table, when our ſpirit is ſequeſtred from other buſineſſe, we may taſte a little of ſuch delights, and in the meane while, conſider withall, what profit ſuch ſolace may affoord.

* For they ſat upon pallets and beds at meat, and did off their ſhoes for the time.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What Acroames or Ear-ſports, are eſpecially to be uſed at ſupper time?

WHen theſe words had paſſed, the ſophiſter above-ſaid, would gladly have replied againe: but I for to interrupt and ſtay his ſpeech, began firſt and ſaid: Nay rather *Diogenianus*, I thinke it better to conſider upon this point; that ſeeing there bee many eare-delights to content our hearing, which of them is moſt meet and fit? and if you thinke ſo good, let us referre the matter to this wiſe man heere in place, and requeſt him to give his judgement: for being as he is, inflexible, and a man ſubject to no paſſions, we ſhall never need to feare that he wil ſo much trip, as to preferre a thing that is more pleaſant, before that which is better. Then he at the requeſt and exhortation of *Diogenianus* and us, without any delay: As for other paſtimes (quoth he) at theaters, exhibited upon the ſtage and ſcaffold of plaiers and dauncers, I reject and baniſh them all; onely I admit one kinde of ſport to delight the eare, which not long ſince came to be taken up at *Rome*, in feaſts and banquets, and it is not yet divulged abroad in every place: For you know well (quoth he) that among the dialogues of *Plato*, ſome there be which conteine a continued narration, of a thing done or ſaid, others againe conſiſt of certein deviſed perſonages, talking and diſcourſing together: of theſe perſonall dialogues, thoſe that be eaſieſt, children uſe to learne, and con them without booke, together with expreſſing the geſtures agreeable to the qualitie, manners, and nature of the perſons, who are feigned and brought in; a confirmation alſo and framing of the voice, yea, and a countenance and diſpoſition every way anſwerable to the words that they pronounce: this manner of paſtime hath beene woonderfully well accepted among grave perſons, and men of honour; but ſuch as bee effeminate or have daintie & delicate eares, by reaſon that they are rude, illiterate, and ignorant what is good and honeſt; and who, as *Ariſtoxenus* was wont to ſay, will bee ready to caſt up their gorge, and vomit yellow choler, when they heare any good harmony, miſlike them and would not abide the hearing: and I would not marvell verily, if they reject and condemne them utterly, being ſo poſſeſſed with womaniſh deintineſſe. *Philip* then perceiving ſome there in place, not to take theſe words well: Stay there (quoth he) my good friend, and forbeare in this wiſe to raile upon us, for we were the firſt, who were offended with this manner and faſhion, when it began at *Rome*, yea, & we reprooved thoſe who would have *Plato* ſerve the turne, for to make folke merry at the boord, and laboured all they could, that *Platoes* dialogues forſooth ſhould bee rehearſed and heard, amid tarts, march-paines, comfitures, and ſweet perfumes:

conſidering, that if ſome verſes of *Sappho*, or *Anacreons* odes ſhould be rehearſed: Me thinks I ought for very ſhame and reverence, ſet the cup downe out of my hand, if I were about to drinke: many more things to this effect I have in my head, which I am afraid to utter for feare I might be thought of purpoſe to make head, and to diſpute againſt you: and therefore to this friend heere of ours, together with the cup as you ſee, I give the charge, for to waſh a ſaltiſh eare (as they ſay) with potable liquor of pleaſant ſpeech: then *Diogenianus* receiving the cuppe at his hand: But (quoth hee) I heare no other yet but all good ſober ſpeeches; ſo that it ſeemeth that the wine doth not worke in our heads, nor overcome our braines; and I feare mee, that I my ſelfe ſhall bee capitulated and articled againſt; howbeit, if I muſt ſpeake my minde, I am of opinion, that many of theſe matters which are preſented unto our eares, for to tickle and pleaſe them, ought to bee cut off; and namely, tragedies above all others, as being a thing (iwis) not very well befitting a feaſt, for that it ſpeaketh in too grave and baſe a voice, repreſenting beſides, ſuch arguments and acts, as moove the hearers to pitie and compaſſion. I reject alſo, out of our daunces, that which is called *Pyladion*, as being over-ſtately, and too full of pompe, exceeding patheticall beſides, and requiring many perſons and actours: but if we may admit any of thoſe countrey kinds, which *Socrates* recounteth, when he ſpeaks of daunces, I receive that which is called *Bathyllion*, which of it ſelfe beareth a lower port, and ſoundeth much like to the ruſticke daunce, called *Cordax*, or reſembling *Echo Pan*, or ſome Satyre dancing amorouſly and wantonly with *Cupid*: as for the comedie, that which was called *Vetus*, that is to ſay, the ancient kinde firſt uſed, it ſorteth not well with the table, nor would be acted before men when they be drinking and merrie, in regard of the inequalitie thereof: for that earneſtneſſe and libertie of ſpeech, uſed in thoſe glancing digreſſions, called παραβάσεις, is too free and over vehement; alſo, the facilitie and readineſſe to ſcoffe, flout and jibe, is too rife and common, over-broad and plaine beſides, full of undecent and unhoneſt verbs, and as full of filthie and laſcivious nownes. Moreover, like as at the feaſts of great princes and potentates, there ſtandeth alwaies waiting by every one of them that ſit at the boord, a cuppe-bearer, to give him drinke when he calleth for it; even ſo there had need to be ſome Grammarian or other at hand continually, for to expound ever and anon, the meaning of divers tearmes uſed in theſe comedies, to wit, what ſignifieth in *Eupolis* the poet, this word *Laſmodias*; alſo, what the poet *Plato* meanes by *Cineſias*, in his comedies; and what is meant by *Lampon*, in *Cratinus*; likewiſe one or other for the purpoſe, to give the hearers to underſtand, who they be whom the actours let flie their ſcurrile ſcoffes at: ſo that by this meanes, our feaſt muſt be like a Grammar ſchoole, or els all the frumps and mocks that be flung and diſcharged, will light in vaine, and loſe their grace, for want of being underſtood. But to come unto the new comedie, what ſhould a man ſay any thing of it but this, that it is ſo incorporate in feaſts and banquets, that a man may better make a ſupper without wine, that without *Menander*? for why? the phraſe or maner of ſpeech in theſe comedies is ſweet, pleaſant, and familiar, the matter ſuch, as neither can be deſpiſed of the ſober, nor offenſive to the drunken; beſides, the vertuous and ſententious ſayings therein, delivered in ſimple and plaine tearmes, runne ſo ſmooth, that they are able to ſoften and make pliable everie way, the ſtiffeſt and hardeſt natures that be, by the meanes of wine, like as barres of yron in the fire, and to reduce them to humanitie. To be ſhort, the temperature thorowout of mirth and gravitie together, is ſuch, as it ſeemeth that this comedie was deviſed firſt for nothing els, but both to pleaſure and profit thoſe who had taken their wine liberally, and were now well diſpoſed to mirth: moreover, even the amatorious objects therein preſented, are not without a ſingular uſe and benefit, for thoſe who being already ſet in an heat with wine, are within a while after to goe to bed and ſleepe with their wedded wives: neither ſhall you finde among all his comedies, as many as he hath written, any filthy love of a yoong faire boy; and as for the deflowring of yong maidens and virgins, about which there is ſuch adoe in his comedies, they ordinarily doe end in marriages and all parties be pleaſed. As touching the love of harlots and profeſſed courteſans, if they be proud, diſdainfull and preſumptuous queanes, certeinly our wanton affection that way, is well cooled and danted, by certeine chaſtiſements or repentances of yong men, who are repreſented in theſe comedies, to come againe unto themſelves, and acknowledge their follies; but as for thoſe kinde harlots, which are of good natures, and for their parts doe anſwere againe in true love, either you ſhall have in the end their owne fathers found, who may provide them huſbands, or els there is ſome meaſure of time ſet out for to gage their love, which at the laſt, after a certeine revolution and courſe run, turneth unto civill and baſhfull behavior. I know well, that all theſe matters and obſervations, unto thoſe who are otherwiſe occupied and buſied in affaires, be of no importance; but at a table, where men are ſet of very purpoſe to be merrie and to ſolace themſelves, I would wonder, if their dexteritie, delight, and good grace, doth not bring with it ſome amendment and ornament into the minds and conditions of thoſe who take heed unto them, yea, and imprint a certeine zeale and emulation, to frame and conforme themſelves unto thoſe that be honeſt and of the better ſort.

At theſe words, *Diogenianus* pauſed a while, were it for that he had made an end of his ſpeech, or to take his winde, and breathe himſelfe a little: and when the ſophiſter beganne to replie and came upon him againe, ſaying, that in his opinion there ſhould have bene ſome places and verſes recited out of *Ariſtophanes*. *Philip* ſpeaking unto me by name: This man (quoth he) hath his deſire ſatisfied, now that he hath ſo well recommended his friend *Menander*, in whom he taketh ſo great delight, and in compariſon of whom, he ſeemeth to have no care nor regard at all of any other: but there remaine yet, many other matters, which wee are woont to heare for our pleaſure, which hitherto have not bene examined; and yet very willing I am, to heare ſome diſcourſe of thẽ: as for the prety works of imagers, who cut out & grave ſmall living creatures, if it pleaſe this ſtranger here & *Diogenianus*, we wil put over the controverſie & the deciſion thereof untill to morow morning, when we are more ſober. Then began I to ſpeake, and ſaid: There be yet, other kinde of ſports and plaies, named *Mimi*, of which, ſome they call *Hypotheſes*, as it were moralities and repreſentations of hiſtories; others, *Pægnia*, that is to wit, ridiculous fooleries; but neither of them both, doe I take meet for a banquet; the former, both becauſe they require ſo long time in the acting, and alſo, for that they require ſo coſtly furniture and preparation; the other, are too ful of ribaudry, of filthy and beaſtly ſpeeches, not wel beſeeming the mouthes of pages and lackies, that carry their maſters ſlippers and pantofles after them, eſpecially, if their maſters be honeſt and wiſe men: and yet many there are, who at their feaſts, where their wives ſit by their ſides, and where their yoong children be preſent, cauſe ſuch fooliſh acts and ſpeeches to be repreſented, as trouble the ſpirits and diſorder the paſſions of the minde more, than any drunkenneſſe whatſoever. But for the play of the harpe, which is of ſo great antiquitie, and ever ſince before *Homers* time, hath beene a familiar friend and companion with feaſts, and alwaies enterteined there, it were not meet nor honeſt for to diſſolve that ancient friendſhip, and of ſo long continuance; but we would requeſt thoſe minſtrels that play and ſing to the harpe, to take out of their ſongs thoſe dolefull plaints, dumps, and ſorrowfull lamentations, which be ſo ordinarie in them, and to chaunt pleaſant ditties and freſh galliards, meet for thoſe who are met to be merrie and jocund. Moreover, as touching the flute and hautboies, they will not be kept out, do what a man will, from the table; for if we do but offer our libations, by powring out wine in the honour of the gods, we muſt needs have our pipes, or els all were marred, yea, and chaplets of flowers upon our heads; and it ſeemeth that the gods themſelves doe ſing thereto and accord: moreover, the ſound of the flute doth dulce the ſpirits, it entreth into the eares with ſo milde and pleaſant a tune, that it carrieth with it a tranquillitie and pacification of all motions, even unto the ſoule, in ſuch ſort, that if there did remaine in the underſtanding and minde, any griefe, any care or anxietie, which the wine had not diſcuſſed and chaſed away, by the gracious and amiable noiſe thereof, and the voice of the muſician ſinging thereto, it quieteth it, and bringeth it aſleepe: provided alwaies, that this inſtrument keepe a meane and mediocritie, ſo that it move not the ſoule too much, and make it paſſionate, with ſo many tunes and notes that it hath, at what time as the ſaid ſoule is ſo drenched and wrought ſoft with wine, that it is readie to be affected therewith: for like as ſheepe and other cattell, underſtand not any articulate language of a man, carrying a ſenſe and underſtanding therewith; howbeit, with certeine whiſtles or chirts, done by lips or hands, or with the ſound of ſome pipe or ſhell, the ſhepheards and other heardmen can tell how to raiſe them, or make them lie downe and couch; even ſo, the brutiſh part of our ſoule, which hath no underſtanding, nor is capable of reaſon, may be appeaſed, ranged and diſpoſed as it ought to be, by ſongs and ſounds, by meaſures, tunes and notes, as if it were charmed and enchanted by them: but to ſpeake what I thinke, this is my conceit, that neither ſound of flute, nor lute and harpe, by it ſelfe, without mans voice and ſong to it, can make merrie the companie met together at a feaſt, ſo much as a good ſpeech, well and properly fitted; for ſo we muſt accuſtome our ſelves in good earneſt, to take our principall pleaſure and delight in ſpeech, and to ſpend the moſt part of that time in diſcourſe and communication: as for ſong and harmonie, we are to make (as it were) a ſauce to our ſpeech, not to licke them up and ſwallow them downe alone by themſelves: for like as no man will reject and refuſe the pleaſure that commeth by wine & viands taken for the neceſſitie of our nouriture, and bringing therewith commoditie of our health; but that which entreth by ſweet ſents and perfumes is not neceſſarie, but ſuperfluous & delicate, *Socrates* ſent away (as it were) with a box of the eare; even ſo we ought not to heare the ſound of a flute or pſalterie, which ſtriketh and beateth upon our eares onely, but if it follow or accompanie our ſpeech, which doth feaſt and exhilarat the reaſon that is in our ſoule, we may well admit and receive the ſame. And verily, for mine owne part, I thinke, that the reaſon why in old time *Apollo* puniſhed that preſumptuous *Marſyas*, was this, that when he had cloſed up his mouth with his pipe and muzzle together, he preſumed to contend and ſtrive (having nothing but the bare ſound of the naked flute) againſt him, who together with the ſound of the harpe, had the ſong alſo and muſicke of the voice: let us therefore in this one thing eſpecially, beware and take heed, that in the companie of thoſe men, who by their ſpeech and learned diſcourſes are able to delight and pleaſure one another, we bring not in any ſuch thing to enter in at their eares, which may be an impeachment and hinderance rather of their delight, than a delectation it ſelfe: for not onely they be fooliſh and ill adviſed, as *Euripides* ſaith:

Who having of their owne at home
enough themſelves to ſave,
Will ſeeke els where, and from abroad,
their remedie to have.

but alſo, that they being provided ſufficiently of meanes in themſelves, to make their recreations of, and to ſolace their hearts, labour neverthelesſe all that ever they can, to have their delights from others. For the magnificence of that great king of *Perſia*, wherewith he meant to enterteine *Antalcides* the Lacedæmonian, ſeemed (I aſſure you) very groſſe, abſurd and impertinent, namely, when he dipped and wet a chaplet of roſes, ſaffron, and other odoriferous flowers, intermingled together, in a precious oile, and ſo ſent it unto him, doing injurie by that meanes to the flowers, and utterly quenching and marring that native beautie and fragrant ſweetneſſe of their owne; ſemblably, no leſſe abſurditie it were, when a feaſt hath mirth and muſicke enough in it ſelfe, to goe about for to enchant and encharme it with other minſtrelſie from abroad, and ſo for a ſtrange and borrowed delight, to bereave the gueſts of their owne and proper, and as one would ſay, change the principall for the acceſſorie. I conclude therefore, that the fitteſt ſeaſon for ſuch amuſement and occupying of the eares is, when the feaſt beginneth a little to grow turbulent, and to fall into ſome contentious debate and braule, by heat of opinionative arguing, for to alay and quench all, that it breake not out, to opprobrious tearmes; or to repreſſe a diſputation, which is like to paſſe the bounds of reaſoning, and to grow unto an unpleaſant and ſophiſticall alteration; yea, and to ſtay all litigious wrangling and vehement invectives, beſeeming rather pleas at barre, or the orations in the publicke hall of a city, untill ſuch time as the banquet be reduced into the former calme and tranquillitie.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

That to conſult at the table, while men are drinking wine, was an ancient cuſtome among the Greeks as well as Perſians.

NIcoſtratus upon a time invited us to a ſupper; and when we were ſet, there aroſe ſome ſpeech as touching certeine matters, upon which the Athenians were the morrow after to ſit in councell, and to debate in a generall aſſemblie of the citie: now, as one of our companie caſt out this word, and ſaid: This is the Perſian faſhion, my maſters, thus to conſult and holde a councell at the boord. And why Perſian rather than Grecian (quoth *Glaucias?*) for a Grecian I am ſure he was, that ſaid:

Γαϛερὸς ἀπὸ πλείης, βουλὴ ϗ μῆτις ἀμείνων.

That is to ſay,

From bellie full, beſt counſell doth ariſe,
And ſureſt plots men in that caſe deviſe.

And Greeks they were, who under the conduct of *Agamemnon* held *Troy* beſieged; who as they were eating and drinking together,

The good old Neſtor *firſt began,*
Wiſely upon the point to ſcan.

who alſo was himſelfe the author of this meeting, and adviſed the king to invite his nobles, and the principall captaines of the armie to a dinner, for to ſit in counſell in theſe tearmes:

Make now a feaſt, I you adviſe my lord,
And bid your auncient peeres; who when at bord
They be all ſet; marke who gives counſell beſt,
Obey his reed, and ſee therein your reſt.

And therefore the moſt nations of *Greece* which were ruled under the beſt lawes, and moſt conſtantly reteined their auncient ordinances and cuſtomes, laid the firſt foundation of their government and counſell of State upon wine: for thoſe guilds and ſocieties in *Candy*, which they called *Andreia*, as alſo the *Phiditia* in *Sparta*, were inſtituted and held for privie counſels and aſſemblies of ſenators; like unto that, if I be not deceived, which even in this citie heere of *Athens* goeth under the name of *Prytaneion*, and *Theſmotheſion*; and not farre different from theſe, in that night aſſemblie of the principall perſonages, and moſt politicke States-men whereof *Plato* ſpeaketh in his books, unto which he referreth the cauſes and affaires of moſt importance, which require greateſt conſultation: thoſe counſellers of State alſo in *Homer*:

Who offer wine to Mercurie,
the laſt of others all,
What time as now, bed-time it is,
and them to ſleepe doth call.

doe not they I pray you joine wine and words together? when they are about therefore to depart, and retire themſelves into their bed-chambers, the firſt thing that they do, is to make their praiers, and powre out their libations of wine, unto the wiſeſt God of all others, as if he were preſent with them, and their ſuperintendent to overſee them: but they who were indeed the moſt auncient of all others, called even *Bacchus* himſelfe * *Eubulus*, as if they had no need at all of *Mercurie*, and in regard alſo of him, they attributed unto night the name of * *Euphrone*.

* εὔβουλος, that is, a wiſe and prudent coũſeller.
* εὐφρόνη, that is, inventive or conſiderate.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether they did well who ſat in conſultation at the table?

WHen *Glaucias* had ſpoken theſe words, we all thought that theſe turbulent and litigious debates had beene well appeaſed and laid aſleepe; but to the end that they might ſo much the rather die and be buried in oblivion; *Nicoſtratus* provided another queſtion and ſaid: At the firſt (quoth he) I made no great matter of this cuſtome, nor regarded it much, taking it to be a meere Perſian faſhion; but now ſeeing it is diſcovered to be an order alſo among the Greeks, requiſite and neceſſarie it is to render ſome reaſon thereof, for to defend it againſt an evident abſurditie, which at the firſt ſight preſenteth it ſelfe; for that the diſcourſe of reaſon in manner of the eie, is hardly to be governed by us, and untoward for to be brought to performe her worke in a great quantitie of moiſture, and the ſame as yet ſtirring and waving: and beſides, all odious griefes, which on every ſide appeere and come foorth to wine, like as ſnakes, lizards, and ſuch like ſerpents, are brought to light and ſhew themſelves to the ſunne, cauſe the minde to be wavering, inconſtant, and irreſolute: as therefore a bed or pallet is better than a chaire, for them that are diſpoſed to drinke and make merry, for that it conteineth the body at full, and exempteth it from all maner of motion; even ſo the beſt way is, to keepe the ſoule quiet and in repoſe altogether; and if that may not be, to do by it as men doe by children that can reſt and ſtand on no ground, but be evermore ſtirring; namely to give unto it, not a ſword or a javelin, but a rattle or a ball, like as *Bacchus* putteth into the hands of drunken folke the ferula ſtalke (a moſt light weapon and inſtrument either to offend or defend withall) to the end that as they be readieſt to ſtrike, ſo they might be leaſt able for to hurt: for the faults that bee committed in drunkenneſſe ought to paſſe lightly in mirth, and go away with a laughter, and not to bee lamentable tragicall, and bringing with them great calamities. Moreover, that which is the chiefe and principall thing in conſultation of great affaires, to wit, that hee who for want of wit and knowledge in the world, ſhould follow the opinion of thoſe who are of great conceit, deepe judgement, and long experience, this meanes wine bereaveth us of; inſomuch as it ſeemeth heereupon to have taken the name οἶνος in Greeke; becauſe as *Plato* ſaith, it cauſeth them drinke it freely, * οἴεσθαι, that is to ſay, to have a good conceit and weening of themſelves, as if they were very witty and wiſe: for how ever they take themſelves to be eloquent, faire, or rich, as ordinarily they doe all of them; yet they eſteeme better of their owne wit and wiſe-

* Wine of weening.

dome, than of any thing elſe: and this is the reaſon that wine is talkative and full of words; it filleth us with laviſh ſpeech, and the ſame unſeaſonable; yea, it maketh us to have a marvellous good opinion of our ſelves in ech reſpect, as if we were woorthy to commaund and preſcribe unto others, more meet to be heard than to heare, and fitter to leade and goe before, than to follow & come after: But (quoth *Glaucias* then) an eaſie matter it is for any man to collect and alledge much tending unto this point, conſidering how evident and plaine the thing is: it were good therefore to heare a diſcourſe to the contrary, if haply any perſon, yoong or old, will ſtand up in defence of wine. Then our brother, full cunningly and ſliely, like a crafty ſophiſter: Why (quoth he) thinke you that any man is able ſo preſently and upon a ſudden to deviſe and ſpeake unto the queſtion in hand, all that may be ſaid probably thereto? And why (quoth *Nicoſtratus*) ſhould not I ſo thinke, conſidering ſo many learned men in place, and thoſe who love wine well enough? at which word the other ſmiled and ſaid: Are you in deed ſufficient, even in your owne conceit, to diſcourſe upon this point before us, and yet indiſpoſed, and altogether unable to conſider upon State matters, and affaires of government, becauſe you have taken your wine well? and is not this all one, as to thinke that he who hath drunke freely, ſeeth well enough with his eies, and howſoever he heareth not perfectly with his eares thoſe whom hee ſpeaketh and talketh with, yet for all that he hath the perfect hearing of thoſe who either ſing or play upon the flute? for as it is likely, and ſtandeth to great reaſon, that good and profitable things ſhould affect and draw the outward ſences more unto them, than thoſe which are gaudie onely and fine; even ſo no doubt, ſuch matters make the minde alſo more intentive: and if a man for that he hath plied his drinking overmuch, cannot haply comprehend well the difficult ſubtilties of ſome high points in philoſophie, I nothing marvell thereat; but if the queſtion be of matters and affaires of State, great likelihood there is, that if he be called away thereto, he ſhould gather his wits more cloſe together, and be more vigorous; like as *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, who having plaied the foole, and made himſelfe ridiculous at *Cheronea*, after the battell there, both in word and deed, upon his liberall drinking, preſently aſſoone as hee fell to treatie of peace and articles of agreement, hee compoſed his countenance to gravitie, knit his browes, and caſt behinde him all vaine fooleries, wanton geſtures and unſeemly behaviour, and ſo gave unto the Athenians a ſober, diſcreet, and well adviſed anſwere. And verily one thing it is to drinke well, and another thing to be ſtarke drunke: ſuch as be ſo farre gone and overſeene with drinke, that they know not what they do or ſay, ought as we thinke, to take their beds and ſleepe; as for thoſe who have taken their wine in deed too much, and be ſcarſe ſober (howbeit, otherwiſe men of wit and underſtanding) we ſhall never need to feare that they will faile in judgement, yea, and forget their experience, conſidering that wee daily ſee theſe dancers, ſingers and minſtrels performe their parts no worſe at feaſts, for all their liberall drinking, than in the publicke theaters: for the skill and knowledge, whereof they have gotten the habit, is evermore ſo preſent and readie with them, that it maketh their bodies active and nimble, able to performe thoſe parts and functions directly, yea, and to anſwere the motions of the minde accordingly with confidence. Many there be alſo, in whoſe heads and hearts wine ſo worketh, that it putteth into them an aſſured boldneſſe and reſolution, which helpeth them much to the performance of any great actions, and the ſame is nothing inſolent and outragious, but milde and gracious. And thus we reade of *Aeſchylus* the poet, that he endited and wrote his tragedies when he was thorowly ſet in an heat with wine; in ſuch ſort, as that they all were conceived by the influence of *Bacchus*, and not as *Gorgias* ſaith, that one of them, and namely, the greateſt (intituled, The ſeven princes before *Thebes*) was begotten (as it were) by *Mars*. For wine being of power to enchafe the bodie and minde both, according as *Plato* ſaith, cauſeth the bodie to be perſpirable, quicke and active, opening all the pores and paſſages thereof, giving way unto the fantaſies and imaginations eaſily to runne forth, drawing out together with them, the aſſurance of reaſon and boldneſſe of ſpeech: for you ſhall have men, whoſe invention naturally is good enough, in whom (when they be ſober and faſting) the ſame is colde, timorous, and in maner frozen; let them once be well plied with wine, cup after cup, you ſhall ſee them evaporate and ſmoake out, like as frankincenſe doth by the heat of fire. Furthermore, the nature of wine, chaſeth away all feare, which is as contrarie unto thoſe who ſit in conſultation, as any thing in the world; it quencheth alſo, many other baſe and vile paſſions, ſuch as malice and rancour; it openeth the double plates and folds of the minde, diſplaying and diſcovering the whole diſpoſition and nature of a man, by his very words; yea, it hath a vertue to give franke and liberall ſpeech; and conſequently, audacitie to utter the trueth; without which, neither

ther experience nor quickeneſſe of wit availeth ought: for many there be, who putting in practiſe, and making uſe of that which commeth quickely into their heads, ſpeed better, and have greater ſucceſſe, than thoſe who warily, cauteloufly, and with much ſubtiltie, ſeeme to conceale and keepe in that which preſenteth it ſelfe unto them, and be very lateward in delivering their opinion: we are not therefore to feare wine in this regard, that it ſtirreth up the paſſions of the minde; for it inciteth not the worſt, unleſſe it be in the wickeddeſt men, whoſe counſell is at no time ſober: but as *Theophraſtus* was woont to call barbars ſhoppes, drie bankets without wine; even ſo, there is a kind of wineleſſe drunkenneſſe, and the ſame, ſowre and unpleaſant, dwelling continually within the mindes of men that be vicious and without good bringing up; troubled and vexed alwaies with ſome anger, with grudge, malice, envie, emulation, contention, or illiberal baſeneſſe; of which vices, wine abating the edge of a great part, rather than ſharpning them, maketh men not ſottiſh fooles, and blockiſh dolts, but ready and apt, and yet circumſpect, cautelous, and wary; not ſupine and negligent in matters concerning their profit; but yet induſtrious, and making choiſe of that which is good and honeſt: but ſuch as tearme wily-craftineſſe, by the name of fine wit, and take erroneous opinion and mechanicall nigardiſe, for wiſedome, may even aſwell and with as good reaſon ſay, that as many as when they be drinking at the table, ſpeake their mindes roundly, and utter with libertie what they thinke, be ſenſeleſſe fooles: but contrariwiſe, our ancients called *Bacchus*, Ελευθέριον and Λύσιον, which is as much to ſay, as Deliverer and Freer; being of opinion, that there was to be aſcribed unto him, a great part of divination, not for that he was furious, raging & mad, as *Euripides* ſaid, but becauſe he delivereth the minde, and freeth it from all ſervile feare, diffidence and cowardiſe, giving us freedome and libertie to ſpeake the trueth, and uſe frankneſſe of ſpeech one to another.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE
OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie.

1 *Of thoſe daies, upon which were borne certeine notable and famous perſons; and withall, as touching that progenie, which is ſaid to deſcend from the gods.*

2 *In what ſenſe* Plato *ſaid, that God alwaies exerciſeth Geometrie.*

3 *What is the reaſon that ſounds be more audible in the night, than in the day.*

4 *What is the cauſe, that of the ſacred games, ſome have this garland, and others that, but all, the date-tree branch; as alſo, why the great dates be called* Nicolai.

5 *Wherefore they that ſaile upon the river* Nilus, *draw up water for their uſe, before it be day.*

6 *Of thoſe that come late to ſupper; and therewith, whereupon came theſe names of refections,* ἀκράτισμα, ἄριστον, *and* δεῖπνον.

7 *Of certeine Pythagorean precepts, by which forbidden we are to enterteine ſwallowes within our houſes; and when we are newly riſen out of our beds, to ruffle the clothes.*

8 *What might be the motive that induced the Pythagoreans among all other living creatures, to abſtaine moſt from fiſh.*

9 *Whether it be poſsible, that by our meats there ſhould be engendred new diſeaſes.*

10 *What is the cauſe that we take leaſt heed of our dreames in Autumne.*

THE

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or table-diſcourſes.

The Proëme.

THey that chaſe philoſophie out of feaſts and banquets (ô *Soſsius Senecio)* do not the ſame,but worſe farre,than thoſe who take away the light from thence; for that when the lampe is gone, ſuch perſons as be made temperate and well diſpoſed,will be nothing the woorſe therefore, making as they doe, more account of a reverent regard, than of the mutuall ſight one of another: whereas, if rudeneſſe, ignorance and leaudneſſe be joined with wine,the very golden lampe of *Minerva*, if it were there, could not poſsibly make the feaſt or banquet lovely, gracious, modeſt, and well ordered: for that men ſhould feed and fill themſelves together in ſilence, without a word ſaying,were the faſhion that ſavoured very much of ſtil ſwine at their draffe, and perhaps a thing impoſsible: but whoſoever reſerveth ſpeech in a feaſt, and withall, admitteth not the wiſe and profitable uſe thereof, is more worthy to be laughed at, than he who thinketh verily, that gueſts ſhould be ever eating and drinking at a ſupper, but not filleth unto them, wine undelaied, unſeaſoned, and which is meere of it ſelfe; or ſetteth before them, viands unſeaſoned, without ſalt or ſauce,and the ſame not cleanly dreſſed; for that there is no meat or drinke ſo unſavorie,unpleaſant and hurtfull, for want of good and orderly handling, as words carried unſeemly, and without diſcretion, at a banquet: which is the reaſon, that philoſophers when they reproove drunkenneſſe, call it a doting by wine; and ſurely, this dotage is no other thing, but raving or vaine, fooliſh and undiſcreet uſing of words: now when diſordinate babling and fooliſh talke,meeteth once with wine in a banquet, it can not chuſe but the iſſue thereof will be reprochfull contumelie,inſolencie,brainſicke follie and villanie,which of all others,is a moſt unpleaſant end,and fartheſt from all muſes and graces: and therefore it is no fooliſh ceremonie and abſurd faſhion, which the women in our countrey obſerve at their feaſts called *Agronia*, where they make ſemblance for a while, as if they ſought for *Bacchus*, being fled out of the way, but afterwards give over ſeeking,and ſay that he is gone away, and run to the muſes,and there lurketh,and lieth hidden among them: and anon,when ſupper is ended, they uſe to put forth darke riddles, and propoſe queſtions one to another,hard to be ſolved: the myſterie whereof,teacheth us thus much, that both we, ought at the table, to uſe ſuch ſpeech as doth conteine ſome good learned ſpeculation and erudition;and alſo,that when thoſe diſcourſes are joined with wine and drunkenneſſe, then they be the muſes who hide and cover all furious outrage and enormitie, which alſo is willing to be deteined and kept by them.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

As touching thoſe daies which are ennobled by the nativitie of ſome renowmed perſons; and withall of that progenie or race which is ſaid to be derived from the gods.

THis book then, which is the eighth in order of our ſympoſiaques or diſcourſes at the table, ſhall conteine in the firſt place, that which not long ſince we chanced to heare and ſpeake, that day whereon we celebrate the feaſt of *Platoes* nativity: for having ſolemnized the birth day of *Socrates* upon the ſixth of February; the morow after,which was the ſeventh of that moneth, we did the like by *Plato*; which gave us occaſion, and miniſtred matter firſt to enter into a diſcourſe fitting the occurrence of theſe two nativities; in which *Diogenianus* the Pergamian, began firſt in this maner: *Ion* the poet (quoth he) ſaid not amiſſe of fortune,that being as ſhe was, different from wiſdome in many things, yet ſhe brought foorth effects not a few like unto her; and as for this, it ſeemeth that ſhe hath cauſed it to fall out very well and fitly, and not without ſome ſkill, (raſh though ſhe be otherwiſe) not only for that theſe two birth-daies jumpe ſo nere one unto the other, but alſo becauſe, that of the maſter who was of the twaine more ancient, commeth alſo in order before the other. Whereupon it came into my head alſo to alledge many examples of occurrents happening likewiſe at one and the ſame time; and namely, as touching the birth and death of *Euripides*, who was borne that very day whereon the Greeks fought the navall battell of *Solamis* at ſea with the king of *Perſia*, and whoſe fortune it was to die the ſame day that *Denys* the elder tyrant of *Sicilie* was borne; as if fortune of purpoſe (as *Timæus* ſaith) had taken out of the world a poet, who repreſented tragicall calamities, the very ſame day that ſhe brought into the world the actour thereof. Mention alſo was made of the death of king *Alexander* the Great, which fell out juſt upon the ſame day that *Diogenes* the Cynicke philoſopher departed this life: and by one generall voice accorded it was, that king *Attalus* left his life, the very day that hee celebrated the memoriall of his nativitie: and ſome there were who ſaid, that *Pompey* the Great died in *Aegypt*, the ſame day of the yere that he was born; though others affirmed that it was one day ſooner: ſemblably, there came into our remembrance at the ſame time *Pindarus*, who being borne during the ſolemnitie of the Pythicke games, compoſed afterwards many hymnes in the honour of that god, for whom thoſe games were ſolemnized. Then *Florus* ſaid, that *Carneades* was not unworthy to be remembred upon the day of *Platoes* nativity, conſidering he was one of the moſt famous pillers that ſupported the ſchoole of Academy; and both of them were borne at the feſtivall times of *Apollo*; the one in *Athens*, what time as the feaſt *Thargelia* was holden; and the other, that very day when as ths Cyrenians ſolemnized it, which they call *Carnea*; and both of them fell out juſt upon the ſeventh day of Februarie; on which day you my maſters, who are the prophets and prieſts of *Apollo*, doe ſay that himſelfe was borne, and therefore you call him *Hebdomagenes*: neither doe I thinke, that they who attribute unto this God, the fatherhood of *Plato*, doe him any diſhonour, in that he hath begotten and provided for us a phyſician, who by the meanes of the doctrine of *Socrates*, even another *Chrion*, cureth and healeth the greater infirmities and more grievous maladies of the ſoule. Moreover, it was not forgotten, how it was held for certeine, that *Apollo* appeared in a viſion by night, unto *Ariſton* the father of *Plato*, and a voice beſides was heard, forbidding him expreſly not to lie with his wife, nor to touch her for the ſpace of ten moneths. Hereupon *Tyndares* the Lacedæmonian ſeconded theſe words, and ſaid, that by good right we were to ſing and ſay thus of *Plato*:

He ſeemed not the ſonne of mortall wight;
Some god for ſire, he may avouch by right.

Howbeit, for my part, I am afraid, that to beget repugneth no leſſe with the immortalitie of the deitie, than to be begotten; for ſurely, even the act of generation, implieth alſo a mutation and paſſion: and king *Alexander* the Great ſignified no leſſe one time, when he ſaid, that he knew himſelfe principally to be mortall and ſubject to corruption, by having companie with a woman, & by his ſleep: for that ſleepe is occaſioned by a relaxation proceeding from feebleneſſe: and as for all generation, performed it is by the paſſage of ſome portion of ones ſelfe into another; and ſo much therfore is loſt & gone from the principall: and yet on the other ſide, I take heart againe, and am confirmed, when I heare *Plato* himſelfe to call the eternall God, who never was borne nor begotten, Father and Creatour of the world, and of other things generable; not that God doth engender after the maner of men, by the meanes of naturall ſeed; but by another power doth ingenerate and infuſe into matter, a vertue generative, and a principle, which altereth, moveth, and transmuteth the ſame:

For even by windes that female birds inſpire,
Conceiv'd they be, when they to breed deſire.

Neither doe I thinke it any abſurditie, that a god companying with a woman, not as man, but after another ſort of touching & contractation, and by other meanes, altereth and repleniſheth her, being a mortall creature, with divine and heavenly ſeed: And this is (quoth he) no invention of mine: for the Aegyptians hold that their *Apis* is in that manner engendred by the light of the moone, ſtriking upon his dam, whereby ſhe is conceived; and generally they admit thus much, that a god of the male ſex, may deale with a mortall woman: but contrariwiſe, they think not that a mortall man is able to give unto any goddeſſe the beginning of conception or birth; for they are of opinion, that the ſubſtance of theſe goddeſſes, conſiſteth in a certeine aire, and ſpirits, yea and in certeine heats and humors.

THE

THE SECOND QUESTION.

How Plato *is to be underſtood, when he ſaith: That God continually is exerciſed in Geometry.*

AFter theſe words, there enſued ſome ſilence for a while; and then *Diogenianus* beginning againe to ſpeake: How thinke you maſters (quoth he) are you contented & well pleaſed, conſidering that we have had ſome ſpeech already of the gods, and that on the day wherein we ſolemnize the nativitie of *Plato*, that we make him partaker alſo of our conference, and take occaſion thereby, to conſider upon what intention and in what ſenſe he hath ſaid, that God continually practiſeth Geometrie, at leaſtwiſe if we may preſuppoſe and ſet down, that he it was who was the author of this ſentence: Then ſaid I: Written it is not in any place of al his books; howbeit, held to be a ſaying of his, and it ſavoreth much of his ſtile and maner of phraſe. Whereupon *Tyndares* immediately taking the words out of his mouth: Thinke you (quoth he) ô *Diogenianus*, that this ſentence covertly and in myſticall tearmes, ſignifieth any darke ſubtiltie, and not the very ſame, which *Plato* himſelfe hath both ſaid and written in praiſing and magnifying Geometrie, as being the thing which plucketh thoſe away who are faſtened unto ſenſible objects, and averteth them to the conſideration of ſuch natures, as be intelligible and eternall; the contemplation whereof is the very end of philoſophie, even as the view and beholding of ſecret ſacred things, is the end of religious myſteries: for the naile of pleaſure and paine, which faſteneth the ſoule unto the bodie, among other miſchiefes that it doth unto man, worketh him this diſpleaſure as it ſhould ſeeme above all, that it cauſeth ſenſible things to be more evident unto him, than intellectuall, and forceth his underſtanding to judge by paſſion more than by reaſon: for being accuſtomed by the ſenſe and feeling of extreame paine, or exceeding pleaſure of the body, to be intentive unto that wandring, uncerteine, and mutable nature of the bodie, as ſeeming a thing ſubſiſtent, blinded hee is, and loſeth altogether the knowledge of that which is eſſentiall indeed, and hath a true being, forgoing that light and inſtrument of the ſoule, which is better than ten thouſand bodily eies, and by which organe alone, he might ſee the deitie and divine nature: for ſo it is, that all other ſciences which we name mathematicall, as in ſo many mirrors, not twining and warping, but plaine, ſmooth, and even, there appeere the very tracts, prints, and images of the truth of things intelligible: but Geometrie eſpecially which *Philo* calleth the mother citie, and miſtreſſe commaunding all the reſt, doth divert and gently withdraw by little and little, the minde purified & clenſed from the cogitation of ſenſuall things: and this is the reaſon that *Plato* himſelfe reprooved *Eudoxus*, *Architas*, and *Menæchmus*, who went about to reduce the duplication of the cube or ſolide ſquare into mechanicall inſtruments, and artificiall engines, as if it had not beene poſſible, (if a man would ſet unto it) by demonſtration of reaſon to finde out and comprehend, two middle lines proportionall; for he objected unto them: That this was as much as to deſtroy and overthrow the beſt thing in Geometrie, when by this meanes they would have her turne backe againe unto ſenſible things, and keepe her from mounting up aloft, and embracing thoſe eternall and incorporall images; upon which God being continually intentive, is therefore alwaies God.

After *Tyndares*, *Florus* a familiar friend of his, and one who made ſemblant alwaies by way of ſport and gave it out in word, that he was timorous of him: Well done of you (quoth hee) in that you would not have this ſpeech to be your owne, but a common ſaying of every man, and you would ſeeme to argue and proove, that *Plato* ſheweth how Geometrie is not neceſſary for the gods, but for men: for God hath no need of any mathematicall ſcience, as an engine or inſtrument to turne him from things ingendred, and to bring about and direct his intelligence and underſtanding unto thoſe that be of an eternall eſſence: For why? In him, with him, and about him they be al: but take heed rather, & ſee whether *Plato* hath not covertly under theſe dark words liſped and ſignified ſomewhat that is pertinent and proper unto you, which you have not marked and obſerved, in that hee joineth *Lycurgus* with *Socrates*, no leſſe than *Pythagoras*, as *Dicæarchus* was of opinion: for *Lycurgus* as you know very well, chaſed out of *Lacedæmon*, arithmeticall proportion as a popular thing, turbulent and apt to make commotions; but hee brought in the Geometricall, as befitting the civill and modeſt government of ſome few wiſe ſages, and a lawfull roialtie and regall dominion: for the former giveth equally unto all according to number; but the other unto every one, by reaſon and with regard of deſert and woorthineſſe; this proportion (I ſay) maketh no confuſion of all together, but in it there is an apparent

rent diſcretion and diſtinction betweene the good and the bad, dealing alwaies unto every one their owne, not by the balance or lot, but according to the difference of vice and vertue: God therefore uſeth this proportion, and applieth it unto things: and the ſame it is (my good friend *Tyndares*) which is called *Dice* and *Nemeſis*; teaching us there by, that we ought to make of juſtice, equalitie, and not of equallity, juſtice; for the equalitie which the common ſort ſeeketh after, and is indeed the greateſt injuſtice that may be, God taketh out of the world, and as much as poſſibly may be, obſerveth that which is fit and meet for every one according to deſert and worthineſſe, going heerein Geometrically to worke, by reaſon and law defining and diſtributing accordingly.

When we had praiſed this expoſition and interpretation of his, *Tyndares* ſaid: That he envied ſuch commendation, exhorting *Autobulus* to ſet againſt *Florus*, to confute him, and correct that which he had delivered. That he refuſed to do; howbeit, he oppoſed and brought forth a certeine opinion and conceit of his owne: Thus it is (quoth he) Geometrie is not a ſpeculative skill of mens manners and behaviour, nor yet occupied about any ſubject matter whatſoever, but the ſymptomes, accidents, and paſſions of thoſe extremities or termes which accompliſh bodies: neither hath God by any other meanes framed and made the world, but onely by determining or making finit that matter which was infinit in it ſelfe, not in regard of quantitie, greatneſſe, and multitude; but for that being as it was, inconſtant, wandering, diſorderly, and unperfect, our auncients were wont to call it infinit, that is to ſay, undetermined and unfiniſhed: for the forme and figure is the terme or end of every thing that is formed and ſhapen; the want whereof made it of it ſelfe to be ſhapeleſſe and disfigured: but after that numbers and proportions come to be imprinted upon the rude and formeleſſe matter, then being tied and bound (as it were) firſt with lines, and after lines, with ſuperficies and profundities, it brought foorth the firſt kinds and differences of bodies, as the foundation and ground-worke for the generation of aire, earth, water, and fire: for impoſſible it had beene, and abſurd, that of matter ſo wandring, ſo errant, and diſorderly, there ſhould ariſe equalities of ſides, and ſimilitudes of angles, in thoſe ſolide ſquare bodies, which were called *Octaedra* and *Eicoſaedra*, that is to ſaie, with eight and twentie baſes: likewiſe in pyramidals and cubes, unleſſe there had been ſome worke-man to limit, ordeine, and diſpoſe every thing Geometrically; thus a limit or terme being given unto that which was infinit; all things in this univerſall world, compoſed, ordered, and contempered accordingly in excellent manner, were firſt and made, and are made now every day; notwithſtanding the ſaid matter ſtriveth and laboureth daily to returne unto her infinit eſtate, as very loth and refuſing to be thus geometrized, that is to ſay, reduced to ſome finit and determinate limits; whereas reaſon on the contrariſide, reſtreineth and comprehendeth her; diſtributing her into divers Ideaes, from which all things which are ingendred, take their generation and conſtitution.

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but he requeſted me to contribute ſomewhat alſo of mine owne unto this diſcourſe and queſtion in hand: but I for my part, commended highly their opinions, thus delivered, as being naturally and directly deviſed by themſelves and their owne proper inventions, ſaying withall: That they caried with them ſufficient probabilitie: But for that (quoth I) you ſhould not be diſpleaſed and offended with your ſelves, nor altogether have your eie abroad and looke unto others, liſten and heare what meaning and interpretation of the ſaid ſentence, was moſt approoved unto our maſters and teachers: for there is among the propoſitions, or poſitions rather, and theoremes geometricall, one above the reſt, to wit; When two formes or figures are given and put downe, to ſet a third thereto, equall to the one, and ſemblable to the other; for the invention whereof, it is ſaid, that *Pythagoras* ſacrificed unto the gods: for this *Theoreon* without all doubt is more gallant, witty, and learned, than that, by which he did demonſtrate, and proove that the ſlope line *Hypotinuſa*, availeth as much as the two laterales, which make a right angle in a triangle: Well ſaid of you (quoth *Diogenianus*) but what ſerveth this for the matter now in queſtion? You ſhall underſtand ſoone (quoth I) in caſe you will call to memory that diviſion in *Timæus*, whereas the philoſopher made a tripartite diſtribution of thoſe principles, whereby the world had the beginning of generation; of which, the one he called by a moſt juſt name, God; the ſecond Matter; and the third Forme or Idea: So the matter of all ſubject things is moſt diſordinate; the Idea of all mouldes and patterns, moſt beautifull; but God of all cauſes ſimply the beſt: Thus would not he admit, or leave any thing, as farre foorth as poſſibly might otherwiſe be, infinit and undeterminate; but adorne nature with proportion, meaſure, and number, making of all ſubjects one thing, in quantity equall to the matter, & in quality ſemblable to the forme, ſetting therefore before him this propoſition, having already twain, a third to it he made, doth make and preſerve for ever, equal to the matter, & ſemblable to the forme, to wit, the world; which being alwaies in regard of that inbred neceſſitie of a bodie, ſubject to generation, alteration, & all kinds of paſſion, is aided and ſuccoured by the creatour and father thereof, who determineth the ſubſtance by reaſon of juſt proportion, according to the image of the patron, whereby the pourpriſe and circuit of this univerſall world is more beautifull, being thus vaſt and great, than if it had beene leſſe and competent.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that the night is more reſonant or reſounding than the day?

As we ſat at ſupper one evening in *Athens* with *Ammonius*, we heard a great tumult & noiſe which rang all the houſe over, of people in the ſtreet without, crying aloud; Captaine, captaine: now was *Ammonius* then the third time prætor or captaine of the citie: Hee ſent foorth immediately ſome of his men about him, to ſee what the matter was; who preſently appeaſed the hurry, and diſmiſſed thoſe who had raiſed this outcry: upon which occaſion wee in the meane while entred into queſtion: Why thoſe who are within houſe heare them very well that cry without; but they that are abroad heare not ſo eaſily thoſe within, crying as loud? *Ammonius* incontinently made anſwer and ſaid, that this queſtion had already beene ſolved by *Ariſtotle* in this wiſe: For that the voice of thoſe within being once gotten foorth and flowen into a wide place of much aire, vaniſheth away, and is diſſipated immediately; whereas the voice of them without, when it is entred in, doth not the like, but is reteined and kept cloſe, and ſo by conſequence more eaſie to be heard: But there is another thing (quoth hee) which requireth rather to have a reaſon rendred thereof; namely: Why in the night ſeaſon all voices doe reſound greater than in the day time, and beſides the greatneſſe, are more cleere, diſtinct, articulate, & audible? For mine owne part (quoth he) I am of this minde, that the divine providence hath in great wiſedome ordeined, that our hearing ſhould be more freſh and quicke, when as our ſight ſerveth us in little or no ſtead at all; for ſeeing that the aire of the night which accorcording to *Empedocles*,

Wandreth alone, and ſolitary,
And doth blind eies about her cary.

is obſcure and darke, looke how much defect it maketh in our ſight, ſo much it ſupplieth and requiteth in our eares: but for that of things alſo which neceſſarily are done by nature, the cauſes ought to be ſought out, and the proper & peculiar office of a philoſopher and naturaliſt, is to buſie himſelfe in ſeeking after the materiall cauſes, & inſtrumentall principles; which of all you will firſt come forth with ſome probable reaſon, as touching this matter? whereupon there being ſome pauſe & ſilence for a time, *Boethus* ſaid thus: When I was my ſelfe a yong man, and a ſtudent, I made uſe otherwhiles of thoſe principles which are in Geometrie called Poſitions: and certeine propoſitions I ſuppoſed as undoubted truthes, without any need of demonſtration: but now will I uſe ſome of thoſe which heeretofore have beene prooved by *Epicurus*, as for example: Thoſe things which be, are caried in that which is not, nor hath any being: for much vacuitie or voidneſſe there is ſtored as it were, and intermingled among thoſe atomes or indiviſible little bodies of the aire, which when it is ſpred abroad in ſpacious capacitie, and by reaſon of the raritie and thinneſſe thereof, runneth too and fro round about: there be a number of ſmall, void, and emptie places, among thoſe little motes or parcels ſcattered here and there, and taking up the whole region: but contrariwiſe, when they are pent in, and a reſtreint and compreſſion made of them, being thruſt together into a little ſpace; theſe ſmall bodies being hudled perforce one upon another, leave a large voide ſpace, to vague and range abroad: and this doth the night by reaſon of cold; for heat doth looſen, diſgregate, ſcatter and diſſolve all thicke things, which is the reaſon why thoſe bodies which either boile, thaw, or melt, occupie more roome: contrariwiſe, ſuch which gather, congeale, and bee frozen, come together cloſe, and be united, leaving an emptie place in thoſe veſſels wherein they were conteined, and from which they be retired: The voice therefore comming among, and lighting upon many of theſe bodies thus ſcattered and diſperſed thicke everie where, either is drowned altogether at once or diſgregated and broken as it were in pieces, or elſe meeteth with many impeachments to withſtand and ſtay it: but where there is a ſpace void, and wherein there is not a bodie, it having a free and full courſe, and the ſame not interrupted, but plaine and continued, commeth ſo much the ſooner unto the eare, and together with that ſwiftneſſe, reteineth ſtill the articulate, expreſſe, and diſtinct ſound of every word in ſpeech: for you ſee how emptie veſſels, if a man knocke upon them, anſwere better to every ſtroake, and carrie the ſound and noiſe a great way off; yea, and many times they yeeld a ſound that goeth round about, and continueth a good while, redoubling the noiſe; whereas let a veſſell be filled either with ſolid bodies, or els with ſome liquor, it is altogether deafe and dumbe, if I may ſo ſay, and yeeldeth no ſound againe; for that it hath no place nor way to paſſe thorow. Now among ſolid bodies, gold and ſtone, becauſe they be full and maſſie, have a very ſmall and feeble ſound, that will be heard any way, and that little which they doe render, is ſoone gone: contrariwiſe, braſſe is verie vocall, reſonant, and (as one would ſay) a blab of the tongue; for that it hath much emptineſſe in it, and the ſubſtance or maſſe thereof, is light and thinne, not compact of many bodies, hudled together, and thruſt one upon another; but hath foiſon and plentie of that ſubſtance mingled together, which is ſoft, yeelding and not reſiſting the touch or the ſtroake, which affoordeth eaſineſſe unto other motions, and ſo enterteining the voice gently and willingly, ſendeth it untill it meet ſomthing in the way which ſtoppeth the mouth; for then it ſtaieth and ceaſeth to pierce any further, becauſe of the ſtoppage that it findeth. And this is it (quoth he, in mine opinion) that cauſeth the night to be more reſonant, and the day, leſſe; for that the heat in day time which diſſolveth the aire, cauſeth the intervalles betweene the atomes or motes aboveſaid, to be the ſmaller: this onely I would requeſt, that no man here doe oppoſe himſelfe to contradict the premiſſes and firſt ſuppoſitions of mine. Now when as *Ammonius* willed me to ſay ſomewhat, and replie againſt him: As touching your formoſt ſuppoſals, friend *Boethus* (quoth I) about the great emptineſſe, let them ſtand, ſince you will have it ſo; but whereas you have ſet downe, that the ſaid emptineſſe maketh much for the motion and eaſie paſſage of the voice, I like not well of that ſuppoſition; for ſurely, this qualitie not to be touched, ſmitten, or made to ſuffer, is rather proper unto ſilence and ſtill taciturnitie; whereas the voice is the ſtriking and beating upon a ſounding bodie; and a ſounding bodie is that which accordeth and correſpondeth to it ſelfe, moveable, light, uniforme, ſimple and pliable, like as is our aire; for water, earth and fire, be of themſelves dumbe & ſpeechleſſe; but they ſound & ſpeake all of them, when any ſpirit or aire is gotten in, then (I ſay) they make a noiſe: as for braſſe, there is no voidneſſe within it; but for that mixed it is with an united and equall ſpirit, therefore it anſwereth againe to claps and knocks, and therewithall reſoundeth: and if wee may conjecture by that which our eie ſeeth and judgeth, yron ſeemeth to be ſpongeous, and as it were worme-eaten within, full of holes, and hollowed in maner of hony-combs; howbeit, a mettall it is of all other, that hath the woorſt voice, and is moſt mute: there was no need therfore to trouble the night ſo much in reſtreining, compreſſing, and driving in the aire thereof ſo cloſe of the one ſide, and leaving ſo many places and ſpaces void on the other ſide; as if the aire impeached the voice, and corrupted the ſubſtance thereof, conſidering it ſelfe is the very ſubſtance, forme and puiſſance of it: over and beſides, it ſhould follow thereupon, that unequall nights, namely, thoſe that be foggie and miſtie, or exceeding colde, were more reſonant than thoſe that be faire and cleere; for that in ſuch nights, thoſe atomes are clunged cloſe together, and looke where they come, they leave a place void of bodies: moreover, (that which is eaſie and evident to be ſeene) the colde Winter night ought by this reckoning to be more vocall and fuller of noiſe, than the hot Summers night; whereof, neither the one nor the other is true: and therefore (letting this reaſon, ſuch as it is, goe by) I will produce *Anaxagoras*, who ſaith: That the ſunne cauſeth the aire to move and ſtirre after a certeine trembling motion, as if it did beat and pant; as it may appeare by thoſe little motes and ſhavings (as it were) in maner of duſt, which flutter and flie up and downe thorow thoſe holes; whereas the ſunne-ſhine paſſeth, ſuch as ſome Greeks call π'λας: which (ſaith he) chirming (as it were) and making a humming in the day time, cauſe by their noiſe, any other voice or ſound not ſo eaſie to be heard; but in the night ſeaſon, as their motion ceaſeth, ſo conſequently, their noiſe alſo is gone.

After I had thus ſaid, *Ammonius* began in this wiſe: We may be deemed haply ridiculous (quoth he) to thinke that we can refute *Democritus*, or to go about for to correct *Anaxagoras*; howbeit, we muſt of neceſſitie take from theſe little bodies of *Anaxagoras* his deviſing, this chirming noiſe beforeſaid, which is neither like to be ſo, nor any waies neceſſarie: ſufficient it wil be to admit the trembling motion and ſtirring of them, dancing as they doe, in the ſame light, and by that meanes diſgregating and breaking the voice many times, and ſcatter it to and fro: for the aire (as hath bene ſaid already) being the very body and ſubſtance of the voice, if it be quiet and ſetled, giveth a direct, united and continued way unto the ſmall parcels and movings of the voice, to paſſe along a great way: for calme weather and the tranquillitie of the aire, is reſonant, whereas contrariwiſe, tempeſtuous weather is dumbe and mute: according to which, *Simonides* hath thus written:

For then, no blaſts of winde aroſe on hie,
Shaking tree-leaves; that men need once to feare
Leſt they might breake ſweet ſongs and melodie,
Stopping the ſound from paſſage to their eare.

For often times the agitation of the aire, permitteth not the full, expreſſe and articulate forme of the voice, to reach unto the ſenſe of hearing; howbeit, ſomewhat it carrieth alwaies thorow from it, if the ſame be multiplied much and forced aloud: as for the night, in it ſelfe it hath nothing to ſtirre and trouble the aire; whereas the day hath one great cauſe thereof, to wit, the ſun, as *Anaxagoras* himſelfe hath ſaid.

Then *Thraſyllus* the ſonne of *Ammonius*, taking his turne to ſpeake: What ſhould we meane by this I pray you in the name of *Jupiter* (quoth he) to attribute this cauſe unto an inviſible motion of the aire; and leave the agitation, toſſing and divulſion thereof, which is ſo manifeſt and evident to our eies? for this great ruler and commander in the heaven, *Jupiter*, doth not after an imperceptible maner, nor by little and little, ſtirre the ſmalleſt parcels of the aire, but all at once, ſo ſoone as he ſheweth his face, exciteth and moveth all things in the world,

Giving foorthwith a ſignall in ſuch wiſe,
As men thereby unto their works may riſe.

which they no ſooner ſee, but they obey and follow; as if together with the new day, they were regenerate againe, and entred into another manner of life, as *Democritus* ſaith; ſetting themſelves unto their buſineſſe and affaires, not without ſome noiſe & effectual cries: in which ſenſe *Ibycus* called not impertinently the morning, or dawning of the day *Clytus*, for that now we begin κλυειν, that is to ſay, to heare others, yea, & to ſpeake aloud our ſelves: whereas the aire of the night being for the moſt part calme and ſtill, without any waves and billowes, for that everie thing is at reſt and repoſe, by all likelihood conveigheth the voice entier and whole unto us, not brokē nor diminiſhed one jot. At theſe words, *Ariſtodemus* of *Cypres*, who was one of our companie: But take heed *Thraſyllus*, (quoth he) that this which you ſay be not convinced and refuted by the battels and marches of great armies in the night ſeaſon, for that upon ſuch an occaſion the noiſe and outcries be no leſſe reſounding and cleere, how troubled and waving ſoever the aire be, than otherwiſe: and peradventure there is ſome cauſe thereof, proceeding alſo from our ſelves; for the moſt part of that which we ſpeake in the night ſeaſon, is of this nature, that either we commaund ſome body after a turbulent manner, as if a paſſion urged us thereto, or if we demaund and aske ought, we crie as loud as we can; for that the thing which wakeneth and maketh us to riſe at ſuch a time (when as we ſhould ſleepe and take our repoſe) for to ſpeake or doe any thing, is no ſmall matter or peaceable, but great and important, haſting us for the urgent neceſſitie thereof unto our buſineſſe, in ſuch ſort, that our words and voices which then we utter, go from us in greater force and vehemency.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

How it comes to paſſe, that of the ſacred games of prize ſome uſe one maner of chaplet, and ſome another, yet all have the branch of the date tree? Alſo why the great dates bee called Nicolai?

During the ſolemnitie of the Iſthmick games, at what time as *Soſpis* was the judge and directour thereof now the ſecond time: other feaſts of his I avoided; namely, when as hee invited one while many ſtrangers together; and otherwhiles a number of none elſe but citizens, and thoſe one with another; but one time above the reſt, when as hee feaſted thoſe onely who were his greateſt friends, and all, men of learning, I my ſelfe alſo was a bidden gueſt, and preſent among them; now by that time that the firſt ſervice at the table was taken awaie, there came one unto the profeſſed oratour and rhetorician *Herodes*, who brought unto him from a ſcholar and familiar of his, who had wonne the prize, for an encomiaſticall or laudatorie oration that he had made, a branch of the date tree, together with a plaited and broided coronet of flowers; which when he had curteouſly received, he returned them backe to him again, ſaying withall: that hee marvelled why ſome of theſe ſacred games had for their prize this crowne, and others that, but generally all, a branch of date tree: For mine owne part (quoth he) I cannot perſwade my ſelfe that this ariſeth upon that cauſe which ſome alledge; namely, the equality and uniformitie of the leaves, ſpringing and growing out as they doe, alwaies even and orderly, one juſt againſt another directly, wherein they ſeeme to contend and ſtrive a vie, reſembling thereby a kinde of combat; and that victorie it ſelfe tooke the name in Greeke Νικᾶ, as it were μὴ εἴκον, that is to ſay, not yeelding nor giving place: for there be many other plants which as it were by weight and meaſure, diſtribute nouriſhment equally unto their boughes and branches growing oppoſite in that manner, and heerein obſerve exactly a woonderfull order and equality: but in my conceit, more probabilitie and apparence of reaſon they alledge, who imagine & ſuppoſe, that our auncients made choice of this tree, becauſe they tooke a love to the beautie, talneſſe, and ſtreight growing thereof; and namely *Homer*, who compareth the beautie of *Nauſicaa* the Phæocian queene, unto the plant or ſtem of a faire date tree: for this you all know verie well, that in old time they were wont alwaies to caſt upon thoſe victorious champions who had wonne the prize, roſes, and roſe champion flowers; yea and ſome otherwhiles apples and pomegranates, thinking by this meanes to recompence and honour them: but there is nothing elſe ſo much in the date tree, to commend it ſo evidently above other trees: for in all *Greece* fruit it beareth none that is good to be eaten, as being unperfect and not ripe enough; and if it bare heere as it doth in *Syria* and *Aegypt*, the date which of all fruits for the lovely contentment of the eie, is of all ſights moſt delightſome, and for the ſweetneſſe of taſte, of all banquetting diſhes moſt pleaſant, there were not a tree in the world comparable unto it: and verily the great monarch and emperour *Auguſtus* by report, for that he loved ſingularly well, one *Nicolaus* a philoſopher Peripatetick, in regard that he was of gentle nature and ſweet behaviour, tall and ſlender withall of ſtature, and beſides of a ruddy and purple colour in his viſage, called the faireſt and greateſt dates, after his name, *Nicolai*, and to this day they beare that denomination.

In this diſcourſe, *Herodes* pleaſed the company no leſſe with the mention of *Nicolaus* the philoſopher, than he did with that which he had ſpoken to the queſtion: And therefore (quoth *Soſpis*) ſo much the rather ought we every one to deviſe for to conferre unto this queſtion propounded, whatſoever hee is perſwaded concerning it: Then I for my part firſt, brought foorth mine opinion as touching the ſuperioritie of this date tree at the ſacred games, becauſe the glorie of victours and conquerors, ought to endure and continue incorruptible, and as much as poſſibly may be not age and waxe old: for the date tree liveth as long as any plant whatſoever that is longeſt lived: and this is teſtified by theſe verſes of *Orpheus*:

Living as long as plants of date trees tall,
Which in the head be greene and ſpread withall.

And this is the onely tree in manner, which hath that propertie indeed, which is reported though not ſo truely, of many others: And what is that? namely, to carie the leaves firme and faſt, ſo as they never fall off; for we do not ſee, that either the lawrell or olive tree, nor the myrtle, nor any other trees which are ſaid to ſhed no leafe, keepe alwaies the ſame leaves ſtill; but as the firſt fall, others put foorth, and by this meanes they continue alwaies freſh and greene, living evermore as cities and great townes doe; whereas the date tree never loſeth any of thoſe leaves which once came foorth, but continueth ſtill clad with the ſame leaves; and this is that vigour as I take it which men dedicate and appropriat eſpecially to the force or ſtrength of victorie.

When *Soſpis* had made an end of this ſpeech, *Protogenes* the Grammarian calling by name unto *Praxitelis*, the diſcourſer and hiſtorian: Shall wee ſuffer theſe oratours and rhetoricians (quoth he) after their uſuall maner and profeſſion, to argue thus by conjectures and likely probabilities; and can we alledge nothing out of hiſtories pertinent directly unto this matter? and verily for mine owne part, if my memorie faile me not, I have not read long ſince in the Attique annales, that *Theſeus*, who firſt ſet out games of prize in the iſle *Delos*, brake & plucked from the ſacred date tree, a branch, which thereupon was called *Spadis*; and *Praxitelis* ſaid as much: But ſome men (quoth he) might aske of *Theſeus* himſelfe, what reaſon induced him (when he propoſed the prize of victorie) to pull a branch from the date tree, rather than from the laurell or olive tree? and what will you ſay, if this be a Pythicke prize? for that the *Amphyctiones* honored firſt at *Delphos*, the victours, with a branch of date tree and laurell, in honour of *Pythius Apollo*, conſidering that the maner was not to conſecrate unto that God, the laurell or olive onely, but alſo the date tree; like as *Nictas* did, when in the name of the Athenians, he defraied the charges of games, in *Delos*; and the Athenians, at *Delphi*; and before them, *Cypſelus* the Corinthian; for otherwiſe, this God of ours hath evermore loved thoſe games of prize, yea, and was deſirous to win the victorie, having ſtrove perſonally himſelfe in playing upon the harpe, in ſinging, and flinging the coit of braſſe; yea, and as ſome ſome ſay, at hurl-bats and fiſt-fight; favouring men alſo, and taking their part at ſuch combats; as *Homer* ſeemeth to teſtifie, when he bringeth in *Achilles*, ſpeaking in this wiſe:

Two champions now, who ſimply are
of all the armie beſt,
My pleaſure is, ſhall forth advance;
and looke who is ſo bleſt,
And favoured at buffet-fight,
by god Apolloes *grace,*
As for to win the victorie,
and honour, in that place.

Alſo when he ſpeaketh of archers, he ſaith expreſly, that one of them who invocated upon *Apollo*, and praied unto him for helpe, had good ſucceſſe, and carried away the beſt prize; but the other, who was ſo proud, and would not call upon the god for his aid, miſſed the marke & ſcope whereat he ſhot. Neither is it likely or credible, that the Athenians dedicated their publicke place of exerciſe, unto *Apollo*, for nothing, and without good cauſe; but ſurely thus they thought, that the ſame God unto whom we are beholden for our health, giveth us alſo the force and ſtrong diſpoſition of bodie, to performe ſuch games and feats of activitie. But whereas, ſome combats there be, ſleight and eaſie; others, hard and grievous: we finde in writing, that the Delphians ſacrificed unto *Apollo*, by the name of *Pyctes*, that is to ſay, the champion at fiſt-fight: but the Candians and Lacedæmonians offered ſacrifice unto the ſame God, ſurnamed, the Runner. And ſeeing as we do, that the maner is to preſent in his temple within the citie of *Delphos*, the primices or dedications of the ſpoiles and bootie gained from the enemies in war, as alſo to conſecrate unto him the Trophees; is not this a great argument and teſtimonie, that in this God it lieth moſt to give the victorie and conqueſt? And as he went forward, and was minded to ſay more, *Cephiſus* the ſonne of *Theon*, interrupted his ſpeech, ſaying: Theſe allegations (beleeve me) ſavour not of hiſtories, nor of Coſmographicall books; but being fetched immediatly out of the minds of thoſe Peripateticall diſcourſes, are handled and argued probably to the purpoſe: and beſides, whiles you take up the fabricke or engine, after the maner of tragedian plaiers, you intend as it ſhould ſeeme, to afright by intimating the name of *Apollo*, thoſe that contradict and gainſay your opinions: and yet (as well beſeemeth his goodneſſe and bountie) he is indifferent and alike affected unto all, in clemencie and benignitie: but we following the tracts & ſteps of *Soſpis*, who hath led us the way very well, keepe our ſelves to the date tree, which afoordeth us ſufficient matter to diſcourſe thereof againe: for the Babylonians doe chaunt and ſing the praiſes of this tree; namely, that it bringeth unto them three hundred and threeſcore ſorts of ſundrie commodities; but we that are Greeks, have little or no profit thereby: howbeit, good philoſophie may be drawen out of it, for the better inſtruction of champions and ſuch as are to performe combats of prize, in that it beareth no fruit with us: for being a right goodly, faire, and very great tree, by reaſon of the good habit and diſpoſition thereof, yet is it not here among us, fruitfull; but by this ſtrong conſtitution that it hath, it imploieth and ſpendeth all nouriture to feed and fortifie the bodie, after the maner of champions, by their exerciſe, ſo as there remaineth but a little behinde, and the ſame not effectuall for ſeed: over and above all this, one qualitie it hath, proper, and peculiar to it ſelfe alone, and that which agreeth not to any other tree, the which I intend to ſhew unto you: For the woodie ſubſtance of this date tree aloft, if a man ſeeme to weigh and preſſe downe with any heavie burden, it yeeldeth not, nor ſtoupeth under the poiſe, but curbeth upward archwiſe, as withſtanding that, wherwith it is charged and preſſed; and even ſo it is with thoſe combatants in ſacred games: for ſuch as through feebleneſſe of bodie, or faintneſſe of heart ſeeme to yeeld, thoſe, the ſaid exerciſes doe bend and keepe under; but as many as ſtoutly abide, not onely with their ſtrong bodies, but alſo with magnanimous courage, theſe be they that are raiſed up on high, and mount unto honour.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that they who ſaile upon the river Nilus, *draw up water for their uſe, before day-light?*

ONe there was, who demanded upon a time the reaſon, why the water-men who ſaile and row upon the river *Nilus*, provided themſelves of that water which they drinke, in the night, and not by day. Some ſaid, it was, becauſe they feared the ſunne, which by enchafing and heating the water, maketh it more ſubject to corruption and putrifaction: for whatſoever is warmed or made hot, the ſame is alwaies more ready and diſpoſed to mutation, and doth ſoone alter, by relaxation of the proper and native qualitie that it hath: whereas colde, by reſtreining, ſeemeth to conteine and keepe each thing in the owne kinde or nature; and water, eſpecially. Now, for the trueth of this, that the coldneſſe of water hath vertue to preſerve, the ſnowe is a ſufficient teſtimonie, which keepeth fleſh a long time ſweet, and without corruption; but contrariwiſe, heat cauſeth all things to goe out of their owne nature, yea, even honie it ſelſe; for being once boiled, marred it is; but if it continue raw, it not onely keepeth it ſelfe well enough, but helpeth to preſerve other things: and for a further proofe of this matter, the water of lakes and pooles is a principall thing to confirme the ſame; for as potable it is, and as good to drinke in Winter, as any other waters; but in Summer, the ſame is ſtarke naught, and breedeth diſeaſes: and therefore, ſince the night anſwereth to Winter, and the day to Summer, thoſe water-men of *Nilus* aboveſaid, are of this opinion: That water wil continue longer before it turne and corrupt, if it be drawen in the night ſeaſon. To theſe allegations, which of themſelves ſeemed to carry probabilitie enough, reaſon alſo includeth as an evident & inartificiall proofe to ſtrengthen and confirme the experience and beleefe of theſe water-men; for they ſaid, that they drew water, whiles the river was yet ſtill and quiet; for in the day time, many men either ſaile upon it, or otherwiſe, fetch water from it; many beaſts alſo, paſſe to and fro in it; whereby it is troubled, thicke and muddie; and ſuch water will ſoone putrifie: for whatſoever is mixed, more eaſily taketh corruprion, than that which is pure and ſimple, conſidering that mixture maketh a fight, and fight cauſeth change and alteration. Now, who knoweth not that putrifaction is a kinde of mutation? which is the cauſe that painters call the mixtures of their colours, by the name of φθορὰς, that is to ſay, corruptions; and the poet *Homer*, when he ſpeaketh of dying, ſaith, they did μιῆναι, that is to ſay, ſtaine and infect: the common uſe alſo of our ſpeech carrieth it, to call that which is unmixed and meere of it ſelfe, ἄφθαρτον ϗ ἀκήρατον ἢ ἄκρατον, that is to ſay, incorrupt and ſincere: but principally, if earth be mingled with water, it changeth the qualitie, and marreth the nature of it quite for ever, for being potable and good to drinke: and therefore it is, that dormant and dead waters, which ſtand in hollow holes, are more ſubject to corruption than others, as being full of earthie ſubſtance; whereas, running ſtreames eſcape this mixture, and repell the earth which is brought into them: good cauſe therefore, had *Heſiodus* to commend

The water of ſome lively ſpring,
that alwaies runnes his courſe,
And which no muddie earth among,
doth trouble and make woorſe.

For holſome we holde that which is uncorrupt; and uncorrupt we take that to be, which is all ſimple, pure and unmixed: and hereto may be adjoined, for to confirme this opinion of theirs, the ſundrie kinds and differences of earth: for thoſe waters which run thorow hillie and ſtonie grounds, becauſe they carrie not with them, much of the earth or ſoile, are ſtronger and more firme, than ſuch as paſſe along mariſhes, plaines and flats. Now the river *Nilus* keeping his courſe within a levell and ſoft countrey; and to ſpeake more truely, being (as it were) bloud tempered and mingled with fleſh, is ſweet doubtleſſe, and full of juices that have a ſtrong and nutritive vertue; but ordinarily, the ſame runneth mixed and troubled; and ſo much the rather, if it be ſtirred and diſquieted; for the moving and agitation thereof, mixeth the terreſtriall ſubſtance with the liquid humour; but when it is quiet and at repoſe, the ſame ſetleth downe to the bottome, by reaſon of the weight. Thus you ſee why they draw up their water in the night-ſeaſon; and withall, by that meanes they prevent the ſun-riſing; which alwaies doth catch up and corrupt that which is in all waters moſt ſubtile and light.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of thoſe who come late to ſupper; where, diſcourſed it is, from whence be derived theſe names of refections in Greeke ἀκράτισμα, ἄριστον, *and* δεῖπνον.

MY yonger ſonnes upon a time had ſtaid longer at the theater, than they ſhould, to ſee the ſights, and heare the eare-ſports which there were exhibited; by occaſion whereof, they came too late to ſupper; whereupon *Therus* ſonnes called them in mirth & ſport κωλυσιδείπνους and ζοφοδορπίδας, as one would ſay, ſupper-letting, and night-ſupping-lads, with other ſuch like names; but they, to be meet & quit with them againe, gave them the tearme of τρεχεδείπνους, that is to ſay, runners to ſupper. Heerewith one of the elder ſort there preſent, ſaid: That hee who came late to his ſupper, ought rather to be called τρεχέδειπνος, becauſe he maketh more haſte with an extraordinary pace, for that he hath ſeemed to ſtaie too long: to which purpoſe he related a pretie tearme of *Battus*, the buffon or pleaſant jeſter to *Cæſar*, who was wont to call thoſe, ἐπιθυμοδείπνους, that is to ſay, deſirous of ſuppers, who at any time came tardie: For (quoth he) although they have buſineſſe to call and keepe them away, yet for the love of good cheere and ſweet morcels, they refuſe not to come (late though it be) whenſoever they are invited. Heere came I in with the teſtimonie of *Polycharmus*, one of the great oratours, who managed the State of *Athens*: in an oration of his, where making an apologie of his life unto the people in a frequent aſſembly, he ſpake in this wiſe: Loe, my maſters of *Athens* how I have lived: but beſides manie other things which I have already alledged, take this moreover: that whenſoever I was bidden to any ſupper, I never came laſt, for this ſeemed to be very popular and plauſible; whereas contrariwiſe, men are wont to hate them as odious perſons, and ſurly lords, who come late, and for whom the reſt of the companie are forced to ſtaie. Then *Soclarus* willing to defend the yoong boies: But *Alcæus* (quoth he) called not *Pittacus*, *Zophodorpidas*, becauſe he ſupped late in the night, but for that it was ordinary with him to delight in none other gueſts, and table companions, but baſe, vile, and obſcure perſons; for to eat early or betimes, was in old time counted a reproch; and it is ſaid, that this word ἀκράτισμα, that is to ſay, a breakefaſt, was derived of ἀκρατία, that is to ſay, intemperance. Then *Theon* interrupting his ſpeech: Not ſo (quoth he) but we muſt give credit rather unto thoſe who report the auncient manner of life in old time: for they ſay, that men in thoſe daies being laborious, painfull, and temperate in their living withal, tooke for their repaſt early in the morning, a piece of bread dipped in wine, and no other thing, and therefore they called this breakfaſt of theirs, *Acratiſma*, of *Acraton*, which is meere and pure wine: and as for ὄψον, it ſignifieth thoſe viands which were prepared for repaſt in the evening; for ὀψὲ, betokeneth late in the evening, at what time their manner was to ſuppe; namely, after they had diſpatched their other affaires. Heere occaſion was given to demaund from whence were derived theſe words Δεῖπνον, that is to ſay, ſupper, and ἄριστον, dinner: and thought it was that *Ariſton* and *Acratiſma*, ſignified both one thing: and for proofe heereof, they reported them to *Homer*, who ſaith: That *Eumæus* provided *Ariſton* by the breake of day, as appeereth by this verſe:

No ſooner did day light appeere,
But they prepared their owne * *dinner.*

* ἄριστον.

And it ſeemeth very probable that this repaſt ἄριστον, tooke the name of the morne-tide, and is as much to ſay, as ἄυριον, now for the refection called Δεῖπνον, that is to ſay, ſupper, it was ſo called, ὅτι τῶν πόνων διαπαύει, becauſe it gave repoſe from their labours; for men uſed to take their ſupper after they had done ſome buſineſſe, or elſe in the very time that they were about the ſame; this alſo may be ſhewed by the teſtimonie of *Homer*, who ſaith:

But what time as the woodman minding reſt,
From hewing trees, his ſupper ſoone had dreſt.

Unleſſe a man wil haply ſay, that *Ariſton*, that is to ſay, a dinner or breakfaſt, tooke that name, becauſe folke uſe to dine or breake their faſt, with that which firſt came to their hands, without any labour or dreſſing thereof in the kitchin: and Δεῖπνον, that is to ſay, ſupper was ſo called, becauſe there was ſome labour emploied about the dreſſing thereof; and therefore ἄριστον, is as much to ſay, as ῥᾷστον, that is to ſay, very eaſily, and ſoone provided; but Δεῖπνον, as one would ſay, διαπεπονημένον, that is to ſay, done with much paine and travell. But our brother *Lamprias*, who naturally was given to ſcoffing, and loved a life to be merry and to laugh: Since that (quoth hee) we are allowed ſo great libertie for to prate thus and talke ſo idlely as we doe, I am able to proove unto you, that the Romane words are ten thouſand times more properly deviſed, and expreſſe theſe things better than the Greeke: for they called a ſupper, ***Cœna***, which is as much as κοινὰ; for the good fellowſhip and companie of thoſe that ſupped (as it were) in common together: for the olde Romans, howſoever they dined or brake their faſt ordinarily by themſelves alone, yet they ſupped ever with their friends about them. Now their dinner, they called, ***Prandium***, of the houre or time thereof, as if they would ſay παρ ἔνδιον; for ἔνδιον is as much as δειλινὸν, that is to ſay, morning or noone-tide at the fartheſt; and to repoſe or reſt after dinner, is expreſſed by the word ἐνδιάζειν: or els perhaps, ***Prandium*** ſignifieth a breakefaſt or morning repaſt, when as men do eat before they be ἐνδεεῖς, that is to ſay, before they have any need or want of victuals: and now to ſay nothing of many things, which they expreſſe by meere Greeke words; as for example, how they call beds, ***Strata***, of ςρώματα; wine, ***Vinum***, of οἶνος; oile, ***Oleum***, of ἔλαιον; hony, ***Mel***, of μέλι; to taſte, ***Guſtare***, of γεύσασθαι; to drinke one unto another, ***Propinare***, of προπιεῖν; who can denie, but their word, ***Comeſſatio***, that is to ſay, Banqueting, is derived of our Greeke word κῶμος; and ***Miſcere***, that is to ſay, to temper and mixe wine, of κεράζειν in Greeke? for thus ſaith ***Homer***:

She tooke the cup, and once againe,
In it ſhe tempered pleaſant wine.

alſo a table, they called ***Menſa***, becauſe it ſtood ἐν μέσῳ, that is to ſay, in the mids; and bread, ***Panis***, for that it ſlaked πεῖναν, that is to ſay, hunger; alſo a chaplet or garland of flowers, ***Corona***, of the word κράνος, an helmet, or κράνον, the head; for in one place, *Homer* called an helmet or head-piece, στεφάνη, that is to ſay, ***Corona***, a coronet; likewiſe, ***Cædere***, that is to ſay, to beat or kill, of δέρειν; and ***Dentes***, that is to ſay, teeth of ὀδόντες; and laſt of all, ***Labra***, that is to ſay lips, of λαβεῖν βορὰν, that is to ſay, receiving and taking in meat with them. To conclude therefore, either we are to heare ſuch derivations as theſe, without laughing thereat; or els we muſt not give them ſo eaſie acceſſe (as it were by undermining) unto words, as unto walles; partly to overthrow and beat downe ſome, and in part to batter and breake others.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of certeine Pythagorean precepts, forbidding in any wiſe to admit ſwallowes into the houſe, and commanding to ruffle the bed-clothes, ſo ſoone as a man is riſen.

SYlla of ***Carthage***, upon my returne to ***Rome***, after I had bene long abſent, invited me to a ſupper for my welcome home; for ſo the Romans tearmed ſuch a courteſie; and to beare mee companie, he bad other friends, and thoſe not many in number; among whõ was one ***Luſius*** of ***Tuskane***, a diſciple of the Pythagorean philoſopher, ***Moderatus***: this ***Lucius*** perceiving that our ***Philinus*** did eat of nothing which ever had life (as the uſuall maner of him and other Pythagoreans was to doe) fell into ſpeech as touching ***Pythagoras*** himſelfe, and affirmed that a Tuskane he was, not as ſome others, becauſe his father, and his anceſtours, were Tuskans, from whom he was deſcended; but for that he was himſelfe borne, reared, brought up, and taught in ***Tuskane***; which he proved principally, by certeine ſymbolicall and allegoricall precepts of his; as for example, among others, that he commanded thoſe who were new riſen out of their beds, to ruffle the clothes together; alſo that the print of a pot or cauldron, ſhould not be left upon the aſhes, after it is taken away, but that the aſhes ought to be ſtirred together; *item*, that no ſwallowes ſhould be admitted into the houſe; likewiſe, that no man ſhould ſtep over a beſome, nor keepe within houſe, thoſe creatures which had hooked clawes: For theſe rules, and ſuch like (quoth he) which the Pythagoreans deliver in word, and ſet downe in writing, the Tuskans onely obſerve and keepe in deed. Which when ***Lucius*** had ſaid, ſtrange it was thought, and abſurd above the reſt, to chaſe and keepe out of the houſe, ſillie ſwallowes, harmeleſſe and gentle creatures, aſwell as thoſe that have crooked clees, which are the moſt bloudy and cruell of all others: for whereas ſome ancient interpreters gave the ſolution and expoſition onely, as if covertly it implied thus much, that we ſhould avoid the companie of ſecret whiſperers, backbiters and ſlanderers; ***Lucius*** himſelfe approoved not thereof; for the ſwallow whiſpereth not at all; it chattereth in deed and talketh (as one would ſay) loud enough; and yet not more than pies, partridges and hennes. But what thinke you by this (quoth ***Sylla***) that in regard of the tale that goes of ***Progne***, who killed her yoong ſonne ***Itys***, they hate * ſwallowes for that abominable act, and therefore would ſeeme to cauſe us for to deteſt a farre off, ſuch infamous caſes, for which they

* For *Philomela* was turned (as the poets faine) into a ſwallow; who produced her ſiſter *Progne* to kil her own child, by *Tereus*, and ſerve it up before him as a diſh of meat, to the boord, for that he had defloured the ſaid *Philomela*.

ſay, both *Tereus* and the women, partly did perpetrate, & in part ſuffered horrible and unlawfull things; whereupon, to this very day, theſe birds be called Daulides? But *Gorgias* the ſophiſter, by occaſion that a ſwallow mewted over his head, and ſquirted her dung upon him, looking up unto her: Theſe be no faire caſts (quoth he) *Philomela*; or is this alſo common to the reſt? for the Pythagoreans doe not exclude or baniſh out of houſe the nightingale, * which beareth a part in the ſame tragedies, and is faultie with the reſt. Peradventure (quoth I then) there is as much reaſon in the one as the other (ô *Sylla*;) but conſider, and ſee whether the ſwallow be not odious and infamous with them for the ſame cauſe, that they reject and wil not enterteine thoſe creatures which have hooked tallons; for ſhe likewiſe feedeth upon fleſh, and beſides, killeth and devoureth eſpecially, graſhoppers, which are ſacred and muſicall: moreover, ſhe flieth cloſe by the ground, hunting and catching little ſillie creatures (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) furthermore, ſhe is the onely creature of all the other, that be under the ſame roufe with us, which lodgeth there of free coſt, living without contributing ought, or paying any rent: yet the ſtorke which hath no covert by our houſe, nor warmth by our fire, ne yet enjoieth any benefit, pleaſure, or helpe at all by our meanes, giveth us otherwhiles ſome tribute and cuſtome (as it were) for marching onely upon the ground; for up and downe ſhe goes, killing toades and ſerpents, mortall enemies to mankind, and lying in wait for our lives; whereas the ſwallow having all thoſe commodities at our hands, no ſooner hath nouriſhed her yoong ones, and brought them to ſome perfection, but away ſhe goes and is no more to be ſeene, ſo diſloial and unthankfull ſhe is: and that which of all others is worſt, the flie and the ſwallow bee the onely creatures haunting our houſes as they doe, that never will be tamed, nor ſuffer a man to touch and handle them, nay they will not admit any fellowſhip, ſocietie, or communion with him, either in worke or play: the flie indeed hath ſome reaſon to be afraid of us, for that ſhe ſuſtaineth harme by us, and is chaſed and driven away ſo often: but the ſwallow hateth man naturally, ſhe will not truſt him, but remaineth alwaies ſuſpicious and untamed: now if wee are to take theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, not directly according to the litterall ſenſe, and as the words onely doe implie, but rather by way of an oblique reflexion, as the reſemblances of things appearing in others: certes *Pythagoras* propoſeth unto us heerein, the very pattern of an unthankfull and faithleſſe perſon, admoniſhing us not to receive unto our familiar acquaintance and amitie, thoſe who for the time, and to ſerve their owne turne, draw neere unto us, and retire themſelves under the roufe of our houſe, and that we ought not to make them inward with us, communicating with them, our houſe, our domeſticall altar, and thoſe things which are in ſtead of moſt ſacred obligations. When I had thus ſaid, it ſeemed that I had given the companie encouragement and aſſurance to ſpeake, for they began boldly to apply unto the other ſymbolicall precepts, their morall expoſitions: And *Philinus* for his part ſaid, that in commaunding to confound the forme of the pot or cauldron imprinted in the aſhes, they taught us this leſſon, not to leave any marke or apparent impreſſion of anger; but after it hath once done boiling what it will, and is ſetled and cooled againe, to ridde away all ranckor and malice, yea and to burie all in perpetuall oblivion. As for the ſhuffling of the bed clothes together, when we are newly riſen, ſome thought there was no hidden matter meant thereby, but ſignified onely, that it was not ſeemely or honeſt, that the marke or print in the bed ſhould remaine as an expreſſe image to be ſeene, of the place, wherein man and wife had lien together: But *Sylla* gueſſed otherwiſe and conjectured that heerein was conteined a dehortation to divert us from ſleeping on bed in the day time, when as even in the very morning the preparation and meanes to ſleepe was ſo immediately taken away: for that we ought to take our reſt and repoſe in the night, but in the day time to be ſtirring and about our buſineſſe, not ſuffring to remaine in our beds ſo much as the tract of our bodie; for a man lying aſleepe, is good for nothing, no more than when he is dead: and heereto ſeemeth to allude and accord, another precept of the Pythagoreans which they give unto their friends, forbidding them not to eaſe any man of his burden, but rather to lay on more, and ſeeme to ſurcharge him ſtill, as not approoving any ſloth or idleneſſe whatſoever: now for that during theſe diſcourſes, *Lucius* neither approoved nor diſprooved ought that was ſaid, but ſat ſtill, heard all, ſaid nothing, and pondered every thing in himſelfe: *Empedocles* calling unto *Sylla* by name, ſaid as followeth.

* For *Progne* (as the tale goes) was turned into a nightingale. See *Natalis Comes Mytholog.* 7. *cap.* 10.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

Why the Pythagoreans, among all other living creatures, abſteine moſt from eating fiſh.

IF *Lucius* our friend (quoth he) be offended, or take no pleaſure in our ſayings, it is high time that we ſhould give over and make an end: but if theſe things fall within the compaſſe of their precept for ſilence; yet this I thinke ought not to be concealed, but may well be revealed and communicated unto others, namely: What the reaſon is, that the Pythagoreans abſteined principally from eating fiſh? for ſo much we finde written of the auncient Pythagoreans: and I my ſelfe have fallen into the company and conference of certeine diſciples of *Alexicrates*, a man of our time; who fedde a little ſometimes of other living creatures, yea and ſacrificed them unto the gods; but for no good in the world would they ſo much as taſte of a fiſh: not as I take it for that cauſe which *Tyndares* the Lacedæmonian alledged, who thought that this was done for the honour they had to ſilence; in regard whereof, the philoſopher *Empedocles* whoſe name I beare, who was the firſt that ceaſed to teach Pythagorically, that is to ſay, to give rules and precepts of hidden wiſedome, calleth fiſhes *Ellopas*, as having τὴν ὄπα ἰλαιομένην, that is to ſay, their voice tied and ſhut up within; but for they thought, taciturnitie to be a ſingular and divine thing, and in one word, that even the gods themſelves doe ſhew by deeds and effects, without voice or ſpeech unto wiſe men, what their will and pleaſure is: Then *Lucius* mildely and ſimply anſwered: That the true cauſe indeed might peradventure lie hidden ſtill and not be divulged: howbeit, there is nothing to hinder or let us, but that we may render one reaſon or other which carieth with it ſome likelihood & probability: ſo *Theon* the grammarian began firſt to diſcourſe upõ that point ſaying: it was very difficult to ſhew & prove that *Pythagoras* was a Tuſkan born; but for certeine knowen it was, that he had made his abode a long time in *Aegypt*, & converſed with the ſages of that countrey, where he approoved, embraced, and highly extolled manie of their religious ceremonies, and namely, that as touching beanes: for *Herodotus* writeth, that the Aegyptians neither ſowe, nor eat beanes, no nor can abide ſo much as to looke upon them: and as for fiſhes, we are aſſured that their prieſts, even at this day, abſteine from them, and living as they doe, chaſte and unmaried, they refuſe ſalt likewiſe; neither will they endure to eat it as a meat by it ſelfe, nor any other viands wherein any ſea ſalt commeth; whereof divers men alledge divers & ſundry reaſons: but there is one true cauſe indeed, & that is the enmitie which they beare unto the ſea, as being a ſavage element, a meere alien, & eſtranged frõ us, or to ſpeak more truely, a mortall enimie to mans nature; for the gods are not nouriſhed therewith, as the Stoicks were of opinion: that the ſtarres were fed from thence: but contrariwiſe, that in it was loſt the father and ſaviour of that countrey of *Aegypt*, which they call the deflux or running out of *Oſiris*, and in lamenting his generation on the right hand, and corruption on the left, covertly they give us to underſtand, the end and perdition of *Nilus* in the ſea: In which conſideration, they are of opinion, that lawfull it is not, once to drinke of the water, as being not potable; neither doe they thinke, that any thing which it breedeth, bringeth foorth, or nouriſheth, is cleane and meet for man; conſidering that the ſame hath not breath and reſpiration common with us, nor food and paſture agreeable unto ours; for that the very aire which nouriſheth and mainteineth all other living creatures, is pernicious and deadly unto them, as if they were engendred firſt, and lived afterward in this world againſt the courſe of nature, and for no uſe at all: and marvell we muſt not, if for the hatred they beare unto the ſea, they hold the creatures therein, as ſtrangers, and neither meet nor worthy to be intermingled with their bloud or vitall ſpirits: ſeeing they will not deigne ſo much as to ſalute any pilots or mariners whenſoever they meet with them, becauſe they get their living upon the ſea.

Sylla commending this diſcourſe, added moreover, as touching the Pythagoreans, that when they ſacrificed unto the gods, they wuld eſpecially taſt of the primices or parcels of fleſh which they had killed: but never was there any fiſh that they ſacrificed or offred unto the gods. Now when they had finiſhed their ſpeech, I came in with mine opinion: As for thoſe Aegyptians (quoth I) many men there be as well learned, as ignorant, who contradict them, & plead in the behalfe and defence of the ſea, recounting the manifold commodities thereof, whereby our life is more plentifull, pleaſant, and happie: as touching the ſurceaſe as it were of the Pythagoreans, and their forbearing to lay hand upon fiſhes, becauſe they are ſuch ſtrangers unto us, it is a very abſurd and ridiculous device; or to ſay more truely, it is a cruell and inhumane part, and ſavoring much of a barbarous *Cyclops*, ſeeing that to other living creatures they render a reward and recompence, for their kinred, couſenage and acquaintance, by killing, eating, and conſuming them as they doe: and verily reported it is of *Pythagoras*, that upon a time hee bought of the fiſhers a draught of fiſh; and when he had ſo done, commaunded that they ſhould be all let out of the net into the ſea againe: ſurely this was not the act of a man, who either hated or deſpiſed fiſhes as his enemies or ſtrangers; conſidering that finding them priſoners as he did, he paid for their raunſome, and redeemed their liberty, as if they had bene his kinsfolke & good friends: and therefore the humanitie, equitie, and mildneſſe of theſe men, induceth us to thinke and imagine cleane contrary, that it was rather for ſome exerciſe of juſtice, or to keepe themſelves in ure and cuſtome thereof, that they ſpared and pardoned thoſe ſea-creatures; for that al others, give men cauſe in ſome ſort to hurt them; whereas poore fiſhes offend us in no maner: and ſay their nature and will were ſo diſpoſed, yet cannot they execute the ſame: moreover, conjecture we may and collect, by the reports, records, and ſacrifices of our auncients, that they thought it an horrible & abominable thing, not onely to eat, but alſo to kill any beaſt that doth no hurt or damage unto us: but ſeeng in proceſſe of time how much peſtered they were, with a number of beaſts that grew upon them, and overſpred the face of the earth; and withall being as it is ſaid, commaunded by the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, to ſuccour the fruits of the earth, which were ready to periſh; they began then to kill them for ſacrifice unto the gods: yet in ſo doing, they ſeemed to tremble and feare, as troubled in minde, calling this their action ἔρδειν and ῥέζειν, that is to ſay, to doe or perpetrate; as if they did, and committed ſome great deed in killing a creature having life; and even ſtill at this day they obſerve a ceremony with all religious preciſeneſſe, not to maſſacre any beaſt before it hath given a nod with the head, after the libations and effuſions of wine upon it, in ſigne and token of conſent; ſo ſtrict they were and wary to commit no unjuſt act. Certes, to ſay nothing of other beaſts, if all men had forborne to kill and eat no more, but pullen and conies, within ſhort time they ſhould not have beene able to have dwelt within their townes or cities, nor enjoied any fruits of the earth: & therefore although neceſſitie at the firſt had brought in the uſe of eating fleſh; a very hard matter it were now, in regard of pleaſure, to put down & aboliſh the ſame: whereas the whole kind of ſea-creatures uſing neither the ſame aire and water with us, nor comming neere unto our fruits, but being (as a man would ſaie) compriſed within another world, & having diſtinct bounds and limits of their owne, which they cannot paſſe, but immediatly it coſteth them their life, for puniſhment of their treſpaſſe, giveth unto our belly none occaſion or pretence at all, more or leſſe, to runne upon them: ſo that the whole hunting, catching, and running after fiſh, is a maniſeſt worke of gourmandiſe and daintie feeding; which without any juſt or lawfull cauſe, troubleth & diſquieteth the ſeas, and deſcendeth into the very bottome of the deepe; for we have no reaſon at any time to call the red ſea-barbell λαιβότειρα, that is to ſay, corne devourer; nor the guilthead τρυγηφάγος, that is to ſay, vine waſter, or grape eater, nor yet any mullets, lubins, or ſea-pikes, σπερμολόγους, that is to ſay, ſeed gatherers, as we name divers land beaſts, noting them thereby for the harme and annoiance they doe unto us: neither can we impute unto the greateſt fiſh in the ſea, the leaſt wrong or ſhrewd turne, wherewith wee charge, in our exceeding neereneſſe and parſimonie, ſome cat or wezill, a * mouſe, or rat which haunt our houſes: in which regard, they preciſely contemning themſelves, not for feare of law onely, to doe wrong unto men, but alſo by the very inſtinct of nature, to offer no injurie unto any thing in the world that doth them no harme, nor diſpleaſure, uſed to feed on fiſh leſſe than on any other meat: & admit there were no injuſtice in the thing, all buſie curioſitie of men in this point, being ſo needleſſe as it is, bewraieth great intemperance and waſtfull gluttony: and therefore *Homer* in his poeme deviſeth this, that not onely the Greeks encamping upon the ſtreight of *Helleſpont*, abſteined wholy from eating fiſh, but alſo that the delicate and daintie toothed Phæacians, the wanton and licorous woers likewiſe of lady *Penelope*, diſſolute though they were otherwiſe, and all iſlanders were never ſerved at their tables with any viands or cates from the ſea: no nor the companions of *Ulyſſes* in that great and long voiage of theirs which they had at ſea, ever laid hooke, leape, or weele, or caſt net into the ſea for fiſh, ſo long as they had a bit of bread, or handfull of meale left:

* Some reade μυῖα, a flie.

But when their ſhip had vittailes none,
But all therein was ſpent and gone.

even a little before that they laid hands upon the kowes of the ſunne, then began they to fiſh; not iwis for any deintie diſhes, but even for neceſſary food:

With bended hookes, for now their maw,
Great hunger bit, and guts did gnaw.

So that for extreme need they were forced to eat fiſh, and to kill the ſunnes kine: whereby wee may perceive that it was a point of ſanctimonie and chaſtitie, not onely among the Aegyptians and Syrians, but the Greeks alſo, to forbeare feeding upon fiſh; for that beſide the injuſtice of the thing, they abhorred as I thinke, the ſuperfluous curioſitie of ſuch food.

Heereupon *Neſtor* tooke occaſion to ſpeake: And why (quoth he) is there no reckoning made of my countrey-men and fellow-citizens, no more than of the Megarians? and yet you have heard me to ſay often times, that the prieſts of *Neptune*, whom we call *Hieromnemones*, never eat fiſh: for this god is ſurnamed *Phytalmios*, that is to ſay, the Preſident of breeding and generation in the ſea: and the race deſcending from that ancient *Hellen*, ſacrificed unto *Neptune*, by the name and addition of *Patrogeneios*, that is to ſay, the ſtock-father and principall Progenitour, being of opinion, that man came of a moiſt and liquid ſubſtance, as alſo, be the Syrians; which is the very cauſe that they worſhip and adore a fiſh, as being of the ſame kinde, generation, and nouriture with themſelves; philoſophizing and arguing in this point, with more apparence and ſhew of reaſon, than *Anaximander* did, who affirmed not, that men and fiſhes were bred both in the ſame places; but avouched that men were firſt engendred within fiſhes themſelves, and there nouriſhed like their yoong frie; but afterward, when they became ſufficient and able to ſhift and helpe them, they were caſt foorth, and ſo tooke land: like as therefore, the fire eateth the wood, whereby it was kindled and ſet a burning, though it were father and mother both unto it; according as he ſaid, who inſerted the marriage of * *Ceyx* among the works of *Heſiodus*; even ſo *Anaximander* in pronouncing, that fiſh was both father and mother unto men, taxeth and condemneth the feeding thereupon.

* Or *Cyex*.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Whether it be poſſible, that new diſeaſes may be engendred by our meats?

PHilo the phyſician conſtantly affirmed, that the leproſie, called *Elephantiaſis*, was a diſeaſe not knowen long ſince; for that none of the ancient phyſicians made any mention of this maladie; whereas they travelled and buſied their braines, to treat of other ſmall trifling matters, (I wot not what) and yet ſuch ſubtilties as the common ſort could hardly comprehend. But I produced and alledged unto him for a witneſſe out of philoſophie, *Athenodorus*, who in the firſt booke of his Epidemiall or popular diſeaſes, writeth, that not onely the ſaid leproſie, but alſo *Hydrophobie*, that is to ſay, the feare of water, occaſioned by the biting of a mad dogge, were firſt diſcovered in the daies of *Aſclepiades*: now as the companie there preſent, marvelled that theſe maladies ſhould newly then begin, and take their conſiſtence in nature; ſo they wondered as much on the other ſide, how ſo great and grievous diſeaſes could be hidden ſo long, and unknowen to men: howbeit, the greater part inclined rather to this ſecond & later opinion, as being more reſpective and favourable to man; for that they could not be perſwaded, that nature in ſuch caſes ſhould in mans bodie (as it were in ſome citie) ſtudie novelties, and be evermore inventing and working new matters. As for *Diogenianus*, he ſaid, that the paſſions and maladies of the ſoule, held on their common courſe, and went the accuſtomed way ſtill, of their predeceſſours: And yet (quoth he) wickedneſſe is very manifold in ſundry ſorts, and exceeding audacious, to enterpriſe any thing: and the mind is a miſtreſſe of herſelfe, and at her owne command; having puiſſance to turne and change eaſily as ſhe thinketh good: and yet that diſordinate confuſion of hers, hath ſome order in it; keeping a meaſure in her paſſions, and conteining herſelfe within certeine bounds, like as the ſea, in the flowings and tides; in ſuch ſort, as that ſhe bringeth forth no new kinde of vice, ſuch as hath not bene knowen unto thoſe in olde time, and of which they have not written: for there being many different ſorts of luſts and deſires, infinite motions of feare, as many kinds of paine, and no fewer formes of pleaſure; which would require great labour to reckon up, and not to give over.

Theſe neither now nor yeſterday
Began; but all have lived ay:
And no man knowes, nor can ſay well,
Since when they firſt to men befell.

nor yet whereupon any new maladie or moderne paſſion hath ariſen in our body; conſidering it hath not of it ſelfe the beginning of motion properly as the ſoule hath, but is knit and conjoined with nature by common cauſes, and compoſed with a certeine temperature: the infinite varietie whereof, wandereth notwithſtanding within the pourpriſe of ſet bounds and limits; like unto a veſſell which lying at anchor in the ſea, neverthleſſe doth wave, and is toſſed within a round compaſſe: for neither the ſetled conſtitution of a diſeaſe is without ſome cauſe, bringing into the world irregularly and againſt all law of nature, a generation and power from that which hath no being at all: nor an eaſie matter is it for a man to finde out a new cauſe, unleſſe withall, he do ſet downe a new aire, ſtrange water, and ſuch meats as our forefathers never taſted of, imagining, that they are run hither to us now and never before, out of (I wot not what) other worlds; or imaginarie inter-worlds and ſpaces betweene; for ſicke wee fall by meanes of the ſame things whereof we live; and no peculiar and proper ſeeds there be of diſeaſes; but the naughtineſſe and corruption of ſuch things whereby wee live, in regard of us, and our owne faults and errours beſides, about them, are they which trouble and offend nature: theſe troubles have perpetually the ſame differences, though the ſame many times take new names; for theſe names are according to the ordinance and cuſtome of men; but the maladies themſelves are the affections of nature: and ſo thoſe diſeaſes of themſelves finite, being varied & diverſified by theſe names infinite, have deceived and beguiled us: and as there is not lightly and upon a ſudden, committed in the Grammaticall parts of ſpeech, or in the Syntaxis, and conſtruction thereof, any new barbariſme, ſolæciſme, or incongruitie; even ſo the temperatures of mens bodies, have their falles, errours and tranſgreſſions, which be certeine and determinate, conſidering that in ſome ſort, even thoſe things which are againſt nature, be compriſed and included in nature: and this is it, that the wittie inventers and deviſers of fables, would ſignifie in ſaying: That when the giants made warre againſt the gods, there were ingendred certeine ſtrange and monſtrous creatures every way, at what time as the moone was turned cleane contrary, and aroſe not as ſhe was wont: and verily, their meaning was, that nature produced new maladies, like unto monſters, but withall, imagine and deviſe a cauſe of ſuch change and alteration, that is neither probable nor yet incredible; but pronouncing and affirming, that the augmentation more or leſſe of ſome diſeaſes, cauſeth that newneſſe and diverſitie in them, which is not well done of them (my good friend *Philo*:) for this intention and augmentation may well adde thereto frequencie and greatneſſe; but ſurely it tranſporteth not the ſubject thing out of the firſt and primitive kinde: and thus I ſuppoſe the leproſie or *Elepantiaſis* to be nothing els, but the vehemencie of theſe ſcurvie and ſcabbie infections; as alſo the *Hydrophobie*, or vaine feare of water, no other but an augmentation of the paſſions of ſtomacke or melancholie: and verily, a woonder it were, that we ſhould not know how *Homer* was not ignorant hereof; for this is certeine, that he called a dogge λυσσητῆρα, of this raging accident whereto he is ſubject: and hereupon men alſo, when they are in a rage, be ſaid likewiſe λυσσᾷν. When *Diogenianus* had thus diſcourſed, *Philo* himſelfe, both ſeemed ſomewhat to anſwere and refute his reaſons; and alſo requeſted me to ſpeake in the behalfe of the ancient phyſicians, who were thus challenged and condemned for their ignorance or negligence in theſe principall matters, in caſe it were true, that theſe maladies were not of a later breed and more moderne than their age. Firſt therefore, it ſeemed unto me, that *Diogenianus* put not this well downe for a good ſuppoſall, that tenſions and relaxations, according to more or leſſe, make no differences, nor remove the ſubject matters out of their kinde: for by this meanes we ſhould likewiſe ſay, that vineger differed not from wine that is ſouring, nor bitterneſſe from ſtyplicitie or ſoureneſſe, nor darnell from wheat, ne yet garden mints from the wilde mint: but evident it is, that theſe do degenerate, yea, and become altered in their very qualities; partly by relaxations, as the things doe languiſh and loſe their heart; and in part, by tenſion, as they be reenforced, and take vigor: for otherwiſe, we muſt be forced to ſay, that the flame differeth not from a white or cleere winde, nor a light from a flame, nor froſt from dew, nor haile from raine; but that all theſe be but the inforcements onely and tenſions of the ſame things; and ſo conſtantly we ſhall be driven to affirme, that blindneſſe and dimme ſight differ not, and inordinate paſſion of vomiting, called *Cholera*, is nothing different from a keckiſh ſtomacke and a deſire to caſt, but onely according to augmentation and diminution, more or leſſe: and all this is nothing to the purpoſe; for if they admit and ſay, that this very tenſion and augmentation in vehemencie, came but now of late, as if this noveltie were occaſioned by the quantitie and not the qualitie, yet the abſurditie of the paradox remaineth neverthleſſe: moreover, ſeeing that *Sophocles* (ſpeaking of thoſe things, which becauſe they had not bene in times paſt, men would not beleeve to be at this preſent) ſaid very well in this wiſe:

All kind of things both good and bad,
Once at the firſt their being had.

This alſo ſeemeth very probable and to ſtand with great reaſon, that maladies ran not forth all at once, as if the barriers had bene ſet open for the race, and they let out together: but ſome came alwaies ſucceſſively behinde at the taile of others, and each one tooke the firſt begining at a certaine time: And a man may well conjecture and gueſſe (quoth I) that ſuch as aroſe of want and indigence, as alſo thoſe that came of heat and colde, were the firſt that aſſailed our bodies; but repletions, gluttonies, and delicate pleaſures, came afterwards together with ſloth and idleneſſe; which by reaſon of abundance of victuals, cauſed great ſtore of ſuperfluities and excrements, from whence proceeded ſundry ſorts of maladies; the complication whereof and intermixture one with another, bringeth evermore ſome new thing or other: for every naturall thing, is orderly, and limited; becauſe that nature is nothing els but order it ſelfe, or at leaſtwiſe the worke of order: whereas diſorder (like to the ſame that *Pindarus* ſpeaketh of) is infinit, and can not be compriſed within any certeine number; ſo that whatſoever is unnaturall, the ſame immediatly is unlimited and infinit: for, the trueth we can not deliver but one way; marie to lie, a man may finde an infinit number of meanes, by occaſion of innumerable occurrents; alſo accords muſicall and harmonies, ſtand upon their certeine proportions; but the errours that men commit in playing upon the harpe or other inſtrument, in ſong, and in dauncing, who is able to comprehend? although *Phrynichus* the tragedian poet ſaid of himſelfe thus:

In daunce I finde as many ſorts
And formes of geſtures and diſports,
As waves in ſea, and billowes ſtrong
Ariſe by tempeſt all night long.

And *Chryſippus* writeth that the divers complications of ten proſitions, which they call Axioms, and no more, ſurmount the number of ten hundred thouſand: but *Hipparchus* reprooved this, and taught that the affirmative doth conteine of connexed propoſitions, one hundred thouſand, and beſides, one thouſand fortie and nine; but the negative of the ſame propoſitions comprehendeth three hundred and ten thouſand, with a ſurpluſage of nine hundred, fiftie and two: and *Xenocrates* hath ſet downe, that the number of ſyllables, which the letters in the alphabet, being coupled and combined together, do affoord, amount to the number of one hundred millions, and two hundred thouſand over: why ſhould it therefore bee thought ſtrange and wonderfull, that our body having in it ſo many faculties, and gathering ſtill daily, by that which it eateth and drinketh, ſo many different qualities, conſidering withall, that it uſeth motions and mutations, which keepe not one time nor the ſame order alwaies; the complications and mixtures of ſo many things together, bring evermore new and unuſuall kinds of maladies, ſuch as *Thucydides* wrot, was the peſtilence at *Athens*, conjecturing that this was no ordinarie and uſuall maladie, by this eſpecially, for that the beaſts of prey, which otherwiſe did eat of fleſh, would not touch a dead bodie: thoſe alſo who fell ſicke about the red ſea (as *Agathircides* maketh report) were afflicted with ſtrange ſymptomes and accidents, which no man had ever read or ſeene, and among others, that there crawled from them certeine vermin like ſmall ſerpents, which did eat the calves of their legs and the brawnes of their armes; and looke whenſoever a man thought to touch them, in they would againe, and winding about the muskles of the fleſh, ingendered inflammations and impoſtumes with intolerable paine. This peſtilent diſeaſe, no man ever knew before, neither was it ever ſeene ſince by others, but by them alone, like as many other ſuch accidents; for there was a man who having beene a long time tormented with the diſurie or difficultie of his urine, delivered in the end by his yard, a barley ſtraw knotted as it was with joints: and we know a friend and gueſt of ours, a yoong man, who together with a great quantitie of naturall ſeed, caſt foorth a little hairie worme or vermin with many feet, and therewith it ranne very ſwiftly: *Ariſtotle* writeth alſo, that the nourſe of one *Timon* of *Cilicia*, retired her ſelfe for two moneths ſpace every yeere, and lurked in a certeine cave all the while, without drinke or meat, or giving any other apparence of life, but onely that ſhee tooke her breath: certes recorded it is in the Melonian books, that it is a certeine ſigne of the liver diſeaſed, when the ſicke partie is verie buſie in ſpying, ſeeking, and chaſing the mice and rats about the houſe; a thing that now a daies is not ſeene: let us not marvell therefore, if a thing be now engendred that never was ſeene before, and the ſame afterward ceaſe as if it had never beene; for the cauſe lieth in the nature of the bodie, which ſometime taketh one temperature, and one while another: but if *Diogenianus* bring in a new aire, and a ſtrange water, let him alone, ſeeing he is ſo diſpoſed: and yet we know well that the followers of *Democritus* both ſay, and write, that by the worlds which periſh without this, and by the ſtraunge bodies which from that infinitie of worlds runne into this, there ariſe many times the beginnings of plague and peſtilence, yea and of other extraordinarie accidents: we will paſſe over likewiſe the particular corruptions which happen in divers countries, either by earthquakes, exceſſive droughts, extreme heats, and unuſuall raines, with which it cannot be choſen, but that both winds and rivers which ariſe out of the earth, muſt needs be likewiſe infected, diſeaſed, and altered: but howſoever thoſe cauſes wee let goe by, yet omit we muſt not, what great alterations and changes be in our bodies, occaſioned by our meats and viands, and other diet and uſage of our ſelves; for many things which before time were not wont to bee taſted or eaten, are become now moſt pleaſant dainties; as for example: the drinke made of honie and wine; as alſo the delicate diſh of a farrowing ſwines ſhape or wombe; as for the braine of a beaſt, it is ſaid, that in old time they were wont to reject and caſt it from them, yea, and ſo much to deteſt and abhorre it, that they would not abide to heare one to name it; and for the cucumber, the melon or pompion, the pomecitron and pepper, I know many old folke at this day, that cannot away with their taſte: credible it is therefore, that our bodies receive a woonderfull change and ſtrange alteration by ſuch things in their temperature, acquiring by little and little a divers qualitie, and ſuperfluitie of excrements farre different from thoſe before: ſemblably wee are to beleeve that the change of order in our viands, maketh much heereto; for the ſervices at the boord, which in times paſt were called the cold tables, to wit, of oiſters, ſea-urchings, greene ſallads of raw lettuce, & ſuch other herbs, be as it were the light forerunners of the feaſt, as transferred now by *Plato*, from the rereward to the forefront, and have the firſt place, whereas before in old time, they came in laſt: a great matter there is alſo in thoſe beavers or fore-drinkings called *Propomata*; for our ancients would not drinke ſo much as water before they did eat; and now a daies, when as men are otherwiſe faſting & have eat nothing, they will be in maner drunke, & after they have well drenched their bodies, they begin to fall unto their meats, and whiles they be yet boiling, they put into the ſtomacke thoſe things that bee attenuant, inciſive and ſharpe, for to provoke and ſtirre up the appetite, and ſtill fill themſelves up full with other viands: but none of all this hath more power to make mutation in our bodies, nor to breed new maladies, than the varietie of ſundry faſhions, of bathing of fleſh: for firſt & formoſt it is made ſoft, liquid, and fluid as iron is by the fire, and afterwards it receiveth the temper and tincture of hard ſteele, by cold water: ſo that me thinks if any one of thoſe who lived a little before us ſhould ſee the dore of our ſtouphes and baines open, he might ſay thus:

> *Heere into runneth* Acheron,
> *And fire-like burning* Phlegethon,

Whereas in our forefathers daies, they uſed their bathes and hot-houſes, ſo milde, ſo kinde, and temperate: that king *Alexander* the Great, being in a fever, lay and ſlept within them: yea the Gaules wives, bringing thither their pots of pottage, and other viands, did eat even there with their children, who bathed together with them: but it ſeemeth in theſe daies, that thoſe who are within the ſtouphes and baines, be like unto thoſe that are raging madde, and barke as dogs, they puffe and blow like fed ſwine, they lay about them and toſſe every way; the aire that they draw in, as it were mingled with fire & water, ſuffereth no piece nor corner of the body in quiet and reſt, it ſhaketh, toſſeth, and remooveth out of place, the leaſt indiviſible parcell thereof, untill ſuch time as we come to quench and allay the ſame thus inflamed and boiling as they doe: There is no need therefore ô *Diogenianus* (quoth I) of forren and farre fetched cauſes from without, neither of thoſe new worlds and intervals betweene: for to goe no further than to our ſelves, the very change onely of the faſhion of our diet, is a ſufficient meanes both to breed, and alſo to aboliſh and cauſe to eaſe any maladie in us.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that we take leaſt heed of dreames in the end of Autumne, and give ſmall credit unto them?

Florus lighting upon phyſicall problemes or naturall queſtions of *Ariſtotle*, which were brought to *Thermopylæ*, for to paſſe the time away, filled both himſelfe with many doubts, as ordinarily men do, who are by nature ſtudious, and alſo put as many into the heads of others, giving teſtimony heerein to *Ariſtotle* who ſaith: That much knowledge breedeth many occaſions of doubt; as for other queſtions, they afforded unto us no unpleaſant paſtime and recreation, in the day time as we walked in the galleries abroad; but that probleme concerning dreams, (namely, that they be uncertein, lying, & falſe, eſpecially during thoſe moneths whē trees ſhed their leaves) was ſet on foot again (I wot not how) after ſupper by *Phavorinus*, when he had done with other diſcourſes: As for your familiar companions my children, they were of opinion, that *Ariſtotle*, himſelfe had ſufficiently ſolved the queſtion, & there needed no farther enquirie into the matter, nor any ſpeech more to be made thereof, but even to attribute the cauſe, as he did, to the new gathered fruits of that ſeaſon: for being as they were, freſh and greene ſtill in their ſtrength and full of vigour, they engendred in our bodies many ventoſities and bred much trouble and agitation in the humours: for likely it is not, that new wine alone doth worke, boile, and chauſe, nor that oile onely, being new drawen and preſſed, yeeldeth a noiſe as it burneth in lampes, by occaſion that the heat cauſeth the windineſſe and ſpirit thereof to evaporate and walme out: but we ſee that corne alſo newly inned, & all fruits of trees preſently upon their gathering, are plumpe, full, and ſwelled againe, untill ſuch time as they have exhaled foorth all that is flatuous, and breathed out the crudities thereof: now that there be certeine meates that cauſe troubleſome dreames, and engender turbulent viſions and fanſies in our ſleepe, they brought in and alledged for their teſtimony the inſtance of beanes, and the head of the pulpe or pour-cuttle fiſh, which they are bidden to abſteine from, who would divine and foreſhew things that come by dreames. As for *Phavorinus*, howſoever he was himſelfe at all times wonderfully affected & addicted to *Ariſtotle*, and one who attributed unto the Peripateticks ſchole this ſingular commendation, that their doctrine caried more probabilitie and reſemblance of the truth, than other philoſophers whatſoever; yet at this preſent he came out with an old ruſtie reaſon of *Democritus*, taken out of the ſmoake (where it had gathered a deale of thicke ſoot) for to furbiſh, ſcoure, and make it bright againe: for this was the vulgar opinion which *Democritus* put downe for a ſuppoſition: That certeine images doe enter and pierce deepe into our bodies thorough the pores, which as they riſe againe from the bottome, cauſe thoſe viſions which appeare unto us as we ſleepe; that theſe came out of al parts wandering, as preſented from utenſils, habillements, & plants, but principally from living creatures, for that they moove & ſtir much, and beſides are hot, having not onely the expreſſe ſimilitudes and ſundry formes of bodies imprinted in them, as *Epicurus* thinketh (who thus farre foorth followeth *Democritus*, and leaveth him there) but alſo drawing therewith the apparences of the motions of the minde, of counſel, of uſuall milde affections, as alſo of vehement paſſions, wherewith they entring in, doe ſpeake as if they were living things, and diſtinctly carie unto thoſe that receive the ſame, the opinions, the words, the diſcourſes and affections of ſuch as tranſmit the ſame, if in their entrance they reteine ſtill the expreſſe figures and nothing confuſed; which they doe eſpecially, all while that their way and paſſage thorough the aire, cleere and united, is ſpeedy, quicke, and not empeached by any hinderance: conſidering than, that the aire of the Autumnall quarter, in the end when as trees doe caſt their leaves, hath much aſperitie and inequalitie, it turneth aſide and putteth by diverſly thoſe images, cauſing their evidence to be feeble and tranſitorie, as being darkened by the tardity and ſlowneſſe of their pace in the way: whereas contrariwiſe, when they runne foorth in great number, and ſwiftly out of thoſe things that ſwell with fulneſſe, and burne, as it were, with deſire to be delivered of them, then as they paſſe they yeeld their reſemblances all freſh and very ſignificant. After this, caſting his eie upon *Autobulus*, and ſmiling withall: Me thinks (quoth he) that I perceive you, and thoſe about you, to addreſſe your ſelves alredy for to maintaine a kinde of fight againſt theſe images, & that you meane to faſten with your hands and catch hold of this old opinion, as if it were ſome rotten picture, to doe it ſome violence: Goe to (quoth *Autobulus*) will you never leave theſe faſhions, to play with us in this manner? for wee know well enough iwis, that you hold and approove the opinion of *Ariſtotle*, and that for to give a luſtre thereunto, you have ſet this of *Democritus* by it, as a ſhadow and foile: that conceit therefore of *Democritus*, we will turne over and put by, and take in hand for to impugne this reaſon of *Ariſtotles*, which imputeth all to theſe new fruits, and unjuſtly without al all reaſon, blaming & diſcrediting that which we all love ſo well; for both Summer & Autumne will beare witneſſe, that when we eat theſe fruits, more freſh and greene, even at ſuch time as they are moſt ſucculent, and verdant: (as *Antimachus* ſaid) our dreames are leſſe lying and deceitfull: but theſe moneths which we name, the Fall of the leafe, pitching their tents as it were, and taking up their ſtandings cloſe to the Winter, have reduced already, both corne of the field, and alſo the fruits of trees, which remaine uneaten by their perfect concoction, to this paſſe that they looke ſlender, and in ſome ſort riveled, as having loſt by this time, that violent, heady, and furious force which was in them. As touching new wine, they that drinke it ſooneſt, doe it in the moneth **Anthiſteron,* that is to ſay, Februarie,preſently after winter, and that day upon which they begin to taſte it, we in our countrey call ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, that is to ſay, the day of good fortune; but the Athenians name it, of opening their tunnes or wine veſſels, *Pithægia*: but ſo long as the Muſt or new wine is working ſtill, and in the heat, we ſee, that all men even the very artificers and labourers are affraid to taſte of it, and to meddle withall: let us forbeare therefore to ſlander and blame the good gifts of the gods, and goe we rather another way to worke for the inquiſition of the cauſe, unto which the very name of the ſeaſon, and of theſe windie and vaine dreames doth lead us: for this time is called φυλλοχόος, that is to ſay, the fall of the leaſe, to wit, the end of Autumne; when by reaſon of cold, and drineſſe, trees ſhedde their leaves, unleſſe it bee ſome which are hot and fatty, by nature, as the olive, the lawrell, and the date trees, or very moiſt, as the ivie and myrtle; for ſuch as theſe, their temperature helpeth, others not, by reaſon that this glutinous humour which holdeth the leaves upon the tree, continueth not; becauſe that their naturall humiditie is congealed with cold, or elſe dried up, being ſo feeble and little withall: to flouriſh therefore, to grow, and to be freſh, in plants, and much more in living creatures, commeth of moiſture and heat; and contrariwiſe, cold & drineſſe are deadly enemies: & therefore *Homer* very properly, is wont to call men who are freſh and luſty διερὲς, that is to ſay, moiſt and ſucculent; as alſo to joy and be merry, he expreſſeth by the verbe ἰαίνεσθαι, that is to ſay, to be hot; contrariwiſe, that which is dolorous and fearefull, he tearmeth ἀλεγεινὸν καὶ κρυερὸν, that is to ſay, ſtiffe & ſtarke for cold; a bodie that is dead, he tearmeth ἀλίβας, that is to ſay, without moiſture; as alſo σκελετὸς, that is to ſay, a verie anotomy, dried in the ſmoake, or againſt the ſunne; which are two words deviſed to traduce & note their extreme drineſſe: moreover, bloud which is the thing within us, of principall ſtrength & vertue, is both hot and moiſt; but old age is deſtitute bothof the one and the other: now it ſeemeth that the later end of Autumne is the very age of the yere, having performed his revolutiõ; for as yet the moiſture is not come, but the heat is gone already, or at leaſtwiſe is very feeble, & that (which is a great ſigne of cold & drineſſe) this ſeaſon cauſeth bodies to be diſpoſed unto diſeaſes. This being laid for a ground, neceſſary it is that the ſoule ſhould have a ſympathy & fellow feeling of the indiſpoſitions of the bodie, & that when the ſpirits be incraſſate & thickned, and the powre and facultie of divination or foreſeeing future things, muſt needs be dimmed and dulled, much like as a mirrour or looking glaſſe, overcaſt with ſome thicke miſt: no marvell therefore if it ſend and tranſmit nothing in phantaſie and imaginations, that is plaine, expreſſe, articulate, evident, and ſignificant, ſo long as it is rough and unpoliſhed, not ſmooth and reſplendent.

* Some reade November, before written, according to *Theodorus Gaza.*

THE NINTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie or principall chapters thereof.

1 OF *verſes which have beene cited and alledged fitly in good ſeaſon or otherwiſe.*

2 *What is the cauſe that the letter* Alpha, *or* A, *ſtandeth firſt in the alphabet, or* A, b, c.

3 *In what proportion hath beene compoſed and ordeined, the number of vowels and ſemi-vowels?*

4 *Whether hand it was of* Venus, *that* Diomedes *wounded?*

5 *What was the reaſon of* Plato, *when hee ſaid, that the ſoule of* Ajax, *came in the* 20. *place to the lot?*

6 *What is covertly ſignified by the fable wherin* Neptune *is feigned to be vanquiſhed? and why the Athenians put out of their kalender the ſecond day of Auguſt?*

7 *What is the cauſe that the accords in muſicke are divided into a ternarie?*

8 *Wherein differ the intervals, melodious, and accordants in muſicke?*

9 *What is it that maketh accord or ſymphoni? and what is the reaſon that when a man ſtriketh two ſtrings accordant together, the melodie is more baſe?*

10 *How it commeth to paſſe that the ecliptick revolutions of ſunne and moone, being in number equal, yet the moone is ſeene to be oftner ecclipſed than the ſunne?*

11 *That we continue not alwaies one and the ſame, for that our ſubſtance evermore paſſeth ſtill away.*

12 *Whether is more probable of the twaine, that the ſtarres be in number even or od.*

13 *A queſtion of contrary lawes and covenants, drawen out of the third booke of the Rhapſodie of* Homers *Ilias.*

14 *Of the number of the Muſes, certeine diſcourſes and reaſons, not after a vulgar and common maner delivered.*

15 *That there be three parts of dauncing,* * *motion, geſture, and ſhew; and what each of theſe is: alſo what communitie there is betweene the art of poetrie, and the ſkill in dauncing.*

*φορὰ, σχῆμα, δεῖξις.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF Sympoſiaques or banquet-diſcourſes.

The Proëme.

This ninth booke of Sympoſiaques (ô *Soſſius Senecio*) conteineth the diſcourſes held at *Athens*, during the feſtivall ſolemnities of the Muſes; for that this number of nine, ſorteth and agreeth well with the ſaid Muſes. Now if the number of queſtions handled in this booke, ſurmount the ordinarie Decade of the former books, you are nothing to marvell thereat, becauſe we ought to render unto the Muſes all that apperteineth unto the Muſes, without taking away or deteining ought from them, no more than from holy ſacrifices; conſidering that we owe unto them many things beſides, and the ſame more beautifull than this.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Of verſes cited and pronounced in ſeaſon and to good purpoſe, or otherwiſe.

Ammonius being captaine of the citie of *Athens*, was deſirous in favour of *Diogenius*, to take view and knowledge, how the yoong men profited, who were ſtudents in Grammar, Geometrie, Rhetoricke and Muſicke; whereupon he invited to ſupper, the moſt famous regents and maſters, that were thorowout the whole citie. There met alſo with them, and were preſent, many other learned and ſtudious perſons, in great frequencie, yea, and in maner all his friends and familiars: As for *Achilles*, verily, at the funerall games and ſolemnities of *Patroclus*, he bad onely thoſe to ſup with him, who had fought hand to hand in ſingle combat to the utterance, with this intent (as it is ſaid) that if haply there had bene any choler or heat of revenge inkindled and inflamed betweene theſe men, whiles they were in armes, they ſhould now lay downe and quit the ſame, meeting thus at one feaſt, eating and drinking together at one table: but it hapned cleane contrary at this time unto *Ammonius*; for the jealouſie, contention, and emulation of theſe ſchoolemen and maſters of art aforeſaid, became the hotter, and grew to the heighth amid their cups; for by this time, they fell to argue, yea, and to challenge and defie one another, reaſoning, and diſputing without all order or judgement: whereupon, at the firſt he commanded the muſician *Eraton*, to ſing unto the harpe; who began his ſong in this wiſe, out of the works of *Heſiodus*:

Of quarell and contention,
There were as then, more ſorts than one.

for which I commended him, in that he knew how to applie the dittie of his ſong ſo well unto the preſent time; which gave occaſion afterwards unto *Ammonius* of this argument; namely, to diſcourſe of verſes in ſeaſon, and to good purpoſe pronounced; ſaying: That herein there appeared not onely a good grace, but alſo enſued otherwhiles great commoditie thereof. And preſently every mans mouth was full of that Rhapſodian poet; who at the marriage of king * *Ptolemæus*, when he eſpouſed his owne ſiſter, and was thought herein to commit a ſtrange and unlawfull act, began his ſong with theſe verſes out of *Homer*:

*Philadelphus.

Great Jupiter, *to* Juno *then, did call*
His ſiſter deere and wedded wife withall.

as alſo another, who being to ſing after ſupper before king *Demetrius*, at what time as he ſent unto him his ſonne *Philip*, being as yet a very infant, came readily forth with theſe verſes:

This childe, ſee that you well bring up
in vertuous diſcipline;
As fits the race of Hercules,
and eke a ſonne of mine.

Anaxarchus likewiſe, when *Alexander* at ſupper time flung apples at him, aroſe from the boord, rehearſing this verſe out of *Euripides*:

Some god one day, in veritie
By mortall hand ſhall wounded be.

But moſt excellently of all others, a Corinthian lad, who being led away priſoner, as the citie was forced and loſt, when *Mummius* taking a ſurvey of thoſe children who were free borne, commanded as many of them as had any knowledge in literature, for to write before him, wrate *ex tempore* theſe verſes:

Thrice and foure times thoſe Greeks were bleſt, I ſay,
Whoſe hap it was, to die before this day.

And by report *Mummius* tooke ſuch ruth and compaſſion heereat, that he ſhed teares, and for this youthes ſake, ſet at libertie as many as were of his kinred and alliance. There was remembred alſo, the wife of *Theodorus* the tragedian, who when the time drew neere, that ſuch poets and actours were to ſtrive for the beſt game, would not ſuffer him to lie with her; but after he was returned home from the theater, where he had gotten the victorie, and gained the prize, when he came toward her, ſhe kiſſed and welcomed him home with theſe verſes:

O noble ſonne of Agamemnon, *now*
To do with me your will, gaod leave have you.

Semblably, ſome there were in place, who heereupon inferred many other verſes as unfitly alledged, and altogether out of ſeaſon; for that it was not thought amiſſe or unprofitable, both to know the ſame, and to beware thereby; and, namely, that which is reported concerning *Pompeius Magnus*, when he returned from a great expedition and warlike voiage; unto whom his little daughter was preſented by her ſchoolemaſter; and for to ſhew unto him how ſhe had profited in learning, when a booke was brought unto her, the ſaid ſchoolemaſter opened it, and turned to this place for her to reade, which beginneth thus:

From warre thou art returned ſafe and ſound,
Would God thou hadſt bene there left dead on ground.

Alſo, when uncerteine newes (without any head or authour) was brought unto *Caſſius Longinus*, that his ſonne was dead in a ſtrange countrey, ſo as he could neither know the trueth, nor yet do away the doubtfull ſuſpition thereof, there came an ancient ſenatour to viſit him, and ſaid: What *Longinus*, will you not contemne and neglect this vaine bruit and headleſſe rumor, raiſed (no doubt) by ſome malicious perſon? as if you neither had knowen nor read this ſentence:

No publicke fame, nor vox popli
Was ever knowen in vaine to die.

As for him, who when a Grammarian in the iſle of *Rhodes*, called for a theame, to varie upon, and to ſhew thereby his learning before the people in a frequent theater, gave him this verſe;

Avaunt out of this iſle, I do thee reed,
Moſt wicked wretch that lives, and that with ſpeed.

it is hard to ſay, whether he did it of purpoſe, contumelioſly, to deride this poore Grammarian,

rian, or committed an errour againſt his will? But to conclude this diſcourſe of verſes inſerted aptly and otherwiſe alledged, did very pretily appeaſe the ſtirre and tumult among the regents and maſters of art aboveſaid.

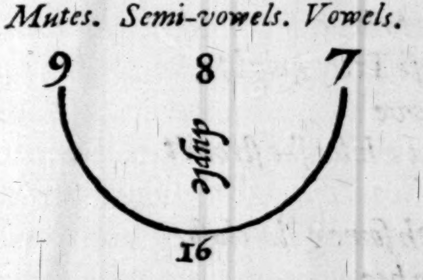
THE SECOND QUESTION AND THE THIRD.

What is the cauſe why Alpha, *(or* A*) was raunged firſt of all other letters? as alſo, what proportion, the number of vowels and ſemi-vowels hath beene compoſed and ordeined?*

WHereas the uſe and cuſtome was at *Athens*, during the foreſaid feaſts in the honour of the Muſes, that lots ſhould be carried round about the city, and they that chaunced by drawing to be matched together, propound one unto another queſtions of learning: *Ammonius* fearing leſt ſome profeſſours of one and the ſame art, ſhould be committed in oppoſition together, tooke this order, and ordeined, that without any lottery at all, a Geometrician might propoſe a queſtion unto a Grammarian; the Rhetorician unto a Muſician, and ſo reciprocally anſwere them againe by turnes: Heereupon *Hermias* the Geometrician put foorth firſt unto *Protogenes* the Grammarian, a queſtion, urging him to tell the cauſe, why, *A* was ſet formoſt of all the letters? who rendred unto him a reaſon which goeth for currant in the ſchooles: For this is certeine (quoth he) that vowels may claime by a moſt juſt title, the place before all conſonants, whether they be mute or ſemi-vowels: and ſeeing that of vowels ſome be long, others ſhort, and a third ſort doubtfull, and as they ſay, of a double time: theſe of the laſt kinde, ought by good right to be eſteemed of greater woorth and puiſſance than the reſt; and of them, that is, to have and hold the place of a capitainneſſe, which in compoſition and making of a diphthong, goeth alwaies before the other two, and never commeth behinde; and that is *Alpha*, which nether ſecondeth *Iöta*, or *Upſilon* ſo, as that it will in ſuch compoſition yeeld or helpe to make one ſyllable of thoſe twaine: but in a kinde of anger and indignation, leape backe againe unto her proper place: contrariwiſe, ſet *Alpha* with whether you will of the other two, ſo as ſhe may goe before, ſhe will accord very well, and both together will make one entire ſillable, as we may ſee in theſe words, αὔρειν, αὔλειν, as alſo in αἴας, αἰδεῖσθαι, and an infinit number of others: thus in theſe three reſpects ſhee hath the victorie, and carieth the prize, like unto thoſe champions who are winners in *Quinquectium*, or the five ſeverall games, for ſhe hath the vantage above the multitude of other letters, in that ſhe is a vowell above vowels, becauſe ſhe hath two times, as being one while long, and anotherwhile ſhort, and even of theſe double timed vowels ſhe hath the preeminence, by reaſon that ſhe ſtandeth alwaies before, and never followeth or commeth behinde others.

When *Protogenes* had made an end of his ſpeech, *Ammonius* called unto me by name and ſaid: How now *Plutarch*, wil not you aid *Cadmus*, being (as you are) a Bœotian as he was? for it is ſaid, that he placed *Alpha* before all other letters, for that *Alpha* in the Phænician language ſignifieth a beefe, reputed amõg them, not in the ſecond or third place, according to *Heſiodus*, but even the very firſt and principall of neceſſarie mooveables belonging to a man: Not I (quoth he) for I am bound to ſuccour (what I can) mine owne grand-father, rather than the very grandſire of *Bacchus*; for my grand-father *Lamprias* was wont to ſay: That the firſt diſtinct and articulate voice which a man pronounceth, is by the power of *Alpha*; ſeeing that the breath and ſpirit within the mouth, is formed principally by the motion of the lips, which as they are opened and divided a ſunder, yeeld by that ſimple overture this voice firſt, which of all others likewiſe is moſt ſimple, and performed with leaſt adoe, calling neither for the tongue to helpe it, nor waiting for the uſe thereof, but iſſueth foorth, even when it lieth ſtill and ſtirreth not out of the owne place: and therefore it is the firſt voice that infants utter: heereupon alſo commeth this word ἀΐειν in Greeke, which ſignifieth as much as to heare any voice, for that alwaies ſuch a ſound as *A* is uſually heard: yea, and many other like vocables, as ᾄδειν, that is to ſay, to ſing; αὐλεῖν, that is to ſay, to pipe; and ἀλαλάζειν, to crie or holla; yea and theſe words αἴρειν to elevate or lift up, and ἀνοίγειν, that is to ſay, to open: not without good cauſe tooke theſe names upon the deduction and lifting up of the lips, whereby ſuch a ſound as *A*, is let foorth, and falleth out of the mouth, and therefore the names of other mute conſonants, all ſave one, are helped by this *A*, which ſerveth as a light to cleere their blindneſſe: for there is but *Pi*, or *P* onely, wherein the power of this letter or ſound is not emploied: as for *Phi* and *Chi*, the one of them is *P*, and the other *K*, pronounced with (*h*) or an aſperation.

Heereto when *Hermias* ſaid, that he approoved well of both reaſons: Why doe not you then (quoth I) expound and deliver unto us, what is the proportion if there be any, in the number of letters; for in mine opinion there is, which I collect by this argument, in that the multitude of mute conſonants and ſemivowels, in regard one of another, as alſo in reſpect of vowels, ariſeth not ſo by chaunce, but according to to the firſt proportion which we call Arithmeticall, for there being 9. and 8. it commeth to paſſe that the middle number betweene, as it ſurmounteth one, ſo it is equally ſurmounted of the other, and the two extremes being brought together, the greater in reſpect of the leſſe, beareth the juſt proportion of the number of muſes, to that of *Apollo*; for 9. is attributed to the muſes, like as 7. to *Apollo*, which being joined together, make the duple of that which is in the middes, to wit, of 8. and that by good reaſon; for that the ſemi-vowels betweene both, doe participate the power and efficacie of the extremes, to wit, mutes and vowels; according to the figure heere repreſented:



Mercurie (quoth hee) was the firſt god who found out letters in *Aegypt*: therefore the Aegyptians when they would repreſent the firſt letter, doe paint *Ibis*, a fowle dedicated to *Mercurie*: but not well in my judgement, thus to give the precedence and ſuperioritie of all other letters unto a beaſt that uttereth neither voice nor ſound at all: Moreover, unto *Mercurie* is conſecrated of all numbers, the quaternarie eſpecially, and many there bee who have written, that borne he was upon the fourth day of the moneth: now if you multiply fowre by fower, you ariſe to ſixteene, the juſt number of thoſe firſt letters which were called Phænician, invented firſt by *Cadmus*. Of the other letters which afterwards were added to the reſt, *Palamedes* deviſed one fowre; and *Simonides* put thereto another fowre: moreover, the firſt perfect number of all others is 3. as having a beginning, a middle, and an end: after it the number of 6. becauſe it is knowen very well to be equall in all the parts thereof: of theſe now, if 6. be multiplied by 4. and the firſt quadrat or cube (8) by the firſt perfect number (3) they bring foorth 24. the full number of all the letters in the alphabet. Whiles he thus ſpake ſtill, *Zopyrion* the Grammarian was perceived evidently to laugh at him and mumble ſomewhat betweene his teeth ſecretly: but ſo ſoone as he had made an end of ſpeech, he could hold no longer but out hee ſpake and ſaid: That all this was nothing elſe but frivolous bibble-babble: For that (quoth *Zopyrion*) there can no ſound reaſon at all be given, but even by adventure and chaunce it fell out, that ſo many letters there were, and thoſe placed in ſuch order as they be: Like as (quoth he) that the firſt verſe of *Homers Ilias*, ſhould conteine ſo many ſyllables juſt, as the firſt of his *Odyſſea*: and againe, that the laſt of the one, ſhould anſwer in number of ſyllables even, to the laſt of the other, is altogether a caſuall thing, hapning ſo by meere fortune and not otherwiſe.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether hand it was of Venus *that* Diomedes *wounded?*

AFter this, when *Hermias* addreſſed himſelfe to propoſe unto *Zopyrion* a queſtion, we inhibited and ſtaied him. But *Maximus* the Rhetorician, came with a long fetch a farre off out of *Homer*, and demaunded of him: Whether hand it was of *Venus* that *Diomedes* wounded? With that *Zopyrion* to quit him againe, asked him preſently: Of whether legge king *Philip* haulted? The caſe quoth *Maximus* is not all one and the ſame: for *Demoſthenes* hath left unto us no meanes for to anſwer this queſtion: but if you confeſſe once that you know not; others there be who will ſhew you the very place where *Homer* telleth them who have any wit to conceive, which hand of hers was hurt? *Zopyrion* at this ſpeech ſeemed to be aſtonied and ſtand in a maze: whereupon whiles he held his peace, we requeſted *Maximus*, to point unto us the place aforeſaid: Firſt and formoſt (quoth *Maximus* then) conſidering that the verſes runne in this wiſe:

Then leapt aſide bold Tideus *ſonne,*
and traverſing his ground,
Stept to, and with ſharpe pointed ſpeare,
her hand aloft did wound.

It is plaine and evident, that if he had meant to have ſmitten her left hand, hee needed not to have leapt at one ſide, for he had the left hand of *Venus* juſt oppoſite unto his owne right hand, when he directly affronted her: and more propable it is, and ſtands to greater reaſon, that his intent was to hurt the ſtronger hand, and that which held *Aeneas* her ſonne, whom ſhee ſeemed with violence to carie away, and which being wounded, ſhe might be forced to forgoe her hold, and let his body goe. Secondly, when *Venus* was returned up into heaven, *Minerva* by way of ſcoffing, laughed at her, and ſaid to *Jupiter* in this wiſe:

No doubt, faire Venus *hath ſuborn'd*
ſome Greekiſh dame to love,
And follow one of theſe Troy *knights,*
whom ſhe affects above
All other wights: and whiles ſhe ſtroak't
this lady gently ſee,
Her ſoft hand met with ſome gold-claſp,
aud ſo came raſ'd to bee.

And verily I ſuppoſe, that even your ſelfe good ſir, an excellent regent and profeſſour as you are, if at any time you would ſeeme in making much of one of your ſcholars, to ſtroake and ſoftly to handle him, will not doe it with your left hand, but with the right; and even ſo, verie like it is, that *Venus*, the moſt gentle and courteous goddeſſe of all others, in this manner dealt with the Grecian ladies, when ſhe perſwaded them unto her minde.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that* Plato *ſaid, how the ſoule of* Ajax *came to the lot, in the 20. place.

THis prettie diſcourſe aforeſaid, pleaſed the whole company, and made them all merrie, but one Grammarian named *Hylas*, whom *Soſpis* a profeſſour in Rhetoricke, ſeeing to ſit all ſilent, ſad and heavy, (for that in deed he had ſped not very well, whenſoever he made proofe of his ſcholars proceedings) came out with theſe verſes aloud:

Ajax ſoule, the ſonne of Telamon,
Remained ſtill, and all alone.

and the reſt of the verſes following, he delivered in an higher note than ordinarie, and rehearſed them aloft unto him, in this wiſe:

But now good ſir come hither, that
my words you may well heare,
Repreſſe your ire, this anger quench,
and tame your moodie cheere.

But *Hylas* grumbling ſtill in anger, bewraied no leſſe by his croſſe and impertinent anſwer, ſaying: That the ghoſt of *Ajax* in hell, tooke her turne in the 20. place, and her lot was according to *Plato*, to be tranſmuted into the nature of a lion: But for mine owne part (quoth he) I thinke many times of the old mans ſaying in the comedie:

Better it were an aſſe to bee
Indeed, than for a man to ſee
Thoſe live preferd in worldy pelſe,
Who are for woorth behinde himſelfe.

Heereat *Soſpis* laughing heartily: But I beſeech you good *Hylas* (quoth hee) meane while that we are turning into aſſes, and taking pack-ſaddles on our backs (if you regard and reſpect any thing the honour of *Plato*) declare unto us the reaſon, why hee ſaid: That the ſoule of *Ajax* (him I meane who was *Telamons* ſonne) came in the twentieth place to have her choice from the lottery? Which when *Hylas* flatly refuſed to doe, (for he thought that they made a mocking ſtocke of him, becauſe he had but bad ſucceſſe in his former trials:) my brother tooke the matter in hand: And what ſay you (quoth he) to this? may it not bee, for that *Ajax* caried the name alwaies for beautie, greatneſſe and valour,

Next after Peleus *ſonne (I ſay,)*
Who was ſans-peere for proweſſe ay?

And you know that twentie makes up the ſecond decade; and the decade or number of ten, is of all numbers principall and moſt puiſſant, like as *Achilles* was among the princes of the Greeks. With that we al ſet up a laughter; Then *Ammonius*, Well (quoth he) *Lamprias*, you are diſpoſed thus to jeſt and play with *Hylas*, but ſince of your owne accord, you have undertaken the charge, to deliver the cauſe hereof, let us intreat you to impart it unto us, not by way of ſport and merriment, but in good earneſt. *Lamprias* was at the firſt not a little troubled at this chalenge, but after he had pauſed, and thought upon the matter a while, in the end he ſpake to this effect: It is an ordinary thing (quoth he) with *Plato*, to play with us many times merrily, by certeine deviſed names that hee uſeth: but whenſoever hee inſerteth ſome fable in any treatiſe of the ſoule, he doth it right ſoberly, and hath a deepe meaning, and profound ſenſe therein: for the intelligent nature of heaven, he calleth, a Chariot volant, to wit, the harmonicall motion and revolution of the world: and heere in this place whereof we are now in queſtion (to wit, in the end of the tenth booke of his Common-wealth) he bringeth in a meſſenger from hell, to relate newes of that which he had there himſelfe ſeene; and calleth him by the name of *Era*, a Pamphylian borne, and the ſonne of *Armonius*, giving us covertly (by an ænigmaticall conveiance) thus much to underſtand: That our ſoules are engendred by harmonie, and ſo joined to our bodies, but when they be diſjoined, and ſeparate from them, they runne together all into aire from every ſide, and ſo returne againe from thence unto ſecond generations: what ſhould hinder then but this word * εἰκοστὸν, was put downe by him, not to ſhew a truth whereof he ſpake, but rather εἰκαστὸν, as a probable ſpeech, and conjecturall fiction, or elſe, a thing ſpoken (as it ſhould ſeeme) to a dead bodie, and ſo uttered * vainly and at a venture in the aire: for *Plato* alwaies toucheth three cauſes, as being the philoſopher who either firſt knew, or principally underſtood how fatall deſtiny is mingled with fortune: and againe, how our freewill is woont to bee joined with either of them, or is complicate with both: and now in this place before cited, hee ſheweth excellently well, what power each of theſe cauſes hath in our humane affaires, attributing the choice and election of our life unto free will, (for vertue and vice be free, and at the commaund of no lord) and tying to the neceſſitie of fatall deſtinie, a religious life to Godward in them, who have made a good choiſe, and contrariwiſe in thoſe who have made a choiſe of the woorſt: but the cadences or chaunces of lots, which being caſt at a venture, and lighting heere and there, without order, befall to every one of us, bring in fortune, and preoccupate or prevent much of that which is ours, by the ſundry educations or governments of commonweale, wherein it hapneth each of us to live: for this I would have every one of you to conſider, whether it bee not meere folly and without all reaſon, to ſeeke for a cauſe of that which is done by fortune and caſually; for if lot ſhould ſeeme to come by reaſon, there were to be imputed no more to fortune or adventure, but all to ſome fatall deſtinie or providence.

* Which ſignifieth alſo the twentieth.
* ὡς εἰκῆ.

Whiles *Lamprias* delivered this ſpeech, *Marcus* the Grammarian, ſeemed to count and number (I wot not) what upon his fingers to himſelfe apart: but when he had made an end, the ſaid *Marcus* named aloud all thoſe ſoules or ſpirits which are called out in *Homers Necya*: Among which (quoth he) the ghoſt onely of *Elpenor* wandering ſtill in the middle confines, is not reckoned with thoſe beneath in another world, for that his bodie as yet is not interred and committed to the earth: as for the ſoule of *Tireſias* alſo, it ſeemeth not to bee numbred with the reſt,

To whom now dead Proſerpina,
above the reſt did give,
This gift alone right wiſe to be,
although he did not live.

as alſo the power to ſpeake with the living, and to underſtand their ſtate and affaires, even before he had drunke the bloud of ſacrificed beaſts: If then (quoth hee) ô *Lamprias* you ſubtract theſe two, and count the reſt, you ſhall finde that the ſoule of *Ajax* was juſt the twentieth of thoſe which preſented themſelves to *Ulyſſes*; and heereto alluded *Plato*, as it ſhould ſeeme by way of mirth, joining his fable together with that evocation of ſpirits, otherwiſe called *Necyra* in *Homers Odyſſea*.

THE

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is covertly meant by the fable, wherein Neptune *is feigned to have beene vanquiſhed: as alſo, why the Athenians take out the ſecond day of the moneth, Auguſt?*

NOw when the whole company were growen to a certeine uprore, ***Menephyllus*** a Peripateticke philoſopher calling unto ***Hylas*** by name: You ſee (quoth he) now, that this queſtion was not propounded by way of mockerie and contumelious flouting: but you my good friend (leaving this froward and mal-contented *Ajax*, whoſe name as *Sophocles* ſaith, is ominous, and of ill preſage) betake your ſelfe unto *Neptune*, and ſide with him a while; who is wont to recount unto us himſelfe, how he hath beene oftentimes overcome, to wit, in this city, by *Minerva*; at *Delphi*, by *Apollo*; in *Argos*, by *Juno*; in *Aegina*, by *Jupiter*; and in *Naxus*, by ***Bacchus***: and yet in all his repulſes, diſfavors, and infortunities, he bare himſelfe alwaies mild, and gentle, carying no rankor or malice in his heart: for proofe heereof, there is even in this city a temple common to him and *Minerva*, in which there ſtandeth alſo an altar dedicated to Oblivion: Then *Hylas* who ſeemed by this time more pleaſantly diſpoſed: But you have forgotten (quoth he) ô *Menephyllus*, that we have aboliſhed the ſecond day of the moneth, Auguſt, not in regard of the moone, but becauſe it was thought to be the day upon which *Neptune* and *Minerva* pleaded for the ſeignorie of this territorie of ***Attica***. Now I aſſure you (quoth *Lamprias*) *Neptune* was every way much more civill and reaſonable than ***Thraſibulus***, in caſe being not a winner as the other, but a loſer, he could forget all grudge and malice.

A great breach and defect there is in the Greeke originall, wherein wanteth the farther handling of this queſtion, as alſo 5. queſtions entier following, and a part of the 6. to wit.

7 *Why the accords in muſicke are devided into three?*
8 *Wherein differ the intervals or ſpaces melodious, from thoſe that be accordant?*
9 *What cauſe is it that maketh accord? and what is the reaſon that when one toucheth two ſtrings accordant together, the melody is aſcribed to the baſe?*
10 *What is the cauſe that the ecliptické revolutions of ſunne and moone being in number equall, yet we ſee the moone oftner ecclipſed than the ſunne?*
11 *That we continue not alwaies one and the ſame, in regard of the daily deflux of our ſubſtance.*
12 *Whether of the twaine is more probable, that the number of ſtarres is even or odde?*

Of this twelfth queſtion thus much remaineth as followeth.

LYſander was wont to ſay: That children are to be deceived with cockall bones, but men with othes: Then *Glaucias*, I have heard (quoth he) that this ſpeech was uſed againſt ***Polycrates*** the tyrant; but it may be, that it was ſpoken alſo to others: But whereby do you demaund this of me? Becauſe verily (quoth *Soſpis*) I ſee, that children ſnatch at ſuch bones, & the Academiques catch at words: for it ſeemeth unto me, that theſe ſtomacks differ in nothing from them, who holding out their clutched fiſts, play at handy dandy, & aske whether they hold in their cloſe hand even or odde? Then *Protogenes*, aroſe, and calling unto me by name: What aile we (quoth he) and what is come unto us that we ſuffer theſe Rhetoricians and oratours thus to brave it out, and to mocke others, being demaunded nothing in the meane time, nor put to it for to contribute their skot and part unto this conference and theſe diſcourſes? unleſſe peradventure they will come in with this plea, that they have no part of this table talke, in drinking wine, as being thoſe who admire and folow *Demoſthenes*, who in all his life time never dranke wine: This is not the cauſe (quoth I) but the reaſon is, becauſe we have ſpurred them no queſtions: but if you have no better thing to aske, I will propoſe unto them a caſe of repugnancie in contrarie lawes or conditions, and the ſame drawen out of ***Homer***.

THE THIRTEENTH QUESTION.

A queſtion as touching repugnant lawes, taken out of the third Rhapſodie or booke of Homers *Ilias.*

AND what is that caſe, demaunded he againe? I will tell you (quoth I) and withall propoſe it unto theſe here: and therefore let them give attentive eare: *Alexander Paris*, in the third booke of *Homers* Ilias, giveth defiance to *Menelaus*, and chalengeth him to a ſingle fight, with certaine conditions proteſting in this maner:

Let us betweene both armies meet without,
My ſelfe I meane and Menelaus *ſtout:*
To try in ſingle fight upon this plaine
To which of us by right ſhall appertaine
Dame Helene, *with her goods: For looke who ſhall*
Make good his ground, and quit himſelfe withall
So bravely, that the victorie he gaine,
Have he her-ſelfe, and jewels in domaine.

Hector againe publiſhing unto all, and declaring as well to Greeks as Trojanes the ſame chalenge and defiance of his brother *Paris*, uſeth in maner the verie ſame words, ſaying:

His meaning is, that Greeks and Trojanes all
Beſides ſhould for the time ſurceaſe and quite
Lay downe all armes upon the ground withall,
Whiles he and Menelaus *hardy knight,*
For Helen *faire, and all her jewels fight:*
And he that ſhall the better hand obteine,
With him both lady ſhall and goods remaine.

Now when *Menelaus* had accepted of theſe conditions, and both ſides were ſworne to the articles accorded, *Agamemnon* to ratifie the ſame by his roiall aſſent, ſpake in this wiſe:

If Alexander *in plaine fight,*
ſhall Menelaus *kill:*
Dame Helene *he may leade away,*
and her goods at his will:
But ſay that Menelaus *brave,*
doe Alexander *ſlay*
The woman then and what ſhe hath,
let him ſtreight have away.

Now for that *Menelaus* vanquiſhed *Paris* indeed, but yet bereft him not of his life; either ſide had good plea to defend their cauſe oppoſite unto their enemies: for the Greeks pretended a right claime unto *Helena*, for that *Paris* was overcome: and the Trojanes impleaded and denied to redeliver her, becauſe he was not left dead in the place: how ſhall this caſe then be decided and judged aright in ſo great a difference and contrarietie? Certes it belongeth not to Philoſophers nor Grammarians alone; but it is for Rhetoricians alſo to determine heereof, who are both learned in Grammar and good letters; and withall, well ſeene in Philoſophie, as you be. Then *Soſpis* gave his opinion and ſaid: That the cauſe and plea of the defendant chalenged, was farre better and ſtronger, as having the law directly on his ſide: for the aſſailant and chalenger himſelfe, denounced under what conditions the combat ſhould be performed; which ſeeing the defendant accepted of, and yeelded unto, it lieth not in their power any more to adde ought thereto: for the condition compriſed in the chalenge, caried no words implying ſlaughter or death of any ſide; but the victory of the one, and the diſcomfiture of the other; and that with very great reaſon: for by right the lady belonged to the better man, and more valiant; and the more valorous man is he who vanquiſheth: for otherwiſe it falleth out many times, that valiant and hardie men are ſlaine by very cowards; as afterwards *Achilles* himſelfe chaunced to be killed by *Paris* with the ſhot of an arrow: neither will any man (I trow) ſay, that *Achilles* thus ſlaine, was the leſſe valiant, or call this the victorie; but rather the good fortune of *Paris* unjuſtly dealt, whoſe happe it was to ſhoot ſo right; whereas on the other ſide, *Hector* was vanquiſhed by *Achilles*, before he was ſlaine, for that he would not abide his comming, but for feare abandoned his ground and fled: for he that refuſeth combat and runneth away, is in plaine tearmes vanquiſhed, & hath no excuſe to palliate or cloake his defeature; but flatly confeſſeth his enemie to be his better. And therefore *Irus*, comming at firſt to *Helena* for to give her intelligence of this combat, ſaith unto her:

They will in combat fight it out
with long ſpeares now for thee:
And looke who winnes the victory,
his wife thou nam'd ſhalt be.

And afterwards *Jupiter* himſelfe adjudged the prize of victorie unto *Menelaus* in theſe words:

Now plaine it is, the champion bold,
ſir Menelaus *hight,*
Hath quit himſelfe a man, and wonne
the prize in ſingle fight.

For it were a ridiculous mockerie to ſay: That *Paris* had cōquered *Achilles*, becauſe he ſtood behind a farre off, & with the ſhot of an arrow wounded him in the foote, who never was ware of him, nor ſo much as looked for any ſuch thing; & that now when he refuſed combat, diſtruſted himſelfe, & ran out of the field like a coward, to ſhroud & hide himſelfe within the boſome, & betweene the armes of a woman, being as a man would ſay diſarmed and deſpoiled of his weapons, even whiles he was alive, his concurrent ſhould not deſerve to carie away the victorie, ſhewing himſelfe the conquerour in open field; even according to the conditions offred by *Paris* the chalenger. Then *Glaucus* taking the matter in hand, impleaded and argued againſt him thus: Firſt (quoth he) in all edicts, decrees, lawes, covenants and contracts, the laſt are reputed alwaies of greater validitie, and doe ſtand more firme than the former: but the ſecond covenants and the laſt, were they which were declared and publiſhed by *Agamemnon*; in which was compriſed, expreſly death for the end of the combat, and not the diſcomfiture or yeelding of the partie conquered: moreover the former capitulation of covenants, paſſed onely by parole & bare words; but the other which followed after, was ſealed & confirmed with an oath, yea & a curſe and execration was ſet therupon, for whoſoever ſhould tranſgreſſe the ſame: neither was it approoved & ratified by one man alone, but by the whole army together: in ſuch ſort as this latter paction and covenant, ought properly and by right, to be ſo called; whereas the former was nothing elſe but the intimation of a chalenge and defiance given; in teſtimonie whereof, *Priamus* alſo after the articles of combat were ſworne unto, departed out of the field ſaying:

Great Jupiter *and other gods*
immortall now doe know,
Whoſe deſtiny it is to die
upon his overthrow.

For he wiſt well enough that the covenants of combat were capitulated and accorded upon this condition: and therefore it was, that a little while after, *Hector* ſaith:

God Jupiter *aloft in heaven*
who ſits upon his throne,
The covenants ſworne hath not perform'd
which were agreed and ſworne.

For as yet the combat remained unatchived and unperfect, neither had it a certaine and doubtleſſe concluſion, conſidering neither the one nor the other of the champions was ſlaine: ſo that in mine opinion, there is no contrarietie heere at all, becauſe the former articles and conditions were compriſed in the ſecond: for no doubt, he that killeth hath overcome; but it followeth not, that he who vanquiſheth hath killed his enemie: but to ſay a truth, wee may well plead thus: That *Agamemnon* did not reverſe or anull the chalenge or defiance pronounced by *Hector*, but explaned and declared it; neither altered he it, but added rather the principall point thereof, ſetting downe expreſly, him for victour who killed his enemie; for this indeed is a complet and abſolute victory; whereas all others have evaſions, pretended excuſes and oppoſitions, ſuch as this of *Menelaus*, who wounded not his enemie, nor ſo much as purſued and followed after him: like as therefore in ſuch caſes wherein there is an evident contradiction of lawes indeed, the judges are wont to pronounce award and ſentence, according to that which is moſt expreſly and cleerely ſet downe, leaving that which is doubtfull and obſcure; even ſo in this preſent caſe now in queſtion; that covenant which hath an evident concluſion, and admitteth no tergiverſation at all, we ought to eſteeme more firme and effectuall: furthermore, that which is the chiefe and moſt principall point of all, even he himſelfe who is ſuppoſed to be the victour, in that he retired not backe, nor gave over ſeeking for him that fled, but went up and downe, to and fro among the troupes ſearching all about,

If haply of this gallant knight
Sir Paris *he might have a ſight.*

teſtified plainly, that his victory was imperfect and of no validitie; conſidering that his concurrent was eſcaped out of his hands, which put him in minde of the words which himſelfe a little before had ſaid:

The houre of death, to whether of us twaine
Is come, let him lie dead upon the plaine:
As for the reſt, ſee every one apart,
And that with ſpeed, you home in peace depart.

And therefore it ſtood him upon neceſſarily, to ſeeke out *Alexander*, to the end, that having ſlaine him, he might accompliſh the entire execution of the combat, and gaine the end thereof; whereas, neither killing him out of the way, nor taking him priſoner, without all right he demanded the prize of victorie: for in very trueth, he did not ſo much as vanquiſh him, if we may gather preſumptions and conjecturall arguments, even out of his owne words, complaining as he doth of *Jupiter*, and lamenting to himſelfe, that he miſſed of his purpoſe, in theſe words:

O Jupiter, *in heaven above,*
no God there is againe,
More ſpightfull than thy ſelfe to me,
nor cruell; to be plaine,
I made account, and ſo gave out,
of Paris *in this place,*
Reveng'd to be for all his wrongs,
and working my diſgrace:
But now my ſword in hand is burſt,
my javelin launc'd in vaine
With force of armes, hath done no hurt,
nor wrought him any paine.

For himſelfe confeſſeth, that it was to no purpoſe, that he pierced thorow his enemies ſhield, and tooke away his armet that fell from his head, unleſſe he had wounded him therewith, and ſlaine him outright.

THE FOURETEENTH QUETSION.

As touching the Muſes and their number, certeine points not after a vulgar and common maner handled.

THis diſcourſe being thus finiſhed, we performed our oblations and libaments to the Muſes; and after we had ſung an hymne to *Apollo*, the leader and conductour of the Muſes, we chanted alſo to the ſound of the harpe, as *Eraton* plaied thereupon, thoſe verſes which *Heſiodus* wrote concerning the generation and birth of the Muſes: when our ſong was ended, *Herodes* the rhetorician began his ſpeech in this wiſe: Liſten lordings (quoth he) you that would diſtract and plucke from us, *Calliope*: they ſay (forſooth) that ſhe converſeth with kings, and not with thoſe who can skill of unfolding ſyllogiſmes, or who propoſe difficult queſtions to ſuch as ſpeake big, and are of magnificent ſpeech, but thoſe rather who do and effect great matters, the works I meane which concerne orators, politicians & Stateſmen: and as for *Clio*, of all the Muſes, ſhe admitteth and avoweth the encomiaſticall orations, wherein are conteined the praiſes of other artizans; for that in old time, our anceſtours called praiſes, *Clea*: and *Polymneia* enterteineth hiſtorie; which is nothing els, but the memoriall or remembrance of many antiquities: and it is reported, that in ſome places, and namely, in * *Chios*, they name all the Muſes μνείας, that is to ſay, memories: as for me, I challenge alſo to my ſelfe ſome part of * *Euterpe*, if it be as *Chryſippus* ſaith, that ſhe it is, who hath allotted unto her the gift to enterteine meetings and conferences, with pleaſure, delectation and grace: for an oratour is no leſſe affable in familiar converſation, than eloquent in pleading cauſes at the barre, or in opining and delivering his

* Or, *Lion.*
* Or, *Terpſichore.*

minde in conſultations at the counſell table; conſidering that the art and profeſſion of an oratour, conteineth the facultie and feat to win good will, do defend, mainteine, and juſtifie; but principally, and moſt of all, we imploy our greateſt skill in praiſing and diſpraiſing; which if we can order artificially and with dexteritie, we are able to bring about and effect no ſmall matters: and contrariwiſe, if we do unskilfully, and without art, we faile of the marke which we ſhoot at: for this commendable title,

O God, this man how acceptable
Is he to all, and venerable!

agreeth in my judgement, to oratours, rather than to any other perſons, who have the skill to ſpeake well and to perſwade: a gift moſt requiſit, fit, and beſeeming thoſe that are to converſe with men. Then *Ammonius*: It were not well done of us (quoth he) ô *Herodes*, if we ſhould be offended and angry with you, although you ſeeme to comprehend all the Muſes together in your hand: for that among friends, all things are common: and therefore it is, that *Jupiter* hath begotten many Muſes, that every man might draw abundance from them of all good things, and make no ſpare: for we have not all of us need, of the skill in hunting, of militarie ſcience, of the art of navigation, nor of the mechanicall handicrafts of artizans; but we all ſtand in need of learning and erudition,

As many as on fruits do feed,
Which for our uſe the earth doth breed.

And hereupon it is, that *Jupiter* hath procreated one *Minerva*, one *Diana*, and one *Vulcane*; but many Muſes: now that there ſhould be nine of them in number juſt, and neither more nor fewer, you will be ſo good (will you not) as to yeeld us a reaſon? for I ſuppoſe you are well ſtudied in this point, being as you are, ſo well affected unto them, and ſo much adorned by their graces. And what great learning (quoth *Herodes* againe) ſhould there be in that? for every man hath in his mouth, the number of nine, and there is not a woman, but ſingeth thereof, and is able to ſay, that as it is the firſt ſquare ariſing from the firſt odde number, ſo it is unevenly odde it ſelfe, as being divided into three odde numbers equall one to the other. Now ſurely (quoth *Ammonius*, and therewith ſmiled) this is manfully done of you, and ſtoutly remembred: but why do you not adde thereto, thus much more, for a corollary and over-meaſure, that it is a number compoſed of the two firſt cubes, conſidering that it is made of an unitie and an octonarie: and after another maner likewiſe of compoſition, it ſtandeth of two triangled numbers, to wit, a ſenarie and a ternarie, whereof, both the one and the other is a perfect number: but what is the reaſon, that this novenarie or number of nine, agreeth better unto the Muſes, than to any other gods or goddeſſes; for nine Muſes we have, but not nine *Cereſes*, nor nine *Minervaes*, nor yet nine *Dianaes*? you are not (I trow) perſwaded that the cauſe hereof is, becauſe the name of their mother Μνημοσύνη, conteineth juſt ſo many letters? *Herodes* laughed heartily heereat; and after ſome time of pauſe and ſilence, *Ammonius* ſollicited us to take the matter in hand, and ſearch the cauſe thereof. With that, my brother beganne, and ſaid: Our ancients in olde time knew of no more than three Muſes; but to proove ſo much by way of demonſtration, before this company, where there be ſo many wiſe men and learned clerks, were a meere uncivill and ruſticall part, ſavouring of vanitie and oſtentation: but I aſſure you, the reaſon of this number, was not (as ſome affirme) the three kinds of muſicke or melodie, to wit, * Diatonique, * Chromatique, and * Harmonique; nor by occaſion of the three termes or bounds which make the intervals in an octave or eight, of muſicke harmonicall, to wit, *Nete*, *Meſe*, and *Hypate*, that is to ſay, the Treble, the Meane, and the Baſe: and yet verily, the Delphians ſo called the Muſes; wherein they did amiſſe, in my judgement, to reſtraine that generall name of them all, to one ſcience, or rather to one part of a ſcience, to wit, the harmonie of muſicke: but our ancients (knowing well, that all arts and ſciences which are practiſed & performed by reaſon and ſpeech, are reduced to three principall kinds, Philoſophicall, Rhetoricall, and Mathematicall) reputed them to be the gifts and beneficiall graces of three deities or divine powers, which they called Muſes: howbeit, afterwards, and about the time wherein *Heſiodus* lived, when the faculties of theſe generall ſciences were better revealed and diſcovered, they perceived that ech of them had three differences; and ſo they ſubdivided them into three ſubalternall ſorts; namely, the Mathematicks, into Arithmaticke, Muſicke, and Geometrie; Philoſophy, into Logicke, Ethicke or Morall, and Phyſicke or Naturall; as for Rhetoricke, it had at the beginning for the firſt part, Demonſtrative, which was imploied in praiſes; for the ſecond, Deliberative, occupied in conſultations; and for the third, Judiciall, uſed in pleas and judgements: of all which faculties, they thought

* Plain-ſong or naturall muſicke.
* Full of deſcant, quavers, and fained voices.
* Melodious and ſtanding much of pleaſant concent and accord.

thought there was not ſo much as one, that was invented, or could be learned without ſome gods or Muſes, that is to ſay, without the conduct and favour of ſome ſuperiour puiſſance: and therefore they did not deviſe and make ſo many Muſes, but acknowledged and found that ſo many there were: like as therefore, the number of nine is divided into three ternaries, and every one of them ſubdivided into as many unites; even ſo the rectitude of reaſon in the precellent knowledge of the trueth, is one puiſſance, and the ſame common: but ech of theſe three kinds is ſubdivided into three other; and every of them hath their ſeverall Muſe, for to diſpoſe and adorne particularly one of theſe faculties: for I doe not thinke, that in this diviſion, poets and aſtrologers can of right complaine of us, for leaving out their ſciences; knowing (as they do) aſwell as we can tell them, that Aſtrologie is contributed unto Geometrie, & Poetrie to Muſicke. Upon this ſpeech, *Tryphon* the phyſician brake out into theſe words: But what meane you (I pray you) and how hath our poore art offended you, that it is excluded thus out of the temple and ſocietie of the Muſes? Then *Dionyſius* of *Melitus*, added moreover, and ſaid: Nay you have provoked many of us beſides, to complaine upon our diſcontentment in the ſame behalfe: for we that are gardeners and husbandmen imploied in agriculture, challenge a right and propertie in lady *Thalia*, aſcribing unto her, the care and charge of plants and ſeeds, that they may come up, grow, flower, increaſe, and be preſerved. But herein (quoth I) you doe the man manifeſt wrong; for you have *Ceres* for your patroneſſe, ſurnamed Ἀνησιδῶρα, for giving us ſo many gifts; to wit, the fruits of the earth: yea, and *Bacchus* may goe for a patron in this reſpect, who (as *Pindarus* ſaith)

Taking the charge of trees that grow,
Doth cauſe them for to bud and blow:
The verdure freſh and beautie pure,
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And we know beſides, that phyſicians have *Aeſculapius* for their preſident and tutelar god, who ordinarily alſo uſe *Apollo* as he is ſurnamed, *Pæan*, that is to ſay, the appeaſer of all paines and maladies, but never as he is, *Muſegetes*, that is to ſay, the prince and guide of the Muſes: True it is indeed, that according to *Homer*:

All mortall men of gods have need,
That they in their affaires may ſpeed.

Howbeit all men require not the helpe of all gods: But I woonder much at this, that *Lamprias* ſhould either forget or be ignorant of that common ſaying of the Delphians, who give out: That among them the Muſes beare not the name, either of ſounds and notes, or of ſtrings; but whereas the whole world is divided into three principall parts or regions; whereof the firſt is of thoſe natures which be fixed and not erraticall; the ſecond of ſuch as are wandering; and the third, of bodies under the ſphære of the moone: theſe are every one diſtinctly digeſted, compoſed, and ordered by harmonicall proportions, and each of them (as they ſay) hath a Muſe to their keeper and preſident, to wit, the firſt or higheſt region, *Hypate*; the laſt or loweſt, *Nete*: & as for *Meſe* which is in the middle betweene, ſhe doth both comprehend and alſo turne about mortall things, (as much as it is poſſible, conſidering they come after) with divine and immortall, yea, and earthly natures with heavenly and celeſtiall, according as *Plato* himſelfe after a covert & ænigmaticall maner hath given us to underſtand, under the names of the three Deſtinies, calling one, *Atropos*; another, *Lacheſis*; and a third, *Clotho*: for as touching the motions and revolutions of the eight heavenly Sphæres, hee hath attributed as preſidents unto them ſo many Syrenes in number, and not Muſes.

Then *Menephylus* the Peripateticke comming in with his ſpeech: There is (quoth hee) ſome reaſon and probabilitie in the Delphians ſaying; but ſurely the opinion of *Plato* is abſurd, in that unto thoſe divine and eternall revolutions of the heavens, he hath aſſigned in ſtead of Muſes, the Syrenes which are dæmons, or powers not verie kinde and good, nor beneficiall; either leaving out as he doth the Muſes altogether, or els calling them by the names of the Deſtinies, and ſaying they be the daughters of Neceſſitie: for ſurely Neceſſitie is a rude thing and violent; whereas Perſwaſion is gentle and gracious; by the meanes of Muſes amiable, taming what it will, and in my minde,

Deteſteth more the duritie,
And force of hard neceſſitie.

than doth that grace and *Venus* of *Empedocles*. That is true indeed (quoth *Ammonius*) it abhorreth that violent and involuntarie cauſe which is in our ſelves, enforcing us to doe againſt our evils: but the neceſſitie which is among the gods is nothing intollerable, nor violent, nor hard to be obeied or perſwaded, but to the wicked, no more than the law of a citie, that unto good men is the beſt thing that is, & which they cannot pervert or tranſgreſſe; not becauſe it is impoſſible for them ſo to do, but for that they are not willing to change the ſame. Moreover as touching thoſe Syrenes * of *Homer*, there is no reaſon that the fable of them ſhould affright us: for (after an ænigmaticall and covert ſort) even he ſignifieth very well unto us, that the power of their ſong and muſicke, is neither inhumane, nor pernicious or mortall; but ſuch as imprinteth in the ſoules which depart from hence thither, as alſo to ſuch as wander in that other world after death, a vehement affection to divine and celeſtiall things, together with a certeine forgetfulneſſe of thoſe that be mortall and earthly, deteining and enchanting them as it were with a pleaſure that they give unto them; in ſuch ſort as by reaſon of the joy which they receive from them, they follow after and turne about with them: now of this harmonie, there is a little echo or obſcure reſonance commeth hither unto us, by the meanes of certeine diſcourſes, which calleth unto our ſoule, and putteth into her minde, ſuch things as then and there are, whereof the greateſt part is encloſed and ſtopped up with the abſtructions of the fleſh, and paſſions that are not ſincere: howbeit, our ſoule, by reaſon of the generoſitie wherewith it is endued, doth underſtand, yea, and remember the ſame, being raviſhed with ſo vehement an affection thereof, that her paſſion may be compared properly unto moſt ardent and furious fits of love, whiles ſhe ſtill affecteth and deſireth to enjoy, but is not able for all that, to looſen and free her-ſelfe from the bodie; howbeit, I doe not accord and hold with him altogether in theſe matters: but it ſeemeth unto me, that *Plato* as he hath ſomewhat ſtrangely in this place, called the axes and poles of the world and heavens, by the names of ſpindels, rocks, and diſtaves, yea & tearmed the ſtarres, wherves: ſo, to the Muſes alſo he hath given an extraordinarie denomination of Syrens, as if they related, and expounded unto the ſoules and ghoſts beneath, divine and celeſtiall things: like as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* ſaith, that the Syrenes were come:

* Odyſſ. μ. 167.

The daughters who of Phorcis *were,*
That doth of hell the lawes declare.

As for the Muſes they be aſſigned unto the eight heavenly ſphæres: and one hath for her portion the place and region next to the earth: thoſe then which have the preſidences & charge of the revolution of thoſe eight ſphæres, do keepe, preſerve and mainteine the harmony and conſonance, aſwell betweene the wandering planets and fixed ſtarres, as alſo of themſelves one to another; and that one which hath the ſuperintendence of that ſpace betweene the moone and the earth, and converſeth with mortall and temporall thinges, bringeth in and infuſeth among them, by the meanes of her ſpeech and ſong (ſo farre forth as they be capable by nature and apt to receive the ſame) the perſwaſive facultie of the Graces, of muſicall meaſures and harmonie: which facultie is very cooperative with civile policie and humane ſocietie, in dulſing and apeaſing that which is turbulent, extravagant and wandering in us, reducing it gently into the right way, from blind by-pathes and errors and there ſetleth it: but according to ***Pyndarus*:**

Whom Iupiter *from heaven above*
Vouchſafeth not his gracious love,
Amaz'd they be and flie for feare
When they the voice of Muſes heare.

Whereto when *Ammonius* had given acclamation, alluding (as his maner was) unto the verſe of *Xenophanes* in this wiſe:

Theſe things doe cary good credence
And to the trueth have reference,

and withall mooved us every one to opine and deliver his advice: I my ſelfe after ſome little pauſe and ſilence, began thus to ſay: That as *Plato* himſelfe by the etymologie of names (as it were by traces) thought to finde out the properties and powers of the gods; even ſo let us likewiſe place in heaven & over celeſtial things, one of the Muſes, which ſeemeth of the heaven to be called *Urania*. Certes, it ſtandeth to great reaſon, that theſe heavenly bodies require not much variety of governmẽt, for that they have but one ſimple cauſe, which is, nature: but whereas there be many errors, many enormities & treſpaſſes, thither we muſt transfer thoſe eight: one for to correct one ſort of faults and diſorders, and another for to amende & reforme another: and for that of our life, one part is beſtowed in ſerious & grave affaires, and another in ſport & game; & throughout the whole courſe thereof, it hath need of a moderate temperature & muſicall conſent: that which in us is grave & ſerious ſhall be ruled and conducted, by *Calliope*, *Clio* and *Thalia*, being our guides in the skill and ſpeculation as touching gods and goddeſſes: as for the other Muſes, their office and charge is to ſupport and hold up that which is inclined and prone to pleaſure, plaie and diſport, not to ſuffer it through weakneſſe and imbecillity to runne headlong into looſneſſe and beſtiality; but to keepe in, repreſſe and hold it in good and decent order with dauncing, ſinging and playing ſuch as hath their meaſures, and is tempered with harmonie, reaſon, and proportion: For mine owne part, conſidering that *Plato* admitteth and ſetteth downe in every one two principles and cauſes of all our actions; the one inbred and naturall; to wit, a deſire and inclination to pleaſures: the other comming from without foorth; to wit, an opinion which coveteth the beſt; inſomuch, as the one he calleth ſometime, Reaſon, and the other, Paſſion; and ſeeing that either of theſe againe admitteth diſtinct differences; I ſee certainly, that both of them require a great government; and in verie truth, an heavenly and divine conduct: and firſt as touching Reaſon, one part thereof is civill and roiall; namely, that which medleth in policke government, and matters of State: over which is placed as *Heſiodus* ſaith, *Calliope*; *Clio* is allotted for her part principally, to advance, collaud, and encourage, ambition or deſire of honour; *Polymneia* ruleth and preſerveth the vertue memorative, and the deſire of knowledge and learning, which is in the ſoule: and heereupon it is, that the Sicyonians of thoſe three Muſes which they honour, call one, *Polymathia*; and unto *Euterpe*, who attributeth not the skill and ſpeculation of trueth in nature, as acknowledging no delights and recreations more pure, beautifull, and honeſt than it. To come now unto appetites and affections, that which concerneth eating and drinking, *Thalia* maketh civill, ſociable, and honeſt: whereas, otherwiſe it would be inhumane, beaſtly, and diſordered; which is the reaſon that we ſay; thoſe men doe θαλιάζειν, when they meet together friendly and merily to make good cheere: but in no wiſe ſuch as become drunke, and grow to exceſſe and riotous miſdemeanors. As for the accords of love and *Venus*, *Erato* is ſhe that performeth them with her preſence; perſwading that the action thereof ſhould reſpect reaſon and the opportunity of time, cutting off wantonneſſe, and quenching the furious heat of luſt and pleaſure, making it for to determine and reſt in faithfull love and amitie, and not to end in diſſolute and laſcivious intemperance. There remaineth yet the pleaſure of hearing and ſeeing, whether the ſame belong to reaſon or to paſſion; or rather apperteine in common to both: the other two Muſes, to wit, *Melpomene* and *Terpſichore*, are regents over them, which they compoſe and order in ſuch ſort, that as the one becommeth an honeſt delight, and not an enchantment of the eares; ſo the other contenteth the eies as much, though it doe not bewitch and corrupt the ſame.

The whole chapter following is ſo defective and faultie in the originall, that we know not by any conjecturall meanes to ſupply or reforme it.

THE FIFTEENTH QUESTION.

That in dauncing there be three parts, Motions, Geſture, and Shew: what every of them is? alſo, what communitie there is betweene the art of Poetry and the feat of dauncing.

AFter this, there was propoſed a tart or cake called *Pyramus*, as the prize of victory for * children, who daunce beſt: and for umpiers & judges were choſen *Meniſſus* the ſchoolemaſter, and *Lampryas* my brother: for before time he had daunced the warlike moriske verie pretily, and was held in the dauncing ſchooles and places of exerciſe, to have the beſt grace in geſticulation with his hands when he daunced, above all other boies whatſoever: now when as many had daunced and ſhewed therein more affection than elegancie, and more heart than art; ſome there were of the companie, who having choſen two more expert than the reſt, and who affected greatly to obſerve the rules of art, praied them to daunce φορὰν παρὰ φοράν, as one would ſay, motion after motion, or one bout after another. Heereupon *Thraſibulus* the ſonne of *Ammonius*, demanded what this tearme φορὰ, that is to ſay, motion, ſignified in this place, which miniſtred matter, and gave occaſion unto *Ammonius* to diſcourſe more at large concerning the parts of dauncing; for he ſaid: That there were three parts thereof, namely, φορὰ, σχῆμα, and δεῖξις: For that (quoth he) a daunce is compounded of motions, geſtures, or countenances, like as ſongs ſtandeth upon ſounds, and times, or reſts betweene; for pauſes and ſtaies are the ends of motions heerein; and verily thoſe motions, profeſſors call φορὰς; but the diſpoſitions and habitudes,

* παισὶ, ſome reade πᾶσι, that is to ſay, all.

habitudes, σχήματα, unto which the motions doe tend, and wherein they reſt and end; namely, when in the forme and geſture of their body, they repreſent *Apollo* or *Pan*, or ſome of theſe raging *Bacchæ*, ſo as a man at the firſt ſight may acknowledge their part expreſly reſembled: as for the third part called δεῖξις, it is not a feigned imitation, but a lovely and true demonſtration of the ſubject matters in the daunce: for like as the poets when they would plainly and barely name *Achylles, Ulyſſes,* the Earth or Heaven, uſe their proper tearmes to expreſſe them, and even ſuch as the vulgar know them by; but for the greater emphaſis and repreſentation as it were to the life of that which they meane to deliver, they uſe otherwhiles words of their owne making, and borrowed Metaphors; as namely, when they would ſignifie the noiſe of running mates, they are wont to ſay, they doe κελαρύζειν, and καχλάζειν: and for to expreſſe the flight of arrowes, they tell us that they flie λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἆσαι, that is to ſay:

What hot deſire and haſte they make,
Of fleſh and bloud their fill to take.

Alſo to ſhew a doubtfull battel, wherein it is hard to ſay whether part ſhall have the better hand; they come with theſe tearmes:

ἴσας ὑσμίνη κεφαλὰς ἔχεν.
The fight two heads aloft in view,
Confronting equally did ſhew.

Likewiſe to expreſſe that which they would ſay, they deviſe and coine many compoſitions of names in their verſes, as for example: *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Perſeus*:

Then Gorgon-ſlayer *mounting hie,*
In aire of Jupiter *did flie.*

Semblably *Pindarus* writing of the horſe:

What time as he with courage ſtout,
** Spur-leſſe, his bodie gave ſo ſtrong,* * ἀκέντητον.
To runne a race from bout to bout,
Upon Alphëus *banks along.*

Yea and *Homer* deſcribing a courſe at horſe-running:

The chariots with braſſe and tin,
bedight upon the plaine,
And draw'ne by ſure ſwift-footed ſteeds,
were ſeene to runne amaine.

Even ſo it is in dauncing, for that which they call σχῆμα, that is to ſay, geſture, repreſenteth the forme & the viſage: φορά, that is to ſay, the motion, expreſſeth emphatically ſome affection, action, or power of the minde; but by the ſhewes, which they call δείξεις, properly and promptly, the very things themſelves; as for example: the earth, the heaven, the aſſiſtants or ſtanders by; which being done in order, number, and meaſure, reſemble thoſe proper names which otherwhiles in poetrie are uſed, running roundly with the ornaments of their attributes and epithits in this manner:

Themis *modeſt, venerable:*
Venus *black-eid, amiable:*
Queene Juno *with her gold-crowne honoured,*
Faire Dion *and wel-favoured.*
Alſo:
From Helen *came renowned kings,*
*of * lawes protectors grave,* * θεμιστοπόλοι.
Sir Dorus, Xanthus, Aeolus,
** who joied in horſes brave.* * ἱππιοχάρμης.

for otherwiſe if poets ſhould not thus doe, their ſtile would be very baſe, and their verſes ſtarke naught, and without all grace, as if one ſhould pen them in this ſort ſimply without all epithits:

From one deſcended Hercules,
And from another Iphytus,
This ladies ſire, her husband eke,
And ſonne were kings all in their courſe:
Her brethren alſo were the like,
And ſo were her progenitors.

Wha

Who firſt to know what dame ſhe was
Greece *cleaped her* Olympias.

For the like faults and errours are committed at dauncing in the foreſaid ſhewes, if they carry not a probable likelihood and a grace with them, and the ſame accompanied with decencie and an unaffected ſimplicitie: in one word, we may fitly transferre the Apophthegme of *Simonides*, from painting unto dauncing, and ſay thus: That a daunce is a mute poeſie, and poeſie a ſpeaking daunce; inſomuch (quoth hee) as neither painting dependeth upon poeſie, nor poeſie of painting, as having no need at all, one of the other: whereas betweene dauncing and poetrie, all things are common, are participating one with another in every thing, and repreſenting, both of them, one and the ſame thing, eſpecially in thoſe ſongs to daunce, which they call *Hyporchemata*, wherein is performed the moſt effectuall and lively reſemblance, of the one, by geſture, and of the other, by words and names: ſo that poëmes ſeeme aptly to be compared unto the lines and pourfling in a picture, by which the formes of viſages are drawen; inſomuch, as hee who hath proceeded well in thoſe *Hyporchemata*, and is become excellent in that feat, ſheweth plainly, that theſe two arts, neceſſarily have need the one of the other: for he who chaunteth out this ſong,

ἀπέλαςον ἵππον, ἢ κύνα ἀμυκλαίαν ἀγωνιῶ, &c.

That is to ſay:
I play the horſe of Theſſaly,
Or els the hound of Amycly.

following and purſuing with his foot, the meaſures, and expreſſing the winding and turning ſound of the voice; or this other ſong,

* οἷος ἄνα δώπιον, ἀνθεμόεντε πεδίον πέταται
θανάτον κερόεσσα εὑρέμεν μανίων ἐλάφου
ταὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐχένι στρέφοισαν ἕτερον κάρα πάντα ἔτοιμον, &c.

* This place is corrupt, in the originall, that untill it be reſtored, I thinke it bootleſſe to go about to interpret it.

declareth thereby, that poëmes doe in maner provoke the diſpoſition and geſture of dauncing, drawing with the ſound of verſes, as it were with certeine cords, both hands & feet, or the whole bodie rather, ſtretching out every member thereof in ſuch ſort, as when they be pronounced and chanted forth, there is not one of them that can reſt in quiet: by occaſion whereof, the partie who ſingeth ſuch ſongs, is not abaſhed to praiſe himſelfe no leſſe for his ſufficiencie in the art of dauncing, than his accompliſhed skill in poeſie; and as if he were rapt with ſome divine inſtinct, breaketh out into this note:

How olde ſoever that I be,
I can yet foot it merrily.

And this maner of dauncing to the meaſures, they call the Candiot daunce; howbeit, now a daies there is nothing ſo ill taught, ſo badly practiſed, and ſo much depraved and corrupted, as is this feat of dauncing: and therefore that is befallen unto it, which *Ibycus* the poet fearing, wrote of himſelfe in theſe verſes:

For honour loſt among the gods, I dread,
With men alone I ſhall be honoured.

For having aſſociated her ſelfe to (I wot not what) trivial and vulgar poeſie, & being fallen from that which was ancient, divine and heavenly, ſhe ruleth and beareth ſway onely in fooliſh and amaſed theaters, where like a tyranneſſe ſhe hath in ſubjection a ſmall deale of muſicke (God wot) good enough to pleaſe and content the vulgar ſort; but among wiſe men and divine indeed, it hath (to ſay a trueth) loſt all honour and reputation.

Theſe were in maner the laſt philoſophicall diſcourſes (ô *Soſsius Senecio*) which were held at that time, in good *Ammonius* his houſe, during the feſtivall ſolemnitie of the Muſes.

THE OPINIONS OF PHILOSOPHERS.

The Summarie.

Foraſmuch as in the Preface to the ſecond tome, conteining the Miſcellanes or mixt works of Plutarch, *he ſpake of theſe gatherings out of naturall philoſophie, and of the fruit that may be reaped thereout, by diſcerning true opinions from falſe; we will not rehearſe againe here, that which was delivered in that place; but propoſe onely to the eies of the reader, the bare titles of every chapter thorowout theſe five books, which the authour hath joined together, for to ſhew the opinions of the ancient philoſophers, as touching the expoſition of the principall points of naturall philoſophie.*

Chapters of the firſt Booke.

1 *What is Nature.*
2 *What difference there is betweene a principle and an element.*
3 *As touching Principles, what they be.*
4 *How the world was compoſed.*
5 *Whether All be One.*
6 *How it commeth that men have a notion of God.*
7 *What is God.*
8 *Of heavenly intelligences or powers called Dæmons, and of Demi-gods.*
9 *Of the firſt Matter.*
10 *Of the Forme called* Idea.
11 *Of Cauſes.*
12 *Of Bodies.*
13 *Of the leaſt indiviſible bodies or Atomes.*
14 *Of Figures.*
15 *Of Colours.*
16 *Of the ſection of bodies.*
17 *Of Mixture and Temperature.*
18 *Of Voidneſſe.*
19 *Of Place.* τόπος.
20 *Of Space.* χώρα.
21 *Of Time.*
22 *Of the eſſence of Time.*
23 *Of Motion.*
24 *Of Generation and Corruption.*
25 *Of Neceſſitie.*
26 *Of the eſſence of Neceſſitie.*
27 *Of Deſtinie.*
28 *Of the ſubſtance of Deſtinie.*
29 *Of Fortune.*
30 *Of Nature.*

Chapters of the ſecond Booke.

1 *Of the world.*
2 *Of the figure of the world.*
3 *Whether the world be endued with ſoule, and governed by providence.*
4 *Whether the world be incorruptible.*
5 *Whereof the world is nouriſhed.*
6 *With what element God began to frame the world.*
7 *The order of the worlds fabricke.*
8 *For what cauſe the world bendeth or copeth.*
9 *Whether there be any voidneſſe without the world.*
10 *Which is the right ſide of the world, and which is the left.*
11 *Of heaven, and what is the ſubſtance thereof.*
12 *The diviſion of heaven, and how many circles it is divided into.*
13 *What is the ſubſtance of the ſtarres, and how they be compoſed?*
14 *The figure of the ſtarres.*
15 *The order and ſituation of the ſtarres.*
16 *The lation or motion of the ſtarres.*
17 *Whence the ſtarres have their light.*
18 *Of the ſtarres called* Dioſcuri, *that is to ſay,* Caſtor *and* Pollux.
19 *The ſigniſiance of ſtarres: how commeth winter and ſummer.*
20 *The ſubſtance of the ſunne.*

21 *The*

21 *The greatneſſe of the ſunne.*
22 *The forme of the ſunne.*
23 *The ſolſtices or ſunne-ſteads, or the converſions of the ſunne.*
24 *The ecclypſe of the ſunne.*
25 *The ſubſtance of the moone.*
26 *The bigneſſe of the moone.*
27 *The forme of the moone.*
28 *The illumination of the moone.*
29 *The eclipſe of the moone.*
30 *The face or apparence of the moone; and why ſhe ſeemeth earthly.*
31 *The diſtance that is betweene ſunne and moone.*
32 *Of the yeere; and how much is the great yeere; & the revolution of each planet.*

Chapters of the third Booke.

1 *Of the circle* Galaxia, *or the milke way.*
2 *Of comets or blaſing ſtarres; of ſtarres that ſeeme to ſhoot or fall; as alſo of the fire-lights, or meteores called beames.*
3 *Of thunders, lightnings, flaſhings, of the burning winds, called* Preſteres *and* Typhons.
4 *Of clouds, raine, ſnowe, and haile.*
5 *Of the rainbowe.*
6 *Of rods or ſtrakes in the skie.*
7 *Of windes.*
8 *Of winter and ſummer.*
9 *Of the earth: what is the ſubſtance thereof: and how bigge it is.*
10 *The forme of the earth.*
11 *The poſiture or ſituation of the earth.*
12 *The bending of the earth.*
13 *The motion of the earth.*
14 *The diviſion of the earth.*
15 *The zones or climates of the earth, how many and how great they be.*
16 *Of earth-quakes.*
17 *Of the ſea: how it is concret; and how it comes to be bitter.*
18 *How come the tides, that is to ſay, the ebbing and flowing of the ſeas.*
19 *Of the circle called* Halo.

Chapters of the fourth Booke.

1 *Of the riſing of* Nilus.
2 *Of the ſoule.*
3 *Whether the ſoule be corporall: and what is her ſubſtance.*
4 *The parts of the ſoule.*
5 *Which is the miſtreſſe or principall part of the ſoule, and wherein it doth conſiſt.*
6 *Of the ſoules motion.*
7 *Of the ſoules immortalitie.*
8 *Of the ſenſes and ſenſible things.*
9 *Whether the ſenſes and imaginations be true.*
10 *How many ſenſes there be.*
11 *How ſenſe and notion is performed, as alſo how reaſon is ingendred according to diſpoſition.*
12 *What difference there is betweene imagination, imaginable, and imagined.*
13 *Of ſight, and how we doe ſee.*
14 *Of the reflexions or reſemblances in mirrors.*
15 *Whether darkneſſe be viſible.*
16 *Of hearing.*
17 *Of ſmelling.*
18 *Of taſting.*
19 *Of the voice.*
20 *Whether the voice be incorporall: and how commeth the reſonance called eccho.*
21 *How it is that the ſoule hath ſenſe: and what is the principal & predominãt part thereof.*
22 *Of reſpiration.*
23 *Of the paſſions of the body: and whether the ſoule have a fellow-feeling with it of paine.*

Chapters of the fift Booke.

1 *Of divination or foreknowledge of future things.*
2 *How dreames come.*
3 *What is the ſubſtance of naturall ſeed.*
4 *Whether naturall ſeed be a body.*
5 *Whether femals as well as males doe yeeld naturall ſeed.*
6 *After what maner conceptions are.*
7 *How males and females are engendred.*
8 *How monſters are ingendred.*
9 *What is the reaſon that a woman accompanying often times carnally with a man, doth not conceive.*
10 *How twinnes, both two and three at once, be occaſioned.*
11 *How commeth the reſemblance of parents*
and

and progenitours, in children.
12 *What is the cauſe that infants be like to ſome other, and not to the parents.*
13 *How women proove barren, and men unable to ingender.*
14 *What is the reaſon that mules be barren.*
15 *Whether the fruit within the wombe, is to be accounted a living creature or no.*
16 *How ſuch fruits be nouriſhed within the wombe.*
17 *What part is firſt accompliſhed in the wombe.*
18 *How it commeth to paſſe, that infants borne at ſeven moneths end, doe live, and are livelike.*
19 *Of the generation of living creatures; how they be ingendred, and whether they be corruptible.*
20 *How many kindes there be of living creatures; whether they all have ſenſe and uſe of reaſon.*
21 *In what time living creatures receive forme within the mothers wombe.*
22 *Of what elements is every generall part in us compoſed.*
23 *How commeth ſleepe and death; whether it is of ſoule or bodie.*
24 *When and how a man beginneth to come unto his perfection.*
25 *Whether it is ſoule or bodie, that either ſleepeth or dieth.*
26 *How plants come to grow, and whether they be living creatures.*
27 *Of nouriſhment and growth.*
28 *From whence proceed appetites, luſts and pleaſures in living creatures.*
29 *How the feaver is ingendred; and whether it be an acceſſarie or ſymptome to another diſeaſe.*
30 *Of health, ſickneſſe, and olde age.*

THE FIRST BOOKE OF Philoſophers opinions.

The Proœme.

BEing minded to write of naturall philoſophie, we thinke it neceſſary in the firſt place, and before all things els, to ſet downe the whole diſputation of Philoſophie, by way of diviſion; to the end that we may know which is naturall, and what part it is of the whole. Now the Stoicks ſay, that ſapience or wiſdom is the ſcience of all things, aſwell divine as humane; and that Philoſophie is the profeſſion and exerciſe of the art expedient thereto, which is the onely ſupreame and ſovereigne vertue; and the ſame divided into three moſt generall vertues; to wit, Naturall, Morall, and Verball: by reaſon whereof, Philoſophie alſo admitteth a three-folde diſtribution; to wit, into Naturall, Morall, Rationall or Verball: the Naturall part is that, when as we enquire and diſpute of the world and the things conteined therein: Morall, is occupied in intreating of the good and ill that concerneth mans life: Rationall or Verball, handleth that which perteineth unto the diſcourſe of reaſon and to ſpeech, which alſo is named Logique or Dialelectique, that is to ſay, Diſputative. But *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, with the Peripateticks, in maner all, divide Philoſophie in this maner; namely, into Contemplative and Active: For neceſſarie it is (ſay they) that a man (to atteine unto perfection) ſhould be a ſpectatour of all things that are, and an actour of ſuch things as be ſeemely and decent, and may the better be underſtood by theſe examples: The queſtion is demanded, whether the Sunne be a living creature, according as it ſeemeth to the ſight to be, or no? He that ſearcheth and enquireth into the trueth of this queſtion, is altogether therein ſpeculative, for he ſeeketh no farther than the contemplation of that which is; ſemblably, if the demand be made, whether the world is infinit? or if there be any thing without the pourpriſe of the world? for all theſe queſtions be meere contemplative. But on the other ſide mooved it may be, How a man ought to live? how he ſhould governe his children? how he is to beare rule and office of State? and laſtly, in what maner, lawes are to be ordeined and made? for all theſe are ſought into, in regard of action, and a man converſant therein, is altogether active and practique.

CHAP. I.

What is Nature?

SInce then, our intent and purpoſe is to conſider and treat of Naturall philoſophie, I thinke it needfull, to ſhew firſt, what is Nature: for abſurd it were, to enterpriſe a diſcourſe of Naturall things, and meane-while to be ignorant of Nature and the power thereof. Nature then (according to the opinion of *Ariſtotle*) is the beginning of motion and reſt, in that thing wherein it is properly and principally, not by accident: for all things to be ſeene (which are done neither by fortune nor by neceſſitie, and are not divine, nor have any ſuch efficient cauſe) be called Naturall, as having a proper and peculiar nature of their owne; as the earth, fire, water, aire, plants, and living creatures. Moreover, thoſe other things which we do ſee ordinarily engendered, as raine, haile, lightning, preſteres, winds, and ſuch like; for all theſe have a certeine beginning; and every one of them was not ſo for ever, and from all eternitie, but did proceed from ſome originall: likewiſe, living creatures and plants, have a beginning of their motion; and this firſt principle, is Nature: the beginning not of motion onely, but alſo of reſt and quiet; for whatſoever hath had a beginning of motion, the ſame alſo may have an end: and for this cauſe, Nature is the beginning aſwell of reſt as of moving.

CHAP. II.

What difference there is betweene a principle and an element.

ARiſtotle and *Plato* are of opinion, that there is a difference betweene a Principle and an Element; but *Thales Mileſius* thinketh they be both one: howbeit, there is a great difference betweene the one and the other; for elements be compounded; whereas we holde, that the firſt Principles neither be compounded, nor are any complet ſubſtance: and verily, earth, water, aire, and fire, we tearme Elements; but Principles we call other Natures in this reſpect, that there is nothing precedent or before them, wherof they are ingendred; for otherwiſe, if they were not the firſt, they ſhould in no wiſe be Principles, but that rather were to be ſo called, wherof they be ingendred. Now certeine things there are precedent, whereof, earth and water, &c. be compoſed; to wit, the firſt matter, without all forme and ſhape; as alſo the firſt forme it ſelfe, which we call *Entelechia*; and thirdly, Privation. *Thales* therefore is in an error, when he ſaith, that water was both the Element and Principle or firſt beginning of all things.

CHAP. III.

Of principles or firſt beginnings, what they be.

THALES the Mileſian affirmed, that Water was the firſt principle of the whole world: and this man ſeemeth to have beene the firſt author of philoſophie: and of him tooke the Ionique ſect of Philoſophers their name (for many families there were ſucceſſively of Philoſophers) who having ſtudied Philoſophie in *Aegypt*, went to *Miletum*, when hee was farre ſtept in yeeres, where he mainteined this poſition: That all things were made of Water; ſo all things were to be reſolved againe into Water. The reaſons of this conjecture of his, were theſe: firſt, becauſe naturall ſeed is the principle and beginning of all living creatures, and that is of a moiſt ſubſtance; therefore probable it is, that all other things likewiſe have humiditie for their principle: ſecondly, for that all ſorts of plants be nouriſhed by moiſture, which if they want, they wither and fade away: thirdly, conſidering that the fire or the ſunne it ſelfe, and the ſtarres is nouriſhed and mainteined by vapours proceeding from the waters, the whole world alſo by conſequence conſiſteth of the ſame: which is the reaſon, that *Homer* (ſuppoſing all things to be engendred of water) ſaith thus:

> *The oceanſea, from whence ech thing*
> *Engendred is, and hath beginning.*

But ANAXIMANDER the Mileſian holdeth: that Infinitie is the principle of al: for every thing proceedeth from it, & reſolveth into it againe; & therefore there be engendred infinit worlds, and thoſe vaniſh againe into that whereof they bee engendred: and why is there this Infinitie? Becauſe (quoth he) there ſhould never faile any generation, but ſtil have ſubſiſtence, howbeit, even he alſo erreth heerein; for that he declareth not what is this Infinitie whereof he ſpeaketh, whether it be aire, water, or any other body? he faileth likewiſe in this, that he putteth downe a ſubject matter, but overthroweth the efficient cauſe: for this Infinity whereof he talketh, is nothing elſe but matter; and matter cannot atteine to perfection, nor come into act; unleſſe there be ſome mooving and efficient cauſe. Anaximenes the Mileſian, mainteineth that aire is the principle of the world; for that all things come of it, and returne unto it: Like as, (quoth he) our ſoule which is aire, keepeth us alive; even ſo ſpirit and aire mainteine the Being of the whole world: for ſpirit and aire be two words, ſignifying both one thing. But this Philoſopher is out of the way as well as the reſt, in that hee thinketh that living creatures be compoſed of a ſimple ſpirit, or uniforme aire: and impoſſible it is that there ſhould be but one principle of all things, to wit, matter; but there ought withall to be ſuppoſed an efficient cauſe: for it is not enough to be provided of ſilver or gold, for to make a veſſell or piece of plate, if there come not unto it, the efficient cauſe, to wit, the gold-ſmith: ſemblably we are to ſay of braſſe, wood, and all other ſorts of matter.

Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, is perſwaded, and ſo teacheth: That the principles of the world, and all that therein is, are ſmall like parcels; which hee tearmeth *Homæomeries*; for hee thought it altogether abſurd and impoſſible, that any thing ſhould bee made of that which is not; or bee diſſolved into that which hath no being; for howſoever we take our nouriſhment ſimple and uniforme; as for example; eat bread of corne, and drinke water, yet with this nutriment, are nouriſhed, haires, veines, arteries, ſinewes, bones, and other parts of the bodie, which being ſo: Confeſſe wee muſt (quoth hee) likewiſe, that in this food which wee receive are all things which have their Being; and that all things doe grow and encreaſe of that which hath Being: ſo that in this nouriſhment be thoſe parcels which breed bloud, ſinewes bones, and other parts of our body, which may bee comprehended by diſcourſe of reaſon; for we are not to reduce all unto the outward ſenſe, to ſhew and proove that bread and water effect theſe things: but it may ſuffice, that in them theſe parts are conceived by reaſon: Inaſmuch therefore as in nouriſhment there be parcels ſemblable unto that which they breed, in that regard he called them *Homæomeries*, affirming them to be the principles of all things; and even ſo he would have theſe ſemblable parcels, to be the matter of all things; and for efficient cauſe, he ſetteth downe a Minde or underſtanding, that ordereth and diſpoſeth al. And thus beginneth he to goe to worke, and reaſoneth in this wiſe. All things at firſt were conſumed and hudled together pell mell; but that Minde or underſtanding doth ſever, diſpoſe, and ſet them in order: in this one thing yet he hath done wel, and is to be commended, that unto the matter he hath adjoined a workman.

Archelaus an Athenian, the ſonne of *Apollodorus*, affirmeth, that the principle of all things was the infinit aire, together with the condenſation, and rarefaction thereof; of which the one is fire, and the other water: and theſe Philoſophers, following by continuall ſucceſſion one upon another after *Thales*, made that ſect which is called *Jonique*. But from another head, Pythagoras the ſonne of *Mneſarchus*, & a Samian borne, the firſt author of the name of Philoſophie: held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their ſymmetries, that is to ſay, the proportions that they have in their correſpondency one unto another; which hee calleth otherwiſe Harmonies: & thoſe elements that be compoſed of them both, are tearmed by him Geometricall: furthermore, hee reckoneth among Principles, unitie, and Twaine indefinit; of which, the one tendeth and haſteneth to an efficient and ſpecificall cauſe, to wit, a Minde, and the ſame is God; the other unto a paſſive and materiall cauſe, namely, the viſible world: Moreover, he thought that the Denarie or Ten, was the abſolute nature and perfection of numbers; for that all men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, count untill ten, and when they be thither come, they returne backe againe unto unitie: over and beſides hee ſaid: That all the power of ten, conſiſted within fower, and in a quaternarie; the reaſon is this: that if a man begin at one, and reckon on ſtill, numbring upright unto foure, hee ſhall make up ten; ſurpaſſe he once the quaternarie, he is gone beyond the denarie; as for example; one and two make three, three thereto ariſe to ſixe, put thereto foure, and you have ten: inſomuch as number collected by unities, reſteth in ten; but the force and puiſſance thereof lieth in foure. The Pythagoreans therefore were wont to ſweare by the quaternarie or number of foure, which they held to be the greateſt oath that they could take, as appeereth by this Diſtichon:

I ſweare by this quaternity,
That yeelds our ſoules fountaine,

Which of natures eternity,
Doth ſeed and root containe.

And our ſoule (as he ſaith) doth conſiſt of the quaternary number; for there is in it, underſtanding, ſcience, opinion, and ſence; from whence proceedeth all manner of art and knowledge, and whereupon we our ſelves are called reaſonable: as for underſtanding, it is that unity; for that it conceiveth and knoweth not but by unitie; as for example: There being many men, they are not every one in particular ſubject to our ſenſes, but incomprehenſible and infinit; mary in our underſtanding we conceive and apprehend this one man alone, unto whom none is like: and ſo in our cogitation we conſider one man onely; but if they bee conſidered particularly apart, they are infinit: for all theſe genders and kindes are in unitie; and therefore when the queſtion is asked of a particular man what he is? we yeeld a generall definition and ſay: He is a reaſonable creature, apt to diſcourſe by reaſon; and ſo likewiſe of this or that horſe, wee muſt anſwer: That hee is a living creature, having a propertie to neigh. Thus you ſee how underſtanding is unity, whereby we underſtand theſe things: but the binary or number of two, is by good right an indefinit ſcience: for all demonſtration and proofe of any ſcience, yea and moreover, all manner of ſyllogiſme or argumentation, doth collect a concluſion which was doubtfull, of certeine premiſed propoſitions, confeſſed as true: whereby it ſheweth eaſily another thing, whereof the comprehenſion is ſcience; and ſo it appeereth, that ſcience by a likelihood is the binarie number: but opinion by good reaſon may be ſaid, the ternary number by comprehenſion; for that opinion is of many, and the ternarie number implieth a pluralitie or multitude, as we may ſee by the poet when he ſaith:

Thrice happy men,
Thoſe Greeks were then.

And for this cauſe *Pythagoras* made no reckoning of three, whoſe ſect bare the name of *Italique*, for that he (not able to endure the tyrannicall dominion of *Polycrates*) departed from *Samos*, his native country, and went to keepe his ſchoole in *Italy*.

HERACLYTUS, and HIPPASUS the Metapontine, were of opinion, that Fire was the principle and beginning of all: for of fire ſay they, all things are made, and in fire they ſhal have an end; and when it is extinct and quenched, the univerſall world is in this manner engendred and framed: for firſt and formoſt the groſeſt part thereof being condenſate and thruſt together into it ſelfe, becommeth earth, and afterwards, when the ſame earth is reſolved by fire, it turneth to be water; which when it doth evaporate, is converted into aire: againe, the whole world, and all the bodies therein conteined, ſhall be one day conſumed by fire in that generall conflagration and burning of all: whereby hee concludeth, that fire is the beginning of all things, as that whereof all was made, and the end likewiſe, for that all things are reſolved into it.

EPICURUS the Athenian, ſonne of *Neocles*, following the philoſophie of *Democritus*, ſaith: That the principles of all things be certeine Atomes, that is to ſay, little bodies indiviſible, and by reaſon onely perceptible, the ſame ſolide, and admitting no vacuitie, not engendred, immortall, eternall, incorruptible, ſuch as neither can be broken, nor receive any forme of the parts, ne yet be otherwiſe altered: Theſe (quoth he) being perceptible & comprehended by reaſon, moove notwithſtanding in emptineſſe, and by emptineſſe; & as the ſame voidneſſe is infinite, ſo the ſaid bodies alſo be in number infinit: howbeit theſe three qualities are incident unto them, figure, bigneſſe, and waight: for DEMOCRITUS allowed them but twaine, to wit, bigneſſe, and figure; but *Epicurus* added unto them a third, namely poiſe or ponderoſitie: For theſe bodies (quoth he) muſt of neceſſitie moove by the permiſſion of the weight; otherwiſe they could not poſſibly ſtirre: the figures alſo of their bodies, (hee ſaid) were comprehenſible, and not infinit; and theſe were neither hooked nor three-forked, ne yet round in manner of a ring, for ſuch formes are apt to breake: as for the Atomes themſelves, they be impaſſible and infrangible, having certeine figures, no otherwiſe perceptible, but by reaſon; and ſuch a body is called *Atomus*, not in this regard, that it is the leaſt of all, but for that it cannot be divided, as being impaſſible, and admitting no vacuitie: and therefore he that nameth an Atome, ſaith as much, as infrangible, impaſſible, and without vacuitie: now that there is ſuch an indiviſible body called *Atomus*, it is apparent, for that there be elements eternall, bodies void, and an unitie.

EMPEDOCLES an Agrigentine, the ſonne of *Meton*, ſaith: There be foure elements, fire, aire, water, and earth; alſo two principall faculties or powers, namely, accord, and diſcord, or amitie and enmitie, of which, the one hath puiſſance to unite, the other to diſſolve: and theſe be his words:

Foure ſeeds and rootes of all things that you ſee,
Now liſten firſt, and hearken what they be:
Lord Jupiter *with his ignipotence,*
And lady Junoes *vitall influence,*
Rich Pluto, *and dame* Neſtis *weeping ay,*
Who with her teares, our ſeed-ſourſe weets alway.

By *Jupiter* hee meaneth fierie heat, and ardent skie; by *Juno* giving life, the aire; by *Pluto*, the earth; by *Neſtis* and this humane fountaine of naturall ſeed, water.

SOCRATES the ſonne of *Sophroniſcus*, and PLATO the ſonne of *Ariſton*, both Athenians, (for the opinions of them both, concerning the world and all things therein, be the ſame) have ſet downe three principles, God, Matter, and Idea, that is to ſay, Forme: God is an univerſall ſpirit or Minde: Matter is the firſt and principall ſubject of generation and corruption: Idea, an incorporall ſubſtance, reſting in the thoughts and cogitations of God, which God; is the generall ſoule and intelligence of the world.

ARISTOTELES of *Stagira* the ſonne of *Nichomachus*, hath put downe for Principles theſe three, to wit, a certaine forme called *Eutelectus*, Matter, and Privation: for elements, foure, and for a fifth Quinteſſence, the heavenly bodie which is immutable.

ZENO the ſonne of *Mnaſeas*, a Citiean borne, holdeth for two principles, God and Mtater: whereof the one is an active and efficient cauſe, and the other paſſive; and beſides, foure elements.

CHAP. IIII.

How the the world was framed?

THis world then, became compoſed & formed in a round figure, bending and coping after this manner: thoſe Atomes or indiviſible bodies, having an accidentarie and inconſiderate motion, ſtirring continually, and moſt ſtrictly, happen many of them to encounter one another and meet together; in which regard they differ in figures and magnitudes: now when they are thus gathered and heaped up together in one, the greater ſort of them, and ſuch as were moſt ponderous, ſettled altogether downeward; as many of them as were ſmall, round, even, ſmooth, and ſlipperie, thoſe being beaten upon by the encounter of theſe weightie bodies, were repulſed, driven backe, and forced upward; but when that force which drave them aloft began to faile, and gave over once to ſend them up higher, not being able to fall downward againe; for that they were empeached, they were of neceſſitie enforced to retire into thoſe places which were able to receive them: to wit, ſuch as were round about them; unto which, a mightie number of bodies being wound together in an heape, and by meanes of the repercuſſion, enterlaced one within another, they engendred and brought forth the heaven; and afterwards others of the ſame nature; yet of divers formes (as hath been ſaid before) being likewiſe driven up aloft, accompliſhed the nature of Stars. Moreover, the multitude of thoſe bodies yeelding a vapour and exhalation, did beat forward and drive the aire; which by ſtirring and motion, being converted into wind, and compriſing therewith the Starres, turned them about with it; and ſo maintaine unto this day, that revolution which they have aloft. Of thoſe bodies then, which ſetled below, was made the earth; and of ſuch as mounted on high, the heaven, the fire, and the aire: but round about the earth, by occaſion that there was much matter yet left, and the ſame incraſſate and thickned, by the forcible driving of the winds, and the breathing of the ſtarres: all that part thereof which was more ſubtile, and of a thinner forme and conſiſtance, gathered round together, and engendred the element of water, which being of a liquid, and flowing nature ran downward to holow places lying low, which were able to receive and hold them: or elſe the water of it ſelfe where it ſtaied and reſted, made concavities and hollow places underneath. Thus you ſee after what manner the principall parts of the world were firſt engendred and made.

CHAP. V.

Whether All be one?

THe STOIKE Philoſophers held opinion that the world was one, which they called παν, That is to ſay, All, and the ſame of corporall ſubſtance.

EMPEDOCLES affirmed, that the world indeed was one; but All and the world, were not both one: for the world quoth he, is but a ſmall portion of All: and as for the reſt beſide, it is but an idle and dull matter.

PLATO proveth his opinion, that the world is but one, by conjecture; and gueſſeth All to be one, by three preſumptions or probable arguments. Firſt, for that otherwiſe the world were not perfect and accompliſhed, if it compriſed not All within it ſelfe. Secondly, it ſhould not be like unto the pattern, if it were not one and uniforme. Thirdly, it would not be incorruptible, in caſe there were any thing without it. But wee are to anſwere *Plato* and ſay againſt him, that the world is perfect, although it comprehend not all things: for man is perfect enough, and yet all things be not compriſed in him. Moreover, there be many examples drawn from one pattern, as we may ſee in ſtatues, houſes, and pictures: and how is it perfect, if any thing may turne without it? Finally, incorruptible neither is it, nor can it be, conſidering it had a beginning and a kind of Nativitie.

METRODORUS ſaith: That as it were an abſurd and impertinent ſpeech to ſay, that in a great field there grew but one eare of corne; ſo it were as ſtrange a matter, that in this infinitie there ſhould be but one world: and that there be in number infinite, it appeareth by this, that there be cauſes infinite: for if the world were finite, and all the cauſes infinite whereof it is made, it cannot chuſe but of neceſſitie there ſhould be likewiſe infinite: for where all the cauſes be, there muſt needs the effects follow: now the cauſes of the world, be either theſe Atomes or the Elements.

CHAP. VI.

From whence it came that Men had the notion of God?

THE Stoicke Philoſophers define the Eſſence of God in this wiſe; namely, To be a ſpirit full of intelligence, and of a fiery nature, having no forme, but transforming himſelfe into whatſoever he will, and reſembling all things. The notion and apprehenſion men had of him, firſt, by conceiving the beautie of thoſe things which are object to their eies: for no beautifull thing hath beene made by chaunce, and at adventure, but compoſed & framed by ſome ingenious and operative Art: now that the heaven is beautifull, it appeareth by the forme, colour, and bigneſſe thereof, by the varietie alſo of the ſtarres diſpoſed therein: moreover, the world is round in manner of a Ball, which figure of all other is principall and moſt perfect, for it alone reſembleth all the parts; for being round it ſelfe, it hath the parts likewiſe round. For this cauſe *Plato* ſaid, That our mind and reaſon (the moſt divine part of man) is lodged and ſeated in the head, which commeth neere unto a round figure: as for the colour, it is faire and lovely; for it ſtandeth upon the azure or blew, which being more darke than purple, hath notwithſtanding a bright and reſplendent qualitie, in ſuch ſort, as by the exceeding ſtrength of that lightſome hew, it cutteth and pierceth thorow ſo great an intervall and ſpacioulneſſe of the aire, as it may be evidently ſeene in ſo mightie a diſtance: in regard alſo of the greatneſſe thereof, it is right beautifull; for, of all things that be of one and the ſame kinde, that which invironeth and conteineth the reſt, is ever faireſt; as we may ſee in a living creature, and a tree: beſides, to conſummate and accompliſh the beautie of the world, there be the celeſtiall ſignes which appeare unto our eie; for the oblique circle of the Zodiake, is embeliſhed with twelve divers and ſundry images,

Wherein the CRAB *is to be ſeene,*
the LION *after it,*
The VIRGIN, *and two forked* * CLEES,
the SCORPION *with his bit,*
The ARCHER *and the* CAPRICORNE,
upon which horned GOAT,
There follow with the WATER-MAN,
two FISHES *all afloat;*
And after theſe, enſue in courſe,
the RAM *and ſturdy Bull,*
But laſt of all, the double TWINNES,
make up the douzen full.

* That is to ſay, *Libra.*

Beſides an innumerable ſort of other configurations of ſtarres, which God hath made in the like arches and rotundities of the world; whereupon *Euripides* wrote thus:

The ſtarrie ſplendour of the skie,
which Χρόνον *ſome do call,*
The woondrous worke of that moſt wiſe
Creatour, Lord of all.

Thus then we apprehended heereby, the notion of God; for the ſunne, the moone, and other ſtarres, after they have performed the courſe of their revolutions under the earth, come to riſe againe all like in colour, equall in bigneſſe, and reteining alwaies ſtill the ſame places and times: whereupon, they who deliver unto us the maner of Gods ſervice and worſhip, declare the ſame unto us after three ſorts; the firſt, naturall; the ſecond, fabulous; and the third, civill; that is to ſay, teſtified by the ſtatutes and ordinances of every city and State: the naturall is taught by philoſophers; the fabulous, by poets; the civill and legall, by the cuſtomes of ech citie: but all this doctrine and maner of teaching, is divided into ſeven ſorts; the firſt conſiſteth in the celeſtiall bodies, appearing aloft in heaven; for men had an apprehenſion of God, by ſtarres that ſhew above, ſeeing how they are the cauſes of great ſymphonie and accord, and that they keepe a certeine conſtant order of day and night, of Winter and Summer, of riſing and ſetting, yea, and among thoſe living creatures and fruits, which the earth beneath bringeth forth: whereupon, it hath bene thought, that heaven was the father, and earth, the mother to theſe; for that the powring downe of ſhowers and raine ſeemed in ſtead of naturall ſeeds, and the earth as a mother, to conceive and bring the ſame forth. Men alſo, ſeeing and conſidering the ſtarres alwaies θέοντες, that is to ſay, holding on their courſe, and that they were the cauſe that we did θεωρεῖν, that is to ſay, beholde and contemplate: therefore they called the ſunne and moone, &c. θεοὺς, that is to ſay, gods, of the word θεῖν, that is to ſay, to run, and θεωρεῖν, that is to ſay, to behold. Now they range the gods into a ſecond and third degree; namely, by dividing them into thoſe that be profitable, and ſuch as are hurtfull, calling the good and profitable, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Mercurie*, and *Ceres*; but the noiſome and hurtfull, ποινὰς, that is to ſay, maligne ſpirits, ἐριννύας, that is to ſay, furies; and *Ares*, that is to ſay, *Mars*, whom they deteſted, as badde and violent, yea, and deviſed meanes to appeaſe and qualifie their wrath. Moreover, the fourth and fifth place and degree, they attributed unto affaires, paſſions and affections; namely, love, *Venus*, luſt or deſire: and as for affaires, they had hope, juſtice, good policie and equitie. In the ſixth place, be thoſe whom the poets have fained; for *Heſiodus* being minded to ſet downe a father for the gods begotten and engendred, deviſed and brought in ſuch progenitors as theſe,

To wit, ſix Ceus *and* Crius,
Hyperion, *and* Iapetus.

whereupon, all this kind is named Fabulous. But in the ſeventh place, are thoſe who were adorned with divine honors, in regard of the great benefits and good deeds done unto the common life of mankind, although they were begotten and borne after the maner of men; and ſuch were *Hercules*, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and *Bacchus*; and theſe, they ſaid, had an humane forme: for that as the moſt noble and excellent nature of all, is that of gods; ſo of living creatures, the moſt beautiful, is man, as adorned with ſundry vertues above the reſt, and ſimply the beſt, conſidering the conſtitution of his minde and ſoule: they thought it therefore meet and reaſonable, that thoſe who had done beſt, and performed moſt noble acts, reſembled that which was the moſt beautifull and excellent of all other.

CHAP. VII.

What is God?

Some of the philoſophers, and namely, *Diagoras* of the iſle of *Melos*, *Theodorus* the Cyrenæan, and *Euemerus* of *Tegea*, held reſolutely, that there were no gods. And verily, as touching *Euemerus*, the poet *Callimachus* of *Cyrene*, writeth covertly in Iambique verſes, after this maner:

All in a troupe, into that chapell go,
Without the walles, the city not farre fro;
Whereas ſometime that old vain-glorious aſſe,
When as he had the image caſt in braſſe,
Of Jupiter, *proceeded for to write*
Thoſe wicked books, which ſhame was to indite.

And what books were they ? even thoſe, wherein he diſcourſed that there were no gods at all. And *Euripides* the tragædian poet, although he durſt not diſcover & ſet abroad in open tearmes the ſame, for feare of that high court and councell of *Areopagus*, yet he ſignified as much, in this maner; for he brought in *Siſyphus* as the principall authour of this opinion, and afterwards, favourizeth even that ſentence of his, himſelfe; for thus he ſaith:

The time was, when the life of man was rude,
And as wilde beaſts, with reaſon not endu'd,
Diſordinate, when wrong was done alway,
As might and force in ech one bare the ſway.

But afterwards, theſe enormities were laied away, and put downe, by the bringing in of lawes: howbeit, for that the law was able to repreſſe injuries and wicked deeds, which were notorious and evidently ſeene, and yet many men notwithſtanding, offended and ſinned ſecretly; then ſome wiſe man there was, who conſidered and thought with himſelfe, that needfull it was alwaies, to blindfold the trueth with ſome deviſed and forged lies, yea, and to perſwade men, that

A God there is, who lives immortally,
Who heares, who ſees, and knowes all woondrouſly.

For away (quoth he) with vaine dreames and poeticall fictions, together with *Callimachus*, who ſaith:

If God thou knoweſt, wot well, his power divine,
All things can well performe, and bring to fine.

For God is not able to effect all things: for ſay there be a God, let him make ſnow, blacke, fire, cold, him that ſitteth or lieth, to ſtand upright, or the contrary at one inſtant: and even *Plato* himſelfe, that ſpeaketh ſo bigge, when he ſaith: That God created and formed the world to his owne pattern and likeneſſe, ſmelleth heerein very ſtrongly of ſome old * dotards foolerie: to ſpeake according to the poets of the old comedie: For how could hee looke upon himſelfe (quoth he) to frame the world according to his owne ſimilitude? or how hath he made it round in manner of a globe, being himſelfe lower than a man?

* βεκκεσεληνȣ for ſo *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaketh in *Nub.*

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the firſt bodies in the beginning ſtood ſtill and ſtirred not: but then the minde and underſtanding of God, digeſted and aranged them in order, yea and effected the generations of all things in the univerſall world.

PLATO is of a contrary mind, ſaying: That thoſe firſt bodies were not in repoſe but that they moved confuſedly and without order: whereuppon God (quoth he) knowing that order was much better than diſorder and confuſion, diſpoſed all theſe things; but as well the one as the other have heerein faulted in common; for that they imagined and deviſed, that God was entangled and encumbred with humane affaires; as alſo that he framed the world in regard of man, and for the care that he had of him: for ſurely (living (as he doth) happy & immortal, acompliſhed with all ſorts of good things, and wholly exempt from all evill, as being altogether imploied and given to prefer and mainteine his owne beatitude and immortallity) he intermedleth not in the affaires and occaſions of men; for ſo he ſhould be as unhappy and miſerable as ſome artizan, maſon or labouring workman, bearing heavie burdens travelling and ſweting about the fabrick of the world. Againe this god of whõ they ſpeake, of neceſſity either was not before the creation of the world, at what time as thoſe firſt bodies lay ſtill unmoveable, or ſtirred confuſedly; or elſe if he were before, he either ſlept or watched, or did neither the one nor the other: but as the former of theſe we may not admit, for that God is eternall; ſo the latter we cannot confeſſe: for if God ſlept from all eternity and time out of minde, he was no better than dead: for what is eternal ſleep, other than death? but ſurely God is not ſubject to death: for the immortallity of God, and this vicinity to death, are much diſtant aſunder and cannot ſtand both together: but if wee ſay, that God was awake all that while; either he was defectuous in his bleſſed ſtate of felicity; or els he enjoyed the ſame complet: but in the firſt condition God is not happy; for whatſoever wanteth ought of felitity cannot be happy: and verily in the ſecond ſtate he is not better: for if he were defective in nothing before, to what purpoſe buſied he himſelfe in ſuch vaine enterpriſes? moreover if there be a God, and that by his prudent care, mens affaires be governed, how commeth it to paſſe that wicked men proſper in the world, and finde fortune their indulgent mother, but the good and honeſt ſuffer the contrary, and feele her to be a curſt ſtepdame? for king *Agamemnon*, as the poet ſaith,

A prince right goood and gracious,
A knight withall moſt valourous.

was by an adulterer and adultereſſe ſurpriſed and murdered trecherouſly: and *Hercules* one of his race and kinred, after he had ridde and purged the life of man from ſo many monſters that troubled his repoſe was poiſoned by *Deianeira*, and ſo by indirect meanes loſt his life.

THALES ſaith, that God is the ſoule of the world.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the ſtarres be celeſtiall gods.

DEMOCRITUS is perſwaded, that God is a minde of a fierie nature, and the ſoule of the world.

PYTHAGORAS affirmeth, that of the two firſt principles, Unitie was God, and the ſoveraigne good; which is the very nature of one, and is Underſtanding it ſelfe: but the indefinite binarie, is the divell and evill, about which is the multitude materiall, and the viſible world.

SOCRATES and PLATO doe hold, that he is one and of a ſimple nature, begotten and borne of himſelfe alone, truly good: All which tearmes and attributes, tend unto a Minde: ſo that, this minde is God, a forme ſeparate apart, that is to ſay, neither mingled with any matter, nor entangled and joined with any thing paſſible whatſoever.

ARISTOTLE ſuppoſeth, that this ſupreme God is an abſtract forme, ſetled upon the round ſphære of the univerſall world, which is an heavenly and celeſtiall body, and therefore tearmed by him, the fifth body or *quinta eſſentia:* which celeſtial body being divided into many ſphæres coherent by nature, but ſeparate and diſtinct by reaſon and underſtanding, hee thinketh each of theſe ſphæres to be a kinde of animall, compoſed of body and ſoule, of which twaine, the bodie is celeſtiall, mooving circularly; and the ſoule, reaſon, unmooveable in it ſelfe, but the cauſe in effect of motion.

The Stoicks teach after a more generall manner, and define God, to be a working and artificiall fire, proceeding methodically and in order to the generation of the world, which comprehendeth in it ſelfe all the ſpermaticall proportions and reaſons of ſeed; according to which every thing by fatall deſtinie, is produced and commeth foorth: alſo to be a ſpirit piercing and ſpreading through the whole world; howbeit, changing his denomination throughout the whole matter, as it paſſeth by tranſition from the one to the other: Semblably that the world is God, the ſtarres likewiſe and the earth, yea, and the ſupreme minde above in heaven.

Finally, *Epicurus* conceiveth thus of the gods, that they all have the forme of man, and yet be perceptable onely, by reaſon and cogitation, in regard of the ſubtile parts, and fine nature of their imaginative figures: he alſo affirmeth, that thoſe other foure natures in generall be incorruptible, to wit, the atomes, vacuitie, infinitie, and reſemblances, which alſo be called ſemblable parcels and elements.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Dæmons and demy-gods, otherwiſe named, Heroes.

TO this treatiſe of the gods, meet it is to adjoine a diſcourſe as touching the nature of Dæmones and *Heroes*.

THALES, PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and the STOICKS, hold that theſe Dæmons be ſpirituall ſubſtances: and the *Heroes* ſoule ſeparate from their bodies; of which ſort, there be good and bad: the good *Heroes* are the good ſoules, and the bad *Heroes* the bad ſoules; but EPICURUS admitteth none of all this.

CHAP. IX.

Of Matter.

MAtter is the firſt and principall ſubject expoſed to generation, corruption, and other mutations.

The Sectaries of THALES and PYTHAGORAS, together with the Stoicks, doe ſay, that this Matter, is variable, mutable, alterable and fluxible, all wholly thorow the univerſall world.

The diſciples and followers of DEMOCRITUS are of opinion, that the firſt principles be impaſſible; to wit, the ſmall indiviſible bodie, Atomos, Voidneſſe, and Incorporall.

ARISTOTLE and PLATO doe holde, that Matter is corporall, without forme, ſhape, figure and qualitie, in the owne nature and propertie; but when it hath received formes once, it becommeth (as it were) a nurſe, a molde, pattern, and a mother. They who ſet downe for this Matter, water, earth, fire or aire, do not ſay, that now it is without forme; but that it is a very bodie: but ſuch as affirme, that theſe Atomes and indiviſible bodies be the ſaid Matter, make it altogether formeleſſe.

CHAP. X.

Of Idea.

I*Dea* is a bodileſſe ſubſtance, which of it ſelfe hath no ſubſiſtence, but giveth figure and forme unto ſhapeleſſe matters, and becommeth the very cauſe that bringeth them into ſhew and evidence.

Socrates and Plato ſuppoſe, that theſe *Ideæ* bee ſubſtances ſeparate and diſtinct from Matter, howbeit, ſubſiſting in the thoughts and imaginations of God, that is to ſay, of Minde and Underſtanding.

Ariſtotle admitteth verily theſe formes and *Ideæ*, howbeit, not ſeparate from matter, as being the patterns of all that which God hath made.

The Stoicks, ſuch as were the ſcholars of *Zeno*, have delivered, that our thoughts and conceits were the *Ideæ*.

CHAP. XI.

Of Cauſes.

A Cauſe is that whereupon dependeth or followeth an effect, or by which any thing happeneth.

Plato hath ſet downe three kinds of Cauſes, and thoſe are diſtinguiſhed by theſe tearmes; By which, Of which, and For which; but he taketh the moſt principall to be that, By which; that is to ſay, the efficient cauſe, which is the minde or underſtanding.

Pythagoras and Ariſtotle do hold, that the principall Cauſes be incorporall; and as for other Cauſes, either by participation or by accident, they are of a corporal ſubſtance: and ſo the world is a bodie.

But the Stoicks are of opinion, that all Cauſes are corporall, inaſmuch as they be ſpirits.

CHAP. XII.

Of Bodies.

A Bodie is meaſurable, and hath three dimenſions, length, bredth and depth or thickneſſe. Or thus: A Bodie is a maſſe that reſiſteth, touching naturally of it ſelfe; or that which occupieth a place.

Plato ſaith, that a Body is neither heavie nor light of it ſelfe naturally, ſo long as it abideth in the owne proper place; but being once in a ſtrange place, it hath firſt an inclination, and upon it a motion and impulſion, either to weight or lightneſſe.

Ariſtotle is of opinion, that earth ſimply is moſt ponderous, and fire lighteſt: that aire and water be of a middle or doubtfull nature betweene both, ſometime heavie and otherwhiles light.

The Stoicks hold, that of the foure elements, two be light; namely, Fire and Aire; other two be heavie; to wit, Water and Earth: for, light is that, which of the owne nature, and not by any compulſion or inſtigation removeth from the proper middle where it is: heavy alſo is that, which naturally tendeth to the ſaid middle; but the middle it ſelfe, is in no wiſe heavie.

Epicurus ſaith, that Bodies are not comprehenſible; that the firſt Bodies be ſimple; but all the compoſitions of them have their weight and ponderoſitie: alſo, that the Atomes doe move, ſome plumbe right downe; others, at one ſide; and ſome againe, mount aloft, and that by impulſion and concuſſion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the ſmalleſt Bodies.

Empedocles is of opinion, that before the foure elements, there were certeine ſmall parcels or fragments, as one would ſay, elements before elements; and thoſe were of ſemblable parts, and the ſame all round.

HERACLITUS cometh in with (I know not what) petie ſcrapings or ſhavings, exceeding ſmall, and the ſame not diviſible into parts.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of Figures.

A Figure is the ſuperficies, circumſcription, and accompliſhed lineament of a bodie.

The PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the bodies of the foure elements be of a ſphæricke or round figure; onely the higheſt of them (to wit, fire) is pyramidall, or ſharpe pointed above.

CHAP. XV.

Of Colours.

A Colour is the viſible qualitie of a bodie.

The PYTHAGOREANS called Colour, the outward ſuperficies of the bodie.

EMPEDOCLES defined it to be that which is fit and agreeable to the waies and paſſages of the ſight.

PLATO ſaith, it is a flame ſent from bodies, having certeine parcels proportionable to the eie-ſight.

ZENO the Stoicke holdeth, that Colours be the firſt figurations of any matter.

The followers of PYTHAGORAS affirme theſe to be the kinds of Colours, White, Blacke, Red, and Yellow; and that the diverſity of Colours ariſeth from a certeine mixture of elements: but in living creatures, the ſame proceedeth from the varietie of their * places and ſundry aires.

* *τοπων*, ſome reade *τροπων*, that is to ſay, their maners and conditions.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Section of Bodies.

THe ſectaries of THALES and PYTHAGORAS, are of opinion, that bodies bee paſſible and diviſible infinitely.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS hold, that this ſection ſtaieth either at the Atomes indiviſible, or at thoſe ſmall bodies which have no parts, neither doth this diviſion (ſay they) paſſe infinitely.

ARISTOTLE ſaith, that divided they be in *infinitum*, potentially, but actually not.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Mixture and Temperature.

THe auncient philoſophers affirme, that this mixture of Elements is by way of alteration: but ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS, ſay, it is done by appoſition.

EMPEDOCLES compoſeth the Elements of ſmaller maſſes, which he ſuppoſeth to be the leaſt bodies, and as a man would ſay, the Elements of Elements.

PLATO would have the three bodies (for hee deigneth not them, either to bee called or to be, Elements) to be convertible one into the other, to wit, water, aire, and fire: but as for the earth, it cannot be turned into any one of them.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Voidneſſe or Vacuitie.

THe naturall philoſophers of THALES his ſchoole, all untill you come to *Plato*, have generally diſavowed and reprooved this Vacuitie: As for *Empedocles* thus he writeth:

> *In all the world ſo ſpacious,*
> *Nought is void or ſuperfluous.*

LEUCIPPUS, DEMOCRITUS, DEMETRIUS, METRODORUS, and EPICURUS, hold, that the Atomes be infinit in multitude, and Voidneſſe infinit in magnitude.

The STOICKS affirme, that within the world there is no Voidneſſe, but without there is infinitie.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that without the world there is no ſuch Voidneſſe, as that the heaven by the meanes thereof, may draw breath, for that it is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Place.

PLATO ſaith, that Place is that which is ſuſceptible of formes, one after another, which is by way of Metaphor or tranſlation, to expreſſe the firſt matter, as a nurſe receiving and embracing all.

ARISTOTLE taketh Place to be the extreame ſuperficies of the continent, conjunct and contiguous to the content.

CHAP. XX.

Of Roome or Space.

THE STOICKS, and EPICURUS doe holde, that there is a difference betweene Voidneſſe, Place, and Roome: for Voidneſſe (ſay they) is the ſolitude or vacuitie of a body: Place, that which is fully occupied and taken up with a body: but Roome or Space, that which is occupied but in part; as we may ſee in a rundlet or barrell of wine.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Time.

PYTHAGORAS ſaith, that Time is the ſphære of that utmoſt heaven that compriſeth all.

PLATO thinketh it to be the mooveable image of the eternitie, or the intervall of the worlds motion: but ERATOSTHENES affirmeth it to be the courſe of the ſunne.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Eſſence of Time.

PLATO ſaith, that the Eſſence of Time is the mooving of heaven: but many of the STOICKS hold it, to be the mooving it ſelfe; and moſt of them affirme, that Time had no beginning of generation.

PLATO is of opinion, that engendred it is according to our conceit and capacitie.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Motion.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that Motion is a certeine difference and alteration in matter.

ARISTOTLE giveth out, that it is the actuall operation of that which is mooveable.

DEMOCRITUS ſaith, that there is but one kinde of Motion, to wit, that which tendeth obliquely.

EPICURUS maintaineth twaine, the one direct and plumbe, the other ſide-long.

EROPHILUS is of opinion, that there is one Motion perceptible in reaſon, and another object to ſenſe naturall.

HERACLITUS excluded all ſtation, reſt and repoſe out of the world: For this (quoth hee) belongeth unto the dead, but perpetuall Motion agreeth to eternall ſubſtances; and periſhable Motion to ſubſtances corruptible.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of Generation and Corruption.

PARMENIDES, MELISSUS, and ZENO, rejected wholy all Generation and Corruption; for they thought the univerſall world to be unmooveable: but EMPEDOCLES and EPICURUS, and all thoſe who held the world to be made of a maſſe and heape of ſmall bodies hudled together, bring in and admit certeine concretions and diſſipations; but in no wiſe Generations and Corruptions to ſpeake properly, ſaying, that theſe come not according to qualitie by way of alteration, but according to quantity by collection and heaping together.

PYTHAGORAS, and as many as ſuppoſe matter to bee paſſible, hold, that there is properly indeed Generation and Corruption: for they ſay that this is done by the alteration, mutation and reſolution of the elements.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Neceſſitie.

THALES ſaith, that Neceſſitie is moſt potent and forcible, for it is that which ruleth the whole world.

PYTHAGORAS held, that the world was poſſeſſed and comapſſed with Neceſſitie.

PARMENIDES, and DEMOCRITUS were of opinion, that all things were made by Neceſſitie, and that deſtinie, juſtice, providence, and the Creatour of the world, were all one.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Eſſence of Neceſſitie.

PLATO referreth ſome events to providence, and others he attributeth to Neceſſitie.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that the Eſſence of Neceſſitie is a cauſe apt to make uſe of the principles and elements.

DEMOCRITUS affirmeth it to be the reſiſtance, the * lation, motion, and permiſſion of the matter.

* φορὰν. ſome reade φθορὰν, that is to ſay, corruption.

PLATO holdeth it to be one while matter it ſelfe, and another while the habitude of that which is agent to the matter.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Deſtinie.

HERACLITUS affirmeth, that all things were done by fatall Deſtinie, and that it and Neceſſitie be both one.

PLATO admitteth willingly this Deſtinie in the ſoules, lives, and actions of men; but hee inferreth withall a cauſe proceeding from our ſelves.

The STOICKES likewiſe according with the opinion of *Plato*, do hold, that Neceſſitie is a cauſe invincible, moſt violent and inforcing all things: alſo that Deſtinie is a connexion of cauſes interlaced & linked orderly: in which concatenation or chaine is therein compriſed alſo that cauſe which proceedeth from us, in ſuch ſort as ſome events are deſtined, and others not.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the ſubſtance of Deſtinie.

HERACLITUS ſaith, that the ſubſtance of Deſtinie is the reaſon that pierceth throughout the ſubſtance of the univerſall world.

PLATO affirmeth it to be an eternall reaſon, and a perpetuall law of the nature of the whole world.

CHRYSIPPUS holdeth it to be a certaine puiſſance ſpirituall, which by order governeth and adminiſtreth all things. And againe in his booke of definitions hee writeth thus: Deſtinie is the reaſon of the world, or rather the law of all things in the world, adminiſtred and governed by providence: or elſe the reaſon whereby things paſt, have beene; things preſent, are; and future things, ſhall be.

The STOICKES are of opinion that it is the chaine of cauſes, that is to ſay, an order and connexion, which cannot be ſurmounted and tranſgreſſed

POSIDONIUS ſuppoſeth it to be the third after *Iupiter*: for that *Iupiter* is in the firſt degree; Nature in the ſecond; and fatall Deſtinie in the third.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Fortune.

PLATO defineth Fortune to be (in things proceeding from mans counſell and election) a cauſe by accident, and a verie caſuall conſequence

ARISTOTLE holdeth it to be an accidentall cauſe in thoſe things which from ſome deliberate purpoſe and impulſion tend to a certaine end, which cauſe is not apparent, but hidden and uncertaine. And he putteth a difference between Fortune and raſh adventure: for that all Fortune in the affaires and actions of this world is adventurous: but everie adventure is not by and by Fortune; for that it conſiſteth in things without action: againe, Fortune is properly in actions of reaſonable creatures; but adventure, indifferently in creatures, as well unreaſonable as reaſonable, yea, and in thoſe bodies which have neither life nor ſoule.

EPICURUS ſaith, that Fortune is a cauſe, which will not ſtand and accord with perſons, times, and manners.

ANAXAGORAS and the STOICKS affirme it to be a cauſe unknowne, and hidden to humane reaſon: for that ſome things come by neceſſitie, others by fatall deſtinie; ſome by deliberate counſell, others by Fortune, and ſome againe by caſualitie or adventure.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Nature.

EMPEDOCLES holdeth that Nature is nothing; only that there is a mixture and divulſion, or ſeparation of Elements: for in this manner writeth he in the firſt booke of his Phiſicks:

This one thing more I will yet ſay,
of things that be humane
And Mortall, mature none there is,
and deaths end is but vaine.
A mixture and divulſion,
of Elements and of all,
Onely there is, and thus is that,
which men do Nature call.

Semblably ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that Nature is nothing elſe but a concretion and diſſipation: that is to ſay, generation and corruption.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF Philoſophers opinions.

The Proœme.

HAving now finiſhed the Treatiſe of PRINCIPLES, ELEMENTS, and ſuch other matters linked and concurring with them; I will turne my pen unto the diſcourſe as touching their effects and works compoſed of them, beginning firſt at that which is moſt ſpatious and capable of all things.

CHAP. I.

Of the World.

PYTHAGORAS was the firſt who called the Roundle that containeth and comprehendeth all, to wit, the World. Κόσμον: for the orderly digeſtion obſerved therein.

THALES and his diſciples held, that there is but one World.

DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and their ſcholler METRODORUS affirme, that there be innumerable Worlds in an infinite ſpace according to all dimenſions and circumſtances.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that the courſe and race of the Sunne, is the verie circumſcription of the bounds and limits of the World; and that it is the verie confinement thereof.

SELEUCUS held the World to be infinite.

DIOGENES affirmed, the univerſalitie to be infinite: but the world finite and determinate.

The STOICKS put a difference betweene univerſall and whole: for they ſay, that the univerſall together with voidneſſe is infinite: and that the whole without voidnes is the World: ſo as theſe termes, the Whole and the World, be not both one.

CHAP. II.

Of the figure and forme of the World.

THE STOICKS affirme the World to be round: ſome ſay it is pointed or pyramidal: others that it is faſhioned in manner of an egge; but EPICURUS holdeth, that his Worlds may be round, and it may be that they are apt beſides to receive other formes.

CHAP. III.

Whether the World be animate, or endued with a ſoule.

ALL other Philoſophers agree, that the World is animate, & governed by providence: but DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and as many as maintaine ATOMES, and with all bring in VACUITY, that it is neither animate, nor governed by providence, but by a certaine nature void of reaſon.

ARISTOTLE holdeth, that it is not animate wholy and throughout all parts; nor ſenſitive, nor reaſonable, nor yet intellectuall or directed by providence: True it is (quoth he) that celeſtiall bodies be capable of all theſe qualities, as being compaſſed about with ſphæres both animate and vitall; whereas bodies terreſtriall and approching neere unto the earth, are endued with none of them: and as for the order and decent compoſition therein, it came by accident, and not by prepenſed reaſon and counſell.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether the World be incorruptible and eternall.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that the world was ingendred and made by God; and of the owne nature (being corruptible) ſhall periſh: for ſenſible it is, and therefore corporall; howbeit, in regard of the divine providence, which preſerveth and mainteineth it, periſh it ſhall never.

EPICURUS ſaith, that it is corruptible, for that it is engendred, like as a living creature or a plant.

XENOPHANES holdeth the world to be eternall, ingenerable, uncreated and incorruptible.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that the part of the world under the moone, is paſſible; wherein the bodies alſo adjacent to the earth, be ſubject to corruption.

CHAP. V.

Whereof the World is nouriſhed.

ARISTOTLE ſaith, that if the World be nouriſhed, it is likewiſe corruptible, and wil periſh; but ſo it is, that it hath no need of nouriture, and ſo by conſequence it is eternall.

PLATO is of opinion, that the world yeeldeth unto it ſelfe nouriture of that which periſheth, by way of mutation.

PHILOLAUS affirmeth, that there is a two-folde corruption; one while by fire falling from heaven, and another while by water of the moone, powred foorth by the circumgyration and turning about of the aire; the exhalations whereof become the food of the world.

CHAP. VI.

At which element began God the fabricke of the world?

THe Naturaliſts doe holde, that the creation of the world began at earth, as the very center thereof; for that the beginning of a ſphære or ball, is the center.

PYTHAGORAS ſaith, that it began at fire, and the fifth element.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that the firſt thing ſeparate apart, was the skie or fifth eſſence, called *Aether*; the ſecond, Fire; after which, the Earth; of which being thruſt cloſe and preſſed together by the violence of revolution, ſprang Water, from which Aire did evaporate: alſo, that heaven was made of that Skie or Quinteſſence; the ſunne, of Fire; and of the other elements, were conſtipate and felted (as it were) terreſtriall bodies, and ſuch as be neere the earth.

PLATO is of opinion, that this viſible world was formed to the molde and pattern of the intellectuall: that of the viſible world, the ſoule was firſt made; and after it, that which is corpulent: that of the fire and earth, firſt; that which ſtandeth of water and aire, ſecond.

PYTHAGORAS affirmed, that of the five ſolid bodies, which are alſo called Mathematicall; the Cube (that is to ſay, a ſquare bodie, with ſixe faces) went to the making of the earth; of the pointed Pyramis, was made fire; of Octoedra or ſolide bodie with eight baſes, the earth; of Icoſiedra with twentie ſides, the water; of Dodecaedra with twelve faces, the ſupreame ſphære of the univerſall world: and himſelfe herein alſo doth Pythagorize.

CHAP. VII.

Of the order of the worlds fabricke.

PARMENIDES imagineth certeine coronets (as it were) enterlaced one within another, ſome of a rare ſubſtance, others of a thicke, and the ſame mixed of light and darkneſſe betweene; alſo that the bodie which conteined them all together, was as firme and ſolid as a wall.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRIRUS enwrapped the world round about with a tunicle or membrane.

EPICURUS held, that the extremitie of ſome worlds were rare; of others thicke; and that of them, ſome were moveable, others immoveable.

PLATO ſetteth downe Fire firſt; ſecondly, the Skie; then Aire; afterwards, Water; and laſt of all, Earth; but otherwhiles, he conjoineth the Skie unto Fire.

ARISTOTLE rangeth in the firſt place, the impaſſible Aire, which is a certeine fifth bodie; and after it, the Elements paſſible, to wit, Fire, Aire, Water, and Earth the laſt: of all which, unto the celeſtial bodies he attributeth a circular motion; and (of the others ſituate beneath them) unto the lighter kinde, the aſcent or riſing upward; unto the weightier, deſcent or ſetling downward.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the places of the elements are not alwaies ſteadie and certeine, but that they all interchange mutually one with another.

CHAP. VIII.

What is the cauſe that the world bendeth or copeth forward.

DIOGENES and ANAXAGORAS affirme, that after the world was made, and that living creatures were produced out of the earth, the world bowed (I wot not how) of it ſelfe, and of the owne accord, to the Southerne or Meridionall part thereof; haply by the divine providence ſo ordering all, that ſome parts of the world ſhould be habitable, others inhabitable, according to exceſſive colde, extreame heat, and a meane temperature of both.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that by reaſon that the aire gave place to the violence of the Sunne, the two Beares or Poles * bended, and inclined: as for thoſe parts which were northerly, they were elevated and mounted aloft; but the ſoutherne coaſts were depreſſed and debaſed as much; and ſo accordingly the whole world.

* Artick and Antartick.

CHAP. IX.

Whether without the world, there be any vacuitie?

THe ſchoole of *Pythagoras* holdeth that there is a voidneſſe without the world, to which, and out of which the world doth draw breath: but the STOICKS affirme that into it, the infinite world by way of conflagration is reſolved.

POSIDONIUS admitteth no other infinitie, than as much as is ſufficient for the diſſolution thereof.

In the firſt booke of vacuitie, ARISTOTLE ſaith, there is voidneſſe.

PLATO affirmeth, that there is no emptineſſe at all, either without or within the world.

CHAP. X.

What be the right ſides, and which be the left, in regard of the world.

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE do take the Eaſt for the right part, and the Weſt for the left.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that the right ſide bendeth toward the ſummers Tropick; and the left toward the Tropick of winter.

CHAP. XI.

Of Heaven, and what is the ſubſtance thereof.

ANAXIMENES affirmeth the exterior circumference of Heaven to be earthy.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that Heaven is ſolid, being made of aire condenſate by fire, after the manner of chryſtall; and that it conteineth the fierie and airie nature in the one and the other hemiſphære.

ARISTOTLE holdeth, that Heaven is compoſed of the fifth body above fire, or elſe of the mixture of heat and cold.

CHAP. XII.

Of the diviſion of Heaven: and namely into how many Circles it is divided.

THALES, and PYTHAGORAS with his followers doe ſay, that the ſphære of the whole Heaven is parted into five circles, which they call certeine Zones cinctures or girdles; of which circles, one is called the Arctick, and is alwaies to bee ſeene of us; a ſecond the ſummer Tropick; a third Aequinoctiall; the fourth, winter Tropick; and the fifth the Antartick circle: which is evermore unſeene: as atouching the oblique or crooked circle, called the Zodiacke, which lieth under the other three middle circles above named, it toucheth them all three as it paſſeth, and every of them are cut in right angles by the Meridian, which goeth from pole to pole.

PYTHAGORAS was the firſt (men ſay) that obſerved the obliquity of the Zodiack: which invention neverthleſſe *Oenopides* the Chian, aſcribeth to himſelfe, as if he were the authour of it.

CHAP. XIII.

What is the ſubſtance of the Starres, and how they were made and compoſed.

THALES affirmeth them to be terreſtriall, and nathleſſe fierie and ardent.

EMPEDOCLES holdeth them to be enflamed by that fire, which the skie conteining within it ſelfe, did violently ſtrike and ſend foorth at the firſt excretion. Anaxagoras ſaith, that the sky which environeth, is indeed of the owne eſſence of a fiery nature; but by the violent revolution of it ſelfe, ſnatcheth up ſtones from the earth, and ſetting them on fire, they become Starres.

Diogenes thinketh, that Starres be of the ſubſtance of a pumiſh ſtone, as be being the breathing holes of the world: and againe, the ſame philoſopher ſaith, that they bee certeine blinde-ſtones not apparent; howbeit, falling often to the earth, are there quenched, as it happeneth in a place called αἰγὸς ποταμοὶ, that is to ſay, Goats rivers, where there fell ſometime a ſtone-ſtarre in forme of fire.

Empedocles holdeth, that the fixed Starres which wander not, be faſtned to the chriſtall skie; but the planets are looſe and at liberty.

Plato giveth out, that for the moſt part they be of fire, and yet neverthelesse they participate with other elements in maner of glue or ſoder.

Xenophanes is of opinion, that they conſiſt of clouds inflamed, which notwithſtanding are quenched every day, & afterwards againe be fiered in the night in maner of coles: as for the riſing and ſetting of Starres, they be nothing elſe but their catching fire and quenching.

Heraclydes and the Pythagoreans hold, that every Star is a world by it ſelfe, conteining an earth, an aire, and a skie, in an infinit celeſtiall nature; and theſe opinions goe current in the verſes of *Orpheus*, for they make of every Starre a world. Epicurus reprooveth none of all this, but holdeth ſtill that old note of his: It may ſo be.

CHAP. XIIII.

The forme and figure of Starres.

The Stoicks ſay, that the Starres be ſphæricke or round like as the world, the ſunne and moone. Cleanthes holdeth them to bee pointed and pyramidall. Anximenes ſaith, they ſticke faſt in the chriſtalline skie, like a number of nailes. Others imagine that they be fierie plates, like unto flat pictures.

CHAP. XV.

Of the order and ſituation of Starres.

Xenocrates ſuppoſeth that the Starres moove upon one and the ſame ſuperficies: but other Stoicks affirme that there be ſome afore others in heigth and depth.

Democritus raungeth the fixed Starres firſt; next the planets; and after them, the ſunne, the moone, and the day-ſtarre *Lucifer*.

Plato after the ſituation of the fixed Starres, ſetteth in the firſt place that which is called Phænon, to wit, the Starre of *Saturne*; in the ſecond, Phaethon, which is the Starre of *Jupiter*; in the third, Pyroeis, that is to ſay, fierie or ardent, and it is that of *Mars*; in the fourth Phoſphorus, and that is *Venus*; in the fifth Stilbon, which is *Mercurie*; in the ſixth, the Sunne; and laſt, in the ſeventh, the Moone. Of the Mathematicians ſome accord with *Plato*, others place the Sunne in the middes of them all.

Anaximander, Metrodorus the Chian, and Crates affirme, that the Sunne is placed higheſt of all, next to him the Moone, and under him the fixed Starres and the Planets.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the lation and motion of the Starres.

Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Cleanthes, doe hold, that all Starres doe moove from eaſt to weſt.

Alcmaeon and the Mathematicians ſay, that the planets hold an oppoſite courſe to the fixed Starres, and namely from the weſt to the eaſt.

Anaximander ſaith, they be caried by their ſphæres and circles, upon which they are faſtned.

ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that they roll as well toward the earth, as turne about the earth.

PLATO and the Mathematicians hold, that the courſe of the Sunne, of *Venus*, and of *Mercurie*, is the ſame and equall.

CHAP. XVII.

From whence the Starres have their illumination.

METRODORUS thinketh, that all the fixed Starres have their light from the ſunne.

HERACLYTUS, and the Stoicks ſay, that the Starres bee nouriſhed by exhalations ariſing from the earth.

ARISTOTLE opineth, that the celeſtiall bodies need no nouriture, for that they are not corruptible but eternall.

PLATO and the Stoicks hold, that all the world and the Starres likewiſe be nouriſhed of themſelves.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the two Starres named Dioſcuri, *to wit,* Caſtor *and* Pollux.

XENOPHANES doth mainteine that the lights like Starres which appeere otherwhiles upon ſhips, are thinne and ſubtill clouds, which after a kinde of motion doe ſhine.

METRODORUS ſaith, they be certeine glittering ſparkels glauncing and leaping out of their eies who behold them with feare and aſtoniſhment.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the ſignification of Starres, and how commeth winter and ſummer.

PLATO ſaith, that the tokens & ſignifications both of Winter and Summer, proceed from the riſing and ſetting of Sunne, Moone, and other Starres, as well fixed as wandring.

ANAXIMENES ſaith, that none of all this is occaſioned by the Moone, but by the Sunne onely. EUDOXUS and ARATUS affirme them to bee in common, by meanes of all the Starres: and ARATUS ſheweth as much in theſe verſes:

Theſe radiant ſtarres, and lights ſo evident,
As ſignes, God hath ſet in the firmament,
Diſtinct, in great foreſight, throughout the yeere,
To ſhew how all the ſeaſons ordered were.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Sunnes ſubſtance.

ANAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the circle of the Sunne is eight and twentie times bigger than the earth, having an hollow apſis about it, like (for all the world) unto a chariot wheele, and the ſame full of fire: in one certeine place whereof, there is a mouth, at which the fire is ſeene, as out of the hole of a flute, or ſuch like pipe, and the ſame is the Sunne.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there is a certeine gathering of ſmall fires, which by occaſion of moiſt exhalations, meet together; and they all (being collected) make the bodie of the Sun, or els (quoth he) is a cloud ſet on fire.

The STOICKS ſay, that the Sun is an inflamed body * intellectuall, or humour inflamed, proceeding out of the ſea.

* νοερὸν or νοτερὸν after ſome.

PLATO imagineth it to conſiſt of much fire.

ANAXAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, and METRODORUS ſuppoſe it to be a maſſe of yron, or a ſtone inflamed.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a ſphære out of the fifth body.

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean, is perſwaded that it is in maner of a glaſſe, receiving the reverberation of all the fire in the world, and tranſmitting the light thereof unto us (as it were) thorow a tanniſe or ſtreiner, in ſuch ſort, as that fierie light in heaven reſembleth the Sun : then that which proceedeth from it, is in forme of a mirrour : and thirdly, there is a ſplendour, which by way of reflexion from that mirrour, is ſpread upon us : and this call we the Sun, as it were the image of an image.

EMPEDOCLES is of this minde, that there be two Sunnes, the one an originall and primitive fire, which is in the other hemiſphære of the world; and the ſame filling this hemiſphære of ours, as being alwaies ſituate full oppoſit to the reflexion of the reſplendent light thereof : as for this that we ſee, it is the light in that other hemiſphære, repleniſhed with aire mixed with heat, & the ſame is occaſioned by refraxion from the earth, that is more round, entring into the Sun, which is of a Cryſtalline nature, and yet is trained and caried away together with the motion of that fire. But to ſpeake more plainly and ſuccinctly in fewer words, this is as much to ſay, as the Sunne is nothing els, but the reflexion of that light of the fire which is about the earth.

EPICURUS imagineth the Sun to be a terreſtriall ſpiſſitude or thickneſſe, yet ſpungeous (as it were) and hollow in maner of a pumiſh ſtone, and in thoſe holes lightned by fire.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Sunnes magnitude.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the Sunne is equall in bigneſſe to the earth; but the circle from which he hath his reſpiration, and upon which he is caried, is eight and twentie times bigger than the whole earth.

ANAXAGORAS ſaid, it was by many degrees greater than all *Peloponneſus*.

HERACLITUS held, that it was a mans foot broad.

EPICURUS againe affirmed, that all aboveſaid might be; or that it was as bigge as it appeared to be, at leaſtwiſe a little under or over.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Sunnes forme.

ANAXIMENES imagined that the Sunne was flat and broad, like unto a thinne plate of mettall.

HERACLITUS ſuppoſed it to be made like unto a boat, ſomewhat curbed downeward, and turning up.

The STOICKS ſuppoſe it to be round, like unto the whole world and other ſtarres.

EPICURUS ſaith, that all this may be well enough.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Solſticies or Tropiques of the Sunne.

ANAXIMENES thinketh that the Starres are beaten backe by the thicke aire, and the ſame making reſiſtance.

ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that they are occaſioned by the repulſe of the aire, about the Beares or Poles, which the Sunne himſelfe (by thruſting and making thicke) cauſeth to be more powerfull.

EMPEDOCLES aſcribeth the reaſon thereof to the ſphære, that conteineth and impeacheth him from paſſing farther; as alſo to the two Tropique circles.

DIOGENES imagineth, that the Sun is extinct by the cold, falling oppoſit upon the heat.

The STOICKS affirme, that the Sunne paſſeth thorow the tract and ſpace of his food and paſture lying under him, which is the Ocean ſea or the earth, upon the vapours and exhalation whereof he feedeth.

PLATO, PYTHAGORAS and ARISTOTLE holde, that this is occaſioned by the obliquitie of the Zodiacke circle, thorow which the Sunne paſſeth biaſe; as alſo, by reaſon of the Tropicke circles, which environ and guard him about : and all this, the very ſphære it ſelfe doth evidently ſhew.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Sunnes eclipſe.

THALES was the firſt who obſerved the Sunnes eclipſe, and ſaid, that it was occaſioned by the Moone, which is of a terreſtriall nature, when as in her race, ſhe commeth to be juſt and plumbe under him; which may be plainly ſeene as in a mirrour, by ſetting a baſon of water underneath.

ANAXIMANDER ſaid, that the Sun became eclipſed, when the mouth or tunnill (at which the heat of his fire commeth forth) is cloſed up.

HERACLITUS is of opinion, that this hapneth, when the bodie of the Sun which is made like a boat, is turned upſide downe, ſo as the hollow part thereof is upward, and the keele downward to our ſight.

XENOPHANES affirmeth, that this commeth by extinction of one Sun, & the riſing of another againe in the Eaſt: he addeth moreover, and reporteth, that there is an eclipſe of the Sun, during one whole moneth; as alſo one entire and univerſall eclipſe, in ſuch maner, as the day ſeemeth to be night.

Others aſcribe the cauſe thereof, to the thickeneſſe of clouds, which ſuddenly and after an hidden maner, overcaſt the rundle and plate of the Sunne.

ARISTARCHUS reckoneth the Sunne among the fixed Starres, ſaying, that it is the earth which rolleth and turneth round about the Sunnes circle, and according to the inclinations thereof, the Sunnes lightſome bodie commeth to be darkened by her ſhade.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there be many Sunnes and Moones, according to the divers Climats, Tracts, Sections, and Zones of the earth: and at a certeine revolution of time, the rundle of the Sunne falleth upon ſome Climate or Section of the earth, which is not of us inhabited; and ſo marching (as it were) in ſome void place, he ſuffereth eclipſe: he alſo affirmeth, that the Sun goeth indeed infinitly forward ſtil, but by reaſon of his huge diſtance and retract from us, ſeemeth to turne round about.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Moones ſubſtance.

ANNAXIMANDER ſaith, that the Moone is a circle, xix. times bigger than the earth, and like as that of the Sunne, full of fire; that ſhe ſuffereth eclipſe when her wheele turneth: for that he ſaith, that circle reſembleth the wheele of a chariot, the movature or felly whereof, is hollow and full of fire; howbeit, there is an hole or tunnell, out of which the fire doth exhale.

XENOPHANES ſaith, that the Moone is a thicke, compact, and felted cloud.

The STOICKS hold, that ſhe is mixed of fire and aire.

PLATO affirmeth, that ſhe ſtandeth more of a fierie ſubſtance.

ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS do hold, that the Moone is a ſolid and firme bodie all fiery, containing in it, champian grounds, mountaines and vallies.

HERACLITUS is of opinion that it is earth overſpred with miſts.

PYTHAGORAS alſo thinketh that the bodie of the Moone is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Moones magnitude.

THE STOICKS pronounce flatly that the Moone is bigger than the Earth, like as the Sunne alſo.

PARMENIDES affirmeth it to be equall in brightneſſe to the Sunne, and that of him ſhe hath her light.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Moones forme.

THE STOICKS ſay, the Moone is round as a globe, like as the Sunne.

EMPEDOCLES would have it to reſemble a baſon or platter.

HERACLITUS compareth it to a boat; and others to a round cylinder; *[that ſhe is ſhaped ſeven manner of waies: at her firſt birth as it were ſhe appeereth horned or tipped; then divided or quartered; afterwards growing ſomewhat together; and ſoone after full: from which time by little and little ſhe waneth by degrees; firſt bending ſomewhat cloſe, then quartered, and after that tipped and horned, untill at the change ſhe appeereth not at all: and they ſay this varietie of her configurations, is occaſioned by the earth ſhadowing her light more or leſſe, according as the convexitie of the earth commeth betweene.]

* That which is inſerted betweene theſe two marks [ ] I finde neither in the original Greeke, nor in the French, but in the Latine onely.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Moones illuminations.

ANAXIMANDER ſaith, that ſhe hath a light of her owne, but the ſame very rare and thinne.

ANTIPHON affirmeth, that ſhe ſhineth with her owne light: and whereas ſhe is otherwhiles hidden, it proceedeth from the oppoſition of the ſunne; namely, when a greater fire commeth to darken a leſſe, a thing incident to other ſtarres.

THALES and his followers hold, that the Moone is lightned by the ſunne.

HERACLITUS ſuppoſeth, that the caſe of the ſunne and Moone is all one, for that both of them being formed like a boat, and receiving moiſt exhalations, they ſeeme in our ſight illuminate; the ſunne brighter of the twaine, for that he goeth in a more cleere and pure aire, and the Moone in that which is more troubled, which is the reaſon that ſhe ſeemeth more darke and muddy.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Moones Ecclipſe.

* ANAXIMENES ſaith, that the Moone is Ecclipſed, when the mouth or venting hole whereout iſſueth her fire, is ſtopped.

*Anaximander

BEROSUS is of opinion, that it is when that face and ſide of hers which is not lightned, turneth toward us.

HERACLITUS would have it to be, when the convexitie or ſwelling part of the boat which ſhe doth repreſent, regardeth us directly.

Some of the PYTHAGOREANS doe holde the ecclipſe of the Moone to be partly a reverberation of light, and in part an obſtruction; the one in regard of the earth, the other of the Antipodes, who tread oppoſite unto us. But the moderne writers are of opinion, that it is by occaſion of the augmentation of the Moones flame, which regularly and by order is lightned by little and little, untill it repreſent unto us the full face of the Moone, and againe doth diminiſh and wane in proportion, untill the conjunction, at what time it is altogether extinct.

PLATO, ARISTOTLE, the STOICKS, and MATHEMATICINAS, do all with one accord ſay, that the occultations of the Moone every moneth, are occaſioned by reaſon that ſhe falleth in conjunction with the ſunne; by whoſe brightneſſe ſhe becommeth dimme and darkned: but the Ecclipſes of the Moone be cauſed when ſhe commeth within the ſhadow of the earth, ſituate directly betweene both Starres, rather for that the Moone is altogether obſtructed therewith.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Moones apparition, and why ſhe ſeemeth to be earthly.

THE PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the Moone appeereth terreſtriall, for that ſhe is inhabited round about, like as the earth wherein we are, and peopled as it were with the greateſt living creatures, and the faireſt plants; and thoſe creatures within her, be fifteene times ſtronger and more puiſſant than thoſe with us, and the ſame yeeld foorth no excrements, and the * day there, is in that proportion ſo much longer.

* ἡμέραν, ſome reade νὺκτα, that is to ſay, night.

ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that the inequalitie which is ſeene in the face of the Moone, proceedeth from the coagmentation of cold and terreſtrity mixed together, for that there is a

certeine

certaine tenebroſitie medled with the fierie nature thereof: whereupon this ſtarre is ſaid to be *Pſeudophores*, that it to ſay, to have a falſe light.

The STOICKS are of opinion, that by reaſon of the diverſitie of her ſubſtance, the compoſition of her bodie is not ſubject to corruption.

CHAP. XXXI.

The diſtance betweene Sunne and Moone.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that the Moone is twice as far off from the Sunne as ſhe is from the earth.

The MATHEMATICIANS ſay, that the diſtance is eighteene times as much.

ERATOSTHENES giveth out, the Sunne is from the earth 408. thouſand ſtadia, ten times told: and the Moone from the earth 78. thouſand ſtadia, ten times multiplied.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the yeeres: And how much the yeere of every Planet conteineth the great yeere.

THe revolution or yeeere of *Saturne* comprehendeth thirtie common yeres: Of *Jupiter* twelve: of *Mars* two: of the Sunne, twelve moneths: thoſe of *Mercurie* and *Venus* be all one, for their courſe is equall: of the Moone thirtie daies: for this we count a perfect moneth, to wit, from the apparition to the conjunction. As for the great yeere; ſome ſay, it compriſeth eight yeeres: others ninteen, and others againe ſixtie wanting one. HERACLITUS ſaith it conſiſteth of 80000. ſolare yeeres. DIOGENES of 365. yeeres, ſuch as *Heraclitus* ſpeaketh of: and others of 7777.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF Philoſophers opinions.

The Proœme.

HAving ſummarily, and after a curſorie manner treated in the former bookes, of cœleſtiall bodies, and reſting in the confines thereof, which is the Moone, I will addreſſe my ſelfe in this third booke, to diſcourſe of Meteores, that is to ſay, of ſuch impreſſions as be engendred in the aire above, to wit, betweene the circle of the Moone and the ſituation of the earth: the which men hold generally to be in ſtead of the prick or center in that compaſſe of the univerſall Globe. And heereat will I beginne.

CHAP. I.

Of the Milke way or white circle Galaxia.

THis *Galaxia* is a cloudie or miſtie circle, appearing alwaies in the skie; and called it is the Milke way, of the white colour which it doth repreſent.

Of the Pythagoreans ſome ſay, it is the inflammation or burning out of ſome ſtarre remooved, and falling out of his proper place, which hath burnt round about all the way as it paſſed, from the verie time of *Phaethon* his conflagration.

Others hold, that in old time the race and courſe of the Sun was that way. Some are of opinion, that it is a ſpecularie apparition, only occaſioned by the reflexion of the Sun-beames againſt the cope of heaven, even as we obſerve it to fall out betweene the rainbow and thicke clouds.

METRODORUS affirmeth it to be cauſed by the paſſage of the Sunne: for that this is the ſolare circle.

PARMENIDES is of opinion that the mixture of that which is thicke, with the rare or thin, engendreth this milkie colour.

ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that the ſhadow of the earth reſteth upon this part of heaven, at what time as the Sunne being underneath the earth, doth not illuminate all throughout.

DEMOCRITUS is perſwaded, that it is the reſplendent light of many ſmall ſtarres, and thoſe cloſe together, ſhining one upon another, and ſo occaſioned by their ſpiſſitude and aſtriction.

ARISTOTLE would have it to be an inflamation of a drie exhalation; the ſame being great in quantitie and continued: and ſo there is an hairy kind of fire under the skie, and beneath the planets.

POSSIDONIUS ſuppoſeth it to be a conſiſtence of fire, more cleere and ſubtile than a ſtarre, and yet thicker than a ſplendeur or ſhining light.

CHAP. II.

Of Comets, or Blazing ſtarres: of Starres ſeeming to ſhoot and fall: as alſo of fierie beames appearing in the aire.

SOme of *Pythagoras* ſcholars affirme, that a Comet is a ſtarre of the number of thoſe which appeare not alwaies, but at certaine prefixed ſeaſons after ſome periodicall revolutions do ariſe.

Others affirme it to be the reflexion of our ſight againſt the Sunne, after the manner of thoſe reſemblances which ſhew in mirrours or looking glaſſes.

ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS ſay, that it is a concurſe of two ſtarres or more meeting with their lights together.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a conſiſtence of a drie exhalation enflamed.

STRATO ſaith, that it is the light of a ſtarre enwrapped within a thick cloud, as we ſee it ordinarily in our lamps and burning lights.

HERACLIDES of PONTUS holdeth it to be a cloud heaved and elevated on high, and the ſame illuminated by ſome high light alſo: and the like reaſon giveth he of the bearded blazing ſtar called Pagonias. Others (like as all the Perepateticks) affirme, that the beame, the columne, and ſuch other meteors or impreſſions are made after the ſame manner by divers cõfigurations of clouds in the aire.

EPIGENES ſuppoſeth a Comet to be an elevation of ſpirit or wind mixed with an earthly ſubſtance, and ſet on fire.

BOETHUS imagineth it to be an apparition of the aire, let looſe as it were, and ſpred at large.

DIOGENES is perſwaded that Comets be ſtarres.

ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that the ſtarres which are ſaid to ſhoot, be as it were ſparckles falling from the elementarie fire: which is the cauſe that they are quenched and gone out ſo quickly.

METRODORUS ſuppoſeth, that when the Sunne ſtriketh violently upon a cloud, the beames or raies thereof do ſparkle, and ſo cauſe this ſhooting of ſtarres as they tearme it.

XENOPHANES would beare us in hand, that all ſuch Meteors and Impreſſions as theſe, be conſtitutions or motions of clouds enflamed.

CHAP. III.

Of thunders, lightnings, flaſhes, preſters or fierie blaſtes, and tempſtuous whirlwinds.

ANAXIMANDER ſuppoſeth, that all theſe come by wind: for when it hapneth that it is conceived & incloſed within a thicke cloud, then by reaſon of the ſubtiltie and lightneſſe thereof, it breaketh forth with violence: and the rupture of the cloud maketh a cracke; and the divulſion or cleaving, by reaſon of the blackneſſe of the cloud, cauſeth a ſhining light.

METRODORUS ſaith, when a wind chanceth to be encloſed within a cloud gathered thick and cloſe together, the ſaid wind by burſting of the cloud maketh a noiſe; and by the ſtroke and breach it ſhineth; but by the quicke motion catching heat of the Sunne, it ſhooteth forth lightning; but if the ſaid lightning be weake, it turneth into a Preſter or burning blaſe.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that when ardent heat falleth upon cold, that is to ſay, when a portion of celeſtial fire lighteth upon the airie ſubſtance; by the cracking noiſe therof is cauſed thunder; by the colour againſt the blackneſſe of the cloud, a flaſhing beame; by the plentie and greatneſſe of the light, that which we call lightning: and in caſe the fire be more groſſe and corpulent, there ariſeth of it a whirlwind; but if the ſame be of a cloudie nature, it engendreth a burning blaſt called Preſter.

The STOICKS hold thunder to be a combat, and ſmiting together of clouds: that a flaſhing beame, is a fire or inflammation proceeding from their attrition: that lightning is a more violent flaſhing, and Preſter, leſſe forcible.

ARISTOTLE ſuppoſeth, that all theſe meteores come likewiſe of a dry exhalation, which being gotten encloſed within a moiſt cloud, ſeeketh meanes, and ſtriveth forcibly to get foorth: now by attrition and breaking together, it cauſeth the clap of thunder; by inflammation of the drie ſubſtance, a flaſhing beame; but Preſters, Typhons, that is to ſay, burning blaſts and whirlwindes, according as the ſtore of matter is, more or leſſe, which the one and the other draweth to it; but if the ſame be hotter, you ſhall ſee Preſter, if thicker, looke for Typhon.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Clouds, Raine, Snowe, and Haile.

ANAXIMENES ſaith, that clouds are engendred when the aire is moſt thicke, which if they coagulate ſtill more and more, there is expreſſed from them a ſhewer of raine: but in caſe this matter as it falleth, doe congeale, it turneth to be ſnow; but ſay it meet with a colde moiſt wind and be ſurprized therewith, it prooveth haile.

METRODORUS ſuppoſeth, that clouds be compoſed of a wateriſh evaporation elevated. *Epicurus* of meere * vapours: alſo that as well the drops of raine as haile-ſtones, become round by the long way of their deſcent.

* ἀτμῶν, haply it ſhould be ἀτομῶν, that is to ſay, indiviſible bodies.

CHAP. V.

Of the Rainbow.

AMong thoſe meteors or impreſſions engendred in the aire, ſome there be which have a true ſubſtance indeed, as raine and haile: others againe, have no more but a bare apparence, without any reall ſubſiſtence, much like as when we are within a ſhip, we imagine that the continent and firme land doth moove: and among thoſe which are in apparence onely, we muſt range the Rainbow. PLATO ſaith, that men derive the genealogie of it from *Thaumas*, as one would ſay, from wonder, becauſe they marvelled much to ſee it: according as *Homer* ſheweth in this verſe:

Like as when mightie Jupiter *the purple rainbow bends,*
Thereby to mortall men from heaven, a wondrous token ſends,
Which either tempeſts terrible, or wofull warre pretends.

And hereupon it is, that ſome have made thereof a fabulous device, and given out, that ſhe having a bulles head, drinketh up the rivers. But how is this Rainbow ingendred, and how commeth it ſo to appeare? Certes, we ſee by lines, either direct and ſtreight, or crooked, or els rebated and broken; which though they be obſcure, and appeare not evidently, yet are perceived by cogitation and diſcourſe of reaſon, as being bodileſſe. Now by right lines we beholde things, ſome in the aire, and others thorow tranſparent ſtones and hornes; for that all theſe conſiſt of very ſubtile parts: by crooked and curbed lines, wee looke within the water; for our eie-ſight doth bend and turne againe perforce, by reaſon that the matter of the water is more thicke; which is the cauſe, that we ſee the mariners oare in the ſea a farre off, as it were crooked. The third maner of ſeeing, is by refraction, and ſo we beholde objects in mirrours; and of this ſort is the Rainbow: for we muſt conſider and underſtand, that a moiſt vapour being lifted up aloft, is converted into a cloud; and then within a while by little and little, into ſmall dew-drops: whenas therfore, the Sun deſcendeth Weſtward, it can not chuſe, but every Rainbow muſt needs appere oppoſit unto it in the contrary part of the sky: and whẽ our ſight falleth upon thoſe drops, it is rebated and beaten backe; and by that meanes there is preſented unto it a Rainbow: now thoſe drops are not of the forme and figure of a bow, but repreſent a colour onely: and verily, the firſt and principall hew that this bow hath, is a light and bright red; the ſecond, a deepe vermillion or purple; the third, blue and greene: let us conſider then, whether the ſaid red colour appeare not, becauſe the brightneſſe of the Sunne beating upon the cloud, and the ſincere light thereof reflected & driven back, maketh a ruddy or light red hew; but the ſecond part more obſcure, and rebating the ſaid ſplendor through thoſe dewy drops, cauſeth a purple tincture, which is (as it were) an abatement of red; and then as it becommeth more muddie ſtill, & darkning that which diſtinguiſheth the ſight, it turneth into a greene: and this is a thing which may be proved by experience; for if a man take water directly againſt the Sunne beames in his mouth, and ſpit the ſame forward, in ſuch ſort, as the drops receive a repercuſſion againſt the ſaid raies of the Sunne, he ſhall finde that it will make (as it were) a Rainbow. The like befalleth unto them that are bleere-eied, when they looke upon a lampe or burning light.

ANAXIMENES ſuppoſeth, that the Rainbow is occaſioned by the Sun ſhining full againſt a groſſe, thicke and blacke cloud, in ſuch ſort, as his beames be not able to pierce and ſtrike thorow, by reaſon that they turne againe upon it, and become condenſate.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth the Rainbow to be the refraction or repercuſſion of the Sunnes round light againſt a thicke cloud, which ought alwaies to be oppoſit full againſt him, in maner of a mirrour: by which reaſon, in nature it is ſaid, that there appeare two Sunnes in the countrey of *Pontus*.

METRODORUS ſaith, when the Sunne ſhineth thorow clouds, the cloud ſeemeth blue, but the light looketh red.

CHAP. VI.

Of Water-galles or ſtreaks like rods, ſomewhat reſembling Rainbowes.

THeſe rods and oppoſit apparitions of Sunnes, which are ſeene otherwhiles in the skie, happen through the temperature of a ſubject matter and illumination; namely, when clouds are ſeene, not in their naturall and proper colour, but by another, cauſed by a divers irradiation: and in all theſe, the like paſſions fall out both naturally, and alſo are purchaſed by accident.

CHAP. VII.

Of Winds.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the Winde is a fluxion of the aire; when as the moſt ſubtile and liquid parts thereof be either ſtirred, or melted and reſolved by the Sunne.

The STOICKS affirme, that every blaſt is a fluxion of the aire, and that according to the mutation of regions, they change their names; as for example, that which bloweth from the darkneſſe of the night and Sunne ſetting, is named *Zephyrus*; from the Eaſt and Sunne riſing, *Apeliotes*; from the North, *Boreas*; and from the South, *Libs*.

METRODORUS ſuppoſeth, that a wateriſh vapour being inchaſed by the heat of the Sun, produceth and raiſeth theſe winds: and as for thoſe that be anniverſary, named *Eteſia*, they blow, when the aire about the North pole is thickened and congealed with cold, and ſo accompanie the Sunne, and flow (as it were) with him, as he retireth from the Summer Tropicke, after the Aeſtivall Solſtice.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Winter and Summer.

EMPEDOCLES and the STOICKS do hold, that Winter commeth, when the aire is predominant in thickeneſſe, and is forced upward; but Summer, when the fire is in that wiſe predominant, and is driven downward.

Thus having diſcourſed of the impreſſions aloft in the aire, we will treat alſo (by the way) of thoſe which are ſeene upon and about the earth.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Earth: the ſubſtance and magnitude thereof.

THALES with his followers affirme, there is but one Earth.

OECETES the Pythagorean, mainteineth twaine; one heere, and another oppoſit againſt it, which the Antipodes inhabit.

The Stoicks ſay, there is one Earth, and the ſame finite.

Xenophanes holdeth, that beneath it is founded upon an infinit depth; and that compact it is of aire and fire.

Metrodorus is of opinion, that Earth is the very ſediment and ground of the water; like as th Sunne is the reſidence of the aire.

CHAP. X.

The forme of the Earth.

Thales, the Stoicks and their ſchoole affirme the Earth to be round, in maner of a globe or ball.

Anaximander reſembleth the Earth unto a columne or pillar of ſtone, ſuch as are ſeene upon the ſuperficies thereof.

Anaximenes compareth it to a flat table; Leucippus, unto a drum or tabour: Democritus ſaith, that it is in forme, broad in maner of a platter, hollow in the mids.

CHAP. XI.

The ſituation of the Earth.

The diſciples of Thales maintaine, that the Earth is ſeated in midſt of the world.

Xenophanes affirmeth, that it was firſt founded and rooted as it were to an infinite depth.

Philolaus the Pythagorean ſaith, that fire is the middle, as being the hearth of the world, in the ſecond place he raungeth the Earth of the Antipodes: and in the third, this wherein wee inhabit, which lieth oppoſite unto that counter earth, and turneth about it: which is the reaſon (quoth he) that thoſe who dwell there, are not ſeene by the inhabitants heere.

Parmenides was the firſt Philoſopher, who ſet out and limited the habitable parts of the Earth, to wit, thoſe which are under the two Zones, unto the Tropicks or Solſticiall circles.

CHAP. XII.

Of the bending of the earth.

Pythagoras is of opinion, that the earth enclineth toward the Meridionall parts, by reaſon of the raritie which is in thoſe South coaſts: for that the Septentrionall tracts are congealed, and frozen with cold, whereas the oppoſite regions be inflamed and burnt.

Democritus yeeldeth this reaſon; becauſe of the ambient aire is weaker toward the South (quoth hee) the Earth as it groweth and encreaſeth, doth bend to that ſide: for the North parts be intemprate; whereas contrariwiſe the Southeren parts are temperate: in which regard it weigheth more that way, whereas indeed it is more plentifull in bearing fruits, and thoſe growing to greater augmentation.

CHAP. XIII.

The motion of the Earth.

Some hold the Earth to be unmoveable and quiet: but Philolaus the Pythagorean ſaith, that it moveth round about the fire, in the oblique circle, according as the Sunne and Moone do.

Heraclides of *Pontus*, and *Ecphantus* the Pythagorean, would indeed have the Earth to move, howbeit not from place to place, but rather after a turning manner like unto a wheele upon the axell tree, from Weſt to Eaſt, round about her owne center.

Democritus ſaith, that the Earth at firſt wandred to and fro, by reaſon as well of ſmalneſſe as lightneſſe: but waxing in time thicke and heavie, it came to reſt unmoveable.

CHAP. XIIII.

The diviſion of the Earth, and how many Zones it hath.

PYTHAGORAS ſaith, that the earth is divided into five Zones proportionably to the ſphære of the univerſall heaven; to wit, the Artick circle, the Tropick of Summer, the Tropick of Winter, the Aequinoctiall and the Antartick. Of which the middlemoſt doth determine and ſet out the verie mids and heart of the earth: and for that cauſe it is named *Torrida Zona*, that is to ſay, the burnt climat: but that region is habitable, as being temperate, which lieth in the mids betweene the ſummer and the winter Tropick.

CHAP. XV.

Of Earthquakes.

THALES and DEMOCRITUS attribute the cauſe of Earthquakes unto water.

The STOICKS thus define and ſay, Earthquake is the moiſture within the earth ſubtiliated and reſolved into the aire, and ſo breaking out perforce.

ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that raritie and drineſſe of the earth together, be the cauſes of Earthquake: wherof the one is engendred by exceſſive drougth, the other by gluts of raine.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth, that when the aire is gotten within the earth, and meeteth with the ſuperficies thereof, which it findeth tough and thicke, ſo as it cannot get forth, it ſhaketh it in manner of trembling.

ARITSTOTLE alledgeth, the *Antiperiſtaſis* of the circumſtant cold which environeth it about on everie ſide, both above and beneath: for heat endevoreth and maketh haſt to mount aloft, as being by nature light. A drie exhalation, therefore finding it ſelfe encloſed within and ſtaied, ſtriveth to make way through the cliffs and thicks of the Earth, in which buſines it cannot chuſe but by turning to and fro, up and downe diſquiet and ſhake the earth.

METRODORUS is of mind, that no bodie being in the owne proper and naturall place can ſtirre or moove, unleſſe ſome one do actually thruſt or pull it. The earth therefore (quoth he) being ſituate in the owne place, naturally mooveth not: howſoever ſome places thereof may remove into others.

PARMENIDES and DEMOCRITUS reaſon in this wiſe: for that the earth on everie ſide is of equall diſtance, and confineth ſtill in one counterpoiſe, as having no cauſe wherefore it ſhould incline more to the one ſide than to the other: therefore well it may ſhake onely, but not ſtirre or remoove for all that.

ANAXIMENES ſaith, that the Earth is caried up and downe in the aire, for that it is broad and flat.

Others ſay, that it floteth upon the water, like as planks or boords, and that for this cauſe it mooveth.

PLATO affirmeth, that of all motions there be ſix ſorts of circumſtances, above, beneath, on the right hand, on the left, before and behind. Alſo that the earth cannot poſſibly moove according to any of theſe differences: for that on everie ſide it lieth loweſt of all things in the world, and by occaſion thereof reſteth unmooveable, hauing no cauſe why it ſhould encline more to one part than to another, but yet ſome places of her becauſe of their raritie do jogge and ſhake.

EPICURUS keepeth his old tune, ſaying, it may well be, that the earth being ſhogged, and as it were rocked and beaten by the aire underneath, which is groſſe and of the nature of water, therefore mooveth and quaketh. As alſo, it may be (quoth he) that being holow and full of holes in the parts below, it is forced to tremble and ſhake by the aire that is gotten within the caves and concavities, and there encloſed.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Sea, how it was made and commeth to be bitter.

ANAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the Sea is a reſidue remaining of the primitive humidity, whereof the Sunne hauing burnt up and conſumed a great part, the reſt behind he altered and turned from the naturall kind by his exceſſive ardent heat.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the ſaid firſt humiditie being diffuſed and ſpred abroad in manner of a poole or great meere, was burnt by the motion of the ſunne about it: and when the oileous ſubſtance thereof was exhaled and conſumed, the reſt ſetled below, and turned into a brackiſh and bitter-ſaltneſſe, which is the Sea.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that the Sea is the ſweat of the earth, enchafed by the ſunne, being bathed and waſhed all over aloft.

ANTISTON thinketh it to be the ſweat of heat, the moiſture whereof which was within, being by much ſeething and boiling ſent out, becommeth ſalt; a thing ordinary in all ſweats.

METRODORUS ſuppoſeth the Sea to be that moiſture, which running thorough the earth, reteined ſome part of the denſitie thereof, like as that which paſſeth through aſhes.

The diſciples of PLATO imagine, that ſo much of the elementarie water which is congealed of the aire by refrigeration, is ſweet and freſh; but whatſoever did evaporate by burning and inflammation, became ſalt.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Tides, to wit, the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, what is the cauſe thereof?

ARISTOTLE and HERACLITUS affirme, that it is the ſunne which doth it, as who ſtirreth, raiſeth, and carieth about with him the moſt part of the windes, which comming to blow upon the Ocean, cauſe the Atlanticke ſea to ſwell, and ſo make the flux or high water; but when the ſame are allaied and cleane downe, the ſea falleth low, and ſo cauſeth a reflux and ebbe or low water.

PYTHEAS of Marſeils, referreth the cauſe of Flowing to the full moone, and of Ebbing to the moone in the wane.

PLATO attributeth all to a certeine riſing of the waters, ſaying, There is ſuch an elevation, that through the mouth of a cave carieth the Ebbe and Flow to and fro, by the meanes whereof, the ſeas doe riſe and flow contrarily.

TIMAEUS alledgeth the cauſe hereof to be the rivers, which falling from the mountaines in *Gaule*, enter into the Atlantique ſea, which by their violent corruptions, driving before them the water of the ſea, cauſe the Flow, and by their ceaſing and returne backe by times, the Ebbe.

SELEUCUS the Mathematician, who affirmed alſo, that the earth mooved, ſaith, that the motion thereof is oppoſit and contrary to that of the moone: alſo that the winde being driven to and fro, by theſe two contrary revolutions, bloweth and beateth upon the Atlanticke ocean, troubleth the ſea alſo (and no marvell) according as it is diſquieted it ſelfe.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the round circle called Halo.

THis *Halo* is made after this manner: betweene the body of the moone, or any other ſtarre, and our eie-ſight, there gathereth a groſſe and miſtie aire, by which aire, anon our ſight commeth to be reflected and diffuſed; and afterwards the ſame incurreth upon the ſaid ſtarre, according to the exterior circumference thereof, and thereupon appeereth a circle round about the ſtarre, which being there ſeene is called *Halo*, for that it ſeemeth that the apparent impreſſion is cloſe unto that, upon which our ſight ſo enlarged as is before ſaid, doth fall.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF Philoſophers opinions.

The Proœme.

HAving runne through the generall parts of the world, I will now paſſe unto the particulars.

CHAP. I.

Of the riſing and inundation of Nilus.

THALES thinketh that the anniverſarie windes called Eteſiæ blowing directly againſt Aegypt, cauſe the water of Nilus to ſwell, for that the ſea being driven by theſe windes, entreth within the mouth of the ſaid river, and hindereth it, that it cannot diſcharge it ſelfe freely into the ſea, but is repulſed backward.

EUTHYMENES of Marſeils, ſuppoſeth that this river is filled with the water of the ocean, and the great ſea lying without the continent, which he imagineth to be freſh and ſweet.

ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that this hapneth by the ſnowe in *Aethiopia*, which melteth in ſummer, and is congealed and frozen in winter.

DEMOCRITUS is of opinion, that it is long of the ſnowe in the north parts, which about the æſtival ſolſtice and returne of the ſunne, being diſſolved and dilated, breedeth vapors, and of them be engendred clouds, which being driven by the Eteſian windes into *Aethiopia* and *Aegypt* toward the ſouth, cauſe great and violent raines, wherewith both lakes, and the river alſo *Nilus*, be filled.

HERODOTUS the Hiſtorian writeth, that this river hath as much water from his ſources and ſprings, in winter as in ſummer; but to us it ſeemeth leſſe in winter, becauſe the ſunne being then neerer unto *Aegypt*, cauſeth the ſaid water to evaporate.

EPHORUS the Hiſtoriographer reporteth, that all *Aegypt* doth reſolve and runne at it were wholly into ſwet in ſummer time: whereunto *Arabia* and *Libya* doe conferre, and contribute alſo their waters, for that the earth there is light and ſandy.

EUDOXUS ſaith, that the prieſts of *Aegypt* aſſigne the cauſe hereof to the great raines and the *Antiperiſtaſis* or contrarie occurſe of ſeaſons; for that when it is Summer with us, who inhabit within the Zone toward the Summer Tropicke, it is Winter with thoſe who dwell in the oppoſit Zone under the Winter Tropicke, whereupon (ſaith he) proceedeth this great inundation of waters, breaking downe unto the river *Nilus*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Soule.

THALES was the firſt that defined the Soule to be a nature moving alwaies, or having motion of it ſelfe.

PYTHAGORAS ſaith, it is a certeine number moving it ſelfe; and this number he taketh for intelligence or underſtanding.

PLATO ſuppoſeth it to be an intellectuall ſubſtance mooving it ſelfe, and that according to harmonicall number.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is the firſt *Entelechia* or primitive act of a naturall and organicall bodie, having life potentially.

DICEARCHUS thinketh it to be the harmonie and concordance of the foure elements.

ASCLEPIADES the Phyſician, defineth it to be an exerciſe in common of all the ſenſes together.

CHAP. III.

Whether the Soule be a body, and what is the ſubſtance of it.

ALl theſe Philoſophers before rehearſed, ſuppoſe that the Soule is incorporall, that of the owne nature it mooveth and is a ſpirituall ſubſtance, and the action of a naturall bodie, compoſed of many organs or inſtruments, and withall having life.

But the Sectaries of Anaxagoras, have given out, that it is of an airie ſubſtance, and a very body.

The Stoicks would have the Soule to be an hot ſpirit or breath.

Democritus holdeth it to be a certeine fierie compoſition of things perceptible by reaſon, and the ſame having their formes ſphæricall and round, and the puiſſance of fire, and withall to be a body.

Epicurus ſaith, it is a mixtion or temperature of foure things, to wit, of a certeine fire, of (I wot not what) aire, of an odde windie ſubſtance, and of another fourth matter, I cannot tel what to name it, and which to him was ſenſible.

Heraclitus affirmeth, the Soule of the world to be an evaporation of humors within it: as for the Soule of living creatures, it proceedeth (quoth he) as well from an evaporation of humors without, as an exhalation within it ſelfe, and of the ſame kinde.

CHAP. IIII.

The parts of the Soule.

Pythagoras and Plato, according to a more generall and remote diviſion, hold, that the Soule hath two parts, that is to ſay, the Reaſonable & the unreaſonable; but to goe more neere and exactly to worke, they ſay, it hath three; for they ſubdivided the unreaſonable part into Concupiſſible and Iraſcible.

The Stoicks be of opinion, that compoſed it is of eight parts, whereof five be the ſenſes naturall, to wit, ſight, hearing, ſmelling, taſting, and feeling; the ſixt is the voice; the ſeventh generative or ſpermaticall, and the eight, underſtanding, which guideth and commaundeth all the reſt by certeine proper organs and inſtruments, like as the Polype fiſh by her cleies and hairy branches.

Democritus and Epicurus ſet downe two parts of the Soule; the Reaſonable ſeated in the breſt, and the unreaſonable ſpred and diſperſed over all the ſtructure of the body beſides.

As for Democritus, he affirmeth, that all things whatſoever, have a certeine kinde of Soule, even the very dead bodies, for that alwaies they doe manifeſtly participate a kinde of heat and ſenſitive facultie, notwithſtanding the moſt part thereof be breathed foorth, and yeelded up.

CHAP. V.

Which is the Miſtreſſe and commanding part of the Soule, and wherein it is.

Plato and Democritus place it in the head throughout: Strato betweene the two eie-browes: Erasistratus in the membrane or kell that enfoldeth the braine, and it he calleth *Epicranis*: Herophilus within the ventricle or concavitie of the braine, which alſo is the baſis or foundation of it: Parmenides over all the breſt, and with him accordeth Epicurus: the Stoicks all with one voice hold it in the whole heart, or elſe in the ſpirit about the heart: Diogenes in the cavitie of the great arterie of the heart, which is full of vitall ſpirit: Empedocles in the conſiſtence or maſſe of bloud: others in the verie necke of the heart: ſome in the tunickle that lappeth the heart: and others againe in the midriffe: ſome of our moderne philoſophers hold, that it taketh up & occupieth all the ſpace from the head downward to the Diaphragma or midriffe above ſaid: Pythagoras ſuppoſeth that the vitall part of the Soule is about the heart, but the reaſon and the intellectuall or ſpirituall part, about the head.

CHAP. VI.

The motion of the Soule.

Plato is of opinion, that the ſoule mooveth continually; but the intelligence or underſtanding is immooveable, in regard of locall motion from place to place.

Aristotle ſaith, that the ſoule it ſelfe moveth not, although it be the author that rules &

directeth all motion; howbeit, that by an accident, it is not devoid of motion, according as divers ſorts of bodies do move.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Soules immortalitie.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme the Soule to be immortall; for in departing out of the bodie, it retireth to the Soule of the univerſall world, even to the nature which is of the ſame kinde.

The STOICKS hold, that the Soule going from the bodie, if it be feeble and weake, as that is of ignorant perſons, ſetleth downward with the groſſe conſiſtence of the bodie; but if it be more firme and puiſſant, as that is of wiſe and learned men, it continueth * even unto the conflagration of all.

* μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, Some interpret it thus, it amounteth up to the region of fire.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS ſay, that it is corruptible, and periſheth together with the bodie.

PYTAGORAS and PLATO are of opinion, that the reaſonable part of the Soule is immortall and incorruptible; for that the Soule, if it be not God, yet the worke it is of eternall God: as for the unreaſonable part, it is mortall and ſubject to corruption.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Senſes and ſenſible objects.

THe STOICKS thus define Senſe: Senſe (ſay they) is the apprehenſion of the ſenſitive organ. But Senſe is taken many waies; for we underſtand by it, either an habitude or facultie naturall, or a ſenſible action, or els an imagination apprehenſive; which all are performed by the meanes of an inſtrument ſenſitive: yea, and the very eighth part of the Soule abovenamed, even that which is principall, to wit, the diſcourſe of reaſon, by which all the reſt doe conſiſt: Againe, the ſpirits intellectuall, are called ſenſitive inſtruments, which from the ſaid principall underſtanding reach unto all the organs.

The Senſe (quoth EPICURUS) is that parcell of the ſoule which is the ſenſitive power it ſelfe, and the effect which proceedeth from it, ſo that he taketh Senſe in two ſort, for the power, and effect.

PLATO defineth Senſe to bee the ſocietie of the body and ſoule, as touching externall objects; for the facultie and power of Senſe is proper to the ſoule, the inſtrument belongeth to the body; but both the one and the other apprehendeth externall things, by the meanes of the imaginative facultie, or the phantaſie.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRITUS doe ſay, that both Senſe and intelligence are actuated by the meanes of certeine images repreſented from without, unto us, for that neither the one nor the other, can be performed without the occurrence of ſome ſuch image.

CHAP. IX.

Whether Senſes and Fanſies be true or no?

THe STOICKS hold, that the Senſes be true; but of Imaginations, as ſome be true, ſo others are falſe.

EPICURUS ſuppoſeth that all Senſes and Imaginations be true; many of opinions, ſome be true, others falſe: and as for the Senſe it is deceived one way only, to wit, in things intelligible: but Imagination after two ſorts: for that there is an Imagination as well of ſenſible things, as of intelligible.

EMPEDOCLES and HERACLIDES ſay, that particular Senſes are effected according to the proportion of their pores and paſſages; namely as the proper object of each Senſe is well diſpoſed and fitted.

CHAP. X.

How many Senſes there be?

THe STOICKS hold, that there be five proper Senſes, Sight, Hearing, Smelling, Taſt, and Feeling.

Ariſtotle ſaith not, that there is a ſixt, howbeit he putteth downe one common Senſe, which judgeth as touching the compound kinds: whereunto all the other particular and ſingle Senſes bring and preſent their proper imaginations: wherein the tranſition of the one to the other, as of a figure or motion doth ſhew.

Democritus affirmeth, that there bee more Senſes in brute beaſts, in the gods, and in wiſe men.

CHAP. XI.

After what maner is effected Senſe, Notion and Reaſon, according to diſpoſition or affection.

The Stoicks are of opinion and ſay, that when a man is engendred, hee hath the principall part of his ſoule, which is the underſtanding, like for all the world unto a parchment or paper ready to be written in; and therein he doth regiſter and record every ſeveral Notion and cogitation of his: for thoſe who have perceived any thing by ſenſe, (as for example ſake, have ſeene a white thing) when the ſame is gone out of their eie, reteine it ſtill in memorie: now after they have collected together many ſemblable memories of the ſame kinde, then they ſay, they have experience; for experience is nothing elſe but an heape or multitude of like ſorts: but of notions and thoughts, ſome be naturall, which are cauſed in manner aforeſaid, without any artificiall meanes; others come by our ſtudie, and by teaching, and ſuch alone properly and indeed are called Notions; the other be named rather conceptions or anticipations; and Reaſon for which we beare the name of Reſonable, is accompliſhed by thoſe anticipations in the firſt ſeven yeeres: and intelligence is the conception in the underſtanding of a reaſonable creature: for phantaſie when it lighteth upon the reaſonable ſoule is then called Intelligence, taking the denomination of underſtanding, which is the cauſe that theſe imaginations are not incident unto other creatures; but ſuch as are preſented unto gods and us both, thoſe are onely and properly imaginations; whereas thoſe which offer themſelves unto us, are imaginations in generall, and cogitations in ſpeciall: like as Deniers, Teſtons, or Crownes being conſidered apart in themſelves, are Deniers, Teſtons, & Crownes; but if you give them for the hire of a ſhip, then beſides that they are Deniers, &c. they be alſo the fare, for ferry or paſſage.

CHAP. XII.

What difference there is betweene Imagination, Imaginable, Imaginative, and Imagined.

* φαντασία.

Chryſippus ſaith, there is a difference betweene all theſe fower: and firſt, as for * Imagination, it is a paſſion or impreſſion in the ſoule, ſhewing the ſelfe ſame thing that made and imprinted it: as for example; when with our eies we behold a white, it is a paſſion or affection engendred by the ſight in our ſoule, and we may well ſay, that the ſaid white is the ſubject or object that mooveth & affecteth us: ſemblably in ſmelling and touching, and this is called Phantaſie, a word derived of φάος or φῶς, which ſignifieth light or cleereneſſe; for like as the light ſheweth it ſelfe, and all that is compriſed in it, ſo the Phantaſie or imagination repreſenteth it ſelfe, and that which made it.

* φανταστόν.

* Imaginable is that which maketh imagination, as white, cold, and whatſoever is able to moove or affect the ſoule, is called Imaginable.

* φανταστικόν.

* Phantaſticke or Imaginative, is a vaine attraction; even an affection or paſſion in the ſoule, which commeth not from any object imaginable; like as we may obſerve in him that fighteth with his owne ſhadow, or in vaine flingeth foorth his hands: for in true phantaſie or imagination, there is a ſubject matter named Imaginable: but in this Phantaſticke or Imaginative there is no ſuch object or ſubject at all.

* φάντασμα.

Phantaſme or * Imagined, is that unto which we are drawne by that vaine attraction; a thing uſuall with thoſe who are either furious, or ſurprized with the maladie of melancholy: for *Oreſtes* in the tragedie of *Euripides* when he uttereth theſe ſpeeches,

* κόρας, or women.

O mother mine, againſt me raiſe not thus,
*I thee beſeech theſe * wenches furious:*
Whom now I ſee alas, with bloudy eies,
And dragon like, how they againſt me riſe:
Theſe me beſet, and charge on every part,
Theſe ſtrike on ſtill, theſe wound me to the hart.

doth ſpeake them as enraged and in a phranticke fit; for he ſeeth nothing, but onely imagineth and thinketh that he ſeeth them: and therefore his ſiſter *Electra* replieth thus upon:

Lie ſtill poore wretch, reſt in thy bed, for why?
Thou ſeeſt not that which ſeemes ſo verily.

The ſame is the caſe of *Theoclymenus* in * *Homer*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Sight, and how we doe ſee.

Democritus, and Epicurus ſuppoſed, that Sight was cauſed by the intromiſſion of certeine images: others by an inſinuation of beames, returning to our eie-ſight, after the occurrence of an object. Empedocles hath mingled the ſaid images and beames together, calling that which is made thereof, the raies of a compound image. Hipparchus holdeth, that the beames ſent out and launced from the one eie, and the other comming to be extended, in their ends meet together, and as it were by the touching and claſping of hands, taking hold of externall bodies, carie backe the apprehenſion of them unto the viſive power.

Plato attributeth it to the corradiation or conjunction of light, for that the light of the eies reacheth a good way within the aire of like nature, & the light likewiſe iſſuing from the viſible bodies, cutteth the aire betweene, which of it ſelfe is liquid and mutable, and ſo extendeth it together with the fierie power of the eie; and this is it which is called the conjunct light or corradiation of the Platonickes.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Reſemblances repreſented in mirrours.

Empedocles ſaith, that theſe apparitions come by the meanes of certeine defluxions, gathered together upon the ſuperficies of the mirrour, and accompliſhed by the fire that ariſeth from the ſaid Mirrour, and withall tranſmuteth the aire that is object before it, into which thoſe fluxions are caried.

Democritus and Epicurus are of opinon, that theſe apparences in Mirrours, are cauſed by the ſubſiſtence and ſtay of certaine images, which paſſing from us, gather together upon the Mirrour by way of rebounding and reſultation.

The Pythagoreans attribute all this to the reflexion of the ſight: for that the ſight is extended and carried as farre as to the Mirrour of braſſe or whatſoever, where reſting and ſtaying upon the thicke ſolditie thereof, and beaten backe by the poliſhed ſmoothneſſe of the Mirrour object againſt it, the ſame returneth againe upon it ſelfe; much like as when our hand is ſtretched out and brought backe againe unto the ſhoulder.

All theſe points and opinions may ſerve very well, and be accommodate to that chapter and queſtion, carying this title: How we doe ſee.

CHAP. XV.

Whether Darkneſſe be viſible.

The Stoicks hold, that Darkneſſe is viſible; for that from the ſight there is a ſplendeure going foorth that compaſſeth the ſaid Darkneſſe; neither doth the eie-ſight lie and deceive us, for it ſeeth certeinly and in truth that there is Darkneſſe *.

Chryſippus ſaith, that we doe ſee by the tenſion of the aire betweene, which is pricked by the viſuall ſpirit, that paſſeth from the principall part of the ſoule into the apple of the eie: and after that it falleth upon the aire about it, it extendeth the ſame in a pyramidall forme, namely, when as it meeteth with an aire of the ſame nature with it; for there flow from out of the eies certeine raies reſembling fire, and nothing blacke or miſtie, and therefore it is that Darkneſſe may be ſeene.

THE

---

* *Odyſſ.* v. toward the end.

* In one copie I reade thus much more. Furthermore Darkneſſe doth aggregate and gather in the ſight, and thereby make it dim: contrariwiſe, light doeth diſgregate and convey it as farre as to the viſible objects, thorough the aire between, and therefore it ſeeth not in the darke, but is able to ſee Darkneſſe.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Hearing.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that Hearing is performed by the meanes of a ſpirit or winde gotten within the concavitie of the eare, writhed or turned in manner of a vice or ſcrew, which they ſay is fitted and framed of purpoſe within the eare, hanging up aloft, and beaten upon in manner of a clocke.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that we doe Heare by the void place within the eare; for he ſaith, that this is it that reſoundeth, when the ſaid ſpirit entreth into it; becauſe all emptie things do make a ſound.

DIOGENES ſuppoſeth, that Hearing is cauſed by the aire within the head, when it commeth to be touched, ſtirred, aud beaten by the voice.

PLATO and his ſcholars hold, that the aire within the head is ſinitten, and that it reboundeth and is caried to the principall part of the ſoule, wherein is reaſon, and ſo is formed the ſenſe of Hearing.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Smelling.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that reaſon, the principall part of the ſoule, is within the braine, and that by it we Smell, drawing in ſents and ſmels by reſpirations.

EMPEDOCLES is of this advice, that together with the reſpiration of the lights, odours alſo are intromitted and let in; when as then the ſaid reſpiration is not performed at libertie and eaſe, but with much adoe, by reaſon of ſome aſperity in the paſſage, we Smell not at all, like as we obſerve in them who are troubled with the poſe, murre, and ſuch like rheumes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Taſte.

ALCMAEON ſaith, that by the moiſture and warmth in the tongue, together with the ſoftneſſe thereof, all ſmacks and objects of taſte are diſtinguiſhed.

DIOGENES attributeth the ſame to the ſpungeous raritie and ſoftneſſe of the tongue; and for that the veines of the body reach up to it, and are inſerted and graffed therein, the ſavors are ſpread abroad and drawen into the ſenſe and principal part of the ſoule, as it were with a ſpunge.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Voice.

PLATO defineth the Voice to be a ſpirit, which by the mouth is brought and directed from the underſtanding; alſo a knocking performed by the aire, paſſing through the eares, the braine, and the bloud, as farre as to the ſoule; after an unproper maner & abuſively we attribute Voice to unreaſonable creatures, yea & to ſuch as have no ſoule or life at al, namely, to the neighing of horſes, and to other ſounds; but to ſpeake properly, there is no voice but that which is articulate, and called it is φώνη in Greeke, for that it declareth that which is in the thought.

EPICURUS holdeth the Voice to bee a fluxion ſent foorth by ſuch as ſpeake and make a noiſe, or otherwiſe doe ſound; which fluxion breaketh and crumbleth into many fragments of the ſame forme and figure, as are the things from whence they come; as for example, round to round, and triangles whether they have three equall ſides or unequall, to the like triangles: and theſe broken parcels entring into the eares, make the ſenſe of the Voice, which is hearing; a thing that may be evidently ſeene in bottles that leake and runne out, as alſo in fullers that blow upon their clothes.

DEMOCRITUS ſaith, that the very aire breaketh into ſmall fragments of the ſame figure, that is to ſay, round to round; and roll together with the fragments of the Voice: for according to the old proverbe:

One chough neere to another chough,
loves alwaies for to pearch,
And God hath ſo appointed aie,
that all their like ſhould ſearch.

For even upon the ſhores and ſea-ſides, ſtones are evermore found together ſemblable, to wit, in one place round, in another long; in like manner when as folke doe winnow or purge corne with the vanne, thoſe graines alwaies are ranged and ſorted together, which be of one and the ſame forme; inſomuch as beanes goe to one ſide by themſelves, & rich peaſe to another a part by their ſelves: but againſt all this it may be alledged and objected: How is it poſsible that a few fragments of ſpirit and winde ſhould fill a theater, that receiveth ten thouſand men?

The STOICKS ſay, that the aire doth not conſiſt of ſmall fragments, but is continuall throughout, and admitteth no voidneſſe at all: howbeit, when it is ſmitten with ſpirit or winde, it waveth directly in circles infinitly, untill it fill up all the aire about, much after the manner as we may perceive in a pond or poole, when there is a ſtone throwen into it; for like as the water in it mooveth in flat circles; ſo doth the aire in roundles like to bals.

ANAXAGORAS ſaith, that the Voice is formed by the incurſion and beating of the Voice againſt the ſolide aire, which maketh reſiſtance, and returneth the ſtroke backe againe to the eares, which is the manner alſo of that reduplication of the Voice or reſonance called Eccho.

CHAP. XX.

Whether the Voice be incorporall? and how commeth the Eccho to be formed.

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE do hold the Voice to be bodileſſe: for that it is not the aire but a forme in the aire, & a ſuperficies therof, & that by a certaine beating which becommeth a Voice. Now this is certaine that no ſuperficies hath a bodie. True it is indeed that it moveth and removeth with the bodie, but of it ſelfe without all doubt it hath no bodie at all: like as in a wand or rod that is bent, the ſuperficies thereof ſuffereth no alteration, in reſpect of it ſelfe, but it is the verie matter and ſubſtance that is bowed. Howbeit the Stoicks are of another opinion and ſay, that the Voice is a bodie: for whatſoever is operative and worketh ought, is a bodie: but certaine it is that the Voice is active and doth ſomewhat: for we do heare and perceive when it beateth upon our eare, and it giveth a print, no leſſe than a ſeale upon wax. Moreover, all that moveth or troubleth us, is a bodie: but who knoweth not that in Muſick, as good harmony affecteth us; ſo diſſonance and diſcord doth diſquiet us; and that which more is; all that ſtirreth or moveth is a bodie: but the Voice ſtirreth and hitteth againſt ſmooth and poliſhed ſolid places, by which it is broken and ſent backe againe, in manner as we do ſee a tennis ball when it is ſmitten upon a wal: inſomuch as in the Pyramides of AEgypt, one Voice dilivered within them, rendereth foure or five reſonances or Echoes for it.

CHAP. XXI.

How the Soule commeth to be ſenſitive; and what is the principall and predominant part thereof.

THe STOICKS are of opinion, that the ſupreme and higheſt part of the Soule is the principall and the guide of the other: to wit, that which maketh imaginations, cauſeth aſſents, performeth ſenſes, and mooveth appetite: and this is it which they cal the diſcourſe of reaſon. Now of this principall and ſoveraigne part, there be ſeven others ſpringing from it, and which are ſpred through the reſt of the bodie, like unto the armes or hairie braunches of a poulp fiſh: of which ſeven the naturall ſenſes make five; namely, Sight, Smelling, Hearing, Taſting, and Feeling. Of theſe, the Sight is a ſpirit paſsing from the chiefeſt part unto the eies: Hearing, a ſpirit reaching from the underſtand, to the eares: Smelling, a ſpirit iſſuing from reaſon to the noſethirls: Taſting, a ſpirit going from the foreſaid principall part unto the tongue: and laſt of all Feeling, a ſpirit ſtretching and extended from the ſame predominant part, as farre as to the ſenſible ſuperficies of thoſe objects which are eaſie to be felt and handled. Of the twaine behind, the one is called genetall ſeed, and that is likewiſe

wiſe a ſpirit tranſmitted from the principall part unto the genetories or members of generation: the other which is the ſeventh and laſt of all, *Zeno* calleth Vocall, and wee, Voice; a ſpirit alſo, which from the principall part paſſeth to the windpipe, to the tongue and other inſtruments appropriat for the voice. And to conclude, that miſtreſſe her ſelfe and ladie of the reſt is ſeated (as it were in the midſt of her owne world) within our round head, and there dwelleth.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Reſpiration.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the firſt Reſpiration of the firſt living creature was occaſioned, when the humiditie in young ones within the mothers wombe retired, and the outward aire came to ſucceed in place thereof, and to enter into the void veſſels now open to receive the ſame: but afterwards the naturall heat driving without forth, this aerie ſubſtance for to evaporate and breath away, cauſed exſpiration: and likewiſe when the ſame returned in again, there enſued inſpiration, which gave new entrance to that aerious ſubſtance. But as touching the Reſpiration that now is, he thinketh it to be when the blood is carried to the exterior ſuperficies of the bodie; and by this fluxion doth drive and chaſe the aerie ſubſtance through the noſethirls, and cauſe exſpiration; and inſpiration when the blood returneth inward, and when the aire reentreth withall through the rarities which the blood hath left void and emptie. And for to make this better to be underſtood, he bringeth in the example of a Clepſidre or water houre-glaſſe.

ASCLEPIADES maketh the lungs in manner of a tunnel, ſuppoſing that the cauſe of Reſpiration, is the aire, ſmooth, and of ſubtil parts which is within the breaſt, unto which the aire without, being thicke and groſſe floweth and runneth; but is repelled backe againe, for that the breſt is not able to receive any more, nor yet to be cleane without: Now when as there remaineth ſtill behind, ſome little of the ſubtile aire within the breaſt, (for it cannot all be cleane driven out) that aire without rechargeth againe with equall force upon that within, being able to ſupport and abide the waight thereof: and this compareth he to Phiſicians ventoſes, or cupping glaſſes. Moreover as touching voluntarie Reſpiration, he maketh this reaſon, that the ſmalleſt holes within the ſubſtance of the lungs are drawen together, and their pipes cloſed up. For theſe things obey our will.

HEROPHILUS leaveth the motive faculties of the bodie, unto the nerves, arteries and muſkles: for thus he thinketh and ſaith, that the lungs only have a naturall appetite to dilation, and contraction, that is to ſay, to draw in and deliver the breath, and ſo by conſequence other parts. For this is the proper action of the lungs, to draw wind from without; wherewith when it is filled, there is made another attraction by a ſecond appetition; and the breaſt deriveth the ſaid wind into it: which being likewiſe repleat therewith, not able to draw any more, it tranſmitteth backe againe the ſuperfluitie thereof into the lungs, whereby it is ſent forth by way of exſpiration: and thus the parts of the bodie reciprocally ſuffer one of another, by way of interchange. For when the lungs are occupied in dilatation, the breaſt is buſied in contraction; and thus they make repletion and evacuation by a mutuall participation one with the other; in ſuch ſort as we may obſerve about the lungs foure manner of motions. The firſt, whereby it receiveth the aire from without; the ſecond, by which it tranſfuſeth into the breaſt that aire which it drew and received from without; the third, whereby it admitteth againe unto it ſelfe that which was ſent out of the breſt; and the fourth, by which it ſendeth quite forth that which ſo returned into it. And of theſe motions, two be dilatations, the one occaſioned from without, the other from the breaſt: and other two, contractions; the one when the breſt draweth wind into it: and the other when it doth expell the aire inſinuated into it. But in the breaſt parts there be but two onely, the one dilatation when it draweth wind from the lungs, the other contraction, when it rendreth it againe.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Paſſion of the body; and whether the ſoule have a fellow-feelling with it, of paine and dolour.

THe STOICKS ſay, that affections are in the paſſible parts, but ſenſes in the principall part of the ſoule.

EPICURUS is of opinion, that both the affections and alſo the ſenſes, are in the paſſible places: for that reaſon which is the principall part of the ſoule, he holdeth to be unpaſſible.

STRATO contrariwiſe affirmeth, that as well the Paſſions of the ſoule, as the ſenſes, are in the ſaid principall part, and not in the affected and grieved places; for that in it conſiſteth patience, which we may obſerve in terrible and dolorous things, as alſo in fearefull, and magnanimous perſons.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF Philoſophers opinions.

CHAP. I.

Of Divination.

PLATO and the STOICKS bring in a fore-deeming and fore-knowledge of things by inſpiration or divine inſtinct, according to the divinity of the ſoule; namely, when as it is raviſhed with a fanaticall ſpirit or revelation by dreames: and theſe admit and allow many kinds of divination.

XENOPHANES and EPICURUS on the contrary ſide aboliſh and annull all Divination whatſoever.

PYTHAGORAS condemneth that onely which is wrought by ſacrifices.

ARISTOTLE & DICEARCHUS receive none but that which commeth by Divine inſpiration, or by dreames; not ſuppoſing the ſoule to be immortall, but to have ſome participation of Divinitie.

CHAP. II.

How Dreames are cauſed.

DEMOCRITUS is of of opinion, that Dreames come by the repreſentation of images.

STRATO ſaith, that our underſtanding is I wot not how, naturally, and yet by no reaſon, more ſenſative in ſleepe than otherwiſe, and therefore ſollicited the rather by the appetit and deſire of knowledge.

HEROPHILUS affirmeth, that Dreames divinely inſpired, come by neceſſitie; but natural Dreames by this meanes, that the ſoule formeth an image and repreſentation of that which is good and commodious unto it, and of that which muſt enſue thereupon: as for ſuch as be of a mixt nature of both, they fall out caſually by an accidentall acceſſe of images; namely, when we imagine that we ſee that which wee deſire; as it falleth out with thoſe who in their ſleepe thinke they have their paramours in their armes.

CHAP. III.

What is the ſubſtance of Naturall ſeed.

ARISTOTLE defineth Seed to be that which hath power to moove in it ſelfe for the effecting of ſome ſuch thing, as it was from whence it came.

PYTHAGORAS taketh it to be the foame of the beſt and pureſt bloud, the ſuperfluitie and excrement of nouriture; like as bloud and marrow.

ALCMAEON ſaith, it is a portion of the braine.

PLATO ſuppoſeth it to be a deciſion or deflux of the marrow in the backe bone.

EPICURUS imagineth it to be an abſtract of ſoule and body.

DEMOCRITUS holdeth, that it is the geneture of the fleſhy nerves proceeding from the whole body, and the principall parts thereof.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether genetall Seed be a body.

LEUCIPPUS and ZENO take it to be a body; for that it is an abſtract parcell of the ſoule.

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE, acknowledge indeed and confeſſe, that the power and force of Seed is bodileſſe; like as the underſtanding, which is the author of motion; but the matter thereof ſay they, which is ſhed and ſent foorth, is corporall.

STRATO and DEMOCRITUS affirme the very puiſſance thereof to be a body, howbeit, ſpirituall.

CHAP. V.

Whether femals ſend foorth Seed as well as males.

PYTHAGORAS, EPICURUS, and DEMOCRITUS hold, that the Female likewiſe diſchargeth Seed; for that it hath ſeminarie veſſels turned backward; which is the reaſon that ſhe hath luſt unto the act of generation.

ARISTOTLE and ZENO be of opinion, that the Female delivereth from it a moiſt matter, reſembling the ſweat which commeth from their bodies, who wreſtle or exerciſe together: but they will not have it to be Seed.

HIPPON avoucheth that Femals doe ejaculate Seed no leſſe than males, howbeit the ſame is not effectuall for generation, for that it falleth without the matrix: whereupon it commeth to paſſe that ſome women, though very few, and widdowes eſpecially, doe caſt from them Seed without the company of men: and he affirmeth that of the male Seed, are made the bones, & of the female the fleſh.

CHAP. VI.

The maner of Conception.

ARISTOTLE thinketh, that Conceptions come in this maner: when as the matrix drawn before from the naturall purgation, and therewithall the monthly tearmes fetch ſome part of pure bloud from the whole maſſe of the body, ſo that the males genetall may come to it, and ſo concurre to engender: Contrariwiſe, that which hindereth conception is this, namely, when the matrix is impure or full of ventoſities; as it may be by occaſion of feare, of ſorrow, or weakneſſe of women; yea and by the impuiſſance and defect in men.

CHAP. VII.

How it commeth that Males are engendred, and how Females.

EMPEDOCLES ſuppoſeth, that Males and Females are begotten by the meanes of heat and cold accordingly: and heereupon recorded it is in Hiſtories, that the firſt Males in the world, were procreated and borne out of the earth, rather in the Eaſt and Southern parts; but Females toward the North.

PARMENIDES mainteineth the contrary, and ſaith; that Males were bred toward the Northern quarters, for that the aire there is more groſſe and thicker than elſe where: on the other ſide, Females toward the South, by reaſon of the raritie and ſubtilitie of the aire.

HIPPONAX attributeth the cauſe heereof unto the ſeed, as it is either more thick or powerfull, or thinner and weaker.

ANAXAGORAS and PARMENIDES hold, that the ſeed which commeth from the right ſide of a man, ordinarily is caſt into the right ſide of the matrix; and from the left ſide likewiſe into the ſame ſide of the matrix: but if this ejection of ſeed fall out otherwiſe cleane croſſe, then Females be engendred.

LEOPHANES of whom ARISTOTLE maketh mention, affirmeth that the Males be engendred by the right genetory, and females by the left.

LEUCIPPUS aſcribeth it to the permutation of the naturall parts of generation, for that according to it, the man hath his yerd of one ſort, and the woman her matrix of another: more than this he ſaith nothing.

DEMOCRITUS ſaith, that the common parts are engendred indifferently by the one and the other, as it falleth out; but the peculiar parts that make diſtinction of ſex, of the party which is more prevalent.

HIPPONAX reſolveth thus, that if the ſeed be predominant, it will be a Male; but if the food and nouriſhment, a Female.

CHAP. VIII.

How Monſters are engendred.

Empedocles affirmeth, that Monſters be engendred either through the abundance of ſeed, or default thereof; either through the turbulent * perturbation of the mooving, or the diſtraction and diviſion of the ſeed into ſundry parts; or elſe through the declination thereof out of the right way: and thus he ſeemeth to have preoccupated in maner all the anſwers to this queſtion.

* ταραχὴν, ſome reade ἀρχὴν, the beginning.

Strato alledgeth for this part, addition, or ſubſtraction, tranſpoſition or inflation and ventoſities. And ſome phyſicians there be, who ſay, that at ſuch a time as monſters be engendred, the matrix ſuffereth diſtortion, for that it is diſtended with winde.

CHAP. IX.

What is the reaſon that a woman though oftentime ſhe companieth with a man doeth not conceive.

Diocles the Phyſician rendreth this reaſon, for that ſome doe ſend foorth no ſeed at all; or leſſe in quantity than is ſufficient, or ſuch in quality, which hath no vivificant or quickning power; or elſe it is for defect of heat, of cold, of moiſture, or drineſſe; or laſt of all, by occaſion of the paralyſie or reſolution of the privy parts and members of generation.

The Stoicks lay the cauſe hereof upon the obliquitie or crookedneſſe of the mans member; by occaſion whereof, he cannot ſhoot foorth his ſeed directly; or elſe it is by reaſon of the diſproportion of the parts, as namely when the matrix lieth to farre within, that the yerd cannot reach unto it.

Erasistratus findeth fault in this caſe with the matrix, when it hath either hard calloſities, or too much carnoſitie; or when it is more rare and ſpungeous, or elſe ſmaller than it ought to be.

CHAP. X.

How it commeth that two Twinnes and three Twinnes are borne.

Empedocles ſaith, that two Twinnes or three, are engendred by occaſion either of the abundance, or the divulſion of the ſeed.

Asclepiades aſſigneth it unto the difference of bodies, or the excellence of ſeed: after which manner we ſee how ſome barly from one root beareth two or three ſtalkes with their eares upon them, according as the ſeed was moſt fruitfull and generative.

Erasistratus attributeth it unto divers conceptions and ſuperfætations, like as in brute beaſts; for when as the matrix is clenſed, then it commeth ſoone to conception and ſuperfætation.

The Stoicks alledge to this purpoſe the cels or conceptacles within the matrix; for as the ſeed falleth into the firſt and ſecond, there follow conceptions and ſuperfætations, [and after the ſame ſort may three Twinnes be engendred.

CHAP. XI.

How commeth it to paſſe that children reſemble their parents or progenitours before them.

Empedocles affirmeth, that as ſimilitudes are cauſed by the exceeding force of the generall ſeed; ſo the diſſimilitudes ariſe from the evaporation of naturall heat conteined within the ſame ſeed.

Parmenides is of opinion, that when the ſeed deſcendeth out of the right ſide of the matrix, the children be like unto the fathers, but when it paſſeth from the left ſide, unto the mothers.

The Stoicks opine thus; from the whole body and the ſoule paſſeth the ſeed, and ſo the ſimilitudes doe forme of the ſame kinds, the figures and characters, like as a painter of the like colours draweth the image of that which he ſeeth before him: alſo the woman for her part doth conferre genetall ſeed, which if it be prevalent, then the infant is like unto the mother; but if the mans ſeed be more predominant, it will reſemble the father.

CHAP. XII.

How it falleth out that children reſemble others, and not their fathers and mothers.

THe moſt part of the Phyſicians affirme this to happen by chaunce and aventure, but upon this occaſion, that the ſeed, as well of the man as the woman waxeth cold, for then the infants reſemble neither the one nor the other.

Empedocles attributeth the forme and reſemblance of yoong babes in the wombe, unto the ſtrong imagination of the woman in time of conception; for many times it hath beene knowen, that women have beene enamoured of painted images and ſtatues, and ſo delivered of children like unto them.

The Stoicks ſay, that by a ſympathie of the minde and underſtanding, through the inſinuation of beames, and not of images, theſe reſemblances are cauſed.

CHAP. XIII.

How it commeth that ſome women be barren, and men likewiſe unable to get children.

PHysicians hold, that women be barren by reaſon that the matrix is either too ſtreight, or over rare, or too hard; or elſe by occaſion of certeine calloſities or carnoſities: or for that the women themſelves be weaklings and heartleſſe, or doe not thrive but miſlike; or elſe becauſe they are fallen into ſome Cachexia and evill habit of body; or by reaſon that they are diſtorted, or otherwiſe in a convulſion.

Diocles ſaith, that men in this action of generation are impotent, for that ſome ſend foorth no ſeed at all, or at leaſtwiſe in quantitie leſſe than is meet, or ſuch as hath no generative power; or becauſe their genetals be paralyticall or relaxed; or by reaſon that the yerd is crooked, that it cannot caſt the ſeed forward; or for that the genetall members be diſproportioned and not of a competent length, conſidering the diſtance of the matrix.

The Stoicks lay the fault upon certeine faculties and qualities, diſcordant in the parties themſelves that come together about this buſineſſe; who being parted one from another, and conjoined with others, uniting well with their complexion, there followeth a temperature according to nature, and a childe is gotten betweene them.

CHAP. XIIII.

Why Mules be barrain.

ALcmaeon is of opinion, that Mulets, that is to ſay, male Mules be not able to engender for that their ſeed or geneture is of a thin ſubſtance which proceedeth from the coldneſſe therof. The Females alſo, becauſe their ſhaps do not open wide enough, that is to ſay, the mouth therof doth not gape ſufficiently; for theſe be the verie tearmes that he uſeth.

Empedocles blameth exilitie or ſmalneſſe, the low poſiture and the over ſtreight conformation of the matrix, being ſo turned backward and tied unto the belly, that neither ſeed can be directly caſt into the capacitie of it, nor if it were caried thither would it receive the ſame. Unto whom Diocles alſo beareth witneſſe ſaying, Many times (quoth he) in the diſſection of Anatomies we have ſeene ſuch matrices of Mules; and it may be therefore, that in regard of ſuch cauſes ſome women alſo be barrain.

CHAP. XV.

Whether the Infant lying yet in the mothers wombe, is to be accounted a living creature or no?

PLato directly pronounceth that ſuch an Infant is a living creature: for that it moveth, and is fed within the bellie of the mother.

The Stoicks ſay, it is a part of the wombe, and not an animall by it ſelfe. For like as fruits be parts of the trees, which when they be ripe do fall; even ſo it is with an Infant in the mothers wombe.

Empedocles denieth it to be a creature animall, howbeit that it hath life and breath within the bellie: marry the firſt time that it hath reſpiration, is at the birth; namely when the ſuperfluous humiditie which is in ſuch unborne fruits is retired and gone, ſo that the aire from without entreth into the void veſſels lying open.

Diogenes ſaith, that ſuch Infants are bred within the matrice inanimate, howbeit in heat: whereupon it commeth that naturall heat, ſo ſoone as ever the Infant is turned out of the mothers wombe, is drawen into the lungs.

Herophilus leaveth to unborne babes a mooving naturall; but not a reſpiration; of which motion the ſinewes be the inſtrumentall cauſe; but afterwards they become perfect living animall creatures, when being come forth of the wombe they take in breath from the aire.

CHAP. XVI.

How unborne babes are fed in the wombe.

Democritus and Epicurus hold, that this unperfect fruit of the wombe receiveth nouriſhment at the mouth; and thereupon it commeth, that ſo ſoone as ever it is borne it ſeeketh and nuzzeleth with the mouth for the breſt head, or nipple of the pappe: for that within the matrice there be certaine teats, yea and mouths too, whereby they are nouriſhed.

The Stoicks ſay, that it is fed by the ſecundine and the navell; whereupon it is that Midwives preſently knit up and tie the navell ſtring faſt, but open the Infants mouth; to the end that it be acquainted with another kind of nouriſhment.

Alcmaeon affirmeth, that the Infant within the mothers wombe, feedeth by the whole body throughout: for that it ſucketh to it and draweth in manner of a ſpunge, of all the food, that which is good for nouriſhmenr.

CHAP. XVII.

What part of the Child is firſt made perfect within the mothers bellie.

The Stoicks are of opinion that the moſt parts are formed all at once; but Aristotee ſaith the backe bone and the loines are firſt framed, like as the keele in a ſhip.

Alcmaeon affirmeth, that the head is firſt made, as being the ſeat of reaſon.

Physicians will have the heart to be the firſt, wherein the veines and arteries are.

Some thinke the great toe is framed firſt, and others the navill.

CHAP. XVIII.

What is the cauſe that Infants borne at ſeven moneths end, be livelike.

Empedocles thinketh, that when mankind was firſt bred of the earth, one day then, by reaſon of the ſlow motion of the Sunne was full as long, as (in this age of ours) tenne moneths: and that in proceſſe of time, and by ſucceſſion it came to be of the length of ſeven moneths: And therefore (quoth hee) infants borne either at ten or ſeven moneths end, doe ordinarily live: the nature of the world being ſo accuſtomed in one day to bring that fruit to maturitie after that night, wherein it was committed into the wombe thereof.

Timaeus ſaith, that they bee not ten moneths, but are counted nine, after that the monethly purgations ſtay upon the firſt conception: and ſo it is thought that infants be of ſeven moneth whichs are not: for that he knew how after conceptiō many women have had their menſtruall flux.

Polybus, Diocles and the Empiricks know, that the eight moneths childe alſo is vitall; howbeit in ſome ſort feeble, for that many for feebleneſſe have died ſo borne: in generall and for the moſt part ordinarily, none are willing to reare and feed the children borne at the ſeven moneth; and yet many have beene ſo borne and growen to mans eſtate.

ARISTOTLE and HIPPOCRATES report, that if in ſeven moneths the matrix be growen full, then the infant ſeeketh to get foorth; and ſuch commonly live and doe well enough: but if it incline to birth, and be not ſufficiently nouriſhed, for that the navill is weake, then in regard of hard travell, both the mother is in danger, and her fruit becommeth to miſlike and thriveth not: but in caſe it continue nine moneths within the matrix, then it commeth foorth accompliſhed and perfect.

POLYBUS affirmeth it to be requiſite and neceſſarie for the vitalitie of infants, that there ſhould be 182. daies and a halfe, which is the time of ſix moneths compleat; in which ſpace the ſunne commeth from one Solſtice or Tropicke to another: but ſuch children are ſaid to be of ſeven moneths, when it falleth out that the odde daies left in this moneth, are taken to the ſeventh moneth. But he is of opinion, that thoſe of eight moneths live not; namely, when as the infant haſtneth indeed out of the wombe, and beareth downward, but for the moſt part the navell is thereby put to ſtreſſe and reatched, & ſo cannot feed, as that ſhould, which is the cauſe of food to the infant.

The MATHEMATICIANS beare us in hand and ſay, that eight moneths be diſſociable of all generations, but ſeven are ſociable. Now the diſſociable ſignes are ſuch as meet with ſuch ſtarres and conſtellations which be lords of the houſe: for if upon any of them falleth the lot of mans life and courſe of living, it ſignifieth that ſuch ſhall be unfortunate and ſhort lived. Theſe diſſociable ſignes be reckonned eight in number: namely, *Aries* with *Scorpius* is inſociable; *Taurus* with *Scorpius* is ſociable; *Gemini* with *Capricorn*; *Cancer* with *Aquarius*; *Leo* with *Piſces*; and *Virgo* with *Aries*: And for this cauſe infants of ſeven moneths and ten moneths be livelike, but thoſe of eight moneths for the inſociable diſſidence of the world, periſh and come to naught.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the generation of animall creatures; after what maner they be engendred; and whether they be corruptible.

THey who hold that the world was created, are of opinion, that living creatures alſo had their creation or beginning, and ſhall likewiſe periſh and come to an end.

The EPICUREANS according unto whom Animals had no creation, doe ſuppoſe that by mutation of one into another, they were firſt made; for they are the ſubſtantiall parts of the world: like as ANAXAGORAS and EURIPIDES affirme in theſe tearmes: Nothing dieth, but in changing as they doe one for another, they ſhew ſundry formes.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the firſt Animals were bred in moiſture, and encloſed within pricky and ſharpe pointed barks; but as age grew on, they became more drie, and in the end, when the ſaid barke burſt and clave in ſunder round about them, a ſmall while after they ſurvived.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that the firſt generations as well of living creatures as of plants, were not wholy compleat and perfect in all parts, but disjoined, by reaſon that their parts did not cohære and unite together: that the ſecond generations when the parts begun to combine and cloſe together, ſeemed like to images: that the third generations were of parts growing and ariſing mutually one out of another: and the fourth were no more of ſemblable, as of earth and water, but one of another; and in ſome the nouriſhment was incraſſate and made thicke, as for others the beautie of women provoked and pricked in them a luſt of ſpermatike motion. Moreover, that the kinds of all living creatures were diſtinct and divided by certeine temperatures; for ſuch as were more familiarly enclined to water, went into water; others into the aire, for to draw and deliver their breath to and fro, according as they held more of the nature of fire; ſuch as were of a more heavie temperature were beſtowed upon the earth; but thoſe who were of an equall temperature, uttered voice with their whole breaſts.

CHAP. XX.

How many ſorts of living creatures there be? whether they be all ſenſitive and endued with reaſon.

THere is a treatiſe of ARISTOTLE extant, wherein he putteth downe fower kinds of Animals, to wit, Terreſtriall, Aquaticall, Volatile, and Celeſtiall: for you muſt thinke, that he calleth heavens, ſtarres, and the world, Animals; even as well as thoſe that participate of earth: yea and God he defineth to be a reaſonable Animall and immortall.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS doe ſay, that heavenly Animals are reaſonable.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth, that all Animals are endued with active reaſon, but want the paſſive underſtanding, which is called the interpreter or truchment of the minde.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO do affirme, that the ſoules even of thoſe very Animals which are called unreaſonable & brute beaſts, are endued with reaſon; howbeit they are not operative with that reaſon, neither can they actuate it, by reaſon of the diſtempered compoſition of their bodies, and becauſe they have not ſpeech to declare and expound themſelves: as for example, apes and dogs which utter a babling voice, but not an expreſſe language and diſtinct ſpeech.

DIOGENES ſuppoſeth that they have an intelligence; but partly for the groſſe thickneſſe of their temperature, and in part for the abundance of moiſture, they have neither diſcourſe of reaſon nor ſenſe, but fare like unto thoſe who be furious; for the principall part of the ſoule, to wit, Reaſon is defectuous and empeached.

CHAP. XXI.

Within what time are living creatures formed in the mothers wombe.

EMPEDOCLES ſaith, that men begin to take forme after the thirtie ſixt day; and are finiſhed and knit in their parts within 50. daies wanting one.

ASCLEPIADES ſaith, that the members of males, becauſe they be more hot, are jointed, and receive ſhape in the ſpace of 26. daies, and many of them ſooner; but are finiſhed and complet in all limbes within 50. daies: but females require two moneths ere they be faſhioned, and fower before they come to their perfection; for that they want naturall heat. As for the parts of unreaſonable creatures, they come to their accompliſhment ſooner or later, according to the temperature of the elements.

CHAP. XXII.

Of how many elements is compoſed ech, of the generall parts which are in us.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that fleſh is engendred of an equall mixture and temperature of the fower elements; the ſinewes, of earth and fire, mingled together in a duple proportion; the nailes and cleies in living creatures come of the nerves refrigerat and made colde in thoſe places where the aire toucheth them; the bones, of water and earth within: and of theſe fower medled and contempered together, ſweat and teares proceed.

CHAP. XXIII.

When and how doth man begin to come to his perfection.

HERACLITUS and the STOICKS ſuppoſe, that men doe enter into their perfection about the ſecond ſeptimane of their age, at what time as their naturall ſeed doth moove and runne: for even the very trees begin then, to grow unto their perfection; namely, when as they begin to engender their ſeed; for before then, unperfect they are, namely, ſo long as they be unripe and fruitleſſe: and therefore a man likewiſe about that time is perfect: and at this ſeptenarie of yeeres he beginneth to conceive and underſtand what is good and evill, yea, and to learne the ſame.

* Some thinke that a man is conſummate at the end of the third ſeptimane of yeeres, what time as he maketh uſe of his full ſtrength.

* This I find in the latin tranſlation.

CHAP. XXIIII.

In what manner Sleepe is occaſioned or death?

ALCMEON is of this mind, that Sleepe is cauſed by the returne of blood into the confluent veines; and Waking is the diffuſion and ſpreading of the ſaid blood abroad: but

Death the utter departure thereof.

Empedocles holdeth that Sleepe is occaſioned by a moderate cooling of the naturall heat of blood within us : and Death by an extreme coldneſſe of the ſaid blood.

Diogenes is of opinion, that if blood being diffuſed and ſpred throughout, fill the veines, and withall drive backe the aire ſetled thereabout into the breaſt, and the interior belly under it, then enſueth Sleepe, and the breaſt with the precordiall parts are hotter thereby : but if that aereous ſubſtance in the veines exſpire altogether, and exhale forth, preſently followeth Death.

Plato and the Stoickes affirme, that the cauſe of Sleep is the remiſſion of the ſpirit ſenſitive, not by way of relaxation and diſcent downward, as it were to the earth; but rather by elevation aloft, namely, when it is carried to the interſtice or place between the browes, the very ſeat of reaſon : but when there is an entire reſolution of the ſpirit ſenſitive ; then of neceſſitie Death doth enſue.

CHAP. XXV.

Whether of the twaine it is, that ſleepeth or dieth, the Soule or the Bodie?

Aristotle verely ſuppoſeth that Sleepe is common to Bodie and Soule both: and the cauſe thereof is a certaine humiditie which doth ſteeme and ariſe in manner of a vapour out of the ſtomack and the food therein, up into the region of the head, and the naturall heat about the heart cooled thereby. But death he deemeth to be an entire and totall refrigeration ; and the ſame of the Bodie onely, and in no wiſe of the Soule, for it is immortall.

Anaxagoras ſaith, that Sleepe belongeth to corporall action ; as being a paſſion of the Bodie and not of the Soule: alſo that there is likewiſe a certaine death of the Bodie, to wit, the ſeparation of it and the Bodie aſunder.

Leucippus is of opinion, that Sleepe pertaineth to the Bodie onely, by concretion of that which was of ſubtile parts ; but the exceſſive excretion of the animall heat is Death : which both (ſaith he) be paſſions of the Bodie, and not of the Soule.

Empedocles ſaith, that Death is a ſeparation of thoſe elements whereof mans Bodie is compounded : according to which poſition, Death is common to Soule and Bodie: and Sleep a certaine diſſipation of that which is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Plants come to grow and whether they be animate.

Plato and Empedocles hold, that Plants have life, yea and be animall creatures which appeareth (ſay they) by this, that they wag to and fro, and ſtretch forth their boughs like armes ; alſo, that when they be violently ſtrained and bent, they yeeld; but if they be let looſe they returne againe, yea in their growth are able to overcome waight laid upon them.

Aristotle granteth that they be living creatures, but not animall : for that animal creatures have motions and appetites, are ſenſitive and endued with reaſon.

The Stoicks and the Epicureans hold, that they have no ſoule or life at all: for of animall creatures ſome have the appetitive & concupſcible ſoule, others the reaſonable : but Plants grow after a ſort caſually of their owne accord, and not by the meanes of any ſoule.

Empedocles ſaith, that Trees ſprang and grew out of the ground before animall creatures; to wit, ere the Sunne deſplaied his beames, and before that day and night were diſtinct. Alſo that according to the proportion of temperature, one came to be named, Male, another, Female; that they ſhoot up and grow by the power of heat within the earth; in ſuch ſort, as they be parts of the earth, like as unborne fruits in the wombe, be parts of the matrice. As for the fruits of trees, they are the ſuperfluous excrements of water and fire : but ſuch as have defect of that humiditie, when it is dried up by the heat of the Summer, loſe their leaves : whereas they that have plentie thereof, keepe their leaves on ſtill, as for example, the Laurell, Olive, and Date tree. Now as touching the difference of their juices and ſapors, it proceedeth from the diverſitie of that which nouriſheth them, as appeareth in Vines : for the difference of Vine trees, maketh not the goodneſſe of Vines for to be drunke, but the nutriment that the territorie and ſoile doth affoord.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Nouriſhment and Growth.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that animall creatures are nouriſhed by the ſubſtance of that which is proper and familiar unto them; that they grow by the preſence of naturall heat; that they diminiſh, fade and periſh through the default both of the one and the other. And as for men now a daies living, in compariſon of their aunceſtos, they be but babes new borne.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Animall creatures came to have appetite and pleaſure.

EMPEDOCLES ſuppoſeth, that Luſt and Appetites are incident to animall creatures, through the defect of thoſe elements which went unto the framing of ech one: that pleaſures ariſe from humiditie: as for the motions of perils and ſuch like, as alſo troubles and hinderances, &c. * * * *

CHAP. XXIX.

After what ſort a Fever is engendred, and whether it is an acceſſary to another malady?

ERASISTRATUS defineth a Fever thus: A Fever (quoth he) is the motion of bloud, which is entred into the veines or veſſels proper unto the ſpirits, to wit, the arteries; and that againſt the will of the patient; for like as the ſea when nothing troubleth it, lieth ſtill and quiet; but if a boiſterous and violent winde be up and bloweth upon it, contrary unto nature it ſurgeth and riſeth up into billowes even from the very bottom; ſo in the body of man, when the bloud is mooved, it invadeth the vitall and ſpirituall veſſels, and being ſet on fire, it enchaſeth the whole body. And according to the ſame phyſicians opinion, a Fever is an acceſſary or conſequent comming upon another diſeaſe.

But DIOCLES affirmeth, that Symptones apparent without foorth, doe ſhew that which lieth hidden within: Now we ſee that an Ague followeth upon thoſe accidents that outwardly appeere; as for example, wounds, inflammations, impoſtumes, biles and botches in the ſhare and other emunctories.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Health, Sickneſſe, and old age.

ALCMAEON is of opinion, that the equall diſpenſing and diſtribution of the faculties in the body, to wit, of moiſture, heat, drineſſe, cold, bitter, ſweet, and the reſt, is that which holdeth & maintaineth Health: contrariwiſe, the monarchie, that is to ſay, the predominant ſoveraignty, of any of them cauſeth ſickneſſe: for the predomination and principality of any one, bringeth the corruption of all the other, and is the very cauſe of maladies: the efficient in regard of exceſſive heat or cold; and the materiall in reſpect of ſuperabundance, or defect of humors; like as in ſome there is want of bloud or brain; whereas Health is a proportionable temperature of all theſe qualities.

DIOCLES ſuppoſeth, that moſt diſeaſes grow by the inequality of the elements, and of the habit and conſtitution of the body.

ERASISTRATUS ſaith, that ſickneſſe proceedeth from the exceſſe of feeding, from crudities, indigeſtions, and corruption of meat: whereas good order and ſuffiſance is Health.

The STOICKS accord heereunto and hold, that Old age commeth for want of naturall heat; for they who are moſt furniſhed therewith, live longeſt, and be old a great time.

ASCLEPIADES reporteth, that the Aethiopians age quickly, namely, when they be thirtie yeeres old; by reaſon that their bodies bee over-heat, and even burnt againe with the ſunne: whereas in *England* and all *Britaine*, folke in their age continue 120. yeeres; for that thoſe parts be cold, and in that people the naturall heat by that meanes is united and kept in their bodies: for the bodies of the Aethiopians are more open and rare, in that they be relaxed and reſolved by the ſunnes heat. Contrariwiſe their bodies who live toward the North pole, bee more compact, knit and faſt, and therefore, ſuch are long lived.

ROMANE QVESTIONS,

THAT IS TO SAY,

AN ENQUIRIE INTO THE CAUSES OF MANIE FASHIONS AND CUSTOMES OF ROME.

A Treatiſe fit for them who are converſant in the reading
of Romane hiſtories and antiquities, giving a light
to many places otherwiſe obſcure and hard
to be underſtood.

1

What is the reaſon that new wedded wives are bidden to touch fire and water?

1 IS it becauſe that among the elements and principles, whereof are compoſed naturall bodies, the one of theſe twaine, to wit, fire is the male, and water the female, of which, that infuſeth the beginning of motion, and this affoordeth the propertie of the ſubject and matter?

2 Or rather, for that, as the fire purgeth, and water waſheth; ſo a wife ought to continue pure, chaſte and cleane all her life.

3 Or is it in this regard, that as fire without humidity yeeldeth no nouriſhment, but is dry; and moiſture without heat is idle, fruitleſſe and barren; even ſo the male is feeble, and the female likewiſe, when they be apart and ſevered a ſunder: but the conjunction of two maried folke yeeldeth unto both, their cohabitation and perfection of living together.

4 Or laſt of all, becauſe man and wife ought not to forſake and abandon one another, but to take part of all fortunes; though they had no other good in the world common betweene them, but fire and water onely.

2

How is it, that they uſe to light at weddings five torches, and neither more nor leſſe, which they call Wax-lights.

1 WHether is it as *Varro* ſaith, becauſe the Prætours or generals of armies uſe three, and the Aediles two: therefore it is not meet that they ſhould have more than the Prætours and Aediles together: conſidering that new maried folke goe unto the Aediles to light their fire?

2 Or, becauſe having uſe of many numbers, the odde number ſeemed unto them as in all other reſpects better, and more perfect than the even: ſo it was fitter and more agreeable for mariage: for the even number implieth a kinde of diſcord and diviſion, in reſpect of the equall parts in it, meet for ſiding, quarrell, and contention: whereas the odde number cannot be divided ſo juſt & equally, but there will remaine ſomwhat ſtill in common for to be parted. Now among all odde numbers, it ſeemeth that Cinque is moſt nuptial, & beſt beſeeming mariage; for that Trey is the firſt odde number, & Deuz the firſt even; of which twaine, five is compounded, as of the male and the female.

3 Or is it rather, becauſe light is a ſigne of being and of life: and a woman may beare at the moſt five children at one burden; and ſo they uſed to cary five tapers or waxe candels?

4 Or laſtly, for that they thought, that thoſe who were maried had need of five gods and

goddeſſes: namely, *Jupiter* * genial, *Juno* genial, *Venus*, *Suade*, and above all *Diana*; whom (laſt named) women in their labour and travell of childe-birth, are wont to call upon for helpe.

* Or, nuptiall.

3

What is the cauſe that there being many Temples of Diana *in* Rome, *into that onely which ſtandeth in the Patrician ſtreet, men enter not.*

IS it not becauſe of a tale which is told in this maner: In old time a certeine woman being come thither for to adore and worſhip this goddeſſe, chaunced there to bee abuſed and ſuffer violence in her honor: and he who forced her, was torne in pieces by hounds: upon which accident, ever after, a certeine ſuperſtitious feare poſſeſſed mens heads, that they would not preſume to goe into the ſaid temple.

4

Wherefore is it, that in other temples of Diana *men are woont ordinarily to ſet up and faſten Harts hornes; onely in that which is upon mount* Aventine; *the hornes of oxen and other beefes are to be ſeene.*

MAy it not be, that this is reſpective to the remembrance of an ancient occurrent that ſometime befell? For reported it is that long ſince in the Sabines countrey, one *Antion Coratius* had a cow, which grew to be exceeding faire and woonderfull bigge withall above any other: and a certeine wizard or ſoothſaier came unto him and ſaid: How predeſtined it was that the citie which ſacrificed that cow unto *Diana* in the mount *Aventine*, ſhould become moſt puiſſant and rule all *Italy*: This *Coratius* therefore came to *Rome* of a deliberate purpoſe to ſacrifice the ſaid cow accordingly: but a certaine houſhold ſervant that he had, gave notice ſecretly unto king *Servius Tullius* of this prediction delivered by the aboveſaid ſoothſaier: whereupon *Servius* acquainted the prieſt of *Diana*, *Cornelius*, with the matter: and therefore when *Antion Coratius* preſented himſelfe, for to performe his ſacrifice, *Cornelius* advertiſed him, firſt to goe downe into the river, there to waſh; for that the cuſtome and maner of thoſe that ſacrificed was ſo to doe: now whiles *Antion* was gone to waſh himſelfe in the river, *Servius* ſteps into his place, prevented his returne, ſacrificed the cow unto the goddeſſe, and nailed up the hornes when he had ſo done, within her temple. *Juba* thus relateth this hiſtorie, and *Varro* likewiſe, ſaving that *Varro* expreſſely ſetteth not downe the name of *Antion*, neither doth he write that it was *Cornelius* the prieſt, but the ſexton onely of the church that thus beguiled the Sabine.

5

Why are they who have beene falſly reported dead in a ſtrange countrey, although they returne home alive, not received nor ſuffred to enter directly at the dores, but forced to climbe up to the tiles of the houſe, and ſo to get downe from the rouſe into the houſe?

V*Arro* rendreth a reaſon heereof, which I take to be altogether fabulous: for hee writeth, that during the Sicilian warre, there was a great battell fought upon the ſea, and immediately upon it, there ranne a rumour of many that they were dead in this fight; who notwithſtanding, they returned home ſafe, died all within a little while after: howbeit, one there was among the reſt, who when he would have entred into his owne houſe, found the dore of the owne accord faſt ſhut up againſt him; and for all the forcible meanes that was made to open the ſame, yet it would not prevaile: whereupon this man taking up his lodging without, juſt before his dore, as he ſlept in the night, had a viſion which advertiſed and taught him how he ſhould from the roofe of the houſe let himſelfe downe by a rope, and ſo get in: now when he had ſo done, he became fortunate ever after, all the reſt of his life; and hee lived to be a very aged man: and heereof aroſe the foreſaid cuſtome, which alwaies afterwards was kept and obſerved.

But haply this faſhion may ſeeme in ſome ſort to have beene derived from the Greeks: for in *Greece* they thought not thoſe pure and cleane who had beene caried foorth for dead to be enterred; or whoſe ſepulchre and funerals were ſolemnized or prepared: neither were ſuch allowed to frequent the company of others, nor ſuffred to come neere unto their ſacrifices. And there goeth a report of a certaine man named *Ariſtinus*, one of thoſe who had beene poſſeſſed with this ſuperſtition, how he ſent unto the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, for to make ſupplication and praier unto the god, for to bee delivered out of this perplexed anxietie that troubled him by occaſion of the ſaid cuſtome or law then in force: and that the propheteſſe *Pythia* returned this anſwer:

Looke whatſoever women doe
in childbed newly laid,
Unto their babes, which they brought foorth,
the verie ſame I ſay
See that be done to thee againe:
and after that be ſure,
Unto the bleſſed gods with hands
to ſacrifice, moſt pure.

Which oracle thus delivered, *Ariſtinus* having well pondered and conſidered, committed himſelfe as an infant new borne unto women for to be waſhed, to be wrapped in ſwadling clothes, and to be ſuckled with the breſt-head: after which, all ſuch others, whom we call *Hyſteropotmous,* that is to ſay, thoſe whoſe graves were made, as if they had beene dead, did the ſemblable. Howbeit, ſome doe ſay, that before *Ariſtinus* was borne, theſe creremonies were obſerved about thoſe *Hiſtropotmi,* and that this was a right auncient cuſtome kept in the ſemblable caſe: and therefore no marvell it is, that the Romans alſo thought, that ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have beene once buried, and raunged with the dead in another world, ought not to enter in at the ſame porch, out of which they goe, when they purpoſe to ſacrifice unto the gods, or at which they reenter when they returne from ſacrifice: but would have them from above to deſcend through the tiles of the rouſe into the cloſe houſe, with the aire open over their heads: for all their purifications ordinarily they performed without the houſe abroad in the aire.

6

Why doe women kiſſe the lips of their kinsfolks?

IS it as moſt men thinke, for that women being forbidden to drinke wine, the manner was brought up: That whenſoever they met their kinsfolke, they ſhould kiſſe their lips, to the end they might not be unknowen, but convicted if they had drunke wine? or rather for another reaſon, which *Ariſtotle* the philoſopher hath alledged? for as touching that occaſion, which is ſo famous and commonly voiced in every mans mouth, yea, and reported of divers and ſundrie places; it was no doubt the hardy attempt executed by the dames of *Troie*, and that upon the coaſts of *Italy*; for when the men upon their arrivall were landed; the women in the meane while ſet fire upon their ſhips, for very deſire that they had to ſee an end once, one way or other of their long voiage, & to be delivered frō their tedious travel at ſea: but fearing the fury of their men, when they ſhould returne, they went forth to meet their kinsfolke and friends upon the way, and welcomed them with amiable embracing & ſweet kiſſes of their lips: by which means having appeaſed their angrie mood, and recovered their favours, they continued ever after, the cuſtome of kindgreeting and loving ſalutation in this manner.

Or was not this a priviledge granted unto women for their greater honour and credit; namely, to be knowen and ſeen for to have many of their race and kinred, and thoſe of good worth and reputation?

Or becauſe it was not lawfull to eſpouſe women of their blood and kinred, therefore permitted they were to entertaine them kindly and familiarly with a kiſſe, ſo they proceeded no farther; inſomuch as this was the onely marke and token left of their conſanguinitie. For before time, they might not marrie women of their owne blood; no more than in theſe daies their aunts by the mothers ſide, or their ſiſters: and long it was ere men were permitted to contract marriage with their couſin germains; and that upon ſuch an occaſion as this. There was a certaine man of poore eſtate and ſmall living, howbeit otherwiſe of good and honeſt cariage, and of all others that managed the publike affairs of State moſt popular and gracious with the commons: who was ſuppoſed to keepe as his eſpouſed wife a kinſwoman of his and couſin germain, an inheritreſſe; by whom he had great wealth, and became verie rich: for which he was accuſed judicially before the people; but upon a ſpeciall favour that they bare unto him, they would not enquire into the cauſe in queſtion; but not onely ſuppreſſed his bill of enditement, and let her go as quit of all crime, but alſo even they, enacted a ſtatute; by vertue whereof, lawfull it was for all men from that time forward to marrie, as far as to their couſin germains, but in any higher or neerer degree of conſanguinitie, they were expreſly forbidden.

7

Wherefore is it not lawfull either for the husband to receive a gift of his wife, or for the wife of her husband.

MAy it not be, for that, as *Solon* ordained that the donations and bequeſts, made by thoſe that die ſhall ſtand good, unleſſe they be ſuch as a man hath granted upon neceſſitie, or by the inducement and flatterie of his wife: in which proviſo, he excepted neceſſitie, as forcing and conſtraining the will; and likewiſe pleaſure, as deceiving the judgement; even ſo have men ſuſpected the mutuall gifts paſſing between the husband and the wife, and thought them to be of the ſame nature.

Or was it not thought, that giving of preſents was of all other the leaſt & worſt ſigne of amity and good will (for even ſtrangers and ſuch as beare no love at all uſe in that ſort to be giving) and in that regard they would baniſh out of marriage ſuch kind of pleaſing and curring favour; to the end that the mutuall love and affection between the parties ſhould be free and without reſpect of ſalarie and gaine, even for it ſelfe and nothing elſe in the world.

Or becauſe women commonly admit and entertaine ſtraungers, as corrupted by receiving of preſents and gifts at their hands, it was thought to ſtand more with honour and reputation, that wives ſhould love their owne husbands, though they gave them nothing by way of gift.

Or rather, for that it was meet and requiſit, that the goods of the husband ſhould be common to the wife, and to the wife likewiſe of the husband: for the partie who receiveth a thing in gift, doth learne to repute that which was not given, to be none of his owne, but belonging to another: ſo that man and wife in giving never ſo little one to another, deſpoile and defraud themſelves of all that is beſide.

8

What might be the cauſe that they were forbidden to receive any gift either of * *Sonne in law, or* * *Father in law?*

OF Sonne in law, for feare leſt the gift might be thought by the meanes of the Father to paſſe about the returne unto the wife: and of the Father in law, becauſe it was ſuppoſed meet and juſt, that he who gave not, ſhould not likewiſe receive ought.

*Daughters husband.

*Wives father.

*This may ſeeme to have ſome reference to the former queſtion.

9

What ſhould be the reaſon that the Romans when they returned from ſome voyage out of a farre and forraine countrey, or onely from their ferme into the citie; if their wives were at home, uſed to ſend a meſſenger unto them before, for to give warning and advertiſement of their comming?

EIther it was becauſe this is a token of one that beleeveth and is verily perſwaded that his wife intendeth no lewdneſſe, nor is otherwiſe buſied than well: whereas to come upon her at unwares and on a ſodain, is a kind of forlaying and ſurprize. Or for that they make haſte to ſend them good newes of their comming, as being aſſured that they have a longing deſire, and doe expect ſuch tidings.

Or rather becauſe themſelves would be glad to heare from them ſome good newes, to wit, whether they ſhall find them in good health when they come, and attending affectionately and with great devotion, their returne.

Or elſe becauſe women ordinarily, when their husbands be away and from home, have many petie buſineſſes and houſe affaires: and other whiles there fall out ſome little jarres and quarrels within doores with their ſervants, men or maidens: to the end therefore all ſuch troubles and inconveniences might be overblowen, and that they might give unto their husbands a loving and amiable welcome home, they have intelligence given unto them before hand of their arrivall and approch.

10

What is the cauſe that when they adore and worſhip the gods, they cover their heads: but contrariwiſe when they meet with any honourable or worſhipfull perſons, if their heads haplie were then covered with their cover, they diſcover the ſame, and are bare headed.

FOr it ſeemeth that this faſhion maketh the former doubt and braunch of the queſtion more difficult to be aſſoiled: and if that which is reported of *Aeneas* be true; namely, that as

Diomedes paſſed along by him whiles he ſacrificed, he covered his head, and ſo performed his ſacrifice; there is good reaſon and conſequence, that if men be covered before their enemies, they ſhould be bare when they encounter either their friends, or men of woorth and honour: for this maner of being covered before the gods, is not properly reſpective unto them, but occaſioned by accident, and hath, ſince that example of *Aeneas*, beene obſerved and continued.

But if we muſt ſay ſomewhat elſe beſide, conſider whether it be not ſufficient to enquire onely of this point; namely, why they cover their heads when they worſhip the gods, ſeeing the other conſequently dependeth heereupon: for they ſtand bare before men of dignitie and authoritie, not to doe them any more honor thereby, but contrariwiſe to diminiſh their envie, for feare they might be thought to require as much reverence and the ſame honor as is exhibited to the gods, or ſuffer themſelves, and take pleaſure to bee obſerved and reverenced equally with them: as for the gods they adored them after this ſort; either by way of lowlineſſe and humbling themſelves before their majeſtie, in covering and hiding their heads; or rather becauſe they feared leſt as they made their praiers, there ſhould come unto their hearing, from without, any ſiniſter voice or inauſpicate and ominous oſſe: and to prevent ſuch an object they drew their hood over their eares: And how true it is that they had a carefull eie and regard to meet with all ſuch accidents, it may appeere by this, that when they went to any oracle for to be reſolved by anſwer from thence upon a ſcrupulous doubt, they cauſed a great noiſe to be made all about them, with ringing of pannes or braſen baſons.

Or it may well be, (as *Caſtor* ſaith, comparing in concordance the Romane faſhions with the rites of the Pythagoreans) for that the Dæmon or good angell within us, hath need of the gods helpe without, and maketh ſupplication with covering the head, giving thus much covertly to underſtand thereby, that the ſoule is likewiſe covered and hidden by the bodie.

11

Why ſacrifice they unto Saturne *bare-headed.*

IS it becauſe *Aeneas* firſt brought up this faſhion of covering the head at ſacrifice; and the ſacrifice to *Saturnus* is much more auncient than his time?

Or, for that they uſed to be covered unto the celeſtiall gods: but as for *Saturne* he is reputed a Subterranean or terreſtriall god?

Or, in this reſpect, that there is nothing hidden, covered, or ſhadowed in Trueth? For among the Romans, *Saturne* was held to be the father of Veritie.

12

Why doe they repute Saturne *the father of Trueth.*

* Κρόνος.
* Χρόνος.

IS it for that (as ſome Philoſophers deeme) they are of opinion that * *Saturne* is * Time? and Time you know well findeth out and revealeth the Truth.

Or, becauſe as the Poets fable, men lived under *Saturnes* reigne in the golden age: and if the life of man was then moſt juſt and righteous, it followeth conſequently that there was much trueth in the world.

13

What is the reaſon that they ſacrificed likewiſe unto the god whom they tearmed Honor, *with bare head? now a man may interpret* Honor *to be as much as Glory and Reputation.*

IT is haply becauſe Honor and glory is a thing evident, notorious, and expoſed to the knowledge of the whole world: and by the ſame reaſon that they veile bonet before men of worſhip, dignitie, and honor, they adore alſo the deitie that beareth the name of Honor, with the head bare.

14

What may be the cauſe, that ſonnes cary their Fathers and Mothers foorth to be enterred, with their heads hooded and covered: but daughters bare headed, with their haires detreſſed and hanging downe looſe.

IS it for that Fathers ought to be honored as gods by their male children, but lamented and bewailed as dead men by their daughters, and therefore the law having given and graunted unto either ſex that which is proper, hath of both together made that which is beſeeming and convenient.

Or, it is in this regard, that unto ſorrow and heavineſſe, that is beſt beſeeming which is extraordinarie and unuſuall : now more ordinarie it is with women to go abroad with their heads veiled and covered : and likewiſe with men, to be diſcovered and bare headed. For even among the Greeks when there is befallen unto them any publike calamitie, the manner and cuſtome is, that the women ſhould cut off the hayres of their head, and the men weare them long : for that otherwiſe it is uſuall that men ſhould poll their heads, and women keepe their haire long. And to prove that ſonnes were wont to be covered ; in ſuch a caſe, and for the ſaid cauſe, a man may alledge that which *Varro* hath written ; namely, that in the ſolemnitie of funerals, and about the tombs of their fathers , they carry themſelves with as much reverence and devotion as in the temples of the gods : in ſuch ſort, as when they have burnt the corps in the funeral fire, ſo ſoone as ever they meet with a bone, they pronounce, that he who is dead, is now become a god. On the contrary ſide, women were no wiſe permitted to vaile and cover their heads. And we find upon record, that the firſt man who put away and divorced his wife was *Spurius Carbilius*, becauſe ſhe bare him no children ; the ſecond, *Sulpitius Gallus*, for that he ſaw her to caſt a robe over her head : and the third *Publius Sempronius*, for ſtanding to behold the ſolemnitie of the funerall games.

15

How it commeth to paſſe, that conſidering the Romans eſteemed Terminus *a god, and therefore in honour of him celebrated a feaſt called thereupon* Terminalia, *yet they never killed any beaſt in ſacrifice unto him?*

IT is becauſe *Romulus* did appoint no bonds and limits of his countrey , to the end that he might lawfully ſet out & take in where pleaſed him, and repute all that land his owne ſo far as, (according to that ſaying of the Lacedæmonian) his ſpeare or javelin would reach ? But *Numa Pompilius* a juſt man and politick withall, one who knew well how to govern, and that by the rule of Philoſophie, cauſed his territorie to be confined betweene him and his neighbour nations, and called thoſe frontier bonds by the name of *Terminus* as the ſuperintendent, over-ſeer and keeper of peace and amitie between neighbours ; and therefore he ſuppoſed, that this *Terminus* ought to be preſerved pure and cleane from all blood, and impollute with any murder.

16

What is the reaſon that it is not lawfull for any maid ſervants to enter into the temple of the goddeſſe * Leucothea? *and the Dames of* Rome, *bringing in thither one alone and no more with them, fall to cuffing and boxing her about the eares and cheeks.*

* Or Matuta.

AS for the wench that is thus buffeted, it is a ſufficient ſigne and argument, that ſuch as ſhe, are not permitted to come thither : now for all others they keepe them out in regard of a certaine poeticall fable reported in this wiſe : that ladie *Ino* being in times paſt jealous of her husband, and ſuſpecting him with a maid ſervant of hers, fell mad, and was enraged againſt her owne ſonne : this ſervant the Greeks ſay, was an Aetolian borne, and had to name *Antiphera*: and therefore it is that heere among us in the citie of *Chæronea*, before the temple or chappell of *Matuta*, the ſexton taking a whip in his hand crieth with a loud voice : No man ſervant or maid ſervant be ſo hardie as to come in heere ; no Aetolian hee or ſhee preſume to enter into this place.

17

What is the cauſe that to this goddeſſe, folke pray not for any bleſſings to their owne children, but for their nephewes onely, to wit, their brothers or ſiſters children?

MAy it not be that *Ino* being a ladie that loved her ſiſter wonderous well, in ſo much as ſhe ſuckled at her owne breaſt a ſonne of hers : but was infortunate in her owne children ?

Or rather, becauſe the ſaid cuſtome is otherwiſe very good and civill, inducing and moving folks hearts to carie love and affection to their kinreds.

18

For what cauſe, were many rich men wont to conſecrate and give unto Hercules *the Diſme or tenth of all their goods?*

WHy may it not be upon this occaſion , that *Hercules* himſelfe being upon a time at * *Rome*, ſacrifice the tenth cow of all the drove which he had taken from *Gerion*?

* By *Prolepſis*, meaning the place where afterwards Rome ſtood.

Or for that he freed and delivered the Romans from the tax and tribute of the Diſmes which they were wont to pay out of their goods unto the Tuskans.

Or in caſe this may not go current for an authenticall hiſtorie, and worthie of credit; what and if we ſay that unto *Hercules* as to ſome great bellie god, and one who loved good cheere, they offered and ſacriſiced plenteouſly and in great liberalitie?

Or rather, for that by this meanes they would take downe and diminiſh alittle,their exceſſive riches which ordinarily is an eie-ſore and odious unto the citizens of a popular ſtate, as if they meant to abate and bring low(as it were) that plethoricall plight and corpulency of the bodie, which being growen to the height is daungerous: ſuppoſing by ſuch cutting off, and abridging of ſuperfluities,to do honour and ſervice moſt pleaſing unto *Hercules*, as who joied highly in frugalitie: for that in his life time he ſtood contented with a little, and regarded no delicacie or exceſſe whatſoever.

19

Why begin the Romans their yeere at the moneth Januarie?

FOr in old time the moneth of March was reckoned firſt,as a man may collect by many other conjectures,and by this eſpecially,that the fift moneth in order after March was called *Quintilis*,and the ſixt moneth *Sextilis*,and all the reſt conſequently one after another until you come to the laſt,which they named December,becauſe it was the tenth in number after March: which giveth occaſion unto ſome for to thinke & ſay, that the Romans(in thoſe daies)determined and accompliſhed their compleat yeere,not in twelve moneths but in ten: namely, by adding unto everie one of thoſe ten moneths certain daies over and above thirtie. Others write,that December indeed was the tenth moneth after March; but Januarie was the eleventh,and Februarie the twelfth: in which moneth they uſed certaine expiatorie and purgatorie ſacrifices,yea,and offered oblations unto the dead(as it were)to make an end of the yere. Howbeit afterwards they tranſpoſed this order, and ranged Januarie in the firſt place,for that upon the firſt day thereof, which they call the Calends of Januarie; the firſt Conſuls that ever bare rule in *Rome* were enſtalled, immediatly upon the depoſition and expulſion of the kings out of the citie. But there ſeemeth to be more probability & likelihood of truth in their ſpeech,who ſay,that *Romulus* being a marciall prince,and one that loved warre and feats of armes,as being reputed the ſonne of *Mars*, ſet before all other moneths,that which caried the name of his father: howbeit *Numa* who ſucceedednext after him,being a man of peace,and who endevored to withdraw the hearts and minds of his ſubjects and citizens from warre to agriculture,gave the prerogative of the firſt place unto Januarie,and honoured *Janus* moſt, as one who had beene more given to politick government,and to the husbandrie of ground,than to the exerciſe of warre and armes.

Conſider moreover, whether *Numa* choſe not this moneth for to begin the yeere withall, as beſt ſorting with nature in regard of us; for otherwiſe in generall, there is no one thing of all thoſe that by nature turne about circularly, that can be ſaid firſt or laſt, but according to the ſeverall inſtitutions and ordinances of men, ſome begin the time at this point, others at that. And verely they that make the Winter ſolſtice or hibernall Tropick the beginning of their yeere, do the beſt of all others: for that the Sunne ceaſing then to paſſe farther, beginneth to returne and take his way againe toward us: for it ſeemeth, that both according to the courſe of nature, and alſo in regard of us, this ſeaſon is moſt befitting to begin the yeere: for that it increaſeth unto us the time of daie light, and diminiſheth the darkneſſe of night, and cauſeth that noble ſtarre or planet to approch neerer and come toward us, the lord governour and ruler of all ſubſtance tranſitorie and fluxible matter whatſoever.

20

Why do women when they dreſſe up and adorne the chappell or ſhrine of their feminine goddeſſe, whom they call Bona*, never bring home for that purpoſe any branches of Myrtle tree: and yet otherwiſe have a delight to employ all ſorts of leaves and flowers?*

* Or Phaulius.

MAy it not be,for that,as ſome fabulous writers tell the tale,there was one **Flavius* a ſoothſaier had a wife, who uſed ſecretly to drinke wine, and when ſhe was ſurpriſed and taken in the manner by her husband, ſhe was well beaten by him which myrtle rods: and for that cauſe they bring thither no boughs of myrtle: marry they offer libations unto this goddeſſe of wine, but forſooth they call it Milke.

Or is it not for this cauſe, that thoſe who are to celebrate the ceremonies of this divine ſervice,

vice, ought to be pure and cleane from all pollutions, but eſpecially from that of *Venus* or lechery? For not onely they put out of the roome where the ſervice is performed unto the ſaid goddeſſe *Bona*, all men, but alſo whatſoever is beſides of maſculine ſex; which is the reaſon that they ſo deteſt the myrtle tree, as being conſecrated unto *Venus*, inſomuch as it ſhould ſeeme they called in old time that *Venus, Myrtea*, which now goeth under the name, of *Murcia*.

21

What is the reaſon that the Latines doe ſo much honour and reverence the Woodpecker, and forbeare altogether to doe that bird any harme?

IS it for that *Picus* was reported in old time by the enchantments and ſorceries of his wife, to have changed his owne nature, and to be metamorphozed into a Woodpecker; under which forme he gave out oracles, and delivered anſweres unto thoſe who propounded unto him any demaunds?

Or rather, becauſe this ſeemeth a meere fable, and incredible tale: there is another ſtorie reported, which carieth more probabilitie with it, and ſoundeth neerer unto trueth. That when *Romulus* and *Remus* were caſt foorth and expoſed to death; not onely a female woolfe gave them her teats to ſucke, but alſo a certeine Woodpecker flew unto them, and brought them food in her bill, and ſo fedde them: and therefore haply it is, that ordinarily in theſe daies wee may ſee, as *Nigidius* hath well obſerved; what places ſoever at the foot of an hill covered and ſhadowed with oakes or other trees a Woodpecker haunteth, thither cuſtomably you ſhall have a woolfe to repaire.

Or peradventure, ſeeing their maner is to conſecrate unto every god one kinde of birde or other, they reputed this Woodpecker ſacred unto *Mars*, becauſe it is a couragious and hardy bird, having a bill ſo ſtrong, that he is able to overthrow an oke therewith, after he hath jobbed and pecked into it as farre as to the very marrow and heart thereof.

22

How is it that they imagine Janus *to have had two faces,, in which maner they uſe both to paint and alſo to caſt him in mold.*

IS it for that he being a Græcian borne, came from *Perrhæbia*, as we finde written in hiſtories; and paſſing forward into *Italy*, dwelt in that countrey among the Barbarous people, who there lived, whoſe language and maner of life he changed?

Or rather becauſe he taught and perſwaded them to live together after a civill and honeſt ſort, in husbandry and tilling the ground; whereas before time their manners were rude, and their faſhions ſavage without law or juſtice altogether.

23

What is the cauſe that they uſe to ſell at Rome *all things perteining to the furniture of Funerals, within the temple of the goddeſſe* Libitina, *ſuppoſing her to be* Venus.

THis may ſeeme to be one of the ſage and philoſophicall inventions of king *Numa*, to the end that men ſhould learne not to abhorre ſuch things, nor to flie from them, as if they did pollute and defile them?

Or elſe this reaſon may be rendred, that it ſerveth for a good record and memoriall, to put us in minde, that whatſoever had a beginning by generation, ſhall likewiſe come to an end by death; as if one and the ſame goddeſſe were ſuperintendent and governeſſe of nativitie and death: for even in the city of *Delphos* there is a pretie image of *Venus*, ſurnamed *Epitymbia*; that is to ſay ſepulchrall: before which they uſe to raiſe and call foorth the ghoſts of ſuch as are departed, for to receive the libaments and ſacred liquors powred foorth unto them.

24

Why have the Romans in every moneth three beginnings as it were, to wit, certeine principall and prefixed or preordeined daies, and regard not the ſame intervall or ſpace of daies betweene?*

* That is to ſay, *Kalends, Nones & Ides*.

IS it becauſe as *Juba* writeth in his chronicles, that the chiefe magiſtrates were wont upon the firſt day of the moneth to call and ſummon the people; whereupon it tooke the name of *Ca-*

lends: and then to denounce unto them that the *Nones* ſhould be the fiſt day after; and as for the *Ides* they held it to be an holy and ſacred day?

Or for that they meaſuring and determining the time according to the differences of the moone, they obſerved in her every moneth three principall changes and diverſities: the firſt, when ſhe is altogether hidden, namely during her conjunction with the ſunne; the ſecond when ſhe is ſomewhat remooved from the beames of the ſunne,& beginneth to ſhew herſelfe croiſſant in the evening toward the Weſt whereas the ſunne ſetteth; the third, when ſhe is at the full: now that occultation and hiding of hers in the firſt place, they named Calends, for that in their tongue whatſoever is ſecret & hidden, they ſay it is [*Clam*] and to hide or keepe cloſe, they expreſſe by this word [*Celare*;] and the firſt day of the moones illumination, which wee heere in *Greece* tearme *Noumenia*, that is to ſay, the new-moone, they called by a moſt juſt name *Nonæ*, for that which is new and yoong, they tearme *Novum*, in manner as wee doe νέον. As for the *Ides*, they tooke their name of this word εἶδος, that ſignifieth beautie; for that the moone being then at the full, is in the very perfection of her beautie: or haply they derived this denomination of *Dios*, as attributing it to *Jupiter*: but in this we are not to ſearch out exactly the juſt number of daies, nor upon a ſmall default to ſlander and condemne this maner of reckoning, ſeeing that even at this day, when the ſcience of Aſtrologie is growen to ſo great an increment, the inequalitie of the motion, and courſe of the moone ſurpaſſeth all experience of Mathematicians, and cannot be reduced to any certeine rule of reaſon.

25

What is the cauſe that they repute the morrowes after Calends, Nones, *and* Ides, *diſaſterous or diſmall daies, either for to ſet forward upon any journey or voiage, or to march with an army into the field?*

IS it becauſe as many thinke, and as *Titus Livius* hath recorded in his ſtorie; the Tribunes militarie, at what time as they had conſular and ſoveraigne authoritie, went into the field with the Romane armie the morrow after the *Ides* of the moneth *Quintilis*, which was the ſame that July now is, and were diſcomfited in a battell by the Gaules, neere unto the river *Allia*: and cõſequently upon that overthrow, loſt the very city it ſelfe of *Rome*: by which occaſion the morrow after the *Ides*, being held and reputed for a ſiniſter and unluckie day; ſuperſtition entring into mens heads, proceeded farther, (as ſhe loveth alwaies ſo to doe) and brought in the cuſtome for to hold the morrow after the *Nones* yea, and the morrow after the *Calends*, as unfortunate, and to be as religiouſly obſerved in ſemblable caſes.

But againſt this there may be oppoſed many objections: for firſt and formoſt, they loſt that battell upon another day, and calling it *Allienſis*, by the name of the river *Allia*, where it was ſtrucken, they have it in abomination for that cauſe. Againe, whereas there be many daies reputed diſmall and unfortunate, they doe not obſerve ſo preciſely and with ſo religious feare, other daies of like denomination in every moneth, but ech day apart onely in that moneth wherein ſuch and ſuch a diſaſter, hapned: and that the infortunitie of one day ſhould draw a ſuperſtitious feare ſimply upon all the morrowes after *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, carieth no congruitie at all, nor apparence of reaſon.

Conſider moreover and ſee, whether, as of moneths they uſed to conſecrate the firſt to the gods celeſtiall; the ſecond to the terreſtriall, or infernall, wherein they performe certeine expiatorie ceremonies and ſacrifices of purification, and preſenting offrings and ſervices to the dead: ſo of the daies in the moneth, thoſe which are chiefe and principall, as hath beene ſaid, they would not have to be kept as ſacred and feſtivall holidaies; but ſuch as follow after, as being dedicated unto the ſpirits, called *Dæmons*, and thoſe that are departed; they alſo have eſteemed cõſequently as unhappy, & altogether unmeet either for to execute or to take in hand any buſineſſe: for the Greeks adoring and ſerving the gods upon their new moones and firſt daies of the moneth, have attributed the ſecond daies unto the demi-gods and *Dæmons*: like as at their feaſts alſo they drinke the ſecond cup unto their demi-gods, and demi-goddeſſes. In ſumme, Time is a kinde of number, and the beginning of number is (I wot not what;) ſome divine thing, for it is Unitie: and that which commeth next after it is Deuz or two, cleane oppoſite unto the ſaid beginning, and is the firſt of all even numbers: as for the even number it is defective, unperfect, and indefinit, whereas contrariwiſe, the uneven or odde number it ſelfe is finite, complet, and abſolute: and for this cauſe like as the *Nones* ſucceed the *Calends* five daies after; ſo the *Ides* follow the *Nones* nine daies after them; for the uneven and odde numbers doe determine thoſe beginnings, or principall daies; but thoſe which preſently enſue after the ſaid principall daies being even, are neither ranged in any order, nor have power and puiſſance: and therefore men doe not enterpriſe any great worke, nor ſet foorth voiage or journey upon ſuch daies: and heereto wee may to good purpoſe annex that pretie ſpeech of *Themiſtocles*: For when the morrow (quoth he) upon a time quarrelled with the feſtivall day which went next before it, ſaying, that herſelfe was buſied and tooke a great deale of pains, preparing & providing with much travel thoſe goods which the feaſt enjoied at her eaſe, with all repoſe, reſt, and leiſure: the Feſtivall day made this anſwer: Thou ſaidſt true indeed; but if I were not, where wouldſt thou be? This tale *Themiſtocles* deviſed, and delivered unto the Athenian captaines, who came after him; giving them thereby to underſtand, that neither they nor any acts of theirs would ever have beene ſeene, unleſſe hee before them had ſaved the citie of *Athens*. Foraſmuch then, as every enterpriſe and voiage of importance hath need of proviſion, and ſome preparatives; and for that the Romans in old time upon their feſtivall daies, diſpenſed nothing, nor tooke care for any proviſion; being wholy given and devoted at ſuch times to the ſervice & worſhip of God, doing that, & nothing elſe; like as even yet at this day, when the prieſts begin to ſacrifice, they pronounce with a loud voice before all the companie there aſſembled HOC AGE, that is to ſay, Minde this, and doe no other thing: verie like it is, and ſtandeth to great reaſon, that they uſed not to put themſelves upon the way for any long voiage, nor tooke in hand any great affaire or buſineſſe preſently after a feſtivall day, but kept within houſe all the morrow after, to thinke upon their occaſions, and to provide all things neceſſarie for journey or exploit: or we may conjecture, that as at this very day the Romans after they have adored the gods, and made their praiers unto them within their temples, are woont to ſtay there a time, and ſit them downe; even ſo they thought it not reaſonable to caſt their great affaires ſo, as that they ſhould immediately follow upon any of their feſtivall daies; but they allowed ſome reſpit and time betweene, as knowing full well, that buſineſſes carie with them alwaies many troubles and hinderances, beyond the opinion, expectation, and will of thoſe who take them in hand.

26

What is the cauſe that women at Rome, *when they mourne for the dead, put on white robes, and likewiſe weare white cawles, coifes and kerchiefs upon their heads.*

May it not be that for to oppoſe themſelves againſt hell and the darkeneſſe thereof, they conforme their raiment and attire to that colour which is cleere and bright?

Or doe they it not rather for this: that like as they clad and burie the dead corps in white clothes, they ſuppoſe, that thoſe who are next of kin, and come neereſt about them, ought alſo to weare their liverie? Now the bodie they doe in this wiſe decke, becauſe they cannot adorne the ſoule ſo; and it they are willing to accompanie as lightſome, pure and net, as being now at the laſt delivered and ſet free, and which hath performed a great a variable combat.

Or rather, we may gueſſe thus much thereby: that in ſuch caſes, that which is moſt ſimple and leaſt coſtly, is beſt beſeeming; whereas clothes of any other colour died, do commonly bewray either ſuperfluitie or curioſitie: for we may ſay even aſwell of blacke, as of purple: Theſe robes are deceitfull; theſe colours alſo are counterfeit. And as touching that which is of it ſelfe blacke, if it have not that tincture by diers art, ſurely it is ſo coloured by nature, as being mixed and compounded with obſcuritie: and therefore there is no colour els but white, which is pure, unmixt, and not ſtained and ſullied with any tincture, and that which is inimitable; in which regard, more meet and agreeable unto thoſe who are interred, conſidering that the dead is now become ſimple, pure, exempt from all mixtion, and in very trueth, nothing els but delivered from the bodie, as a ſtaine and infection hardly ſcowred out and rid away. Semblably, in the citie of *Argos*, whenſoever they mourned, the maner was to weare white garments, waſhed (as *Socrates* ſaid) in faire and cleere water.

27

What is the reaſon that they eſteeme all the walles of the citie ſacred and inviolable, but not the gates.

IS it (as *Varro* ſaith) becauſe we ought to thinke the walles holie, to the end that we may fight valiantly, and die generouſly in the defence of them? for it ſeemeth that this was the cauſe, why *Romulus* killed his owne brother *Remus*, for that he preſumed to leape over an holy and inviolable place: whereas contrariwiſe, it was not poſſible to conſecrate and hallow the gates, thorow which there muſt needs be tranſported many things neceſſary, and namely, the bodies of the dead. And therefore, they who begin to found a citie, environ and compaſſe firſt with a plough all that pourpriſe and precinct wherein they meant to build, drawing the ſaid plough with an oxe and a cow coupled together in one yoke: afterwards, when they have traced out all the ſaid place where the walles ſhould ſtand, they meaſure out as much ground as will ſerve for the gates, but take out the plough-ſhare, and ſo paſſe over that ſpace with the bare plough, as if they meant thereby, that all the furrow which they caſt up and eared, ſhould be ſacred and inviolable.

28

What is the reaſon, that when their children are to ſweare by Hercules, *they will not let them do it within doores, but cauſe them to go forth of the houſe, and take their oath abroad?*

IS it becauſe (as ſome would have it) that they thinke *Hercules* is not delighted with keeping cloſe within houſe and ſitting idlely, but taketh pleaſure to live abroad and lie without?

Or rather, for that of all the gods, *Hercules* is not (as one would ſay) home-bred, but a ſtranger, come amongſt them from afarre? For even ſo they would not ſweare by *Bacchus*, under the roofe of the houſe, but went forth to do it; becauſe he alſo is but a ſtranger among the gods.

Or haply, this is no more but a word in game and ſport, given unto children: and beſides (to ſay a trueth) it may be a meanes to withholde and reſtraine them from ſwearing ſo readily and raſhly, as *Phavorinus* ſaith: for this device cauſeth a certeine premeditate preparation, and giveth them (whiles they goe out of the houſe) leaſure and time to conſider better of the matter. And a man may conjecture alſo with *Phavorinus*, and ſay with him: That this faſhion was not common to other gods, but proper to *Hercules*: for that we finde it written, that he was ſo religious, ſo reſpective and preciſe in his oath, that in all his life time he never ſware but once, and that was onely to *Phileus* the ſonne of *Augias*. And therefore, the prophetiſſe at *Delphos*, named *Pythia*, anſwered thus upon a time to the Lacedæmonians:

When all theſe oaths you once forfend,
Your ſtate (be ſure) ſhall dayly mend.

29

What ſhould be the reaſon, that they would not permit the new wedded bride to paſſe of herſelfe over the doore-ſill or threſhold, when ſhe is brought home to her husbands houſe, but they that accompanie her, muſt lift her up betweene them from the ground, and ſo convey her in.

IS it in remembrance of thoſe firſt wives whom they raviſhed perforce from the Sabines, who entred not into their houſes of themſelves with their good will, but were carried in by them, in this maner?

Or is it perhaps, becauſe they would be thought to goe againſt their willes into that place where they were to loſe their maidenhead?

Or haply it may be, that a wedded wife ought not to goe foorth of her doores, and abandon her houſe, but perforce, like as ſhe went firſt into it by force. For in our countrey of *Bæotia*, the maner is, to burne before the doore where a new married wife is to dwell, the axel tree of that chariot or coatch in which ſhe rode when ſhe was brought to her husbands houſe. By which ceremonie, thus much ſhe is given to underſtand, that will ſhe nill ſhe, there ſhe muſt now tarrie, conſidering that it which brought her thither, is now gone quite and conſumed.

30

Wherefore do they at Rome, *when they bring a new eſpouſed bride home to the houſe of her husband, force her to ſay theſe words unto her ſpouſe:* Where you are *Cajus*, I will be *Caja*?

IS it to teſtifie by theſe words, that ſhe entreth immediately to communicate with him in all goods, and to be a governeſſe and commaunder in the houſe as well as he? for it implieth as much, as if ſhe ſhould ſay; where you are lord and maſter, I will be lady and miſtres. Now theſe names they uſed as being common, and ſuch as came firſt to hand, and for no other reaſon elſe: like as the Civill lawiers uſe ordinarily theſe names, *Cajus*, *Seius*, *Lucius*, and *Titius*: the Philoſophers in their ſchooles, *Dion* and *Theon*.

Or peradventure it is in regard of *Caia Cæcilia* a beautifull and vertuous lady, who in times paſt eſpouſed one of the ſonnes of king *Tarquinius*: of which dame there is yet to be ſeene even at this day one image of braſſe, within the temple of the god *Sanctus*: and there likewiſe in old time, her ſlippers, her diſtaffe and ſpindels laid up for to bee ſeene: the one to ſignifie that ſhe kept the houſe well, and went not ordinarily abroad; the other to ſhew how ſhe buſied her ſelfe at home.

31

How commeth it, that they uſe to chaunt ordinarily at weddings, this word ſo much divulged, Talaſſio?

IS it not of *Talaſia*, the Greeke word, which ſignifieth yarne: for the baſket wherein women uſe to put in their rolles of carded wooll, they name *Talaſos* in Greeke, and *Calathus* in Latine? Certes they that lead the bride home, cauſe her to ſit upon a fliece of wooll, then bringeth ſhe foorth a diſtaffe and a ſpindle, and with wooll all to hangeth and decketh the dore of her husbands houſe.

Or rather, if it be true which hiſtorians report: There was ſometime a certeine yoong gentleman, very valiant and active in feats of armes, and otherwiſe of excellent parts and ſingular wel conditioned, whoſe name was *Talaſius*: and when they raviſhed and caried away the daughters of the Sabines who were come to *Rome*, for to behold the ſolemnitie of their feſtivall games and plaies: certaine meane perſons, ſuch yet as belonged to the traine & retinue of *Talaſius* aforeſaid, had choſen foorth & were carying away, one damoſel above the reſt moſt beautiful of viſage, and for their ſafety and ſecuritie as they paſſed along the ſtreets, cried out aloud *Talaſio, Talaſio*, that is to ſay, for *Talaſius*, for *Talaſius*; to the end that no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to approch neere unto them, nor attempt to have away the maiden from them, giving it out, that they caried her for to be the wife of *Talaſius*; and others meeting them upon the way, joined with them in company for the honour of *Talaſius*, and as they followed after, highly praiſed their good choice which they had made, praying the gods to give both him and her joy of their marriage, and contentment to their hearts deſire. Now for that this marriage prooved happy and bleſſed, they were woont ever after in their wedding ſongs to rechant and reſound this name, *Talaſius*, like as the maner is among the Greeks to ſing in ſuch carrols, *Hymenæus*.

32

What is the reaſon that in the moneth of May, they uſe at Rome to caſt over their woodden bridge into the river, certaine images of men, which they call Argeos?

IS it in memoriall of the Barbarians who ſometimes inhabited theſe parts, and did ſo by the Greeks, murdering them in that maner as many of them as they could take? But *Hercules* who was highly eſteemed among them for his vertue, aboliſhed this cruell faſhion of killing of ſtrangers, and taught them this cuſtome to counterfet their auncient ſuperſtitions, and to fling theſe images in ſtead of them: now in old time our anceſtors uſed to name all Greeks of what countrey ſoever they were, *Argeos*: unleſſe haply a man would ſay, that the Arcadians reputing the Argives to be their enemies, for that they were their neighbour borderers, ſuch as fled with *Evander* out of *Arcadia*, and came to inhabit theſe quarters, reteined ſtill the old hatred and ranckor, which time out of minde had taken root, and beene ſetled in their hearts againſt the ſaid Argives.

33

What is the cauſe that the Romans in old time never went foorth out of their houſes to ſupper, but they caried with them their yoong ſonnes, even when they were but in their very infancie and childhood.

WAs not this for the very ſame reaſon that *Lycurgus* inſtituted and ordeined, that yoong children ſhould ordinarily be brought into their halles where they uſed to eat in publicke, called *Phiditia*, to the end that they might be inured and acquainted betimes, not to uſe the pleaſures of eating and drinking immoderately, as brutiſh and ravenous beaſts are wont to doe; conſidering that they had their elders to overſee them, yea, and to controll their demeanour: and in this regard haply alſo, that their fathers themſelves ſhould in their cariage be more ſober, honeſt, and frugall, in the preſence of their children: for looke where old folke are ſhameleſſe, there it can not chuſe but (as *Plato* ſaith) children and youth will be moſt graceleſſe and impudent.

34

What might the reaſon be, that whereas all other Romans made their offrings, ceremonies, and ſacrifices for the dead, in the moneth of February: Decimus Brutus *as* Cicero *ſaith, was wont to doe the ſame in the moneth of December: now this* Brutus *was he who firſt invaded the countrey of* Portugall, *and with an armie paſſed over the river of* Lethe, *that is to ſay, oblivion.*

MAy it not be, that as the moſt part of men uſed not to performe any ſuch ſervices for the dead, but toward the end of the moneth, and a little before the ſhutting in of the evening; even ſo it ſeemeth to carie good reaſon, to honour the dead at the end of the yeere; and you wot well that December was the the laſt moneth of all the yeere.

Or rather, it is becauſe this was an honour exhibited to the deities terreſtriall: and it ſeemeth that the proper ſeaſon to reverence and worſhip theſe earthly gods, is when the fruits of the earth be fully gathered and laid up.

Or haply, for that the husband men began at this time to breake up their grounds againſt their ſeedneſſe: it was meet and requiſite to have in remembrance thoſe gods which are under the ground.

Or haply, becauſe this moneth is dedicate and conſecrated by the Romans to *Saturne*; for they counted *Saturne* one of the gods beneath, and none of them above: and withall, conſidering the greateſt and moſt ſolemne feaſt, which they call *Saturnalia*, is holden in this moneth, at what time as they ſeeme to have their moſt frequent meeting, and make beſt cheere, he thought it meet and reaſonable that the dead alſo ſhould enjoy ſome little portion thereof.

Or it may be ſaid, that it is altogether untrue that *Decimus Brutus* alone ſacrificed for the dead in this moneth: for certeine it is that there was a certeine divine ſervice performed to *Acca Larentia*, and ſolemne effuſions and libaments of wine and milke were powred upon her ſepulchre in the moneth of December.

35

Why honoured the Romans this Acca Larentia *ſo highly, conſidering ſhe was no better than a ſtrumpet or courtiſan?*

FOr you muſt thinke, that the hiſtories make mention of another *Acca Larentia*, the nurſe of *Romulus*, unto whom they do honour in the moneth of Aprill. As for this courtizan *Larentia*, ſhe was (as men ſay) ſurnamed *Fabula*, and came to be ſo famous and renowmed by ſuch an occaſion as this. A certeine ſexton of *Hercules* his temple, having little els to doe, and living at eaſe (as commonly ſuch fellowes doe) uſed for the moſt part to ſpend all the day in playing at dice and with cokall bones: and one day above the reſt, it fortuned, that meeting with none of his mates and play-fellowes who were woont to beare him company at ſuch games, and not knowing what to do nor how to paſſe the time away, he thought with himſelfe to challenge the god whoſe ſervant he was, to play at dice with him, upon theſe conditions: That if himſelfe woon the game, *Hercules* ſhould be a meanes for him of ſome good lucke and happy fortune; but in caſe he loſt the game, he ſhould provide for *Hercules* a good ſupper, and withall, a pretie wench and a faire, to be his bedfellow: theſe conditions being agreed upon and ſet downe, he caſt the dice, one chance for himſelfe, and another for the god; but his hap was to be the loſer: whereupon minding to ſtand unto his challenge, and to accompliſh that which he had promiſed, he prepared a rich ſupper for *Hercules* his god, and withall, ſent for this *Acca Larentia*, a profeſſed courtiſan and common harlot, whom he feaſted alſo with him, and after ſupper beſtowed her in a bed within the very temple, ſhut the doores faſt upon, and ſo went his way. Now the tale goes forſooth, that in the night, *Hercules* companied with her, not after the maner of men, but charged her, that the next morning betimes ſhe ſhould go into the market-place, and looke what man ſhe firſt met withall, him ſhe ſhould enterteine in all kindneſſe, and make her friend eſpecially. Then *Larentia* gat up betimes in the morning accordingly, and chanced to encounter a certeine rich man and a ſtale bacheler, who was now paſt his middle age, and his name was *Taruntius*; with him ſhe became ſo familiarly acquainted, that ſo long as he lived, ſhe had the command of his whole houſe; and at his death, was by his laſt will and teſtament inſtituted inheritreſſe of all that he had. This *Larentia* likewiſe afterward departed this life, and left all her riches unto the citie of *Rome*; whereupon this honour aboveſaid was done unto her.

36

What is the cauſe, that they name one gate of the citie Feneſtra, *which is as much to ſay, as window; neere unto which adjoineth the bed-chamber of Fortune?*

IS it for that king *Servius* a moſt fortunate prince, was thought & named to lie with Fortune, who was woont to come unto him by the window? or is this but a deviſed tale? But in trueth, after that king *Tarquinius Priſcus* was deceaſed, his wife *Tanaquillis* being a wiſe ladie, and endued with a roiall mind, putting forth her head, and bending forward her bodie out of her chamber window, made a ſpeech unto the people, perſwading them to elect *Servius* for their king. And this is the reaſon that afterwards the place reteined this name, *Feneſtra*.

37

What is the reaſon, that of all thoſe things which be dedicated and conſecrated to the gods, the cuſtome is at Rome, *that onely the ſpoiles of enemies conquered in the warres, are neglected and ſuffered to run to decay in proceſſe of time: neither is there any reverence done unto them, nor repaired be they at any time, when they wax olde?*

WHether is it, becauſe they (ſuppoſing their glory to fade and paſſe away together with theſe firſt ſpoiles) ſeeke evermore new meanes to winne ſome freſh marks and monuments of their vertue, and to leave them ſame behinde them.

Or rather, for that ſeeing time doth waſte and conſume theſe ſignes and tokens of the enmity which they had with their enemies, it were an odious thing for them, and very invidious, if they ſhould refreſh and renew the remembrance thereof: for even thoſe among the Greeks, who firſt erected their trophes or pillars of braſſe and ſtone, were not commended for ſo doing.

38

What is the reaſon that Quintus Metellus *the high prieſt, and reputed beſides a wiſe man and a politike, forbad to obſerve auſpices, or to take preſages by flight of birds, after the moneth* Sextilis, *now called Auguſt.*

IS it for that, as we are woont to attend upon ſuch obſervations about noone or in the beginning of the day, at the entrance alſo and toward the middle of the moneth: but we take heed and beware of the daies declination, as inauſpicate and unmeet for ſuch purpoſes; even ſo *Metellus* ſuppoſed, that the time after eight moneths was (as it were) the evening of the yeere, and the latter end of it, declining now and wearing toward an end.

Or haply, becauſe we are to make uſe of theſe birds, and to obſerve their flight for preſage, whiles they are entire, perfect and nothing defective, ſuch as they are before Summer time. But about Autumne ſome of them moult, grow to be ſickly and weake; others are over young and too ſmall; and ſome againe appeare not at all, but like paſſengers are gone at ſuch a time into another countrey.

39

What is the cauſe, that it was not lawfull for them who were not preſt ſoldiors by oth and enrolled, although upon ſome other occaſions they converſed in the campe, to ſtrike or wound an enemie? And verely Cato *himſelfe the elder of that name ſignified thus much in a letter miſſive which he wrote unto his ſonne: wherein he ſtraitly charged him, that if he had accompliſhed the full time of his ſervice, and that his captain had given him his conge and diſcharge, he ſhould immediatly returne: or in caſe he had leifer ſtay ſtill in the campe, that he ſhould obtaine of his captaine permiſſion and licence to hurt and kill his enemie.*

IS it becauſe there is nothing elſe but neceſſitie alone, doeth warrantize the killing of a man: and he who unlawfully and without expreſſe commaundement of a ſuperiour (unconſtrained) doth it, is a meere homicide and manſlaier. And therefore *Cyrus* commended *Chryſantas*, for that being upon the verie point of killing his enemie, as having lifted up his cemiter for to give him a deadly wound, preſently upon the ſound of the retreat by the trumpet, let the man go, and would not ſmite him, as if he had beene forbidden ſo to do.

Or may it not be, for that he who preſenteth himſelfe to fight with his enemie, in caſe he ſhrink, and make not good his ground, ought not to go away cleere withal, but to be held faulty and to ſuffer puniſhment: for he doth nothing ſo good ſervice that hath either killed our wounan enemie, as harme and domage, who reculeth backe or flieth away: now he who is diſcharged from warfare, and hath leave to depart, is no more obliged and bound to militarie lawes: but he that hath demaunded permiſſion to do that ſervice which ſworne and enrolled ſouldiers performe, putteth himſelfe againe under the ſubjection of the law and his owne captaine.

40

How is it, that the prieſt of Jupiter, *is not permitted to annoint himſelfe abroad in the open aire?*

IS it for that in old time it was not held honeſt and lawfull for children to do off their clothes before their fathers; nor the ſonne in law in the preſence of his wives father; neither uſed they the ſtouph or bath together: now is *Jupiter* reputed the prieſts or *Flamines* father: and that which is done in the open aire, ſeemeth eſpecially to be in the verie eie and ſight of *Jupiter*?

Or rather, like as it was thought a great ſinne and exceeding irreverence, for a man to turne himſelfe out of his apparrell naked, in any church, chappell, or religious and ſacred place; even ſo they carried a great reſpect unto the aire and open skie, as being full of gods, demi-gods, and ſaints. And this is the verie cauſe, why we do many of our neceſſarie buſineſſes within doores, encloſed and covered with the roofe of our houſes, and ſo remooved from the eies as it were of the deitie. Moreover, ſome things there be that by law are commaunded and enjoined unto the prieſt onely; and others againe unto all men, by the prieſt: as for example, heere with us in *Bœotia*; to be crowned with chaplets of flowers upon the head; to let the haire grow long; to weare a ſword, and not to ſet foot within the limits of *Phocis*, pertaine all to the office and dutie of the captaine generall and chiefe ruler: but to taſt of no new fruits before the Autumnall Aequinox be paſt; nor to cut and prune a vine but before the Aequinox of the Spring, be intimated and declared unto all by the ſaid ruler or captaine generall: for thoſe be the verie ſeaſons to do both the one & the other. In like caſe, it ſhould ſeeme in my judgement that among the Romans it properly belonged to the prieſt; not to mount on horſeback; not to be above three nights out of the citie; not to put off his cap, wherupon he was called in the Roman language, *Flamen*. But there be many other offices and duties, notified and declared unto all men by the prieſt, among which this is one, not to be enhuiled or anointed abroad in the open aire: For this maner of anointing drie without the bath, the Romans mightily ſuſpected and were afraid of: and even at this day they are of opinion, that there was no ſuch cauſe in the world that brought the Greeks under the yoke of ſervitude and bondage, and made them ſo tender and effeminate, as their halles and publike places where their yong men wreſtled & exerciſed their bodies naked: as being the meanes that brought into their cities, much loſſe of time, engendred idleneſſe, bred lazie ſlouth, and miniſtred occaſion & opportunity of lewdneſſe and vilany; as namely, to make love unto faire boies, and to ſpoile and marre the bodies of young men with ſleeping, with walking at a certaine meaſure, with ſtirring according to motions, keeping artificiall compaſſe, and with obſerving rules of exquiſit diet. Through which faſhions, they ſee not, how (ere they be aware) they be fallen from exerciſes of armes, and have cleane forgotten all militarie diſcipline: loving rather to be held and eſteemed good wreſtlers, fine dauncers, conceited pleaſants, and faire minions, than hardie footmen, or valiant men of armes. And verely it is an hard matter to avoid and decline theſe inconveniences, for them that uſe to diſcover their bodies naked before all the world in the broad aire: but thoſe who annoint themſelves cloſely within doores, and looke to their bodies at home are neither faultie nor offenſive.

41

What is the reaſon that the auntient coine and mony in old time, caried the ſtampe of one ſide of Ianus *with two faces: and on the other ſide, the prow or the poope of a boat engraved therein.*

WAs it not as many men do ſay, for to honour the memorie of *Saturne*, who paſſed into *Italy* by water in ſuch a veſſell? But a man may ſay thus much as well of many others: for *Janus*, *Evander*, and *Aeneas*, came thither likewiſe by ſea; and therefore a man may peradventure geſſe with better reaſon; that whereas ſome things ſerve as goodly ornaments for cities, others as neceſſarie implements: among thoſe which are decent and ſeemely ornaments, the principall is good government and diſcipline, and among ſuch as be neceſſary, is reckoned, plentie and abundance of victuals: now for that *Janus* inſtituted good government, in ordeining holſome lawes, and reducing their manner of life to civilitie, which before was rude and brutiſh, and for that the river being navigable, furniſhed them with ſtore of all neceſſary commodities, whereby ſome were brought thither by ſea, others from the land; the coine caried for the marke of a law-giver, the head with two faces, like as we have already ſaid, becauſe of that change of life which he brought in; and of the river, a ferrie boate or barge: and yet there was another kinde of money currant among them, which had the figure portraied upon it, of a beefe, of a ſheepe, and of a ſwine; for that their riches they raiſed eſpecially from ſuch cattle, and all their wealth and ſubſtance conſiſted in them. And heereupon it commeth, that many of their auncient names, were *Ovilij*, *Bubulci* and *Porcij*, that is to ſay, Sheepe-reeves, and Neat-herds, and Swineherds according as *Feneſtella* doth report.

42

What is the cauſe that they make the temple of Saturne, *the chamber of the citie, for to keepe therein the publicke treaſure of gold and ſilver: as alſo their arches, for the cuſtodie of all their writings, rolles, contracts and evidences whatſoever.*

IS it by occaſion of that opinion ſo commonly received, and the ſpeech ſo univerſally currant in every mans mouth, that during the raigne of *Saturne*, there was no avarice nor injuſtice in the world; but loialtie, truth, faith, and righteouſneſſe caried the whole ſway among men.

Or for that he was the god who found out fruits, brought in agriculture, and taught husbandry firſt; for the hooke or ſickle in his hand ſignifieth ſo much, and not as *Antimachus* wrote, following therein and beleeving *Heſiodus*:

Rough Saturne *with his hairy skinne,*
againſt all law and right,
Of Aemons *ſonne, ſir* Ouranus,
or Cœlus *ſometime hight,*
Thoſe privy members which him gat,
with hooke a-ſlant off-cut.
And then anon in fathers place
of reigne, himſelfe did put.

Now the abundance of the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, and the vent or diſpoſition of them, is the very mother that bringeth foorth plentie of monie: and therefore it is that this ſame god they make the author and mainteiner of their felicitie: in teſtimonie whereof, thoſe aſſemblies which are holden every ninth day in the cõmon place of the city, called *Nundinæ*, that is to ſay, Faires or markets, they eſteeme conſecrated to *Saturne*: for the ſtore & foiſon of fruits is that which openeth the trade & comerce of buying and ſelling. Or, becauſe theſe reaſons ſeeme to be very antique; what and if we ſay that the firſt man who made (of *Saturns* temple at *Rome*) the treaſurie or chamber of the citie, was *Valerius Poplicola*, after that the kings were driven out of *Rome*, and it ſeemeth to ſtand to good reaſon that he made choiſe thereof, becauſe he thought it a ſafe and ſecure place, eminent and conſpicuous in all mens eies, and by conſequence hard to be ſurpriſed and forced.

43

What is the cauſe that thoſe who come as embaſſadours to Rome, *from any parts whatſoever, go firſt into the temple of* Saturne, *and there before the Queſtors or Treaſurers of the citie, enter their names in their regiſters.*

IS it for that *Saturne* himſelfe was a ſtranger in *Italy*, and therefore all ſtrangers are welcome unto him?

Or may not this queſtion be ſolved by the reading of hiſtories? for in old time theſe Queſtors or publick Treaſurers, were wont to ſend unto embaſſadors certeine preſents, which were called *Lautia*: and if it fortuned that ſuch embaſſadors were ſicke, they tooke the charge of them for their cure; and if they chanced to die, they enterred them likewiſe at the cities charges. But now in reſpect of the great reſort of embaſſadors from out of all countries, they have cut off this expenſe: howbeit the auncient cuſtome yet remaineth, namely, to preſent themſelves to the ſaid officers of the treaſure, and to be regiſtred in their booke.

44

Why it is not lawfull for Jupiters *prieſt to ſweare?*

IS it becauſe an oth miniſtred unto free borne men, is as it were the racke and torture tendred unto them? for certeine it is, that the ſoule as well as the bodie of the prieſt, ought to continue free, and not be forced by any torture whatſoever.

Or, for that it is not meet to diſtruſt or diſcredit him in ſmall matters, who is beleeved in great and divine things?

Or rather becauſe every oth endeth with the deteſtation and malediction of perjurie: and conſidering that all maledictions be odious and abominable; therefore it is not thought good that any other prieſts whatſoever, ſhould curſe or pronounce any malediction: and in this reſpect was the prieſtreſſe of *Minerva* in *Athens* highly commended, for that ſhe would never curſe *Alcibiades*, notwithſtanding the people commanded her ſo to doe: For I am (quoth ſhe) ordeined a prieſtreſſe to pray for men, and not to curſe them.

Or laſt of all, was it becauſe the perill of perjurie would reach in common to the whole common wealth, if a wicked, godleſſe and forſworne perſon, ſhould have the charge and ſuperintendance of the praiers, vowes, and ſacrifices made in the behalfe of the citie.

45

What is the reaſon that upon the feſtivall day in the honour of Venus, *which ſolemnitie they call* Veneralia, *they uſe to powre foorth a great quantitie of wine out of the temple of* Venus.

IS it as ſome ſay upon this occaſion, that *Mezentius* ſometime captaine generall of the Tuſcans, ſent certeine embaſſadors unto *Aeneas*, with commiſſion to offer peace unto him, upon this condition, that he might receive all the wine of that * yeeres vintage. But when *Aeneas* refuſed ſo to doe, *Mezentius* (for to encourage his ſouldiers the Tuſkans to fight manfully) promiſed to beſtow wine upon them when he had woon the field: but *Aeneas* underſtanding of this promiſe of his, conſecrated and dedicated all the ſaid wine unto the gods: and in trueth, when he had obteined the victorie, all the wine of that yeere, when it was gotten and gathered together, he powred forth before the temple of *Venus*.

* ἐπέτειον οἶνον, or, a certeine quantitie of wine yeerely, as ſome interpret it.

Or, what if one ſhould ſay, that this doth ſymbolize thus much: That men ought to be ſober upon feſtivall daies, and not to celebrate ſuch ſolemnities with drunkenneſſe; as if the gods take more pleaſure to ſee them ſhed wine upon the ground, than to powre overmuch thereof downe their throats?

46

What is the cauſe that in ancient time they kept the temple of the goddeſſe Horta, *open alwaies.*

WHether was it (as *Antiſtius Labeo* hath left in writing) for that, ſeeing *Hortari* in the Latine tongue ſignifieth to incite and exhort, they thought that the goddeſſe called *Horta*, which ſtirreth and provoketh men unto the enterpriſe and execution of good exploits, ought to be evermore in action, not to make delaies, nor to be ſhut up and locked within dores, ne yet to ſit ſtill and do nothing?

Or rather, becauſe as they name her now a daies *Hora*, with the former ſyllable long, who is a certeine induſtrious, vigilant and buſie goddeſſe, carefull in many things: therefore being as ſhe is, ſo circumſpect and ſo watchfull, they thought ſhe ſhould be never idle, nor rechleſſe of mens affaires.

Or els, this name *Hora* (as many others beſides) is a meere Greeke word, and ſignifieth a deitie or divine power, that hath an eie to overlooke, to view and controll all things; and therefore ſince ſhe never ſleepeth, nor laieth her eies together, but is alwaies broad awake, thererfore her church or chapel was alwaies ſtanding open.

But if it be ſo as *Labeo* ſaith, that this word *Hora* is rightly derived of the Greeke verbe ὁρμᾶν or παρορμᾶν, which ſignifieth to incite or provoke; conſider better, whether this word *Orator* alſo, that is to ſay, one who ſtirrith up, exhorteth, encourageth, and adviſeth the people, as a prompt and ready counſeller, be not derived likewiſe in the ſame ſort,and not of ἀρὰ or εὐχὴ, that is to ſay,praier and ſupplication, as ſome would have it.

47

Wherefore founded Romulus *the temple of* Vulcane *without the citie of* Rome?

IS it for the jealouſie (which as fables do report) *Vulcane* had of *Mars*, becauſe of his wife *Venus*: and ſo *Romulus* being reputed the ſonne of *Mars*, would not vouchſafe him to inhabit and dwell in the ſame citie with him? or is this a meere foolerie and ſenſeleſſe conceit?

But this temple was built at the firſt, to be a chamber and parlour of privie counſell for him and *Tatius* who reigned with him; to the end that meeting and ſitting there in conſultation together with the Senatours, in a place remote from all troubles and hinderances, they might deliberate as touching the affaires of State with eaſe and quietneſſe.

Or rather, becauſe *Rome* from the very firſt foundation was ſubject to fire by caſualtie, hee thought good to honour this god of fire in ſome ſort,but yet to place him without the walles of the citie.

48

What is the reaſon, that upon their feſtivall day called Conſualia, *they adorned with garlands of flowers aſwell their aſſes as horſes, and gave them reſt and repoſe for the time?*

IS it for that this ſolemnitie was holden in the honour of *Neptune* ſurnamed *Equeſtris*, that is to ſay,the horſeman? and the aſſe hath his part of this joyfull feaſt, for the horſes ſake?

Or, becauſe that after navigation and tranſporting of commodities by ſea was now found out and ſhewed to the world, there grew by that meanes (in ſome ſort) better reſt and more eaſe to poore labouring beaſts of draught and carriage.

49

How commeth it to paſſe, that thoſe who ſtood for any office and magiſtracie, were woont by an old cuſtome (as Cato *hath written) to preſent themſelves unto the people in a ſingle robe or looſe gowne, without any coat at all under it?*

WAs it for feare leſt they ſhould carrie under their robes any money in their boſomes, for to corrupt, bribe,and buy (as it were) the voices and ſuffrages of the people?

Or was it becauſe they deemed men woorthy to beare publicke office and to governe, not by their birth and parentage, by their wealth and riches, ne yet by their ſhew and outward reputation, but by their wounds and ſcarres to be ſeene upon their bodies. To the end therefore, that ſuch ſcarres might be better expoſed to their ſight whom they met or talked withall, they went in this maner downe to the place of election, without inward coats in their plaine gownes.

Or haply, becauſe they would ſeeme by this nuditie and nakedneſſe of theirs, in humilitie to debaſe themſelves, the ſooner thereby to curry favor, and win the good grace of the commons, even aſwell as by taking them by the right hand,by ſuppliant craving,and by humble ſubmiſſion on their very knees.

50

What is the cauſe that the Flamen or prieſt of Jupiter, *when his wife was once dead, uſed to give up his Prieſthood or Sacerdotall dignitie, according as* Ateius *hath recorded in his hiſtorie.*

WAs it for that he who once had wedded a wife, and afterwards buried her, was more infortunate, than he who never had any? for the houſe of him who hath maried a wife, is entire and perfect, but his houſe who once had one, and now hath none, is not onely unperfect,but alſo maimed and lame?

Or might it not bee that the prieſts wife was conſecrated alſo to divine ſervice together with her husband; for many rites and ceremonies there were, which he alone could not performe, if his wife were not preſent: and to eſpouſe a new wife immediately upon the deceaſe of the other, were not peradventure poſſible,nor otherwiſe would well ſtand with decent and civill honeſty: wherupon neither in times paſt was it lawful for him,nor at this day as it ſhould ſeem, is he permitted to put away his wife: and yet in our age *Domitian* at the requeſt of one, gave licence ſo to doe: at this diſſolution and breach of wedlocke, other prieſts were preſent and aſſiſtant, where there paſſed among them many ſtrange, hideous, horrible, and monſtrous ceremonies.

But haply a man would leſſe wonder at this, if ever he knew and underſtood before, that when one of the Cenſors died, the other of neceſſity muſt likewiſe quit & reſigne up his office. Howbeit, when *Livius Druſus* was departed this life, his companion in office *Aemylius Scaurus*, would not give over and renounce his place, untill ſuch time as certeine Tribunes of the people, for his contumacie commanded, that he ſhould be had away to priſon.

51

What was the reaſon that the idols Lares, *which otherwiſe properly be called* Præſtites, *had the images of a dogge ſtanding hard by them, and the* Lares *themſelves were portraied clad in dogges skinnes?*

IS it becauſe this word *Præſtites* ſignifieth as much as προεστῶτες, that is to ſay, Preſidents, or ſtanding before as keepers: and verily ſuch Preſidents ought to be good houſe-keepers, and terrible unto all ſtangers, like as a dogge is; but gentle and loving to thoſe of the houſe.

Or rather, that which ſome of the Romans write is true, like as *Chryſippus* alſo the philoſopher is of opinion; namely, that there be certeine evill ſpirits which goe about walking up and downe in the world; and theſe be the butchers and tormentors that the gods imploy to puniſh unjuſt and wicked men: and even ſo theſe *Lares* are held to be maligne ſpirits, & no better than divels, ſpying into mens lives, and prying into their families; which is the cauſe that they now be arraied in ſuch skinnes, and a dogge they have ſitting hard by them, whereby thus much in effect is given to underſtand, that quicke ſented they are, and of great power both to hunt out, and alſo to chaſtice leud perſons.

52

What is the cauſe that the Romans ſacrifice a dogge unto the goddeſſe called Genita-Mana, *and withall make one praier unto her, that none borne in the houſe might ever come to good?*

IS it for that this *Genita-Mana* is counted a *Dæmon* or goddeſſe that hath the procuration and charge both of the generation and alſo of the birth of things corruptible? for ſurely the word implieth as much, as a certeine fluxion and generation, or rather a generation fluent or fluxible: and like as the Greeks ſacrificed unto *Proſerpina*, a dog, ſo do the Romans unto that *Genita*, for thoſe who are borne in the houſe. *Socrates* alſo ſaith, that the Argives ſacrificed a dogge unto *Ilithya*, for the more eaſie and ſafe deliverance of child-birth. Furthermore, as touching that Praier, that nothing borne within the houſe might ever proove good, it is not haply meant of any perſons, man or woman, but of dogges rather which were whelped there; which ought to be, not kinde and gentle, but curſt and terrible.

* χρηστοὺς.

Or peradventure, for that they* that die (after an elegant maner of ſpeech) be named Good or quiet: under theſe words they covertly pray, that none borne in the houſe might die. And this need not to ſeeme a ſtrange kinde of ſpeech; for *Ariſtotle* writeth, that in a certeine treatie of peace betweene the Arcadians & Lacedemonians, this article was compriſed in the capitulations: That they ſhould make none* of the Tegeates, Good, for the aid they ſent, or favour that they bare unto the Lacedæmonians; by which was meant, that they ſhould put none of them to death.

* μη δένα χρηστὸν.

53

What is the reaſon, that in a ſolemne proceſsion exhibited at the Capitoline plaies, they proclame (even at this day) by the voice of an herald, port-ſale of the Sardians? and before all this ſolemnitie and pompe, there is by way of mockerie and to make a laughing ſtocke an olde man led in a ſhew, with a jewell or brooch pendant about his necke, ſuch as noble mens children are woont to weare, and which they call Bulla?

IS it for that the Veientians, who in times paſt being a puiſſant State in Tuſcane, made warre a long time with *Romulus*: whoſe citie being the laſt that he woonne by force, he made ſale of many priſoners and captives, together with their king, mocking him for his ſtupiditie and groſſe follie. Now for that the Tuſcans in ancient time were deſcended from the Lydians, and the capitall citie of *Lydia* is *Sardis*, therefore they proclamed the ſale of the Veientian priſoners under the name of the Sardians; and even to this day in ſcorne and mockerie, they reteine ſtill the ſame cuſtome.

Whence

54

Whence came it, that they call the ſhambles or butcherie at Rome *where fleſh is to be ſolde,* Macellum?

IS it for that this word *Macellum*, by corruption of language is derived of Μάγειρος, that in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth a cooke? like as many other words by uſage and cuſtome are come to be received; for the letter C. hath great affinitie with G. in the Romane tongue: and long it was ere they had the uſe of G. which letter *Spurius Carbilius* firſt invented. Moreover, they that maſſle and ſtammer in their ſpeech, pronounce ordinarily L. in ſtead of R.

Or this queſtion may be reſolved better by the knowledge of the Romane hiſtorie: for we reade therein, that there was ſometime a violent perſon and a notorious thiefe at *Rome*, named *Macellus*, who after he had committed many outrages and robberies, was with much ado in the end taken and puniſhed: and of his goods which were forfeit to the State, there was built a publike ſhambles or market place to ſell fleſh-meats in, which of his name was called *Macellum*.

55

Why upon the Ides of Januarie, the minſtrels at Rome *who plaied upon the hautboies, were permitted to goe up and downe the city diſguiſed in womens apparell?*

ARoſe this faſhion upon that occaſion which is reported? namely, that king *Numa* had granted unto them many immunities and honorable priviledges in his time, for the great devotion that hee had in the ſervice of the gods? and for that afterwards, the Tribunes militarie who governed the citie in Conſular authority, tooke the ſame from them, they went their way diſcontented, and departed quite from the citie of *Rome*: but ſoone after, the people had a miſſe of them, and beſides, the prieſts made it a matter of conſcience, for that in all the ſacrifices thorowout the citie, there was no ſound of flute or hautboies. Now when they would not returne againe (being ſent for) but made their abode in the citie *Tibur*; there was a certeine afranchiſed bondſlave who ſecretly undertooke unto the magiſtrates, to finde ſome meanes for to fetch them home. So he cauſed a ſumptuous feaſt to be made, as if he meant to celebrate ſome ſolemne ſacrifice, and invited to it the pipers and plaiers of the hautboies aforeſaid: and at this feaſt he tooke order there ſhould be divers women alſo; and all night long there was nothing but piping, playing, ſinging and dancing: but all of a ſudden this maſter of the feaſt cauſed a rumor to be raiſed, that his lord and maſter was come to take him in the maner; whereupon making ſemblant that he was much troubled and affrighted, he perſwaded the minſtrels to mount with all ſpeed into cloſe coatches, covered all over with ſkinnes, and ſo to be carried to *Tibur*. But this was a deceitfull practiſe of his; for he cauſed the coatches to be turned about another way, and unawares to them; who partly for the darkeneſſe of the night, and in part becauſe they were drowſie and the wine in their heads, tooke no heed of the way, he brought all to *Rome* betimes in the morning by the breake of day, diſguiſed as they were, many of them in light coloured gownes like women, which (for that they had over-watched and over-drunke themſelves) they had put on, and knew not therof. Then being (by the magiſtrates) overcome with faire words, and reconciled againe to the citie, they held ever after this cuſtome every yeere upon ſuch a day: To go up and downe the citie thus fooliſhly diſguiſed.

56

What is the reaſon, that it is commonly received, that certein matrons of the city at the firſt founded and built the temple of Carmenta, *and to this day honour it highly with great reverence?*

FOr it is ſaid, that upon a time the Senat had forbidden the dames and wives of the city to ride in coatches: whereupon they tooke ſuch a ſtomacke and were ſo deſpighteous, that to be revenged of their husbands, they conſpired altogether not to conceive or be with child by them, nor to bring them any more babes: and in this minde they perſiſted ſtill, untill their husbands began to bethinke them ſelves better of the matter, and let them have their will to ride in their coatches againe as before time: and then they began to breed and beare children a freſh: and thoſe who ſooneſt conceived and bare moſt and with greateſt eaſe, founded then the temple of *Carmenta*. And as I ſuppoſe this *Carmenta* was the mother of *Evander*, who came with him into *Italy*; whoſe right name indeed was *Themis*, or as ſome ſay *Nicoſtrata*: now for that ſhe rendred propheticall anſweres and oracles in verſe, the Latins ſurnamed her *Carmenta*: for verſes in their tongue they call *Carmina*. Others are of opinion, that *Carmenta* was one of the Deſtinies, which is the cauſe that ſuch matrons and mothers ſacrifice unto her. And the Etymologie of this name *Carmenta*, is as much as *Carens mente*, that is to ſay, beſide her right wits or beſtraught, by reaſon that her ſenſes were ſo raviſhed and tranſported: ſo that her verſes gave her not the name *Carmenta*, but contrariwiſe, her verſes were called *Carmina* of her, becauſe when ſhe was thus raviſhed and caried beſide herſelfe, ſhe chanted certeine oracles and propheſies in verſe.

57

What is the cauſe that the women who ſacrifice unto the goddeſſe Rumina, *doe powre and caſt ſtore of milke upon their ſacrifice, but no wine at all do they bring thither for to be drunke?*

IS it, for that the Latins in their tongue call a pap, *Ruma*? And well it may ſo be, for that the wilde figge tree neere unto which the ſhe wolfe gave ſucke with her teats unto *Romulus*, was in that reſpect called *Ficus Ruminalis*. Like as therefore we name in our Greeke language thoſe milch nourſes that ſuckle yoong infants at their breſts, *Thelona*, being a word derived of *Thele*, which ſignifieth a pap; even ſo this goddeſſe *Rumina*, which is as much to ſay, as Nurſe, and one that taketh the care and charge of nouriſhing and rearing up of infants, admitteth not in her ſacrifices any wine; for that it is hurtfull to the nouriture of little babes and ſucklings.

58

What is the reaſon that of the Romane Senatours, ſome are called ſimply, Patres; *others with an addition,* Patres conſcripti?

IS it for that they firſt, who were inſtituted and ordeined by *Romulus*, were named *Patres & Patritii*, that is to ſay, Gentlemen or Nobly borne, ſuch as we in *Greece*, tearme *Eupatrides*?

Or rather they were ſo called, becauſe they could avouch and ſhew their fathers; but ſuch as were adjoined afterwards by way of ſupply, and enrolled out of the Commoners houſes, were *Patres conſcripti*, thereupon?

59

Wherefore was there one altar common to Hercules *and the Muſes?*

MAy it not be, for that *Hercules* taught *Evander* the letters, according as *Juba* writeth? Certes, in thoſe daies it was accounted an honourable office for men to teach their kinſefolke and friends to ſpell letters, and to reade. For a long time after it, and but of late daies it was, that they began to teach for hire and for money: and the firſt that ever was knowen to keepe a publicke ſchoole for reading, was one named *Spurius Carbilius*, the freed ſervant of that *Carbilius* who firſt put away his wife.

60

What is the reaſon, that there being two altars dedicated unto Hercules, *women are not partakers of the greater, nor taſt one whit of that which is offered or ſacrificed thereupon?*

IS it, becauſe as the report goes *Carmenta* came not ſoone enough to be aſſiſtant unto the ſacrifice: no more did the family of the *Pinarij*, whereupon they tooke that name? for in regard that they came tardie, admitted they were not to the feaſt with others who made good cheere; and therefore got the name *Pinarij*, as if one would ſay, pined or famiſhed?

Or rather it may allude unto the tale that goeth of the ſhirt empoiſoned with the blood of *Neſſus* the Centaure, which ladie *Deianira* gave unto *Hercules*.

61

How commeth it to paſſe, that it is expreſly forbidden at Rome, *either to name or to demaund ought as touching the Tutelar god, who hath in particular recommendation and patronage, the ſafetie and preſervation of the citie of* Rome: *nor ſo much as to enquire whether the ſaid deitie be male or female? And verely this prohibition proceedeth from a ſuperſtitious feare that they have; for that they ſay that* Valerius Soranus *died an ill death, becauſe he preſumed to utter and publiſh ſo much.*

IS it in regard of a certaine reaſon that ſome latin hiſtorians do alledge; namely, that there be certaine evocations and enchantings of the gods by ſpels and charmes, through the power wherof they are of opinion, that they might be able to call forth and draw away the Tutelar gods of their enemies, and to cauſe them to come and dwell with them: and therefore the Romans be afraid leſt they may do as much for them? For, like as in times paſt the Tyrians, as we find upon record, when their citie was beſieged, enchained the images of their gods to their ſhrines, for feare they would abandon their citie and be gone; and as others demanded pledges and ſureties that they ſhould come againe to their place, whenſoever they ſent them to any bath to be waſhed, or let them go to any expiation to be clenſed; even ſo the Romans thought, that to be altogether unknowen and not once named, was the beſt meanes, and ſureſt way to keepe with their Tutelar god.

Or rather, as *Homer* verie well wrote:

The earth to men all,
is common great and ſmall:

That thereby men ſhould worſhip all the gods, and honour the earth; ſeeing ſhe is common to them all: even ſo the ancient Romans have concealed and ſuppreſſe the god or angell which hath the particular gard of their citie, to the end that their citizens ſhould adore, not him alone but all others likewiſe.

62

What is the cauſe that among thoſe prieſts whom they name Fæciales, *ſignifying as much as in geeke* εἰρηνοποιοὶ, *that is to ſay, Officers going between to make treatie of peace; or* σπονδοφόροι, *that is to ſay, Agents for truce and leagues, he whom they call* Pater Pat[illegible]us *is eſteemed the chiefeſt? Now* Pater Patratus *is he, whoſe father is yet living, who hath children of his owne: and in truth this chiefe Fæcial or Herault hath ſtill at this day a certain prerogative, & ſpeciall credit above the reſt. For the emperours themſelves, and generall captains, if they have any perſons about them who in regard of the prime of youth, or of their beautifull bodies had need of a faithfull, diligent, and truſtie guard, commit them ordinarily into the hands of ſuch as theſe, for ſafe cuſtodie.*

IS it not, for that theſe *Patres Patrati*, for reverent feare of their fathers of one ſide, and for modeſt ſhames to ſcandalize or offend their children on the other ſide, are enſorced to be wiſe and diſcreet?

Or may it not be, in regard of that cauſe which their verie denomination doth miniſter and declare: for this word PATRATUS ſignifieth as much as compleat, entire and accompliſhed, as if he were one more perfect and abſolute every way than the reſt, as being ſo happie, as to have his owne father living, and be a father alſo himſelfe.

Or is it not, for that the man who hath the ſuperintendance of treaties of peace, and of othes, ought to ſee as *Homer* ſaith, ἅμα πρόσω καὶ ἐπίσω, that is to ſay, before and behind. And in all reaſon ſuch an one is he like to be, who hath a child for whom, and a father with whom he may conſult.

63

What is the reaſon, that the officer at Rome *called* Rex ſacrorum, *that is to ſay, the king of ſacrifices, is debarred both from exerciſing any magiſtracie, and alſo to make a ſpeech unto the people in publike place?*

IS it for that in old time, the kings themſelves in perſon performed the moſt part of ſacred rites, and thoſe that were greater, yea and together with the prieſts offered ſacrifices; but by reaſon that they grew inſolent, proud, and arrogant, ſo as they became intollerable, moſt of the Greeke nations, deprived them of this authoritie, and left unto them the preheminence onely to offer publike ſacrifice unto the gods: but the Romans having cleane chaſed and expelled their kings, eſtabliſhed in their ſtead another under officer whom they called King, unto whom they granted the overſight and charge of ſacrifices onely, but permitted him not to exerciſe or execute any office of State, nor to intermedle in publick affaires; to the end it ſhould be knowen to the whole world, that they would not ſuffer any perſon to raigne at *Rome*, but onely over the ceremonies of ſacrifices, nor endure the verie name of Roialtie, but in reſpect of the gods. And to this purpoſe upon the verie common place neere unto *Comitium*; they uſe to have a ſolemn ſacrifice for the good eſtate of the citie; which ſo ſoone as ever this king hath performed, he taketh his legs and runnes out of the place, as faſt as ever he can.

Why

64

Why ſuffer not they the table to be taken cleane away, and voided quite, but will have ſomewhat alwaies remaining upon it?

GIve they not heereby covertly to underſtand, that wee ought of that which is preſent to reſerve evermore ſomething for the time to come, and on this day to remember the morrow.

Or thought they it not a point of civill honeſty and elegance, to repreſſe and keepe downe their appetite when they have before them enough ſtill to content and ſatisfie it to the full; for leſſe will they deſire that which they have not, when they accuſtome themſelves to abſteine from that which they have.

Or is not this a cuſtome of courteſie and humanitie to their domeſticall ſervants, who are not ſo well pleaſed to take their victuals ſimply, as to partake the ſame, ſuppoſing that by this meanes in ſome ſort they doe participate with their maſters at the table.

Or rather is it not, becauſe we ought to ſuffer no ſacred thing to be emptie; and the boord you wot well is held ſacred.

65

What is the reaſon that the Bridegrome commeth the firſt time to lie with his new wedded bride, not with any light but in the darke?

IS it becauſe he is yet abaſhed, as taking her to be a ſtranger and not his owne, before he hath companied carnally with her?

Or for that he would then acquaint himſelfe, to come even unto his owne eſpouſed wife with ſhamefacedneſſe and modeſtie?

Or rather, like as *Solon* in his Statutes ordeined, that the new maried wife ſhould eat of a quince before ſhe enter into the bride bed-chamber, to the end that this firſt encounter and embracing, ſhould not be odious or unpleaſant to her husband? even ſo the Romane lawgiver would hide in the obſcuritie of darkeneſſe, the deformities and imperfections in the perſon of the bride, if there were any.

Or haply this was inſtituted to ſhew how ſinfull and damnable all unlawfull companie of man and woman together is, ſeeing that which is lawfull and allowed, is not without ſome blemiſh and note of ſhame.

66

Why is one of the races where horſes uſe to runne, called the Cirque *or* Flaminius.

IS it for that in old time an ancient Romane named *Flaminius* gave unto the citie, a certeine piece of ground, they emploied the rent and revenues thereof in runnings of horſes, and chariots: and for that there was a ſurpluſſage remaining of the ſaid lands, they beſtowed the ſame in paving that high way or cauſey, called *Via Flaminia*, that is to ſay, *Flaminia* ſtreet?

67

Why are the Sergeants or officers who carie the knitches of rods before the magiſtrates of Rome, *called* Lictores.

IS it becauſe theſe were they who bound malefactors, and who followed after *Romulus*, as his guard, with cords and leather thongs about them in their boſomes? And verily the common people of *Rome* when they would ſay to binde or tie faſt, uſe the word *Alligare*, and ſuch as ſpeake more pure and proper Latin, *Ligare*.

Or is it, for that now the letter *C* is interjected within this word, which before time was *Litores*, as one would ſay Λειτοῦργοι, that is to ſay, officers of publike charge; for no man there is in a maner, ignorant, that even at this day in many cities of *Greece*, the common-wealth or publicke ſtate is written in their lawes by the name of Λῄτον:

68

Wherefore doe the Luperci *at* Rome *ſacrifice a Dogge? Now theſe* Luperci *are certeine perſons who upon a feſtivall day called* Lupercalia, *runne through the citie all naked, ſave that they have aprons onely before their privy parts, carying leather whippes in their hands, wherewith they flappe and ſcourge whomſoever they meet in the ſtreets.*

IS all this ceremoniall action of theirs a purification of the citie? whereupon they call the moneth wherein this is done *Februarius*, yea, and the very day it ſelfe *Febraten*, like as the maner of ſquitching with a leather ſcourge *Februare*, which verbe ſignifieth as much as to purge or purifie?

And verily the Greeks, in maner all, were wont in times paſt, and ſo they continue even at this day, in all their expiations, to kill a dogge for ſacrifice. Unto *Hecate* alſo they bring foorth among other expiatorie oblations, certeine little dogges or whelpes: ſuch alſo as have neede of clenſing and purifying, they wipe and ſcoure all over with whelpes skinnes, which maner of purification they tearme *Periſcylaciſmos*.

Or rather is it for that *Lupus* ſignifieth a woolfe, & *Lupercalia*, or *Lycæa*, is the feaſt of wolves: now a dogge naturally, being an enemie to woolves, therefore at ſuch feaſts they ſacrificed a dogge.

Or peradventure, becauſe dogges barke and bay at theſe *Luperci*, troubling and diſquieting them as they runne up and downe the city in maner aforeſaid.

Or elſe laſt of all, for that this feaſt and ſacrifice is ſolemnized in the honor of god *Pan*; who as you wot well is pleaſed well enough with a dogge, in regard of his flocks of goates.

69

What is the cauſe that in auncient time, at the feaſt called Septimontium, *they obſerved preciſely not to uſe any coaches drawen with ſteeds, no more than thoſe doe at this day, who are obſervant of old inſtitutions and doe not deſpiſe them. Now this* Septimontium *is a feſtivall ſolemnity, celebrated in memoriall of a ſeventh mountaine, that was adjoined and taken into the pourpriſe of* Rome *citie, which by this meanes came to have ſeven hilles encloſed within the precinct thereof?*

WHether was it as ſome Romans doe imagine, for that the city was not as yet conjunct and compoſed of all her parts? Or if this may ſeeme an impertinent conjecture, and nothing to the purpoſe: may it not be in this reſpect, that they thought they had atchieved a great piece of worke, when they had thus amplified and enlarged the compaſſe of the citie, thinking that now it needed not to proceed any further in greatneſſe and capacitie: in conſideration whereof, they repoſed themſelves, and cauſed likewiſe their labouring beaſts of draught and cariage to reſt, whoſe helpe they had uſed in finiſhing of the ſaid encloſure, willing that they alſo ſhould enjoy in common with them, the benefit of that ſolemne feaſt.

Or elſe we may ſuppoſe by this, how deſirous they were that their citizens ſhould ſolemnize and honour with their perſonall preſence all feaſts of the citie, but eſpecially that which was ordained and inſtituted for the peopling and augmenting thereof: for which cauſe they were not permitted upon the day of the dedication, and feſtival memorial of it, to put any horſes in geeres or harneſſe for to draw; for that they were not at ſuch a time to ride forth of the citie.

70

Why call they thoſe who are deprehended or taken in theft, pilferie or ſuch like ſervile treſpaſſes, Furciferos, *as one would ſay, Fork bearers.*

IS not this alſo an evident argument of the great diligence and carefull regard that was in their ancients? For when the maiſter of the family had ſurpriſed one of his ſervants or ſlaves, committing a lewd and wicked pranck, he commaunded him to take up and carrie upon his necke betweene his ſhoulders a forked piece of wood, ſuch as they uſe to put under the ſpire of a chariot or waine, and ſo to go withall in the open view of the world throughout the ſtreet, yea and the pariſh where he dwelt, to the end that every man from thence forth ſhould take heed of him. This piece of wood we in Greeke call ςήριγμα, and the Romanes in the Latin tongue *Furca*, that is to ſay, a forked prop or ſupporter: and therefore he that is forced to carie ſuch an one, is by reproch termed *Furcifer*.

71

Wherefore uſe the Romans to tie a wiſp of hey unto the hornes of kine, and other beefes, that are woont to boak and be curſt with their heads, that by the meanes thereof folke might take heed of them, and looke better to themſelves when they come in their way?

IS it not for that beefes, horſes, aſſes, yea and men become fierce, inſolent, and dangerous, if they be highly kept and pampered to the full? according as *Sophocles* said:

Like as the colt or jade doth winſe and kick,
In caſe he find his provender to prick:
Even ſo do'ſt thou: for lo, thy paunch is full
Thy cheeks be puft, like to ſome greedie gull.

And thereupon the Romans gave out, that *Marcus Craſſus* caried hey on his horne: for howſoever they would ſeeme to let flie and carpe at others, who dealt in the affaires of State, and government, yet beware they would how they commerſed with him as being a daungerous man, and one who caried a revenging mind to as many as medled with him. Howbeit it was ſaid afterwards againe on the other ſide, that *Cæſar* had plucked the hey from *Craſſus* his horne: for he was the firſt man that oppoſed himſelfe, and made head againſt him in the management of the State, and in one word ſet not a ſtraw by him.

72

What was the cauſe that they thought thoſe prieſts who obſerved bird-flight, ſuch as in old time they called Aruſpices, *and now a daies* Augures, *ought to have their lanterns and lamps alwaies open, and not to put any lid or cover over them?*

MAy it not be, that like as the old Pythagorean Philoſophers by ſmall matters ſignified and implied things of great conſequence, as namely, when they forbad their diſciples to ſit upon the meaſure Chænix; and to ſtirre fire, or rake the hearth with a ſword; euen ſo the ancient Romans uſed many ænigmes, that is to ſay, outward ſignes and figures betokening ſome hidden and ſecret myſteries; eſpecially with their prieſts in holy and ſacred things, like as this is of the lampe or lanterne, which ſymbolizeth in ſome ſort the bodie that containeth our ſoule. For the ſoule within reſembleth the light, and it behooveth that the intelligent and reaſonable part thereof ſhould be alwaies open, evermore intentive and ſeeing, and at no time encloſed and ſhut up, nor blowen upon by wind. For looke when the winds be aloft, fowles in their flight keepe no certaintie, neither can they yeeld aſſured preſages, by reaſon of their variable and wandering inſtabilitie: and therefore by this ceremoniall cuſtome they teach thoſe who do divine and foretell by the flight of birds, not to go forth for to take their auſpices and obſervations when the wind is up, but when the aire is ſtill, and ſo calme, that a man may carie a lanterne open and uncovered.

73

Why were theſe Southſaiers or Augures forbidden to go abroad, for to obſerve the flight of birds, in caſe they had any ſore or ulcer upon their bodies?

WAs not this alſo a ſignificant token to put them in minde, that they ought not to deale in the divine ſervice of the gods, nor meddle with holy and ſacred things if there were any ſecret matter that gnawed their minds, or ſo long as any private ulcer or paſſion ſetled in their hearts: but to be void of ſadneſſe and griefe, to be ſound and ſincere, and not diſtracted by any trouble whatſoever?

Or, becauſe it ſtandeth to good reaſon; that if it be not lawfull nor allowable for them to offer unto the gods for an oaſt or ſacrifice any beaſt that is ſcabbed, or hath a ſore upon it, nor to take preſage by the flight of ſuch birds as are maungie, they ought more ſtrictly and preciſely to looke into their owne perſons in this behalfe, and not to preſume for to obſerve celeſtiall prognoſtications and ſignes from the gods, unleſſe they be themſelves pure and holy, undefiled, and not defective in their owne ſelves: for ſurely an ulcer ſeemeth to be in maner of a mutilation and pollution of the bodie.

74

Why did king Servius Tullus *found and build a temple of little Fortune which they called in Latine* Brevis fortunæ, *that is to ſay, of Short fortune?*

WAs it not thinke you in reſpect of his owne ſelfe, who being at the firſt of a ſmall and baſe condition, as being borne of a captive woman, by the favour of Fortune grew to ſo great an eſtate that he was king of *Rome*?

Or for that this change in him ſheweth rather the might and greatneſſe, than the debilitie and ſmalneſſe of Fortune. We are to ſay, that this king *Servius* deified Fortune, & attributed unto her more divine power than any other, as having entituled and impoſed her name almoſt upon every action : for not onely he erected temples unto Fortune, by the name of Puiſſant, of Diverting ill lucke, of Sweet, Favourable to the firſt borne and maſculine; but alſo there is one temple beſides, of private or proper Fortune; another of Fortune returned; a third of confident Fortune and hoping well; and a fourth of Fortune the virgine. And what ſhould a man reckon up other ſurnames of hers, ſeeing there is a temple dedicated (forſooth) to glewing Fortune, whom they called *Viſcata*; as if we were given thereby to underſtand, that we are caught by her afarre off, and even tied (as it were) with bird-lime to buſineſſe and affaires.

But conſider this moreover, that he having knowen by experience what great power ſhe hath in humane things, how little ſoever ſhe ſeeme to be, and how often a ſmall matter in hapning or not hapning hath given occaſion to ſome, either to miſſe of great exploits, or to atcheive as great enterpriſes, whether in this reſpect, he built not a temple to little Fortune, teaching men thereby to be alwaies ſtudious, carefull and diligent, and not to deſpiſe any occurrences how ſmall ſoever they be.

75

What is the cauſe that they never put foorth the light of a lampe, but ſuffered it to goe out of the owne accord?

WAs it not (thinke you) uppon a certeine reverent devotion that they bare unto that fire, as being either couſen germaine, or brother unto that inextinguible and immortall fire.

Or rather, was it not for ſome other ſecret advertiſment, to teach us not to violate or kill any thing whatſoever that hath life, if it hurt not us firſt; as if fire were a living creature: for need it hath of nouriſhment and moveth of it ſelfe: and if a man doe ſquench it, ſurely it uttereth a kinde of voice and ſcricke, as if a man killed it.

Or certeinly this faſhion and cuſtome received ſo uſually, ſheweth us that we ought not to marre or ſpoile, either fire or water or any other thing neceſſarie, after we our ſelves have done with it, and have had ſufficient uſe thereof, but to ſuffer it to ſerve other mens turnes who have need, after that we our ſelves have no imploiment for it.

76

How commeth it to paſſe that thoſe who are deſended of the moſt noble and auncient houſes of Rome, *caried little moones upon their ſhoes.*

IS this (as *Caſtor* ſaith) a ſigne of the habitation which is reported to be within the bodie of the moone?

Or for that after death, our ſpirits and ghoſts ſhall have the moone under them?

Or rather, becauſe this was a marke or badge proper unto thoſe who were reputed moſt ancient, as were the Arcadians deſcended from *Evander*, who upon this occaſion were called *Proſeleni*, as one would ſay, borne before the moone?

Or, becauſe this cuſtome as many others, admoniſheth thoſe who are lifted up too high, and take ſo great pride in themſelves, of the incertitude and inſtabilitie of this life, and of humane affaires, even by the example of the moone,

Who at the firſt doth new and yoong appeere,
Where as before ſhe made no ſhew at all;
And ſo her light increaſeth faire and cleere,
Untill her face be round and full withall:
But then anon ſhe doth begin to fall,
And backward wane from all this beautie gay,
Untill againe ſhe vaniſh cleane away.

Or was not this an holſome leſſon and inſtruction of obedience, to teach and adviſe men to obey their ſuperiors, & not to thinke much for to be under others: but like as the moone is willing to give eare (as it were) and apply her ſelfe to her better, content to be ranged in a ſecond place, and as *Parmenides* ſaith,

Having an eie and due regard
Alwaies the bright Sun beames toward;

even ſo they ought to reſt in a ſecond degree, to follow after, and be under the conduct and direction of another, who ſitteth in the firſt place, and of his power, authority and honor, in ſome meaſure to enjoy a part.

Why

77

Why think they the yeeres dedicated to Jupiter*, and the moneths to* Juno?

MAy it not be for that of Gods inviſible and who are no otherwiſe ſeene but by the eies of our underſtanding: thoſe that reigne as princes be *Jupiter* and *Juno*; but of the viſible, the Sun and Moone? Now the Sun is he who cauſeth the yeere, and the Moone maketh the moneth. Neither are we to thinke, that theſe be onely and ſimply the figures and images of them: but beleeve we muſt, that the materiall Sun which we behold, is *Jupiter*, and this materiall Moone, *Juno*. And the reaſon why they call her *Juno*, (which word is as much to ſay as yoong or new) is in regarde of the courſe of the Moone: and otherwhiles they ſurname her alſo *Juno-Lucina*, that is to ſay; light or ſhining: being of opinion that ſhe helpeth women in travel of child-birth, bike as the Moone doth, according to theſe verſes:

By ſtarres that turne full round in Azur skie:
By Moone who helps child-births right ſpeedily.

For it ſeemeth that women at the full of the moone be moſt eaſily delivered of childbirth.

78

*What is the cauſe that in obſerving bird-flight, that which is preſented on the * left hand is reputed lucky and proſperous?*

* ἀριστερὸς, *ſiniſtra.*

IS not this altogether untrue, and are not many men in an errour by ignorance of the equivocation of the word *Siniſtrum*, & their maner of Dialect; for that which we in Greeke call ἀριστερὸν, that is to ſay, on the auke or left hand, they ſay in Latin, *Siniſtrum*; and that which ſignifieth to permit, or let be, they expreſſe by the verbe *Sinere*, and when they will a man to let a thing alone, they ſay unto him, *Sine*; whereupon it may ſeeme that this word *Siniſtrum* is derived. That preſaging bird then, which permitteth and ſuffreth an action to be done, being as it were *Siniſterion*; the vulgar ſort ſuppoſe (though not aright) to be *Siniſtrum*, that is to ſay, on the left hand, and ſo they tearme it.

Or may it not be rather as *Dionyſius* ſaith, for that when *Aſcanius* the ſonne of *Aeneas* wanne a field againſt *Mezentius* as the two armies ſtood arranged one affronting the other in battel ray, it thundred on his left hand; and becauſe thereupon he obteined the victory, they deemed even then, that this thunder was a token preſaging good, and for that cauſe obſerved it, ever after ſo to fall out. Others thinke that this preſage and foretoken of good lucke hapned unto *Aeneas*: and verily at the battell of *Leuctres*, the Thebanes began to breake the ranks of their enemies, and to diſcomfit them with the left wing of their battel, and thereby in the end atchieved a brave victorie; whereupon ever after in all their conflicts, they gave preference and the honour of leading and giving the firſt charge, to the left wing.

Or rather, is it not as *Juba* writeth, becauſe that when we looke toward the ſunne riſing, the North ſide is on our left hand, and ſome will ſay, that the North is the right ſide and upper part of the whole world.

But conſider I pray you, whether the left hand being the weaker of the twaine, the preſages comming on that ſide, doe not fortifie and ſupport the defect of puiſſance which it hath, and ſo make it as it were even and equall to the other?

Or rather conſidering that earthly and mortall things they ſuppoſing to be oppoſite unto thoſe that be heavenly and immortall, did not imagine conſequently, that whatſoever was on the left in regard of us, the gods ſent from their right ſide.

79

Wherefore was it lawfull at Rome*, when a noble perſonage who ſometime had entred triumphant into the city, was dead, and his corps burnt (as the maner was) in a funerall fire, to take up the reliques of his bones, to carie the ſame into the city, and there to ſtrew them, according as* Pyrrho *the Lyparean hath left in writing.*

WAs not this to honour the memorie of the dead? for the like honourable priviledge they had graunted unto other valiant warriors and brave captaines; namely, that not onely themſelves, but alſo their poſteritie deſcending lineally from them, might be enterred in their common market place of the city, as for example unto *Valerius* and *Fabricius*: and it is ſaid, that for to continue this prerogative in force, when any of their poſteritie afterwards were departed this life, and their bodies brought into the market place accordingly, the maner was, to put a burning torch under them, and doe no more but preſently to take it away againe; by which ceremonie, they reteined ſtill the due honour without envie, and confirmed it onely to be lawfull if they would take the benefit thereof.

80

What is the cauſe that when they feaſted at the common charges, any generall captaine who made his entrie into the citie with triumph, they never admitted the Conſuls to the feaſt; but that which more is, ſent unto them before-hand meſſengers of purpoſe, requeſting them not to come unto the ſupper?

WAs it for that they thought it meet and convenient to yeeld unto the triumpher, both the higheſt place to ſit in, and the moſt coſtly cup to drinke out of, as alſo the honour to be attended upon with a traine home to his houſe after ſupper? which prerogatives no other might enjoy but the Conſuls onely, if they had beene preſent in the place.

81

Why is it that the Tribune of the commons onely, weareth no embrodered purple robe, conſidering that all other magiſtrates beſides doe weare the ſame.

IS it not, for that they (to ſpeak properly) are no magiſtrates? for in truth they have no uſhers or vergers to carie before them the knitches of rods, which are the enſignes of magiſtracie; neither ſit they in the chaire of eſtate called *Sella curulis*, to determine cauſes judicially, or give audience unto the people; nor enter into the adminiſtration of their office at the beginning of the yeere, as all other magiſtrates doe: neither are they put downe and depoſed after the election of a Dictatour: but whereas the full power and authoritie of all other magiſtrates of State, he transferreth from them upon himſelfe: the Tribunes onely of the people continue ſtill, and ſurceaſe not to execute their function, as having another place & degree by themſelves in the common-weale: and like as ſome oratours and lawiers doe hold, that exception in law is no action, conſidering it doth cleane contrary to action; for that action intendeth, commenſeth, and beginneth a proceſſe or ſute; but exception or inhibition, diſſolveth, undooeth, and aboliſheth the ſame: ſemblably, they thinke alſo, that the Tribunate was an empeachment, inhibition, and reſtraint of a magiſtracie, rather than a magiſtracie it ſelfe: for all the authority and power of the Tribune, lay in oppoſing himſelfe, and croſſing the juriſdiction of other magiſtrates, and in diminiſhing or repreſſing their exceſſive and licentious power.

Or haply all theſe reaſons and ſuch like, are but words, and deviſed imaginations to mainteine diſcourſe: but to ſay a trueth, this Tribuneſhip having taken originally the firſt beginning from the common people, is great and mighty in regard that it is popular; and that the Tribunes themſelves are not proud nor highly conceited of themſelves above others, but equall in apparell, in port, fare, and maner of life, to any other citizens of the common ſort: for the dignity of pompe and outward ſhew, apperteineth to a Conſull or a Prætour: as for the Tribune of the people, he ought to be humble and lowly, and as *M. Curio* was woont to ſay; ready to put his hand under every mans foot; not to carie a loftie, grave, and ſtately countenance, nor to bee hard of acceſſe, nor ſtrange to be ſpoken with, or dealt withall by the multitude; but howſoever he behave himſelfe to others, he ought to the ſimple and common people, above the reſt, for to be affable, gentle, and tractable: and heereupon the maner is, that the dore of his houſe ſhould never be kept ſhut, but ſtand open both day and night, as a ſafe harbour, ſure haven, and place of refuge, for all thoſe who are diſtreſſed and in need: and verilie the more ſubmiſſe that he is in outward appeerance, the more groweth hee and encreaſeth in puiſſance; for they repute him as a ſtrong hold for common recourſe and retrait, unto al commers, no leſſe than an altar or priviledged ſanctuarie. Moreover, as touching the honour that he holdeth by his place, they count him holy, ſacred, and inviolable, inſomuch as if he doe but goe foorth of his houſe abroad into the citie, and walke in the ſtreet, * the maner was of all, to clenſe and ſanctifie the body, as if it were ſteined and polluted.

* I ſuſpect this place to be corrupt in the originall.

82

What is the reaſon that before the Prætors, generall Captaines and head Magiſtrates, there be caried bundels of roddes, together with hatchets or axes faſtned unto them?

IS it to ſignifie, that the anger of the magiſtrate ought not to be prompt to execution, nor looſe and at libertie?

Or, becauſe that to undoe and unbinde the ſaid bundels, yeeldeth ſome time and ſpace for choler to coole, and ire to aſſwage, which is the cauſe otherwhiles that they change their mindes, and doe not proceed to puniſhment?

Now foraſmuch as among the faults that men commit, ſome are curable, others remedileſſe: the roddes are to reforme thoſe who may be amended; but the hatchets to cut them off who are incorrigible.

83

What is the cauſe that the Romanes having intelligence given unto them, that the Bletoneſians, a barbarous nation, had ſacrificed unto their gods, a man; ſent for the magiſtrates peremptorily, as intending to puniſh them: but after they once underſtood, that they had ſo done according to an ancient law of their countrey, they let them go againe without any hurt done unto them; charging them onely, that from thence foorth they ſhould not obey ſuch a law; and yet they themſelves, not many yeeres before, had cauſed for to be buried quicke in the place, called the Beaſt Market, two men and two women, that is to ſay, two Greekes, and two Gallo-Greekes or Galatians? For this ſeemeth to be verie abſurd, that they themſelves ſhould do thoſe things, which they reprooved in others as damnable.

MAy it not be that they judged it an execrable ſuperſtition, to ſacrifice a man or woman unto the gods, marie unto divels they held it neceſſarie?

Or was it not for that they thought thoſe people, who did it by a law or cuſtome, offended highly: but they themſelves were directed thereto by expreſſe commaundement out of the bookes of *Sibylla*. For reported it is, that one of their votaries or Veſtall nunnes named *Helbia*, riding on horſe-backe, was ſmitten by a thunderbolt or blaſt of lightning; and that the horſe was found lying along all bare bellied, and her ſelfe likewiſe naked, with her ſmocke and petticote turned up above her privie parts, as if ſhe had done it of purpoſe: her ſhooes, her rings, her coife and head attire caſt here and there apart from other things, and withall lilling the toong out of her head. This ſtrange occurrent, the ſoothſayers out of their learning interpreted to ſignifie, that ſome great ſhame did betide the ſacred virgins, that ſhould be divulged and notoriouſly knowen; yea, and that the ſame infamie ſhould reach alſo as far, as unto ſome of the degree of gentlemen or knights of *Rome*. Upon this there was a ſervant belonging unto a certaine Barbarian horſeman, who detected three Veſtal virgins to have at one time forfeited their honor, & been naught of their bodies, to wit, *Aemilia, Licinia, & Martia*; and that they had companied too familiarly with men a long time; and one of their names was *Butetius*, a Barbarian knight, and maſter to the ſaid enformer. So theſe veſtall Votaries were puniſhed after they had beene convicted by order of law, and found guiltie: but after that this ſeemed a fearfull and horrible accident; ordeined it was by the Senate, that the prieſts ſhould peruſe over the bookes of *Sibyllaes* propheſies, wherein were found (by report) thoſe very oracles which denounced and foretold this ſtrange occurrent, and that it portended ſome great loſſe and calamitie unto the common-wealth: for the avoiding and diverting whereof, they gave commaundement to abandon unto (I wot not what) maligne and diveliſh ſtrange ſpirits, two Greekes, and two Galatians likewiſe; and ſo by burying them quicke in that verie place, to procure propitiation at Gods hands.

84

Why began they their day at midnight?

WAs it not, for that all policie at the firſt had the beginning of militarie diſcipline? and in war, and all expeditions the moſt part of woorthy exploits are enterpriſed ordinarily in the night before the day appeare?

Or becauſe the execution of deſſeignes, howſoever it begin at the ſunne riſing; yet the preparation thereto is made before day-light: for there had need to be ſome preparatives, before a worke be taken in hand; and not at the verie time of execution, according as *Myſon* (by report) anſwered unto *Chilo*, one of the ſeven ſages, when as in the winter time he was making of a van.

Or haply, for that like as we ſee, that many men at noone make an end of their buſineſſe of great importance, and of State affaires; even ſo, they ſuppoſed that they were to begin the ſame at mid-night. For better proofe whereof a man may frame an argument hereupon, that the Roman chiefe ruler never made league, nor concluded any capitulations and covenants of peace after mid-day.

Or rather this may be, becauſe it is not poſsible to ſet downe determinately, the beginning and end of the day, by the riſing and ſetting of the ſunne: for if we do as the vulgar ſort, who diſtinguiſh day and night by the ſight and view of eie, taking the day then to begin when the ſunne ariſeth; and the night likewiſe to begin when the ſunne is gone downe, and hidden under our horizon, we ſhall never have the juſt Aequinox, that is to ſay, the day and night equall: for even that verie night which we ſhall eſteeme moſt equall to the day, will proove ſhorter than the day, by as much as the body or bigneſſe of the ſunne containeth. Againe, if we doe as the Mathematicians, who to remedie this abſurditie and inconvenience, ſet downe the confines and limits of day and night, at the verie inſtant point when the ſunne ſeemeth to touch the circle of the horizon with his center; this were to overthrow all evidence: for fall out it will, that while there is a great part of the ſunnes light yet under the earth (although the ſunne do ſhine upon us) we will not confeſſe that it is day, but ſay, that it is night ſtill. Seeing then it is ſo hard a matter to make the beginning of day and night, at the riſing or going downe of the ſunne, for the abſurdities aboveſaid, it remaineth that of neceſſitie we take the beginning of the day to be, when the ſunne is in the mids of the heaven above head, or under our feet, that is to ſay, either noon-tide or mid-night. But of twaine, better it is to begin when he is in the middle point under us, which is juſt midnight, for that he returneth then toward us into the Eaſt; whereas contrariwiſe after mid-day he goeth from us Weſtward.

85

What was the cauſe that in times paſt they would not ſuffer their wives, either to grinde corne, or to lay their hands to dreſſe meat in the kitchin?

WAs it in memoriall of that accord and league which they made with the Sabines? for after that they had raviſhed & carried away their daughters, there aroſe ſharpe warres betweene them: but peace enſued thereupon in the end; in the capitulations whereof, this one article was expreſly ſet downe, that the Roman husband might not force his wife, either to turne the querne for to grinde corne, nor to exerciſe any point of cookerie.

86

Why did not the Romans marie in the moneth of May?

IS it for that it commeth betweene Aprill and June? whereof the one is conſecrated unto *Venus*, and the other to *Juno*, who are both of them the goddeſſes which have the care and charge of wedding and marriages, and therefore thinke it good either to go ſomewhat before, or elſe to ſtay a while after.

Or it may be that in this moneth they celebrate the greateſt expiatorie ſacrifice of all others in the yeere? for even at this day they fling from off the bridge into the river, the images and pourtraitures of men, whereas in old time they threw downe men themſelves alive? And this is the reaſon of the cuſtome now a daies, that the prieſtreſſe of *Juno* named *Flamina*, ſhould be alwaies ſad and heavie, as it were a mourner, and never waſh nor dreſſe and trim her ſelfe.

Or what and if we ſay, it is becauſe many of the Latine nations offered oblations unto the dead in this moneth: and peradventure they do ſo, becauſe in this verie moneth they worſhip *Mercurie*: and in truth it beareth the name of *Maja*, *Mercuries* mother.

But may it not be rather, for that as ſome do ſay, this moneth taketh that name of *Majores*, that is to ſay, ancients: like as June is termed ſo of *Juniores*, that is to ſay yonkers. Now this is certaine that youth is much meeter for to contract marriage than old age: like as *Euripides* ſaith verie well:

As for old age it Venus *bids farewell,*
And with old folke, Venus *is not pleaſd well.*

The Romans therefore maried not in May, but ſtaied for June which immediatly followeth after May.

87

What is the reaſon that they divide and part the haire of the new brides head, with the point of a javelin?

IS not this a verie ſigne, that the firſt wives whom the Romans eſpouſed, were compelled to mariage, and conquered by force and armes.

Or are not their wives hereby given to underſtand, that they are eſpouſed to husbands, martiall men and ſoldiers; and therefore they ſhould lay away all delicate, wanton, and coſtly imbeliſhment of the bodie, and acquaint themſelves with ſimple and plaine attire; like as *Lycurgus* for the ſame reaſon would that the dores, windowes, and roofes of houſes ſhould be framed with the ſaw and the axe onely, without uſe of any other toole or inſtrument, intending thereby to chaſe out of the common-weale all curioſitie and waſtfull ſuperfluitie.

Or doth not this parting of the haires, give covertly to underſtand, a diviſion and ſeparation, as if mariage & the bond of wedlock, were not to be broken but by the ſword and warlike force?

Or may not this ſignifie thus much, that they referred the moſt part of ceremonies concerning mariage unto *Juno*: now it is plaine that the javelin is conſecrated unto *Juno*, inſomuch as moſt part of her images and ſtatues are portraied reſting and leaning upon a launce or javelin. And for this cauſe the goddeſſe is ſurnamed *Quiritis*, for they called in old time a ſpeare *Quiris*, upon which occaſion *Mars* alſo (as they ſay) is named *Quiris*.

88

What is the reaſon that the monie emploied upon plaies and publike ſhewes is called among them, Lucar?

MAy it not well be that there were many groves about the citie conſecrated unto the gods, which they named *Lucos*: the revenues whereof they beſtowed upon the ſetting forth of ſuch ſolemnities?

89

Why call they Quirinalia, *the Feaſt of fooles?*

WHether is it becauſe (as *Juba* writeth) they attribute this day unto thoſe who knew not their owne linage and tribe? or unto ſuch as have not ſacrificed, as others have done according to their tribes, at the feaſt called *Fornacalia*. Were it that they were hindred by other affaires, or had occaſion to be forth of the citie, or were altogether ignorant, and therefore this day was aſſigned for them, to performe the ſaid feaſt.

90

What is the cauſe, that when they ſacrifice unto Hercules, *they name no other God but him, nor ſuffer a dog to be ſeene, within the purpriſe and precinct of the place where the ſacrifice is celebrated, according as* Varro *hath left in writing?*

IS not this the reaſon of naming no god in their ſacrifice, for that they eſteeme him but a demigod; and ſome there be who hold, that whiles he lived heere upon the earth, *Evander* erected an altar unto him, and offered ſacrifice thereupon. Now of all other beaſts he could worſt abide a dog, and hated him moſt: for this creature put him to more trouble all his life time, than any other: witneſſe hereof, the three headed dog *Cerberus*, and above all others, when *Oeonus* the ſonne of *Licymnius* was ſlaine * by a dog, he was enforced by the Hippocoontides to give the battell, in which he loſt many of his friends, and among the reſt his owne brother *Iphicles*.

* Or about a dog by the Hippocoontides.

91

Wherefore was it not lawfull for the Patricians or nobles of Rome *to dwell upon the mount Capitoll?*

MIght it not be in regard of *M. Manlius*, who dwelling there attempted and plotted to be king of *Rome*, and to uſurpe tyrannie; in hatred and deteſtation of whom, it is ſaid, that ever after thoſe of the houſe of *Manlij*, might not have *Marcus* for their fore-name?

Or rather was not this an old feare that the Romans had (time out of mind)? For albeit *Valerius Poplicola* was a perſonage verie popular and well affected unto the common people; yet never ceaſed the great and mightie men of the citie to ſuſpect and traduce him, nor the meane commoners and multitude to feare him, untill ſuch time as himſelfe cauſed his owne houſe to be demoliſhed and pulled down, becauſe it ſeemed to overlooke and commaund the common market place of the citie.

62

What is the reaſon, that he who ſaved the life of a citizen in the warres, was rewarded with a coronet made of oake braunches?

WAs it not for that in everie place and readily, they might meet with an oake, as they marched in their warlike expeditions.

Or rather, becauſe this maner of garland is dedicated unto *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who are reputed protectors of cities?

Or might not this be an ancient cuſtome proceeding from the Arcadians, who have a kind of conſanguinitie with oakes, for that they report of themſelves, that they were the firſt men that iſſued out of the earth, like as the oake of all other trees.

93

Why obſerve they the Vultures or Geirs, moſt of any other fowles, in taking of preſages by bird-flight?

IS it not becauſe at the foundation of *Rome*, there appeared twelve of them unto *Romulus*? Or becauſe, this is no ordinarie bird nor familiar; for it is not ſo eaſie a matter to meete with an airie of Vultures; but all on a ſudden they come out of ſome ſtrange countrey, and therefore the ſight of them doth prognoſticke and preſage much.

Or elſe haply the Romains learned this of *Hercules*, if that be true which *Herodotus* reporteth: namely, that *Hercules* tooke great contentment, when in the enterpriſe of any exploit of his, there appeared Vultures unto him: for that he was of opinion, that the Vulture of all birds of prey was the juſteſt: for firſt and formoſt never toucheth he ought that hath life, neither killeth hee any living creature, like as eagles, falcons, hauks, and other fowles do, that prey by night, but feedeth upon dead carrions: over and beſides, he forbeareth to ſet upon his owne kind: for never was there man yet who ſaw a Vulture eat the fleſh of any fowle, like as eagles and other birds of prey do, which chaſe, purſue and plucke in pieces thoſe eſpecially of the ſame kind, to wit, other fowle. And verily as *Aeſchylus* the poet writeth:

How can that bird, which bird doth eat,
Be counted cleanly, pure and neat.

And as for men, it is the moſt innocent bird, and doth leaſt hurt unto them of all other: for it deſtroieth no fruit nor plant whatſoever, neither doth it harme to any tame creature. And if the tale be true that the Aegyptians doe tell, that all the kinde of theſe birds be females; that they conceive and be with yoong, by receiving the Eaſt-wind blowing upon them, like as ſome trees by the Weſtern wind, it is verie profitable that the ſignes and prognoſticks drawen from them, be more ſure and certaine, than from any others, conſidering that of all, beſides their violence in treading and breeding time; their eagerneſſe in flight when they purſue their prey; their flying away from ſome, and chaſing of others, muſt needs cauſe much trouble and uncertaintie in their prognoſtications.

94

Why ſtands the temple of Aeſculapius *without the citie of* Rome?

IS it becauſe they thought the abode without the citie more holeſome, than that within? For in this regard the Greekes ordinarily built the temples of *Aeſculapius* upon high ground, wherein the aire is more pure and cleere.

Or in this reſpect, that this god *Aeſculapius* was ſent for out of the citie *Epidaurus*. And true it is that the Epidaurians founded his temple; not within the walles of their city, but a good way from it.

Or laſtly, for that the ſerpent when it was landed out of the galley in the Iſle, and then vaniſhed out of ſight, ſeemed thereby to tell them where he would that they ſhould build the place of his abode.

95

Why doth the law forbid them that are to live chaſte, the eating of pulſe?

AS touching beanes, is it not in reſpect of thoſe very reaſons for which it is ſaid: That the Pythagoreans counted them abominable? And as for the richling and rich peaſe, whereof the one in Greeke is called λάθυρος, and the other ἐρέβινθος, which words ſeeme to be derived of *Erebus*, that ſignifieth the darkneſſe of hell, and of *Lethe*, which is as much as oblivion, and one beſides of the rivers infernall, it carieth ſome reaſon that they ſhould be abhorred therfore.

Or it may be, for that the ſolemne ſuppers and bankets at funerals for the dead, were uſually ſerved with pulſe above all other viands.

Or rather, for that thoſe who are deſirous to be chaſte, and to live an holy life, ought to keepe their bodies pure and ſlender; but ſo it is that pulſe be flateous and windy, breeding ſuperfluous excrements in the body, which had need of great purging and evacuation.

Or laſtly, becauſe they pricke and provoke the fleſhly luſt, for that they be full of ventoſities.

96

What is the reaſon that the Romans puniſh the holy Veſtall virgins (who have ſuffered their bodies to be abuſed and defiled) by no other meanes, than by interring them quicke under the ground?

IS this the cauſe, for that the maner is to burne the bodies of them that be dead: and to burie (by the meanes of fire) their bodies who have not devoutly and religiouſly kept or preſerved the divine fire, ſeemed not juſt nor reaſonable?

Or haply, becauſe they thought it was not lawfull to kill any perſon who had bene conſecrated with the moſt holy and religious ceremonies in the world; nor to lay violent hands upon a woman conſecrated: and therefore they deviſed this invention of ſuffering them to die of their owne ſelves; namely, to let them downe into a little vaulted chamber under the earth, where they left with them a lampe burning, and ſome bread, with a little water and milke: and having ſo done, caſt earth and covered them aloft. And yet for all this, can they not be exempt from a ſuperſtitious feare of them thus interred: for even to this day, the prieſts going over this place, performe (I wot not what) anniverſary ſervices and rites, for to appeaſe and pacifie their ghoſts.

97

What is the cauſe that upon the thirteenth day of December, which in Latine they call the Ides *of December, there is exhibited a game of chariots running for the prize, and the horſe drawing on the right hand that winneth the victorie, is ſacrificed and conſecrated unto* Mars, *and at the time thereof, there comes one behinde, that cutteth off his taile, which he carrieth immediatly into the temple called* Regia, *and therewith imbrueth the altar with blood: and for the head of the ſaid horſe, one troupe there is comming out of the ſtreet called* Via ſacra, *and another from that which they name* Suburra, *who encounter and trie out by fight who ſhall have it?*

MAy not the reaſon be (as ſome doe alledge) that they have an opinion, how the citie of *Troy* was ſometime woon by the meanes of a woodden horſe; and therfore in the memoriall thereof, they thus puniſhed a poore horſe?

As men from blood of noble Troy *deſcended,*
And by the way with Latins *iſſue blended.*

Or becauſe an horſe is a couragious, martiall and warlike beaſt; and ordinarily, men uſe to preſent unto the gods thoſe ſacrifices which are moſt agreeable unto them, and ſort beſt with them: and in that reſpect, they ſacrifice that horſe which wan the prize, unto *Mars*, becauſe ſtrength and victorie are well beſeeming him.

Or rather becauſe the worke of God is firme and ſtable: thoſe alſo be victorious who keepe their ranke and vanquiſh them, who make not good their ground but fly away. This beaſt therfore is puniſhed for running ſo ſwift, as if celeritie were the maintenance of cowardiſe: to give us thereby covertly to underſtand, that there is no hope of ſafetie for them who ſeeke to eſcape by flight.

98

What is the reaſon that the firſt worke which the Cenſors go in hand with, when they be enſtalled in the poſſeſſion of their magiſtracie, is to take order upon a certaine price for the keeping and feeding of the ſacred geeſe, and to cauſe the painted ſtatues and images of the gods to be refreſhed?

WHether is it becauſe they would begin at the ſmalleſt things, and thoſe which are of leaſt diſpenſe and difficultie?

Or in commemoration of an ancient benefit received by the meanes of theſe creatures, in the time of the Gaules warre: for that the geeſe were they who in the the night ſeaſon deſcried the Barbarians as the ſkaled and mounted the wall that environed the Capitol fort (where as the dogs ſlept) and with their gagling raiſed the watch?

Or becauſe, the Cenſors being guardians of the greateſt affaires, and having that charge and office which enjoyneth to be vigilant and carefull to preſerve religion; to keepe temples and publicke edifices; to looke into the manners and behaviour of men in their order of life; they ſet in the firſt place the conſideration and regard of the moſt watchfull creature that is: and in ſhewing what care they take of theſe geeſe, they incite and provoke by that example their citizens, not to be negligent and retchleſſe of holy things. Moreover, for refreſhing the colour of thoſe images and ſtatues, it is a neceſſarie piece of worke; for the lively red vermilion, wherewith they were woont in times paſt to colour the ſaid images, ſoone fadeth and paſſeth away.

99

What is the cauſe that among other prieſts, when one is condemned and baniſhed, they degrade and deprive him of his prieſthood, and chooſe another in his place: onely an Augur, though he be convicted and condemned for the greateſt crimes in the world, yet they never deprive in that ſort ſo long as he liveth? Now thoſe prieſts they call Augurs, who obſerve the flights of birds, and foreſhewed things thereby.

IS it as ſome do ſay, becauſe they would not have one that is no prieſt, to know the ſecret myſteries of their religion and their ſacred rites?

Or becauſe the Augur being obliged and bound by great oaths, never to reveale the ſecrets pertaining to religion, they would not ſeeme to free and abſolve him from his oath by degrading him, and making him a private perſon.

Or rather, for that this word Augur, is not ſo much a name of honor and magiſtracie, as of arte and knowledge. And all one it were, as if they ſhould ſeeme to diſable a muſician for being any more a muſician; or a phyſician, that he ſhould bee a phyſician no longer; or prohibit a prophet or ſoothſayer, to be a prophet or ſoothſayer: for even ſo they, not able to deprive him of his ſufficiency, nor to take away his skill, although they bereave him of his name and title, do not ſubordaine another in his place: and by good reaſon, becauſe they would keepe the juſt number of the ancient inſtitution.

100

What is the reaſon that upon the thirteenth day of Auguſt, which now is called the Ides of Auguſt, and before time the Ides of Sextilis, *all ſervants as well maids, as men make holy-day and women that are wives love then eſpecially to waſh and cleanſe their heads?*

MIght not this be a cauſe, for that king *Servius* upon ſuch a day was borne of a captive woman, and therefore ſlaves and bond-ſervants on that day have libertie to play and diſport themſelves? And as for waſhing the head; haply at the firſt the wenches began ſo to do in regard of that feſtivall day, and ſo the cuſtome paſſed alſo unto their miſtreſſes and other women free borne?

101

Why do the Romanes adorne their children with jewels pendant at their necks, which they call Bullæ?

PEradventure to honor the memorie of thoſe firſt wives of theirs, whom they raviſhed: in favour of whom they ordained many other prerogatives for the children which they had by them, and namely this among the reſt?

Or it may be, for to grace the proweſſe of *Tarquinius*? For reported it is that being but a verie child, in a great battell which was fought againſt the Latines and Tuskanes together, hee rode into the verie throng of his enemies, and engaged himſelfe ſo farre, that being diſmounted and unhorſed; yet notwithſtanding he manfully withſtood thoſe who hotly charged upon him, and encouraged the Romanes to ſtand to it, in ſuch ſort as the enemies by them were put to plaine flight, with the loſſe of 16000. men whom they left dead in the place: and for a reward of this vertue and valour, received ſuch a jewell to hang about his necke, which was given unto him by the king his father.

Or elſe, becauſe in old time it was not reputed a ſhamfull and villanous thing, to love yoong boyes wantonly, for their beauty in the flowre of their age, if they were ſlaves borne, as the Comedies even at this day do teſtifie: but they forbare moſt preciſely, to touch any of them who were free-borne or of gentle blood deſcended. To the end therefore man might not pretend ignorance in ſuch a caſe, as if they knew not of what condition any boyes were, if they mette with them naked, they cauſed them to weare this badge and marke of nobilitie about their neckes.

Or peradventure, this might be alſo as a preſervative unto them of their honor, continence and chaſtitie, as one would ſay, a bridle to reſtraine wantonneſſe and incontinencie, as being put in mind thereby to be abaſhed to play mens parts, before they had laid off the marks and ſignes of childhood. For there is no apparance or probabilitie, of that which *Varro* alledgeth, ſaying: That becauſe the Aeolians in their Dialect do call βουλη, that is to ſay, Counſell, βολλα, therefore ſuch children for a ſigne and preſage of wiſedome and good counſell, carried this jewell, which they named *Bulla*.

But ſee whether it might not be in regard of the moone that they weare this device? for the figure of the moone when ſhee is at the full, is not round as a bal or boule, but rather flat in maner of a lentill or reſembling a diſh or plate; not onely on that ſide which appeareth unto us, but alſo (as *Empedocles* ſaith) on that part which is under it.

102

Wherefore gave they fore-names to little infants, if they were boies upon the ninth day after their birth, but if they were girls, when they were eight daies olde?

MAy there not be a naturall reaſon rendred hereof, that they ſhould impoſe the names ſooner upon daughters than ſonnes: for that females grow apace, are quickly ripe, and come betimes unto their perfection in compariſon of males; but as touching thoſe preciſe daies, they take them that immediatly follow the ſeventh: for that the ſeventh day after children be borne is very dangerous, as well for other occaſions, as in regard of the navill-ſtring: for that in many it will unknit and be looſe againe upon the ſeventh day, and ſo long as it continueth ſo reſolved and open, an infant reſembleth a plant rather than any animall creature?

Or like as the Pythagoreans were of opinion, that of numbers the even was female and the odde, male; for that it is generative, and is more ſtrong than the even number, becauſe it is compound: and if a man divide theſe numbers into unities, the even number ſheweth a void place betweene, whereas the odde, hath the middle alwaies fulfilled with one part thereof: even ſo in this reſpect they are of opinion, that the even number eight, reſembleth rather the female and the even number nine, the male.

Or rather it is becauſe of all numbers, nine is the firſt ſquare comming of three, which is an odde and perfect number: and eight the firſt cubick, to wit foure-ſquare on every ſide like a die proceeding from two, an even number: now a man ought to be quadrat odde (as we ſay) and ſingular, yea and perfect: and a woman (no leſſe than a die) ſure and ſtedfaſt, a keeper of home, and not eaſily removed. Heereunto we muſt adjoyne thus much more alſo, that eight is a number cubick, ariſing from two as the baſe and foot: and nine is a ſquare quadrangle having three for the baſe: and therefore it ſeemeth, that where women have two names, men have three.

103

What is the reaſon, that thoſe children who have no certeine father, they were woont to tearme Spurios?

FOr we may not thinke as the Greeks holde, and as oratours give out in their pleas, that this word *Spurius*, is derived of *Spora*, that is to ſay, naturall ſeed, for that ſuch children are begotten by the ſeed of many men mingled and confounded together.

But ſurely this *Spurius*, is one of the ordinary fore-names that the Romans take, ſuch as *Sextus*, *Decimus*, and *Caius*. Now theſe fore-names they never uſe to write out at full with all their letters, but marke them ſometime with one letter alone, as for example, *Titus*, *Lucius*, and *Marcius*, with *T*, *L*, *M*; or with twaine, as *Spurius* and *Cneus*, with *Sp.* and *Cn.* or at moſt with three as *Sextus* & *Servius*, with *Sex.* and *Ser.* *Spurius* then is one of their fore-names which is noted with two letters *S.* and *P.* which ſignifie aſmuch, as *Sine Patre*, that is to ſay, without a father; for *S.* ſtandeth for *Sine*, that is to ſay, without; and *P.* for *patre*, that is to ſay a father. And heereupon grew the error, for that *Sine patre*, and *Spurius* be written both with the ſame letters short, *Sp.* And yet I will not ſticke to give you another reaſon, though it be ſomwhat fabulous, and carieth a greater abſurdity with it: forſooth they ſay that the Sabines in olde time named in their language the nature or privities of a woman, *Sporios*: and thereupon afterwards as it were by way of reproch, they called him *Spurius*, who had to his mother a woman unmaried and not lawfully eſpouſed.

104

Why is Bacchus *called with them,* Liber Pater?

IS it for that he is the authour and father of all liberty unto them who have taken their wine well; for moſt men become audacious and are full of bolde and franke broad ſpeech, when they be drunke or cup-ſhotten?

Or becauſe he it is that miniſtred libations firſt, that is to ſay, thoſe effuſions and offrings of wine that are given to the gods?

Or rather (as *Alexander* ſaid) becauſe the Greeks called *Bacchus, Dionyſos Eleuthereus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus* the Deliverer: and they might call him ſo, of a city in *Bœotia*, named *Eleutheræ*.

105

Wherefore was it not the cuſtome among the Romans, that maidens ſhould be wedded upon any daies of their publicke feaſts; but widdowes might be remarried upon thoſe daies?

WAs it for that (as *Varro* ſaith) virgins be*ill-apaid and heavie when they be firſt wedded; but ſuch as were wives before, * be glad and joyfull when they marrie againe? And upon a feſtivall holiday there ſhould be nothing done with an ill will or upon conſtraint.

* Or, feele paine: alluding haply *ad rupturam Hymenis.*

* Or take delight & pleaſure.

Or rather, becauſe it is for the credit and honour of yong damoſels, to be maried in the view of the whole world; but for widowes it is a diſhonour and ſhame unto them, to be ſeene of many for to be wedded a ſecond time: for the firſt marriage is lovely and deſireable; the ſecond, odious and abominable: for women, if they proceed to marrie with other men whiles their former husbands be living, are aſhamed thereof; and if they be dead, they are in mourning ſtate of widowhood: and therefore they chuſe rather to be married cloſely and ſecretly in all ſilence, than to be accompanied with a long traine and ſolemnity, and to have much adoe and great ſtirring at their marriage. Now it is well knowen that feſtivall holidaies divert and diſtract the multitude divers waies, ſome to this game and paſtime, others to that; ſo as they have no leaſure to go and ſee weddings.

Or laſt of all, becauſe it was a day of publicke ſolemnitie, when they firſt raviſhed the Sabines daughters: an attempt that drew upon them, bloudy warre, and therefore they thought it ominous and preſaging evill, to ſuffer their virgins to wed upon ſuch holidaies.

106

Why doe the Romans honour and worſhip Fortune, by the name of Primigenia, *which a man may interpret Firſt begotten or firſt borne?*

IS it for that (as ſome ſay) *Servius* being by chance borne of a maid-ſervant and a captive, had Fortune ſo favourable unto him, that he reigned nobly and gloriously, king at *Rome*? For moſt Romans are of this opinion.

Or rather, becauſe Fortune gave unto the city of *Rome* her firſt originall and beginning of ſo mightie an empire.

Or lieth not herein ſome deeper cauſe, which we are to fetch out of the ſecrets of Nature and Philoſophie; namely, that Fortune is the principle of all things, inſomuch, as Nature conſiſteth by Fortune; namely, when to ſome things concurring caſually and by chance, there is ſome order and diſpoſe adjoined.

107

What is the reaſon that the Romans call thoſe who act comedies and other theatricall plaies, Hiſtriones?

IS it for that cauſe, which as *Claudius Rufus* hath left in writing? for he reporteth that many yeeres ago, and namely, in thoſe daies when *Cajus Sulpitius* and *Licinius Stolo* were Conſuls, there raigned a great peſtilence at *Rome*, ſuch a mortalitie as conſumed all the ſtage plaiers indifferently one with another. Whereupon at their inſtant praier and requeſt, there repaired out of *Tuſcane* to *Rome*, many excellent and ſingular actours in this kinde: among whom, he who was of greateſt reputation, and had caried the name longeſt in all theaters, for his rare gift and dexteritie that way, was called *Hiſter*; of whoſe name all other afterwards were tearmed *Hiſtriones*.

108

Why eſpouſed not the Romans in mariage thoſe women who were neere of kin unto them?

WAs it becauſe they were deſirous to amplifie and encreaſe their alliances, and acquire more kinsfolke, by giving their daughters in mariage to others; and by taking to wife others than their owne kinred?

Or for that they feared in ſuch wedlock the jarres and quarrels of thoſe who be of kin, which are able to extinguiſh and aboliſh even the verie lawes and rights of nature?

Or elſe, ſeeing as they did, how women by reaſon of their weakneſſe and infirmitie ſtand in need of many helpers, they would not have men to contract mariage, nor dwell in one houſe with thoſe who were neere in blood to them, to the end, that if the husband ſhould offer wrong and injurie to his wife, her kinsfolke might ſuccour and aſſiſt her.

109

Why is it not lawfull for Jupiters *prieſt, whom they name* Flamen Dialis *to handle or once touch meale or leaven.*

FOr meale, is it not be becauſe it is an unperfect and raw kind of nouriſhment? for neither continueth it the ſame that it was, to wit, wheat, &c. nor is that yet which it ſhould be, namely bread: but hath loſt that nature which it had before of ſeed, and withall hath not gotten the uſe of food and nouriſhment. And hereupon it is, that the poet calleth meale (by a Metaphor or borrowed ſpeech) *Mylephaton*, which is as much to ſay, as killed and marred by the mill in grinding: and as for leaven, both it ſelfe is engendred of a certaine corruption of meale, and alſo corrupteth (in a maner) the whole lumpe of dough, wherin it is mixed: for the ſaid dough becommeth leſſe firme and faſt than it was before, it hangeth not together; and in one word the leaven of the paſte ſeemeth to be a verie putrifaction and rottenneſſe thereof. And verely if there be too much of the leaven put to the dough, it maketh it ſo ſharpe and ſoure that it cannot be eaten, and in verie truth ſpoileth the meale quite.

110

Wherefore is the ſaid prieſt likewiſe forbidden to touch raw fleſh?

IS it by this cuſtome to withdraw him farre from eating of raw things?

Or is it for the ſame cauſe that he abhorreth and deteſteth meale? for neither is it any more a living animall, nor come yet to be meat: for by boiling and roſting it groweth to ſuch an alteration, as changeth the verie forme thereof: whereas raw fleſh and newly killed is neither pure and impolluted to the eie, but hideous to ſee to; and beſides, it hath (I wot not what) reſemblance to an ougly ſore or filthie ulcer.

111

What is the reaſon that the Romans have expreſly commaunded the ſame prieſt or Flamen *of* Jupiter, *not onely to touch a dogge or a goat, but not ſo much as to name either of them?*

TO ſpeake of the Goat firſt, is it not for deteſtation of his exceſſive luſt and lecherie; and beſides for his ranke and filthie ſavour? or becauſe they are afraid of him, as of a diſeaſed creature and ſubject to maladies? for ſurely, there ſeemeth not to be a beaſt in the world ſo much given to the falling ſickneſſe, as it is; nor infecteth ſo ſoone thoſe that either eate of the fleſh or once touch it, when it is ſurpriſed with this evill. The cauſe whereof ſome ſay to be the ſtreightneſſe of thoſe conduits and paſſages by which the ſpirits go and come, which oftentimes happen to be intercepted and ſtopped. And this they conjecture by the ſmall and ſlender voice that this beaſt hath; & the better to confirme the ſame, we do ſee ordinarily, that men likewiſe who be ſubject to this malady, grow in the end to have ſuch a voice as in ſome ſort reſembleth the bleating of goats. Now, for the Dog, true it is haply that he is not ſo lecherous, nor ſmelleth altogether ſo ſtrong and ſo ranke as doth the Goat; and yet ſome there be who ſay, that a Dog might not be permitted to come within the caſtle of *Athens*, nor to enter into the Iſle of *Delos*, becauſe forſooth he lineth bitches openly in the ſight of everie man, as if bulls, boares, and ſtalions had their ſecret chambers, to do their kind with females, and did not leape and cover them in the broad field and open yard, without being abaſhed at the matter.

But ignorant they are of the true cauſe indeed: which is, for that a Dog is by nature fell, and quarelſome, given to arre and warre upon a verie ſmall occaſion: in which reſpect men baniſh them from ſanctuaries, holy churches, and priviledged places, giving thereby unto poore afflicted ſuppliants, free acceſſe unto them for their ſafe and ſure refuge. And even ſo verie probable it is, that this *Flamen* or prieſt of *Jupiter* whom they would have to be as an holy, ſacred, and living image for to flie unto, ſhould be acceſſible and eaſie to be approched unto by humble ſuters, and ſuch as ſtand in need of him, without any thing in the way to empeach, to put backe, or to affright them: which was the cauſe that he had a little bed or pallet made for him, in the verie porch or entrie of his houſe; and that ſervant or ſlave, who could find meanes to come and fall downe at his feet, and lay hold on his knees was for that day freed from the whip, and paſt danger of all other puniſhment: ſay he were a priſoner with irons, and bolts at his feet that could make ſhift to approch neere unto this prieſt, he was let looſe, and his gives and fetters were throwen out of the houſe, not at the doore, but flung over the verie roofe thereof.

But to what purpoſe ſerved all this, and what good would this have done, that he ſhoud ſhew himſelfe ſo gentle, ſo affable, and humane, if he had a curſt dog about him to keepe his doore, and to affright, chaſe and ſcarre all thoſe away who had recourſe unto him for ſuccour. And yet ſo it is, that our ancients reputed not a dog to be altogether a clean creature: for firſt and formoſt we do not find that he is conſecrated or dedicated unto any of the celeſtial gods; but being ſent unto terreſtrial & infernall *Proſerpina* into the quarrefires and croſſe high waies to make her a ſupper, he ſeemeth to ſerve for an expiatorie ſacrifice to divert and turne away ſome calamitie, or to cleanſe ſome filthie ordure, rather than otherwiſe: to ſay nothing, that in *Lacedæmon*, they cut and ſlit dogs down along the mids, and ſo ſacrifice them to *Mars* the moſt bloody god of all others. And the Romanes themſelves upon the feaſt *Lupercalia*, which they celebrate in the luſtrall moneth of Purification, called February, offer up a dog for a ſacrifice: and therefore it is no abſurditie to thinke, that thoſe who have taken upon them to ſerve the moſt ſoveraigne and pureſt god of all others, were not without good cauſe forbidden to have a dog with them in the houſe, nor to be acquainted and familiar with him.

112

For what cauſe was not the ſame prieſt of Jupiter *permitted, either to touch an ivie tree, or to paſſe thorow a way covered over head with a vine growing to a tree, and ſpreading her branches from it?*

IS not this like unto theſe precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not your meat from a chaire: Sit not upon a meaſure called *Chœnix*: Neither ſtep thou over a broome or * beſoome. For ſurely none of the Pythagoreans feared any of theſe things, or made ſcruple to doe, as theſe words in outward ſhew, and in their litterall ſenſe do pretend: but under ſuch ſpeeches they did covertly and figuratively forbid ſomewhat elſe: even ſo this precept: Go not under a vine, is to be referred unto wine, and implieth this much; that it is not lawfull for the ſaid Prieſt to be drunke; for ſuch as over drinke themſelves, have the wine above their heads, and under it they are depreſſed and weighed downe, whereas men and prieſts eſpecially ought to be evermore ſuperiors and commanders of this pleaſure, and in no wiſe to be ſubject unto it. And thus much of the vine.

* σάρον.

As for the ivie, is it not for that it is a plant that beareth no fruit, nor any thing good for mans uſe: and moreover is ſo weake, as by reaſon of that feebleneſſe it is not able to ſuſtaine it ſelfe, but had need of other trees to ſupport and beare it up: and beſides, with the coole ſhadow that it yeelds, and the greene leaves alwaies to be ſeene, it dazeleth, and as it were bewitcheth the eies of many that looke upon it: for which cauſes, men thought that they ought not to nouriſh or entertaine it about an houſe, becauſe it bringeth no profit; nor ſuffer it to claſpe about any thing, conſidering it is ſo hurtfull unto plants that admit it to creepe upon them, whiles it ſticketh faſt in the ground: and therefore baniſhed it is from the temples and ſacrifices of the celeſtiall gods, and their prieſts are debarred from uſing it: neither ſhall a man ever ſee in the ſacrifices or divine worſhip of *Juno* at *Athens*, nor of *Venus* at *Thebes*, any wilde ivie brought out of the woods. Mary at the ſacrifices and ſervices of *Bacchus*, which are performed in the night and darkneſſe, it is uſed.

Or may not this be a covert and figurative prohibition, of ſuch blind dances and fooleries in the night, as theſe be, which are practiſed by the prieſts of *Bacchus*? for thoſe women which are tranſported with theſe furious motions of *Bacchus*, runne immediately upon the ivie, and catching it in their hands, plucke it in pieces, or elſe chew it betweene their teeth; in ſo much as they ſpeake not altogether abſurdly, who ſay, that this ivie hath in it a certaine ſpirit that ſtirreth and mooveth to madneſſe; turneth mens mindes to furie; driveth them to extaſies; troubleth and tormenteth them; and in one word maketh them drunke without wine, and doth great pleaſure unto them, who are otherwiſe diſpoſed and enclined of themſelves to ſuch fanaticall raviſhments of their wit and underſtanding.

113

What is the reaſon that theſe Prieſts and Flamins of Jupiter *were not allowed, either to take upon them, or to ſue for any government of State? but in regard that they be not capable of ſuch dignities, for honour ſake and in ſome ſort to make ſome recompenſe for that defect, they have an uſher or verger before them carrying a knitch of rods, yea and a curall chaire of eſtate to ſit upon?*

IS it for the ſame cauſe, that as in ſome cities of *Greece*, the ſacerdotall dignitie was equivalent to the royall majeſtie of a king, ſo they would not chuſe for their prieſts, meane perſons and ſuch as came next to hand.

Or rather, becauſe Prieſts having their functions determinate and certaine, and the kings, undeterminate and uncertaine, it was not poſſible, that when the occaſions and times of both concurred together at one inſtant, one and the ſame perſon ſhould be ſufficient for both: for it could not otherwiſe be, but many times when both charges preſſed upon him and urged him at ones, he ſhould pretermit the one or the other, and by that meanes one while offend and fault in religion toward God, and anotherwhile do hurt unto citizens and ſubjects.

Or elſe, conſidering, that in governments among men, they ſaw that there was otherwhiles no leſſe neceſſitie than authority; and that he who is to rule a people (as *Hippocrates* ſaid of a phyſician, who ſeeth many evill things, yea and handleth many alſo) from the harmes of other men, reapeth griefe and ſorrow of his owne: they thought it not in policy good, that any one ſhould ſacrifice unto the gods, or have the charge and ſuperintendence of ſacred things; who had been either preſent or preſident at the judgements and condemnations to death of his owne citizens; yea and otherwhiles of his owne kinsfolke and allies, like as it befell ſometime to *Brutus*.

DEMAVNDS AND QUESTIONS AS TOUching Greeke Affaires:

THAT IS TO SAY,

A Collection of the maners, and of divers cuſtomes and faſhions of certaine perſons and nations of Greece: which may ſerve their *turne verie well, who reading old Authors, are deſirous to* know the particularities of Antiquitie.

I

Who are they that in the citie Epidaurus *be called* Conipodes *and* Artyni?

THere were an hundred and foureſcore men, who had the managing and whole government of the Common weale: out of which number they choſe Senatours, whom they named *Artyni*: but the moſt part of the people abode and dwelt in the countrey, and ſuch were tearmed *Conipodes*, which is as much to ſay, as Duſty-feet; for that when they came downe to the citie (as a man may conjecture) they were knowen by their duſtie feet.

2

What was ſhe, who in the citie of Cumes *they named* Onobatis?

WHen there was any woman taken in adultery, they brought her in to the publick market-place, where they ſet her upon an eminent ſtone to the end that ſhe might be ſeene of all the people: and after ſhe had ſtood there a good while, they mounted her upon an aſſe, and ſo led her round about the city: which done, they brought her backe againe into the market-place, where ſhe muſt ſtand as ſhe did before upon the ſame ſtone: and ſo from that time forward ſhe led an infamous and reprochfull life, called of every one by the name of *Onobatis* that is to ſay, ſhe that hath ridden upon the aſſe backe. But when they had ſo done, they reputed that ſtone polluted, and deteſted it as accurſed and abominable.

There was likewiſe in the ſame city a certeine office of a gaoler, whom they called *Phylactes:* and looke who bare this office, had the charge of keeping the priſon at all other times: onely at a certeine aſſembly and ſeſſion of the counſell in the night ſeaſon, he went into the Senat, and brought forth the kings, leading them by the hands, and there held them ſtill, during the time that the Senat had made inquiſition and decreed whether they had deſerved ill and ruled unjuſtly or no: giving thus their ſuffrages and voices privily in the darke.

3

What is ſhe, whom they name in the city of Soli, Hypeccauſtria?

SO call they the prieſtreſſe of *Minerva*, by reaſon of certeine ſacrifices (which ſhe celebrateth) and other divine ceremonies and ſervices, to put by and divert ſhrewd turnes, which other wiſe might happen: the word ſignifieth as much as a chaufeure.

4

Who be they in the city Gnidos, *whom they call* Amnemones? *as alſo who is* Apheſter *among them?*

THere are threeſcore elect men out of the better ſort and principall citizens, whom they imploid as overſeers of mens lives and behaviour, who alſo were conſulted firſt, and gave their ſentence as touching affaires of greateſt importance: and *Amnemones* they were named, for that they were not, (as a man may very well conjecture) called to any account, nor urged to make anſwer for any thing that they did: unleſſe haply they were ſo named, *quaſi Polymnemones*, becauſe they remembred many things and had ſo good a memorie. As for *Apheſter*, he it was who in their ſcrutinies, demanded their opinions and gathered their voices.

5

Who be they, whom the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians tearme, Chreſtos?

THe Lacedemonians having concluded a peace with the Tegeates, did ſet downe expreſly the articles of agreement in writing, which they cauſed to be ingraven upon a ſquare columne, common to them both, the which was erected upon the river *Alphæus:* in which among other covenants this was written: That they might chaſe the Meſſenians out of their countries; howbeit, lawfull it ſhould not be to make them *Chreſtos*, which *Ariſtotle* expoundeth thus and ſaith; That they might kill none of the Tegeates who during the warre had taken part with the Lacedæmonians.

* *Vide ſupra in queſt. Rom.* 52. where this is ſomewhat otherwiſe reported.

6

What is he whom the Opuntians call, Crithologos.

THe greateſt part of the Greeks in their moſt auncient ſacrifices uſe certeine barley, which the citizens, of their firſt fruits did contribute: that officer therefore who had the rule and charge of theſe ſacrifices, and the gathering and bringing in of theſe firſt fruits of barley, they named *Crithologos*, as one would ſay the collectour of the barley. Moreover, two prieſts they had beſides, one ſuperintendent over the ſacrifices and ceremonies for the gods; another for the divels.

7

Which be the clouds called Ploïades.

THoſe eſpecially which are wateriſh and diſpoſed to raine, and withall wandering too and fro, and caried heere and there in the aire; as *Theophraſtus* in the fourth booke of Meteors or impreſſions gathered above in the region of the aire, hath put it downe word for word in this manner: Conſidering that the clouds *Ploïades* (quoth hee) and thoſe which be gathered thicke, and are ſetled unmooveable, and beſides very white, ſhew a certeine diverſitie of matter, which is neither converted into water, nor reſolved into winde.

8
Whom doe the Bœotians meane by this word, Platychætas?

THoſe whoſe houſes joine one to another, or whoſe lands doe border and confine together, in the Aeolique language they called ſo, as if they would ſay, being neere neighbours: to which purpoſe one example among many I will alledge out of our law Theſmophylacium, &c. * * * *

9
What is he who among the Delphians is called Hoſioter, *and why name they one of the moneths,* Byſios.

THey name *Hoſioter* that ſacrificer who offreth a ſacrifice when he is declared *Hoſios*, that is to ſay, holy; and five there be who are all their life time accounted *Hoſioi*, and thoſe doe and execute many things together with their prophets, and joine with them in divers ceremonies of divine ſervice, and gods worſhip, inaſmuch as they are thought to be deſcended from *Deucalion*. And for the moneth called *Byſis*, many have thought it to be as much as *Phyſius*: that is to ſay, the ſpringing or growing moneth; for that then, the ſpring beginneth, and many plants at that time do ariſe out of grownd and budde. But the truth is not ſo: for the *Delphians* never uſe *B.* in ſtead of *Ph.* like as the Macedonians do, who for *Philippus*, *Phalacros*, and *Pheronice*, ſay, *Bilippus Balacros*, and *Beronice*: indeed they put *B.* for *P.* and it as ordinarie with them, to ſay *Batein*, for *Patein*, *Bicron*, for *Picron*: and ſo *Byſius*, is all one with *Pyſius*, that is to ſay, the moneth in which they conſult with their god *Apollo*, and demand of him anſweres and reſolutions of their doubts: for this is the cuſtome of the countrey, becauſe in this moneth they propounded their demands unto the Oracle of *Apollo*, and they ſuppoſed the ſeventh day of the ſame to be his birth-day, which they ſurnamed alſo, *Polypthous*, not as many do imagine, becauſe they then do bake many cakes, which are called *Phthois*, but for that it is a day wherein divers do reſort unto the Oracle for to be reſolved, and many anſweres are delivered: for it is but of late daies that folke were permitted to conſult with the Oracle when they liſt in everie moneth; but before time the religious prieſtreſſe of *Apollo*, named *Pythia*; opened not the Oracle, nor gave anſwere but at one time in the yeere, according as *Calliſtenes* and *Alexandrides* have recorded in writing.

10
What ſignifieth Phyximelon?

LIttle plants there be, which when they burgeon and ſhoot out firſt, the beaſts love paſſing well their firſt buds and ſprouts which they put forth; but in brouzing and cropping them, great injurie they do unto the plants and hinder their grouth: when as therefore they are growen up to that height that beaſts graſing thereabout, can do them no more harme, they be called *Phyximela*, that is as much to ſay, as having eſcaped the danger of cattell, as witneſſeth *Aeſchylus*.

11
Who be they that are named Apoſphendoneti?

IN times paſt the Eretrians held the Iſland Corcyra, untill *Charicrates* arrived there with a fleet from *Corinth* and vanquiſhed them: whereupon the Eretrians tooke ſea againe, and returned toward their naturall countrey: whereof their fellow-citizens being advertiſed, ſuch I ſay as ſtirred not but remained quiet, repelled them, and kept them off from landing upon their ground by charging them with ſhot from ſlings. Now when they ſaw they could not win them by any faire language, nor yet compel them by force of armes, being as they were inexorable, and beſides many more than they in number, they made ſaile to the coaſts of *Thracia*, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of a place: wherein they report, *Methon*, one of the predeceſſors and progenitors of *Orpheus* ſometime dwelt: and there having built a citie, they named it *Methone*; but themſelves were ſurnamed *Apoſphendoneti*, which is as much to ſay, as repelled and driven backe by ſlings.

12

What is that which the Delphians call, Charila?

THe citizens of *Delphos* do celebrate continually three *Enneaterides*, that is to ſay, feaſts celebrated every ninth yeere, one after another ſucceſſively. Of which, the firſt they name, *Septerion*; the ſecond, *Herois*; and the third, *Charila*. As touching the firſt, it ſeemeth to be a memorial repreſenting the fight or combat that *Phœbus* had againſt *Python*; and his flight after the conflict, and purſuit after him into the valley of *Tempe*. For as ſome do report he fled by occaſion of a certaine manſlaughter and murder that he had committed, for which he ſought to be purged: others ſay that when *Python* was wounded, and fled by the way which we call, Holy, *Phœbus* made hot purſuit after him, inſomuch as he went within a little of overtaking him, and finding him at the point of death: (for at his firſt comming he found that he was newly dead of the wounds which he had received in the foreſaid fight) alſo, that he was enterred and buried by his ſonne, (who as they ſay) was named *Aix*: this novenarie feaſt therefore, called *Septerion*, is a repreſentation of this hiſtorie, or elſe of ſome other like unto it. The ſecond named *Herois*, containeth (I wot not what) hidden ceremonies and fabulous ſecrets, which the profeſſed prieſts (in the divine ſervice of *Bacchus* called *Thyades*) know well enough: but by ſuch things as are openly done and practiſed, a man may conjecture, that it ſhould be a certaine exaltation or aſſumption of *Semele* up into heaven. Moreover, as concerning *Charila*, there goeth ſuch a tale as this. It fortuned upon a time, that after much drougth, there followed great famine in the citie of *Delphos*, inſomuch as all the inhabitants came with their wives and children to the court gates, crying out unto their king, for the extreame hunger that they endured. The king thereupon cauſed to be diſtributed among the better ſort of them, a dole of meale, and certaine pulſe, for that he had not ſufficient to give indifferently to them all: and when there came a little yong wench, a ſiely orphane, fatherleſſe and motherleſſe, who inſtantly beſought him to give her alſo ſome reliefe; the king ſmote her with his ſhoe, and flung it at her face. The girle (poore though ſhe was, forlorne and deſtitute of all worldly ſuccour; howbeit carying no baſe mind with her; but of a noble ſpirit) departed from his preſence, and made no more a doe, but undid her girdle from her waſt and hanged her ſelfe therewith. Well, the famine daily encreaſed more and more, and diſeaſes grew thereupon: by occaſion whereof, the king went in perſon to the Oracle of *Apollo*, ſuppoſing to finde there ſome meede and remedie: unto whom *Pythia* the propheteſſe made this anſwere: That the ghoſt of *Charila* ſhould be appeaſed and pacified, who had died a voluntarie death. So after long ſearch and diligent enquirie, hardly found in the end it was, that the young maiden whom he had ſo beaten with his ſhoe, was named *Charila*: whereupon they offered a certaine ſacrifice mixed with expiatorie oblations, which they celebrate and performe from nine yeers to nine, even to this day. For at this ſolemnity, the king ſitting in his chaire, dealeth certaine meale and pulſe among all commers, as well ſtrangers as citizens: and the image of this *Charila* is thither brought, reſembling a young girle: now after that everie one hath received part of the dole, the king beateth the ſaid image about the eares with his ſhoe: and the chiefe governeſſe of the religious women called, *Thyades*, taketh up the image, and carieth it into a certaine place ful of deepe caves, where after they have hung an halter about the necke of it, they enterre it under the ground in that verie place where they buried the corps of *Charila*, when ſhe had ſtrangled her ſelfe.

21

What is the meaning of that which they call among the Aeneians, Begged-fleſh.

THE Aeneians in times paſt had many tranſinigrations from place to place: for firſt they inhabited the countrey about the Plaine called *Dotion*: out of which they were driven by the Lapithæ, and went to the Aethicæ; and from thence into a quarter of the province *Moloſsis*, called *Arava*, which they held, and thereof called they were Paravæ. After all this they ſeized the citie *Cirrha*: wherein after that they had ſtoned to death their king *Onoclus*, by warrant and commandement from *Apollo*; they went downe into that tract that lieth along by the river *Inachus*, a countrey inhabited then by the Inachiens and Achæans. Now they had the anſwere of an oracle on both ſides, to wit, the Inachiens and Achæans, that if they yeelded and gave away part of their countrey, they ſhould loſe all: and the Aeneians, that if they could get once any thing at their hands with their good wils, they ſhould for ever poſſeſſe and hold all. Things ſtanding in theſe tearmes, there was a notable perſonage among the Aeneians, named *Temon*, who putting on ragged clothes, and taking a wallet about his necke, diſguiſed himſelfe like unto a begger, and in this habite went to the Inachiens to crave their almes. The king of the Inachiens ſcorned and laughed at him, and by way of diſdaine and mockerie, tooke up a clod of earth and gave it him; the other tooke it right willingly and put it up into his budget: but he made no ſemblance, neither was he ſeene to embrace this gift, and to joy therein; but went his way immediately without begging any thing elſe, as being verie well content with that which he had gotten already. The elders of the people woondring hereat, called to mind the ſaid oracle, and preſenting themſelves before the king, advertiſed him not to neglect this occurrent, nor to let this man thus to eſcape out of his hands. But *Temon* having an inckling of their deſſeigne, made haſte and fled apace, inſomuch as he ſaved himſelfe, by the meanes of a great ſacrifice, even of an hundred oxen which he vowed unto *Apollo*. This done, both kings, to wit, of the Inachiens and the Aeneians ſent defiance one to the other, and chalenged combat to fight hand to hand. The king of the Aeneians *Phemius*, ſeeing *Hyperochus* king of the Inachiens comming upon him with his dog, cried out and ſaid: That he dealt not like a juſt and righteous man, thus to bring an aſſiſtant and helper with him: whereat as *Hyperochus* turned his head about, and looked backe for to chaſe away his dog, *Phemius* raught him ſuch a rap with a ſtone upon the ſide of his head, that he felled him to the ground and killed him outright therewith in the verie place. Thus the Aenians having conquered the countrey, and expelled the Inachiens and the Achæans, adored ever after that ſtone as a ſacred thing, and ſacrificed unto it, and within the fat of the beaſt ſacrificed, enwrap it verie charily. Afterwards, whenſoever they have according to their vow offered a magnificent ſacrifice of an hundred oxen to *Apollo*, and killed likewiſe an oxe unto *Iupiter*; the ſend the beſt and moſt daintieſt piece of the ſaid ſacrifice, unto thoſe that are lineally deſcended from *Temon*, which at this day is called among them, *The Begged fleſh*, or the *Beggers-fleſh*.

41

Who be thoſe whom the inhabitants of Ithaca, *named* Coliades? *and who is* Phagilus *among them?*

AFter that *Ulyſſes* had killed thoſe who wooed his wife in his abſence, the kinsfolke and friends of them being now dead, roſe up againſt him to be revenged: but in the end they agreed on both ſides to ſend for *Neoptolemus*, to make an accord and attonement betweene them: who having undertaken this arbitrement, awarded that *Vlyſſes* ſhould depart out of thoſe parts, and quit the Iſles of *Cephalenia, Ithaca* and *Zacynthus*, in regard of the bloodſhed that he had committed. *Item*, that the kinsfolke and friends of the ſaid woers, ſhould pay a certaine fine everie yeere unto *Ulyſſes* in recompence, for the riot, damage, and havoke they had made in his houſe. As for *Ulyſſes*, he withdrew himſelfe and departed into *Italie*: but for the mulct or fine impoſed upon them, which he had conſecrated unto the gods; he tooke order that thoſe of *Ithaca* ſhould tender the payment thereof unto his ſonne: and the ſame was a quantitie of meale and of wine, a certaine number of * wax-lights or tapers, oyle, ſalt, and for ſacrifices the bigger ſort and better growen of *Phagili*: now *Phagilus*, *Ariſtotle* interpreteth to be a lambe.

* κῆρια, haply hony-combs.

Moreover, as touching *Eumæus*, *Telemachus* enfranchiſed him and all his poſteritie; yea, and endued them with the right of free burgeoſie. And ſo the progenie of *Eumæus* are at this day the houſe and family, called *Coliadæ*, like as *Bucolij* be thoſe who are deſcended from *Philætius*.

15

*What is the woodden * dog among the Locrians?*

κύων, not κίων i. a pillar, as the Latin interpreteth it.

LOcrus was the ſonne of *Phyſcius*, who had to his father *Amphyction*. This *Locrus* had by *Cabya* a ſonne named likewiſe *Locrus*: with him his father was at ſome variance; who having gathered a number of citizens to him, conſulted with the oracle about a place where he ſhould build a new citie, and people it in the nature of a colonie. The oracle returned unto him this anſwere: That in what place a dog of wood did bite him, there he ſhould found a citie. And ſo when he had paſſed over to the other ſide of the ſea, and was landed, he chanced to tread as hee walked along upon a brier, which in Greeke is called Κυνοσβάτος, and was ſo pricked therewith, that he was conſtrained there to ſojourne certaine daies: during which time, after he had well viewed and conſidered the countrey, he founded theſe townes, to wit, *Phyſcees* and *Hyanthia*, and all thoſe beſides, which were afterwards inhabited by the Locrians, ſurnamed *Ozolæ*, that is to ſay, Stinking: which ſurname ſome ſay was given unto theſe Locrians, in regard of *Neſſus*; others in reſpect of the great dragon *Python*, which being caſt up a land by the ſea, putrified upon the coaſt of the Locrians: others report, that by occaſion of certaine ſheepes fels and goats skins, which the men of that countrey uſed to weare; and becauſe that for the moſt part they converſed among the flockes of ſuch cattell, and ſmelled ranke, and carried a ſtrong ſtinking ſavour about them, thereupon they were cleped *Ozolæ*. And ſome there be who hold the cleane contrarie, and ſay that the countrey being ful of ſweet flowers, had that name of the good ſmell; among whom is *Architas* of *Amphiſſa*, for thus he writeth:

> *A tract with crowne of grapes, full lively dight:*
> *Senting of flowers like ſpice* Macyna *hight.*

16

What is it which the Megarians call Aphabroma?

NIſus, of whom the city *Niſæa* tooke the name being king of *Megaris*, eſpouſed a wife out *Bœotia* named *Abrota*, the daughter of *Oncheſtus*, and ſiſter to *Megareus*, a dame of ſingular wiſdome, and for chaſtity and vertue incomparable: when ſhe was dead the Megarians for their part willingly and of their owne accord mourned: and *Niſus* her husband deſirous to eternize her name and remembrance by ſome memoriall, cauſed her bones to be ſet together, and the ſame to be clad with the very ſame apparrell that ſhe was wont to weare in her life time: and of her name he called that habit and veſture *Aphabroma*. And verily it ſeemeth that even god *Apollo* himſelfe did favourize the glorie of this ladie: for when the wives of *Megara* were minded many times to change theſe robes and habillements, they were alwaies forbiden and and debarred by this oracle.

17

Who is Doryxenus, *among the Megarians*

THe province *Megaris* was in olde time inhabited by certeine townes and villages; and the citizens or inhabitants being devided into five parts, were called Heraens, Pyraens, Megarians, Cynoſuriens, and Tripodiſſæans: now the Corinthians their next neighbours, and who ſpied out all occaſions, and ſought meanes to reduce the proovince Megarica under their obedience, practiſed to ſet them together by the eares, and wrought it ſo, that they warred one upon another: but they caried ſuch a moderate hand, and were ſo reſpective in their warres, that they remembred evermore they were kinsfolke and of a bloud: and therefore warred after a milde and gentle manner; for no man offred any injury or violence to the husbandmen that tilled the ground on either ſide: and looke whoſoever chanced to be taken priſoners, were to paie for their ranſome a certeine piece of money, ſet downe betweene them: which ſumme of money was received ever after they were delivered, and not before, becauſe no man would demaund it: for looke who had taken a captive in the warre, he would bring him home with him into his houſe, and make him good cheere at his owne table, conſult together, and then ſend him home in peace: and the party thus ſet free, when he came duely and brought his raunſome aforeſaid with him, was commended and thanked for it, yea, and continued ever after unto his dying day, friend unto him who received the money: and thus in ſtead of *Doryalotos*, which ſignifieth a priſoner taken in warre, he was called *Doryxenus*, that is to ſay, a friend made by warre; for he who kept backe the ſaide money, and defrauded the right maſter thereof; became all his life time infamous, not onely among enemies, but alſo among his owne felow-citizens, as being reputed a wicked, perfidious, and falſe wretch.

18

What is Palintocia *among the Megarians?*

THe Megarians when they had expelled their tyrant *Theagenes*, for a pretie while after, uſed good and moderate government in their common-wealth: but when as their flattering oratours and clawbacks of the people began unto them once (as *Plato* very well ſaid) in a cup of the meere and undelaied wine of libertie, that is to ſay, commended unto them exceſſive licentiouſneſſe, they came to be exceeding ſaucie and malepart, and were utterly corrupt and marred; inſomuch as they committed all inſolent outrages that could be deviſed againſt the ſubſtantiall and wealthy burgeſſes: and among other bold parts, the poore and needy would preſume to goe into their houſes, and commaund them for to enterteine them with great cheere, & to feaſt them ſumptuouſly: if they refuſed ſo to do, they would make no more adoe, but take away perforce whatſoever they could lay hands on in the houſe, & in one word, abuſe them all moſt vilanouſly. In concluſion, they made a ſtatute and ordinance, by vertue whereof it might be lawfull for them to demaund backe againe at the hands of thoſe uſurers, who had let them have money before time, all the intereſt and conſideration for uſe which they had paied before, and this they called *Palintocia*.

19

What city or countrey is that Anthedon, *whereof the propheteſſe* Pythia *ſpake in theſe verſes.*

Drinke out thy wine, the lees the dregges and all;
Anthedon *thou thy countrey canſt not call.*

FOr that *Anthedon* which is in *Bœotia*, is not ſo plentifull of good wines; *Calauria* indeed as fables make report, was ſometime called *Irene*, by the name of a lady ſo cleped, the daughter of *Neptune* and *Melanthia*, who was the daughter of *Alpheus*; but afterwards being held and inhabited by *Anthes* and *Hyperes*, ſurnamed it was, *Anthedonia* and *Hyperia*: for the anſwer of the oracle, as *Ariſtotle* teſtifieth, went in this maner:

Drinke out thy wine, with lees, with dregges and all,
Anthedon *thou thy countrey canſt not call;*
Nor Hypera *that ſacred iſle, for there*
Thou might'ſt it drinke without dregges pure and cleere.

Thus (I ſay) writeth *Ariſtotle*: but *Mnaſigiton* ſaith, that *Anthos* being brother of *Hyperes*, was loſt when he was but a very childe; and when his brother *Hyperes* for to ſearch him out, travelled and wandered to and fro all about, he came at length to *Pheres*, unto *Acaſtus* or *Adraſtus*, where by good fortune *Anthos* ſerved in place of cup-bearer, and had the charge of the wine cellar: now as they ſat feaſting at the table, the boy *Anthos* when he offred a cup of wine unto his brother, tooke knowledge of him, and ſaid ſoftly in his eare:

Drinke now your wine, with lees, with dregges and all;
Anthedon *you can not your countrey call.*

20

What is the meaning of this by-word in Priene: *Darkneſſe about the oake?*

THe Samians and Prienians warred one againſt the other, doing and ſuffring harme reciprocally, but ſo, as the domages and loſſes were tollerable, untill ſuch time as in one great battell fought betweene them, thoſe of *Priene* put to the ſword in one day, a thouſand Samians: but ſeven yeeres after in another conflict which the Prienians had againſt the Mileſians neere unto a place called δρυς, that is to ſay, Oake, they loſt the moſt valiant & principall citizens they had; which hapned at the very time when ſage *Byas* being ſent embaſſador unto *Samos*, wan great honour and reputation: this was a wofull day and a pittifull, and heavie calamitie to all the dames of *Priene* in generall; for there was not one of them but this common loſſe in ſome meaſure touched; inſomuch as this by-word was taken up amongſt them afterwards, in forme of a curſed malediction or ſolemne oth, in their greateſt affaires to binde them withall, By that Darkneſſe at the oake; for that eitheir their fathers, brethren, husbands, or children, were then and there ſlaine.

21

What were they among the Candiots, who were called Catacautæ?

IT is reported that certeine Tyrrhenians having raviſhed & caried away by force, a number of the Athenians daughters & wives out of *Brawron*, at what time as they inhabited the Iſlands *Imbros* and *Lemnos*, were afterwards chaſed out of thoſe quarters and landed upon the coaſt of *Laconia*, which they inhabited; where they entred into ſuch acquaintance with the women of the country, that they begat children of them; whereupon in the end they grew to be ſuſpected and ill ſpoken of by the naturall inhabitants, ſo that they were forced to abandon *Laconia*, and to returne againe into *Candy* under the conduct of *Pollis* and his brother *Crataidas*: where, warring upon them that held the countrey, they left many of their bodies who died in ſundrie ſkirmiſhes lying upon the land neglected and unburied: at the firſt becauſe they had no time and leaſure to interre them, by reaſon of the ſore warre which they maintained continually, & the danger that would have inſued, in caſe they had gon to take up their bodies: but afterwards becauſe they abhorred to touch thoſe dead carcaſes that lay ſtinking and putrifying with the heat of the ſun, for that they had continued ſo long above ground: *Pollis* therefore one of their leaders deviſed certein honors, priviledges, exemptions, & immunities, to beſtow partly upon the prieſts of the gods, and in part upon thoſe who buried the dead; and conſecrated ſolemnly theſe prerogatives unto ſome tereſtriall deities, to the end they might be more durable and remaine inviolate: afterwards he parted with his brother by lot. Now the one ſort were named *Sacrificers*, and the other *Catacautæ*; who governed a part, with their owne lawes and particular diſcipline: by vertue whereof among other good orders and civill cuſtomes, they were not ſubject to certeine crimes and enormities, whereunto other Candiots are commonly given; namely to rob, pill and ſpoile one another ſecretly: for theſe did no wrong one to another; they neither did ſteale, nor pilfer, nor carrie away other mens goods.

22

What meaneth the Sepulcher of children among thy Chalcidians?

Cothus and *Aeclus* the ſonnes of *Xuthus* arrived at *Euboea*, to ſeeke them a place of habitation; the which Iſle was for the moſt part poſſeſſed and occupied by the Aeolians. Now *Cothus* had a promiſe by oracle, that he ſhould proſper in the world, and have the upper hand of his enemies, in caſe he bought or purchaſed that land: wherefore being come a ſhore with ſome few of his men, he found certaine yoong children playing by the ſea ſide; with whom he joyned, diſported with them, made much of them, ſhewing unto them many prettie gauds and toies that had not beene before time ſeene in thoſe parts: and when he perceived that the children were in love thereof, and deſirous to have them; he ſaid that he would not give them any of his fine things, unleſſe by way of exchange he might receive of them ſome of their land: the children therefore taking up a little of the mould with both hands, gave the ſame unto him, and having received from him the foreſaid gauds, went their waies. The Aeolians hearing of this, and withall diſcovering their enemies under ſaile directing their courſe thither, and ready to invade them, taking counſell of anger and ſorrow together, killed thoſe children: who were entombed along that great high way, by which men go from the citie to the ſtreight or frith called *Euripus*. Thus you ſee wherefore that place was called the Childrens ſepulcher.

23

What is he whom in Argos *they call* Mixarchagenas? *and who be they that are named Elaſians?*

As for *Mixarchagenas*, it was the ſurname of *Caſtor* among them; and the Argives beleeve verily that buried he was in their territorie. But *Pollux* his brother they reverenced and worſhipped as one of the heavenly gods.

Moreover, thoſe who are thought to have the gift to divert and put by, the fits of the Epilepſie or falling ſickenes, they name *Elaſiæ*, and they are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from *Alexidas*, the daughter of *Amphiaraüs*.

24

What is that which the Argives call Eneniſma?

Thoſe who have loſt any of their neere kinſfolkes in blood, or a familiar friend, were woont preſently after their mourning was paſt, to ſacrifice unto *Apollo*, and thirtie daies after unto *Mercurie*: for this they thought, that like as the earth receiveth the bodies of the dead, ſo doth *Mercurie* the ſoules. To the miniſter of *Apollo* they give barley, and receive of him againe in lieu thereof, a piece of fleſh of the beaſt killed for ſacrifice. Now after that they have quenched the former fire as polluted and defiled, they goe to ſeeke for others elſewhere, which after they have kindled, they roſte the ſaid fleſh with it, and then they call that fleſh, *Eneniſma*.

25

Who is Alaſtor, Aliterios *and* Palamnæus?

FOr we muſt not beleeve it is, as ſome beare us in hand, that they be *Aliterij*, who in time of famine, goe prying and ſpying thoſe who * grind corne in their houſes, and then carrie it away by violence: but we are to thinke that *Alaſtor* is he who hath committed acts that be *Alaſta*, that is to ſay, not to be forgotten, and the remembrance whereof will continue a long time after. And *Aliterius* is he who for his wickedneſſe deſerveth ἀλεύασθαι, that is to ſay, to be ſhunned and avoided of all men; and ſuch an one is otherwiſe called *Palamnæus*: and thus much ſaith *Socrates*, was written in tables of braſſe.

* ἀλοῦντας. He ſaith otherwiſe in the end of his treatiſe concerning Curioſitie.

26

What ſhould the meaning of this be, that the Virgins who accompanied the men that drive the beefe from Aenus, *toward the citie* Caſſiopæa, *go all the way even unto the verie borders chanting thus dittie:*

Would God, returne another day,
To native ſoile you never may?

THe Aenians being driven out of their owne countrie by the *Lapithæ*, inhabited firſt about *Aethacia*; and afterwards in the province of *Moloſsis* neere unto *Caſsiopæa*. But ſeeing by experience little good or none growing unto them out of that countrey, and withall finding the people adjoining to be ill neighbours unto them; they went into the plaine of *Cirrha*, under the leading of their king *Onoclus*: but being ſurpriſed there, with a wonderfull drought, they ſent unto the oracle of *Apollo*; who commanded them to ſtone their king *Onoclus* to death, which they did: and after that put themſelves in their voiage againe, to ſeeke out a land where they might ſettle and make their abode; and ſo long travelled they until at the laſt they came into thoſe parts which they inhabit at this day, where the ground is good and fertill, and bringing forth all fruitfull commodities. Reaſon they had therefore you ſee to wiſh and pray unto the gods, that they might never returne againe unto their ancient countrey, but remaine there for ever in all proſperitie.

27

What is the reaſon that it is not permitted at Rhodes *for the herault or publicke crier, to enter into the temple of* Ocridion?

IS it for that *Ochimus* in times paſt affianced his daughter *Cydippe* unto *Ocridion*, but *Cercaphus* the brother of *Ochimus* being enamoured of his niece *Cydippe*, perſwaded the herault (for in thoſe daies the maner was to demand their brides in mariage, by the meanes of heraults, and to receive them at their hands) that when he had *Cydippe* once delivered unto him, he ſhould bring her unto him: which was effected accordingly. And this *Cercaphus* being poſſeſſed of the maiden fled away with her: but in proceſſe of time when *Ochimus* was verie aged, *Cercaphus* returned home. Upon which occaſion the Rhodians enacted a law, that from thence forth, there ſhould never any herault ſet foot within the temple of *Ocridion*, in regard of this injurie done unto him.

28

What is the cauſe that among the Tenedians, it is not lawfull for a piper or plaier of the fluit to come within the temple of Tenes: *neither is it permitted to make any mention there of* Achilles?

IS it not becauſe when the ſtepmother of *Tenes* had accuſed him, for that he would have laien with her, *Malpus* the minſtrell avouched it to be true, and moſt falſely bare witneſſe againſt him: whereupon he was forced to flie with his ſiſter unto *Tenedos*?

Furthermore it is ſaid, that *Thetis* the mother of *Achilles*, gave expreſſe commandement unto her ſonne, and charged him in any wiſe not to kill *Tenes*; for that he was highly beloved of *Apollo*. Whereupon ſhe commanded one of his ſervants to have a carefull eie unto him, and eſtſoones to put him in mind of this charge that he had from her; leſt haply he might forget himſelfe, and at unwares take away his life: but as he overran *Tenedos*, he had a ſight of *Tenes* ſiſter, a faire and beautifull ladie and purſued her: but *Tenes* put himſelfe betweene, for to defend and ſave the honour of his ſiſter; during which conflict ſhe eſcaped and got away: but her brothers fortune was to be ſlaine: but *Achilles* perceiving that it was *Tenes*, when he lay dead upon the ground, killed his ſervant outright, for that being preſent in place during the fray, he did not admoniſh him according as he was commanded: but *Tenes* he buried in that verie place where now his temple ſtandeth. Lo, what was the cauſe that neither a piper is allowed to go into his temple, nor *Achilles* may be once named there.

29

Who is that, whom the Epidamnians call Polletes?

THe Epidamnians being next neighbours unto the Illyrians, perceived that their citizens who converſed, commerced, and traded in trafficke with them, became nought, and fearing beſides ſome practiſe for the alteration of ſtate: they choſe everie yeere one of the beſt approved men of their citie, who went to and fro for to make all contracts, bargains, and exchanges, that thoſe of *Epidamnus* might have with the Barbarians, and likewiſe dealt reciprocally in theſe affaires and negotiacions, that the Illyrians had with them: now this factour that thus bought and ſolde in their name, was called *Poletes*.

30

What is that, which in Thracia they call Aræni Acta, *that is to ſay, the Shore of* Arænus?

THe Andrians and Chalcidians having made a voiage into *Thrace*, for to chuſe out a place to inhabit: ſurpriſed jointly together the citie *Sana*, which was betraied and delivered into their hands. And being advertiſed that the Barbarians had abandoned the towne *Achantus*, they ſent forth two ſpies to know the truth thereof: theſe ſpies approched the towne ſo neere, that they knew for certaine, that the enemies had quit the place and were gone. The partie who was for the Chalcidians ran before to take the firſt poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Chalcidians: but the other, who was for the Andrians, ſeeing that he could not with good footmanſhip overtake his fellow; flang his dart or javelin from him which he had in his hand: and when the head thereof ſtucke in the citie gate, he cried out aloud, that he had taken poſſeſſion thereof in the behalfe of the Andrians, with his javelin head. Hereupon aroſe ſome variance and controverſie betweene theſe two nations, but it brake not out to open warre: for they agreed friendly together, that the Erythræans, Samians, and Parians ſhould be the indifferent judges to arbitrate and determine all their debates and ſutes depending betweene them. But for that the Erythræans and Samians awarded on the Andrians ſide, and the Parians for the Chalcidians: the Andrians in that verie place tooke a ſolemne oth, and bound the ſame with inprecations, curſes, and maledictions, that they would never either take the daughters of the Parians in mariage, or affiance their owne unto them: and for this cauſe they gave this name unto the place, and called it the Shore or banke of *Aranus*, where as before it was called, the Port of the *Dragon*.

31

Why do the wives of the Eretrians at the ſolemne feaſt of Ceres, *roſt their fleſh meat not at the fire, but againſt the Sunne, and never call upon her by the name of* Calligenia?

IT is for that the dames of *Troy* whom the king led away captive, were celebrating this feaſt in this place: but becauſe the time ſerved to make ſaile, they were enforced to haſte away and leave their ſacrifice unperfect and unfiniſhed?

32

Who be they whom the Mileſians call Aïnautæ?

AFter that the tyrants *Thoas* and *Damaſenor*, had beene defaited, there aroſe within the city two factions that mainteined their ſeveral ſides: the one named *Plontis* & the other *Cheiromacha*. In the end, that of *Plontis* (who were indeed the richeſt & mightieſt perſons in the city) prevailed, and having gotten the upper hand, ſeiſed the ſoveraigne authority & government: and becauſe when they minded to ſit in conſultation of their waightieſt affaires, they went a ſhip-boord, and launched into the deepe a good way off from the land; and after they had reſolved and decreed what to doe, returned backe againe into the haven, therefore they were ſurnamed *Ainautæ*, which is as much to ſay, as alway ſailing.

What

33

What is the cauſe that the Chalcidians name one place about Pyrſophion; *The aſſembly of luſty gallants?*

NAuplius (as the report goeth) being chaſed and purſued by the Achæans, fledde for refuge like an humble ſuppliant to the Chalcidians; where partly hee anſwered to ſuch imputations which were laide againſt him, and in part by way of recrimination, recharged them with other miſdemeanors and outrages: whereupon the Chalcidians being not purpoſed to deliver him into their hands, and yet fearing leſt by treachery and privy practiſe hee ſhould be made away and murdred, allowed him for the guard of his perſon, the very flower of the luſtieſt yoong gallants in all their citie, whom they lodged in that quarter where they might alwaies converſe and meet together, and ſo keepe *Nauplius* out of danger.

34

What was he who ſacrificed an ox unto his benefactour?

THere hovered ſometime a ſhippe of certeine men of warre, or rovers, and ankered about the coaſt of *Ithaceſtia*, within which there was an old man who had the charge of a number of earthen pots, conteining Amphors a piece, with pitch in them: now it fortuned that a poore mariner or barge-man named *Pyrrhias*, who got his living by ferrying and tranſporting paſſengers, approched the ſaid ſhippe, and delivered the old man out of the rovers hands, and ſaved his life, not for any gaine that hee looked for, but onely at his earneſt requeſt, and for very pure pitie and compaſſion: now in recompence heereof, albeit hee expected none, the old man preſſed inſtantly upon him to receive ſome of thoſe pots or pitchers aforeſaid: the rovers were not ſo ſoone retired and departed out of the way, but the old man ſeeing him at libertie, and ſecure of danger, brought *Pyrrhias* to theſe earthen veſſels, and ſhewed unto him a great quantitie of gold and ſilver mingled with the pitch: *Pyrrhias* heerby growing of a ſudden to be rich and full of money, entreated the old man very kindly in all reſpects, otherwiſe and beſides ſacrificed unto him a beefe: and heereupon as they ſay aroſe this common proverb: No man ever ſacrificed an ox unto his benefactour but *Pyrrhias*.

35

What is the cauſe that it was a cuſtome among the maidens of the Bottiæans in their dauncing to ſing as it were the faburden of a ſong: Go we to Athens.

THe Candiots by report upon a vow that they had made, ſent the firſt borne of their men unto *Delphos*; but they that were thus ſent, ſeeing they could not finde ſufficient meanes there to live in plentie, departed from thence to ſeeke out ſome convenient place for a colonie to inhabite: and firſt they ſetled themſelves in *Iapigia*, but afterwards arrived to this verie place of *Thracia*, where now they are, having certeine Athenians mingled among them: for it is not like that *Minos* had cauſed thoſe yoong men to be put to death whom the Athenians had ſent unto him by way of tribute, but kept them for to doe him ſervice: ſome therefore of their iſſue, & deſcended from them, being reputed naturall Candiots, were with them ſent unto the citie of *Delphos*; which is the reaſon that the yoong daughters of the Bottiæans in remembrance of this their originall deſcent, went ſinging in their feſtivall daunces: Go we to *Athens*.

36

What ſhould be the reaſon that the Eliens wives, when they chaunt himnes to the honour of Bacchus, *pray him to come unto them,* βοέῳ ποδὶ, *that is to ſay, with his bull foote; for the hymne runneth in this forme: Pleaſeth it thee right woorthy lord* Bacchus *to come unto this holy maritime temple of thine, accompanied with the Graces, *running I ſay to this temple with an ox or beefe foot: then for the faburden of the ſong, they redouble; O woorthy bull, ô woorthy bull?*

*θέων, not θύων

IS it for that ſome name this god, The ſonne or begotten of a cow; and others tearme him, Bul; or is the meaning of βοέῳ ποδὶ, with thy great foot, like as *Homer* when he calleth *Iuno* or any other βοῶπιν, ſignifieth her to have a bigge and large eie, and by the epithit βούγαιον, meaneth one that braggeth and boaſteth of great matters?

Or rather becauſe that the foot of a beefe doth no harme, howſoever horned beaſts otherwiſe be hurtfull and dangerous; therefore they invocate thus upon him, and beſeech him to come loving and gracious unto them.

Or laſtly, for that many are perſwaded, that this is the god who taught men firſt to plough the ground and to ſowe corne.

37

Why have the Tanagræans a place before their city called Achilleum? *for it is ſaid, that* Achilles *in his life time bare more hatred than love unto this city, as who raviſhed and ſtole away* Stratonicon *the mother of* Poemander, *and killed* Aceſtor *the ſonne of* Ephippus.

POEmander the father of *Ephippus*, at what time as the province of *Tanagra*, was peopled and inhabited by tenures and villages onely, being by the Achæans beſiedged in a place called *Stephon*, for that he would not go foorth with them to warre, abandoneth the ſaid fort in the night time, and went to build the citie *Pœmandria*, which he walled about. The architect or maſter builder *Polycrithus* was there, who diſpraiſed all his worke, and derided it, in ſo much as in a mockerie he leapt over the trench; whereat *Pœmander* tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, and was ſo highly offended, that he meant to fling at his head a great ſtone, which lay there hidden of olde upon the nightly ſacrifices of *Bacchus*. But *Pœmander* not knowing ſo much, pulled it up by force, and threw it at him; and miſſing *Polycrithus*, hit his ſon *Leucippus*, and killed him outright. Hereupon according to the law and cuſtom then obſerved, there was no remedie but needs he muſt depart out of *Bœotia*, in manner of an exiled man; and ſo as a poore ſuppliant and ſtranger to converſe, wandring abroad in another countrey, which was neither ſafe nor eaſie for him to doe at that time, conſidering that the Achæans were up in armes and entred into the countrey of *Tanagra*. He ſent therefore his ſonne *Ephippus* unto *Achilles*, for to requeſt his favour; who by earneſt ſupplications and praiers prevailed ſo much, that he entreated both him, and alſo *Tlepolemus* the ſonne of *Hercules*; yea and *Peneleus* the ſonne of *Hippalcmus*, who were all of their kindred: by whoſe meanes *Pœmander* had ſafe conduct, and was accompanied as farre as the citie of *Chalcis*, where he was aſſoiled, abſolved and purged by *Elpenor*, for the murder which he had committed. In remembrance of which good turne by thoſe princes received, he ever after honoured them, and to them all erected temples; of which that of *Achilles* continueth unto this day, and according to his name is called *Achilleum*.

38

Who be they, whom the Bœotians call Pſoloes, *and who be* Aeolies.

THE report goeth that *Leucippe*, *Arſinoe* and *Alcathie*, the daughters of *Minyas*, being enraged and beſtraight of their right wits, longed exceedingly to eat mans fleſh, and caſt lots among themſelves, which of them ſhould kill their owne children for that purpoſe. So the lot falling upon *Leucippe*, ſhe yeelded her ſonne *Hippaſus* to be diſmembred and cut in pieces; by occaſion whereof, their husbands ſimply arraied, and in mourning weeds for ſorrow and griefe were called *Pſoloes*, as one would ſay, foule and ſmokie; and the women ἀιολεῖαι, that is to ſay, diſtracted and troubled in their minds, or *Oeconoloæ*: ſo as even at this day the Orchomenians, call thoſe women who are deſcended from them by thoſe names: and everie ſecond yeere during the feſtivall daies called *Agrionia*, the prieſt of *Bacchus* runneth after them with a ſword drawen in his hand, courſing and chaſing them: yea and lawfull it is for him to kill any one of them that he can reach and overtake. And verily in our daies *Zoilus* the prieſt killed one; but ſuch never come to any good after: for both this *Zoilus* himſelfe upon a certaine little ulcer or ſore that he had, fell ſicke; and after he had a long time pined away and conſumed therewith, in the end died thereof: and alſo the Orchomenians being fallen into publicke calamities, and held in generall for condemned perſons, tranſlated the prieſthood from that race and linage, and conferred it upon the beſt and moſt approoved perſon they could chuſe.

39

What is the cauſe that the Arcadians ſtone them to death, who willingly and of purpoſe enter within the pourpriſe and precincts of Lycæum: *but if any come into it of ignorance and unawares, then they ſend to* Eleutheræ?

AS for theſe, may it not be that they are held free and abſolved who do it upon ignorance: and by reaſon of this their abſolution, this maner of ſpeech aroſe, to ſend them to *Eleuthera*,

theræ, which ſignifieth Deliverance: much like as when we ſay thus, εἰς ἀμεδεῖς χώραν, that is to ſay, into the region of the ſecure; or thus, ἥξεις εἰς ἀρέσαντος ἕδος, that is to ſay, thou ſhalt go to the Mannour of the Pleaſant. Or haply it alludeth to the tale that goeth in this wiſe; that of ***Lycaons*** ſonnes there were but two onely, to wit, ***Eleuther*** and ***Lebadus***, who were not partakers of the horrible crime, that their father committed in the ſight of *Jupiter*, but fled into ***Bæotia***; in token whereof, the Lebadians enjoy ſtill their burgeoſie in commune with the Arcadians: and therefore to ***Eleutheræ*** they ſend thoſe, who againſt their willes or unawares are entred within that pourpriſe conſecrat unto *Jupiter*, into which it is not lawful for any man to go.

Or rather, as ***Architemus*** writeth in his Chronicles of ***Arcadia***, for that there were ſome who being ignorantly entred into the ſaid place, were delivered and yeelded unto the Phliaſians, who put them over to the Megarians, and from the Megarians they were carried to ***Thebes***: but as they were tranſported and conveyed thither, they were ſtaied about ***Eleutheræ***, by meanes of violent raine, terrible thunder, and other prodigious tokens; by occaſion whereof, ſome would have the citie to take the name ***Eleutheræ***.

Moreover, whereas it is ſaid that the ſhadow of him who commeth within this precinct of ***Lycæum***, never falleth upon the ground: it is not true, howbeit it goeth generally currant, and is conſtantly beleeved for an undoubted truth. But is it not thinke you, for that the aire turneth preſently into darke cloudes, and looketh obſcure and heavie (as it were) when any enter into it: or becauſe, that whoſoever commeth into it incontinently, ſuffereth death. And you know what the Pythagoreans ſay, namely, that the ſoules of the dead, caſt no ſhadow nor winke at all.

Or rather, for that it is the ſun that maketh ſhadowes, and the law of the countrey bereaveth him that entreth into it, of the ſight of the ſunne; which covertly and ænigmatically they would give us to underſtand under theſe words: For even he who commeth into this place is called ***Elaphos***, that is to ſay a Stag; and therefore ***Cantharion*** the Arcadian, who fled unto the Elians of his owne accord to ſide with them, at what time as they warred upon the Arcadians; and as he paſſed with his bootie that he had gotten, went through this ſacred place: when after the warre was ended, he returned to ***Lacedæmon***; was by the Lacedæmonians delivered up to the Arcadians, by direction and commandement of the oracle, which enjoined them to render the Stag.

40

What is that Demi-god in Tanagra, *knowen by the name of* Eunoſtus? *And what is the reaſon that women may not enter within the groave dedicated unto him?*

THis ***Eunoſtus*** was the ſonne of ***Elieus***, the ſonne of ***Cephiſus*** and ***Scias***; ſo named of ***Eunoſta*** a certaine nymph that nouriſhed and brought him up: who being faire and juſt withall, was alſo chaſt, continent and of an auſtere life. Howbeit the report goeth, that one of the daughters of ***Collonus*** named ***Ochna***, being his couſin germane became enamoured upon him: but when ſhe had tempted him and aſſaied to win his love; ***Eunoſtus*** repulſed and rejected her with reprochfull tearmes, and went his way intending to accuſe her unto her brethren: which the maiden ſuſpecting and fearing, prevented him and ſlandered him firſt before her brethren ***Ochemus***, ***Leon***, and ***Bucolus***, whom ſhe incenſed againſt ***Eunoſtus***, that they would kill him, as one who by force had defloured their ſiſter. Theſe brethren then having lien in ambuſh for the young man, murthered him trecherouſly: for which fact ***Elieus*** caſt them in priſon; and ***Ochna*** her ſelfe repenting of that which ſhe had done, was much troubled and tormented in mind therefore, being deſirous beſides to deliver her ſelfe from the griefe and agonie which ſhe endured by reaſon of her love, and withall pitying her brethren impriſoned for her ſake, diſcovered the whole truth unto ***Elieus***: and ***Elieus*** againe unto ***Collonus***: by whoſe accord and judgement, theſe brethren of ***Ochna*** fled their countrey and were baniſhed: but ſhe caſt her ſelfe voluntarily downe headlong from an high rocke, according as ***Myrtis*** the poetreſſe hath left in verſe. And this is the cauſe, that both the temple of ***Eunoſtus***, and alſo the grave about it remained ever after, inacceſſible, and not to be appoched by women: inſomuch as many times when there happen any great earthquakes, extraordinarie droughts, and other fearefull and prodigious tokens from heaven, the Tanagrians make diligent ſearch and inquiſition, whether there have not beene ſome one woman or other, who ſecretly hath preſumed to come neere unto the ſaid place. And ſome have reported (among whom was one ***Clidamus*** a noble and honourable perſonage) that they met with ***Eunoſtus*** upon the way, going to waſh and cleanſe himſelfe in the ſea, for that there was one woman who had beene ſo bold as to enter into his ſanctuarie

And verely *Diocles* himſelfe in a treatiſe that he made of Demi-gods, or ſuch worthy men as had beene deified, maketh mention of a certaine edict, or decree of the Tanagrians, touching thoſe things which *Clidamus* had related unto them.

41

How commeth it that in the countrey of Bœotia, *the river that runneth by* Eleon, *is called* Scamander?

DEimachus the ſonne of *Eleon*, being a familiar companion with *Hercules*, was with him at the Trojan warre: during the time whereof, continuing as it did verie long, he entertained the love of *Glaucia* the daughter of *Scamander*, who was firſt enamoured of him, and ſo well they agreed together, that in the end ſhe was with child by him. Afterwards it fortuned, ſo that in a skirmiſh with the Trojans he loſt his life: and *Glaucia* fearing that her belly would tell tales and bewray what ſhe had done, fled for ſuccour unto *Hercules*, and of her owne accord declared unto him, how ſhe had beene ſurpriſed with love, and what familiar acquaintance there had paſſed betweene her and *Deimachus* late deceaſed. *Hercules* as well in pitie of the poore woman, as for his owne joy and contentment of mind, that there was like to remaine ſome iſſue of ſo valiant a man, and his familiar friend beſide, had *Glaucia* with him to his ſhips: and when ſhe was delivered of a faire ſonne, caried her into the countrey of *Bœotia*, where he delivered her and her ſonne into the hands of *Eleon*. The child then was named *Scamander*, and became afterwards king of that countrey; who ſurnamed the river *Inachus* after his owne name *Scamander*, and a little riveret running thereby, *Glaucia*, by the name of his mother: as for the fountaine *Acidusa* it was ſo cleped according to his wives name; by whom he had three daughters, who are even unto this day honoured in that countrey, and called by the name of the virgins.

42

Whereupon aroſe this proverbiall ſpeech, ἄυτα κυϱία, *that is to ſay, theſe things ſhall ſtand or prevaile?*

DIno the captaine generall of the Tarentines, being a right valiant and hardie warriour, when as the citizens by their voices and ſuffrages denied a ſentence which he had delivered as the herault or crier proclaimed and publiſhed with a loud voice that opinion which prevailed, lifting up his owne right hand himſelfe: Yea but this (quoth he) ſhal carie it away when all is done. Thus *Theophraſtus* reporteth this narration: but *Apollidorus* relateth moreover in his *Rhytinus* that when the herault had proclaimed thus ἀυται πλεῦς, that is to ſay, theſe be more in number, meaning the voices of the people: Yea but (quoth he) ἀῦται βελτιῦς, that is to ſay, theſe be better; and in ſo doing, confirmed the reſolution of thoſe who were in number the fewer.

43

Upon what occaſion was the citie of the Ithaceſians, named Alalcomenæ?

MOſt writers have recorded, that *Anticlia* being yet a virgin, was forced by *Siſyphus*, and conceived *Ulyſſes*. But *Hiſter* of *Alexandria* hath written moreover in his Commentaries, that ſhe being given in mariage unto *Laertes*, and brought into the citie *Alalcomenium* in *Bœotia*, was delivered there of *Ulyſſes*; and therefore he (to renew the memorie of that citie where he was borne and which was the head citie ſtanding in the heart of that countrey) called that in *Ithaca* by the name thereof.

44

Who be they in the citie Aegina, *which are called* Monophagi?

OF thoſe Aeginets, who ſerved in the Trojane warre many died in fight, howbeit more were drowned by meanes of a tempeſt in their voyage at ſea. But thoſe few who returned were welcomed home, and joifully received by their kinsfolke and friends: who perceiving all their other fellow-citizens to mourne and be in heavineſſe, thought this with themſelves, they ought not to rejoice nor offer ſacrifice unto the gods openly, but in ſecret: and ſo, everie man apart in his privat houſe, entertained thoſe who were eſcaped and came home ſafe with feaſts and banquets: and ſerved at the table in their owne perſons, unto their fathers, their brethren, couſens and friends, without admitting any ſtranger whatſoever: in imitation whereof they do yet every yeere ſacrifice unto *Neptune* in ſecret aſſemblies, which ſacrifices they call *Thyaſi*; during which ſolemnitie they doe feaſt one another privatly for the ſpace of ſixteene daies together with ſilence, and there is not a ſervant or ſlave there preſent to wait at the boord: but afterwards for to make an end of their feaſting, they celebrate one ſolemne ſacrifice unto *Venus*. And thus you may ſee why they be called *Monophagi*, that is to ſay, Eating alone, or by themſelves.

45

What is the cauſe that in the countrey of Caria, *the image of* Jupiter Labradeus *is made, holding aloft in his hand an axe, and neither a ſcepter nor a thunderbolt, or lightning?*

For that *Hercules* having ſlaine *Hippolite* the Amazon, and among other armes of hers won her battell axe, and gave it as a preſent unto *Omphale*: this axe, all the kings that raigned in *Lydia* after *Omphale*, caried as an holy and ſacred monument; which they received ſucceſſively from hand to hand of their next progenitors, untill ſuch time as *Candaules* diſdaining to beare it himſelfe, gave it unto one of his friends to carie. Afterwards, it chanced that *Gyges* put himſelfe in armes againſt *Candaules*, and with the helpe of *Arcelis*, who brought a power of men to aide him out of *Mylei*, both defeated him, and alſo killed that friend of his from whom he tooke away the ſaid axe, and put the ſame into the image of *Jupiters* hand, which he had made. In which reſpect he ſurnamed *Jupiter*, *Labradeus*, for that the Lydians in their language call an axe *Labra*.

46

Wherefore do the Trallians *call the pulſe* Ervil Catharter, *that is to ſay, the purger: and uſe it more than any other in their expiatorie ſacrifices of Purification?*

Is it for that the Minyans and Lelegians, having in old time diſſeized the ſaid Trallians of their cities and territories, inhabited and occupied the ſame themſelves? but the Trallians made head afterwards, and prevailed againſt them, inſomuch as thoſe Lelegians who were neither ſlaine in battell, nor eſcaped by flight, but either for feebleneſſe, or want of meanes otherwiſe to live, remained ſtill, they made no reckoning of, whether they died or lived; enacting a law, that what Trallian ſoever killed either a Lelegian or Minyan, he ſhould be abſolved and held quit, in caſe he paied unto the next kinsfolke of the dead partie; a meaſure called *Medimnus*, of the ſaid *Ervill*.

47

What is the reaſon that it goeth for an ordinarie by-word among the Elians to ſay thus; To ſuffer more miſeries and calamities than Sambicus?

There was one *Sambicus* of the citie *Elis*, who by report having under him many mates and complices at command, brake and defaced ſundrie images and ſtatues of braſſe within the citie *Olympia*, and when he had ſo done, ſold the braſſe and made money of it: in the end he proceeded ſo farre as to rob the temple of *Diana* ſurnamed *Epiſcopos*, that is to ſay, a vigilant patroneſſe and ſuperintendant. This temple ſtandeth within the citie *Elis*, and is named *Ariſtarchium*. After this notorious ſacriledge he was immediatly apprehended, and put to torture a whole yeere together to make him for to bewray and reveale all his companions and confederats: ſo as in the end he died in theſe torments, and thereupon aroſe the ſaid common proverbe.

48

What is the reaſon that at Lacedæmon *the monument of* Ulyſſes, *ſtandeth cloſe to the temple of the* Leucippidæ?

Hergiæus one of the race deſcended from *Diomedes*, by the motion and inſtigation of *Temenus* induced, robbed out of *Argos* the renowmed image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and that with the privitie and aſſiſtance of *Leager* in this ſacriledge: now this *Leager* was one of the familiars and inward companions of *Temenus*: who being fallen out afterwards with *Temenus*, in a fit of anger, departed to *Lacedæmon* with the ſaid *Palladium*: which the kings there received at his hands right joifully and placed it neere unto the temple of the *Leucippides*: but afterwards they ſent to the oracle at *Delphos*, to know by what meanes they might keepe and preſerve

ſerve the ſaid image in ſafety: the oracle made this anſwer, that they ſhould commit the keeping of it unto one of them who had ſtollen it away: whereupon they built in that verie place a monument in memoriall of *Ulyſſes*, where they ſhrined *Palladium*; and beſides, they had the more reaſon ſo to do, becauſe in ſome ſort *Ulyſſes* was allied to their citie, by his wives ſide ladie *Penelope*.

49

What is the the reaſon that the Chalcedonian dames have a cuſtome among them, that whenſoever they meet with any men that be ſtrangers unto them, but eſpecially if they be rulers or magiſtrates, to cover and hide one of their cheeks.

THe men of *Chalcedon* warred ſomtime againſt their neighbours the Bithynians, provoked thereto by all light injuries, and wrought that might miniſter matter and occaſion therof: inſomuch as in the daies of king *Zeipætus* who raigned over the Bithynians, they aſſembled all their forces, and with a puiſſant power (beſide of the Thracians, who joyned to aid them) they invaded their countrey with fire and ſword, ſpoiling all before them: untill in the end king *Zeipætus* gave them battell neere unto a place named *Phalium*, where they loſt the day, as well in regard of their preſumptuous boldneſſe, as of the diſorder among them, inſomuch as there died of them in fight 8000. men. Howbeit utterly they were not defeated, for that *Zeipætus* in favour of the Bizantines, was contented to grow unto ſome agreement & compoſition. Now for that their citie was by this meanes verie much diſpeopled and naked of men, many women there were among them, who were conſtrained to be remarried unto their enfranchiſed ſervants, others to aliens and ſtraungers comming from other cities: but ſome againe, chuſing rather to continue widowes ſtill and never to have husbands, than to yeeld to ſuch mariages, followed their owne cauſes themſelves what matter ſoever they had to be tried or diſpatched in open court before the judges or publike magiſtrates; onely they withdrew one part of their veile, and opened their face on one ſide: the other wives alſo who were maried againe, for modeſtie and womanhood, following them as better women than themſelves, uſed the ſame faſhion alſo, and brought it to be an ordinarie cuſtome.

50

Wherefore do the Argives drive their ewes unto the ſacred grove of Agenor, *when they would have the rammes to leape them?*

IS it not for that *Agenor* whiles he lived, was verie expert and skilfull about ſheepe; and of all the kings that ever were among them, had the moſt and faireſt flockes of them?

51

Why do the Argives children, at a certaine feſtivall time that they keepe, call one another in plaie and ſport Ballachrades?

IS it becauſe, the firſt of that nation, who were by *Inachus* brought out of the mountaines into the plaine and champian countrey, made their chiefe food (by report) of wilde hedge-peares? Now theſe chok-peares, ſome ſay, were found in *Peloponeſus*, before they were ſeen in any other part of *Greece*, even whiles that region was called *Apia*. And hereupon alſo it came that theſe wild peares commonly called *Achrades*, changed their name into *Apioi*.

52

What is the cauſe that the Eliens, when their mares be hot after the horſe, leade them, out of their owne confines to be covered by the ſtalions?

IS it for that *Oenomaus* was a prince, who of all others loved beſt a good race of horſes, & took greateſt pleaſure in theſe kind of beaſts; & curſed with al maner of execrations, thoſe ſtalions which covered his mares in *Elis*? And therefore they fearing to fall into any of theſe maledictions, avoid them by this maner.

53

What was the reaſon of this cuſtom among the Gnoſians, that thoſe who tooke up any money at any intereſt, ſnatched it and ran away with all?

WAS it to this end, that if they ſhould denie the debt, and ſeeme to defraud the uſurers, they might lay an action of felonie, and violent wrong upon them: and the other by this meanes might be more puniſhed?

54

What is the cauſe that in the citie of Samos *they invocate* Venus *of* Dexicreon?

IS it for that, that when in times paſt the women of *Samos* were exceedingly given to enormious wantoneſſe & lechery, ſo that the brake out into many lewd acts: there was one *Dexicreon*, a mounte-banke or couſening jugler, who by (I wot not what) ceremonies and expiatorie ſacrifices, cured them of their unbridled luſt?

Or becauſe this, *Dexicreon* being a merchant-venturer who did traffike and trade by ſea, went into the Iſle of *Cyprus*; & when he was ready to load or charge his ſhip with merchandize, *Venus* commanded him to fraight it with nothing elſe but water, and then immediately to hoiſe up ſaile: according to which he did, and having put a great quantie of water within his veſſell, he ſet ſaile and departed. Now by that time they were in the maine ſea, they were verie much becalmed, ſo as for want of a gale of winde many daies together, the reſt of the mariners and merchants a ſhip boord, thought verily they ſhould all die for verie thirſt: whereupon he ſold unto them his water which he had aboord, and thereby gat a great quantitie of ſilver; of which afterwards he cauſed to be made an image of *Venus*, which he called after his owne name, *Dexicreon* his *Venus*. Now if this be true, it ſeemeth that the goddeſſe purpoſed thereby, not onely to enrich one man, but to ſave alſo the lives of many.

55

How commeth it to paſſe, that in the Iſle of Samos, *when they ſacrifice unto* Mercurie *ſurnamed* Charidotes, *it is lawfull for whoſoever will, to rob and rifle all paſſengers?*

BEcauſe in times paſt according to the commandement and direction of a certaine oracle, the ancient inhabitants departed out of *Samos* and went into *Mycale*, where they lived and maintained themſelves for ten yeeres ſpace by pyracie and depredation at ſea; and afterwards being returned againe into *Samos*, obtained a brave victorie againſt their enemies.

56

Why is there one place within the Iſle Samos *called* Panæma?

IS it for that the Amazones to avoid the furie of *Bacchus*, fled out of the Epheſians countrey into *Samos* and there ſaved themſelves? But he having cauſed ſhips to be built and rigged, gathered together a great fleet, and gave them battell, where he had the killing of a great number of them about this verie place, which for the carnage and quantitie of blood-ſhed there, they who ſaw it, marvelled thereat, and called it *Panæma*. But of them who were ſlaine in this conflict, there were by the report of ſome, many that died about *Phlœon*, for their bones are there to be ſeene. And there be that ſay, that *Phlœon* alſo clave in ſunder, and became broken by that occaſion; their crie was ſo loud, and there voice ſo piercing and forcible.

57

How commeth it that there is a publike hall at Samos, *called* Pedetes?

AFter that *Damoteles* was murdered, and his monarchie overthrowen, ſo that the nobles or Senators *Geomori*, had the whole government of the State in their hands; the Megarians tooke armes, and made warre upon the Perinthians (a colonie drawen and deſcended from *Samos*) carying with them into the field, fetters and other irons, to hang upon the feet of their captive priſoners: the ſaid *Geomori* having intelligence thereof, ſent them aide with all ſpeed, having choſen ten captaines, manned alſo and furniſhed thirtie ſhips of warre; whereof twaine readie to ſaile, caught fire by lightning, and ſo conſumed in the verie mouth of the haven: howbeit the foreſaid captaines followed on in their voyage with the reſt, vanquiſhed the Megarians in battell, and tooke ſixe hundred priſoners: upon which victorie, being puffed up with pride, they intended to ruinate the Oligarchie of thoſe noble men at home, called *Geomori*, and to depoſe them from their government: and verily thoſe rulers themſelves miniſtred unto them occaſion, for to ſet in hand with this their deſſeigne; namely by writing unto them, that they ſhould leade thoſe Megarians priſoners, fettered with the ſame gives which they themſelves had brought: for no ſooner had they received theſe letters, but they did impart and ſhew them ſecretly unto the ſaid Megarians,perſwading them to band & combine with them,for to reſtore their citie unto libertie. And when they deviſed and conſulted together about the execution of this complotted conſpiracie: agreed it was betweene them to knocke the rings off, or lockers of the fetters open,and ſo to hang them about the Megarians legs,that with leather thongs they might be faſtened alſo to their girdles about the waſte, for feare that being ſlacke, as they were, they ſhould fall off and be readie to drop from their legs as they went. Having in this wiſe ſet foorth and dreſſed theſe men, and given everie one of them a ſword, they made all the haſte they could to *Samos*; where being arrived and ſet aland, they led the Megarians through the market place to the Senate houſe, where all the nobles called *Geomori* were aſſembled and ſat in conſultation: hereupon was the ſignall given, and the Megarians fell upon the Senators, and maſſacred them everie one. Thus having received the freedome of the citie, they gave unto as many of the Megarians as would accept thereof,the right of free burgeoſie: and after that built a faire towne-hall,about which they hung and faſtened the ſaid bolts and fetters of irons,calling it upon this occaſion *Pedetes*,that is to ſay,the Hall of Fetters.

58

What is the reaſon that in the Iſle of Coos,*within the citie* Antimachia,*the prieſt of* Hercules *being arraied in the habit of a woman, with a miter on his head, beginneth to celebrate the ſacrifice?*

HErcules, when he was departed from *Troy* with ſixe ſhips, was overtaken with a mightie tempeſt,and with one ſhip alone (for that all the other was loſt)was caſt by the windes upon the Iſle of *Coos*,and landed at a place called *Laceter*: having ſaved nothing elſe but his armor and the men that were with him in the ſhip; where finding a flocke of ſheepe, hee deſired the ſhepherd who tended them,to give him a ram. The ſhepherds name was *Antagoras*; who being a luſtie, tall and ſtrong man, would needs chalenge *Hercules* to wreſtle with him,upon this condition, that if *Hercules* could overthrow him and lay him along on the ground, the ram ſhould be his. *Hercules* accepted the offer; and when they were cloſe at hand-gripes, the Meropians, certaine inhabitants of the Iſle came in to ſuccour *Antagoras*, and the Greekes likewiſe to aide *Hercules*,in ſuch ſort,as there enſued a ſharp and cruell fight: wherein *Hercules* finding himſelfe to be overlaid and preſſed with the multitude of his enemies,retired and fled (as they ſay) unto a Thracian woman, where for to hide and ſave his life,he diſguiſed himſelfe in womans apparell. But afterwards having gotten the upper hand of thoſe Meropians, and being purged, he eſpouſed the daughter of *Alciopus*,and put on a faire robe and goodly ſtoale.Thus you may ſee whereupon his prieſt ſacrificeth in that verie place where the battell was fought; and why new married ſpouſes being arraied in the habit of women,receive their brides?

50

Whereof commeth it,that in the citie of Megara,*there is a linage or family named* Hamaxocylyſta?

IN the time that the diſſolute and inſolent popular State of government, called Democratie (which ordained that it might be lawfull to recover and arreſt all monies paid for intereſt and in conſideration of uſe,out of the uſurers hands, & which permitted ſacriledge) bare ſway in the citie: it hapned there were certaine pilgrims, named *Theori* of *Peloponeſus*, ſent in commiſſion to the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, who paſſed thorow the province of *Megaris*, and about the citie *Aegiri*, neere unto the lake there, lay and tumbled themſelves upon their chariots here and there,together with their wives and children,one with another as it fell out: where certaine Megarians,ſuch as were more audacious than the reſt,as being thorowly drunke, full of inſolent wantonneſſe and cruel pride,were ſo luſtie as to overturne the ſaid chariots,and thruſt them into the lake; ſo as,many of the ſaid *Theori* or commiſſioners were drowned therein. Now the Megarians(ſuch was the confuſion and diſorder in their government in thoſe daies)made no reckoning at all to puniſh this injurie and outrage: but the counſell of the *Amphyctiones*, becauſe the pilgrimage of theſe *Theori* was religious and ſacred, tooke knowledge thereof and ſate upon an inquiſition about it;yea and chaſtiſed thoſe who were found culpable in this impietie;ſome with death,others with baniſhment: and hereupon the whole race deſcending from them, were called afterwards *Hamaxocylyſta*.

THE PARALLELS, OR A BRIEFE COLLATION OF ROMANE NARRATIONS, WITH THE SEMBLABLE REPORTED OF THE GREEKS.

In the margin of an old manuſcript copie, theſe words were found written in Greeke: This booke was never of PLUTARCHS making, who was an excellent and moſt learned Author; but penned by ſome odde vulgar writer, altogether ignorant both of * Poetrie, and alſo of Grammar.

*or Learning.

MAny doe thinke, that ancient hiſtories be but fables and tales deviſed for pleaſure. For mine owne part having found many accidents in our daies, ſemblable unto thoſe occurrents which in times paſt fell out among the Romans in their age: I have collected ſome of them together; and to everie one of thoſe ancient Narrations, annexed another like unto it, of later time, and therewith alledged the Authors who have put them downe in writing.

1 *Datys* lieutenant generall under the king of *Perſia*, being come downe into the plaine of *Marathon* within the countrey of *Attica*, with a puiſſant power of three hundred thouſand fighting men, there pitched his campe, and proclaimed warre upon the inhabitants of thoſe parts. The Athenians making ſmall account of this ſo great a multitude of Barbarians, ſent out nine thouſand men, under the conduct of theſe foure captains; namely, *Cynegyrus, Pollizelus, Callimachus*, and *Miltiades*. So they ſtrucke a battell, during which conflict, *Polyzelus* chanced to ſee the viſion of one repreſented unto him ſurpaſſing mans nature, and thereupon loſt his ſight and became blind; *Callimachus* wounded through divers parts of his bodie with many pikes and javelins, dead though he was, ſtood upon his feet; and *Cynegyrus*, as he ſtaied a Perſian ſhip which was about to retire backe, had both his hands ſmitten off.

Aſdruball the king being poſſeſſed of *Sicily*, denounced warre againſt the Romans: and *Metellus* being choſen lord generall by the Senate, obtained a victorie in a certaine battell againſt him; in which battell lord *Glauco* a noble man of *Rome*, as he held the admirall-ſhip of *Aſdruball* loſt both his hands: as *Ariſtides* the Mileſian writeth in the firſt booke of the annales of *Sicily*, of whom *Diodorus Siculus* hath learned the matter and ſubject argument of his hiſtorie.

2 *Xerxes* being come to lie at anchor neere the cape *Artemſium* with five hundred thouſand fighting men, proclaimed warre upon the people of that countrey: whereat the Athenians being much aſtonied, ſent as a ſpie (for to view & ſurvey his forces) *Ageſilaus* the brother of *Themiſtocles*; albeit his father *Neocles* had a dreame in the night, and thought that he ſaw his ſonne diſmembred of both his hands; who entring the campe of the Barbarians in habit of a Perſian, ſlew *Mardonius* one of the captains of the kings *corps de guard*, ſuppoſing he had beene *Xerxes* himſelfe: and being apprehended by them that were about him, was brought tied and bound before the king, who was then even readie to offer ſacrifice upon the altar of the Sunne: into the fire of which altar, *Ageſilaus* thruſt his right hand, and endured the force of the torment, without crying or groning at all; whereupon the king commaunded him to be unbound: and then ſaid *Ageſilaus* unto him: We Athenians be all of the like mind and reſolution, and if you will not beleeve me, I will put my left hand alſo into the fire: whereat *Xerxes* being mightily afraid, cauſed him to be kept ſafely with a good guard about him. This writeth *Agatharſides* the Samian, in his ſecond booke of the Perſian Chronicles.

Porſena king of the Tuſcans, having encamped on the further ſide of the river *Tyber*, warred upon the Romans, and by cutting off the victuals and all proviſion that was wont to be brought to *Rome*, diſtreſſed the ſaid Romans with famine: and when the Senat hereupon was wonderfully troubled; *Mucius* a noble man of the citie (taking with him foure hundred other brave gentlemen of his owne age, by commiſſion from the Conſuls, in poore and ſimple array) paſſed over the river: and caſting his eie upon the captaine of the kings guard, dealing among other captains, victuals and other neceſſaries, ſuppoſing he had beene *Porſena*, killed him: whereupon he was preſently taken and brought before the king, who put his right hand likewiſe into the fire, and induring the paines thereof whiles it burned, moſt ſtoutly ſeemed to ſmile thereat and ſaid: Thou barbarous king, lo how I am looſe and at libertie even againſt thy will; but note well this beſides, that we are foure hundred of us within thy campe that have undertaken to take away thy life: with which words *Porſena* was ſo affrighted, that he made peace with the Romans: according as *Ariſtides* the Mileſian writeth, in the third booke of his ſtorie.

3 The Argives and the Lacedæmonians, being at war one with another about the poſſeſſion of the countrey *Thyreatis*, the *Amphictyones* gave ſentence that they ſhould put it to a battell, and looke whether ſide wan the field, to them ſhould the land in queſtion appertaine. The Lacedæmonians therefore choſe for their captaine *Othryades*; and the Argives, *Therſander*: when the battell was done, there remained two onely alive of the Argives, to wit, *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who caried tidings to the citie, of victorie. Meane while, when all was quiet, *Othryades* not fully dead but having ſome little life remaining in him, bearing himſelfe, and leaning upon the trunchions of broken lances, caught up the targets and ſhields of the dead, and gathered them together, and having erected a trophee, he wrote thereupon with his owne blood: To *Jupiter* Victor and guardian of Trophees. Now when as both thoſe parties maintained ſtill the controverſie about the land, the *Amphictyones* went in perſon to the place to be eie-judges of the thing, and adjudged the victorie on the Lacedæmonians ſide: this writeth *Chryſermus* in the third booke of the Peloponneſiack hiſtorie.

The Romans levying warre againſt the Samnites choſe for their chiefe commander *Poſthumius Albinus*, who being ſurpriſed by an ambuſh within a ſtreight betweene two mountains, called *Furcæ Caudinæ*, a verie narrow paſſe, loſt three of his Legions, and being himſelfe deadly wounded, fell and lay for dead: howbeit about midnight, taking breath, was quick againe, and ſomewhat revived, he aroſe, tooke the targets from his enemies bodies that lay dead in the place, and erected a trophee, and drenching his hand in their blood, wrote in this manner: The Romans, to *Jupiter* Victor, guardian of Trophees, againſt the Samnites: but *Marius* ſurnamed *Gurges*, that is to ſay, the glutton, being ſent thither as generall captaine, and viewing upon the verie place, the ſaid trophee ſo erected: I take this gladly (quoth he) for a ſigne and preſage of good fortune; and thereupon gave battell unto his enemies and won the victorie, tooke their king priſoner, and ſent him to *Rome*, according as *Ariſtides* writeth in his third booke of the Italian hiſtorie.

4 The Perſians entred *Greece* with a puiſſant armie of 500000. men; againſt whom *Leonidas* was ſent by the Lacedæmonians with a band of three hundred, to guard the ſtreights of *Thermophylæ*, and impeach his paſſage: in which place as they were merie at their meat, and taking their refection, the whole maine power of the Barbarians came upon them. *Leonidas* ſeeing his enemies advancing forward, ſpake unto his owne men and ſaid: Sit ſtill ſirs and make an end of your dinner hardly, ſo as you may take your ſuppers in another world: ſo he charged upon the Barbarians, and notwithſtanding he had many a dart ſticking in his bodie, yet he made a lane through the preſſe of the enemies untill he came to the verie perſon of *Xerxes*, from whom he tooke the diademe that was upon his head, and ſo died in the place. The Barbarians king cauſed his bodie to be opened when he was dead, and his heart to be taken forth, which was found to be all over-growne with haire; as writeth *Ariſtides* in the firſt booke of the Perſian hiſtorie.

The Romans warring againſt the Cathaginians, ſent a companie of three hundred men under the leading of a captaine named *Fabius Maximus*, who bad his enemies battell, and loſt all his men; himſelfe being wounded to death, charged upon *Anniball* with ſuch violence, that he tooke from him the regall diademe or frontall that he had about his head, and ſo died upon it, as writeth *Ariſtides* the Mileſian.

5 In the citie of *Celænæ* in *Phrygia*, the earth opened and clave aſunder, ſo as there remained a mightie chinke, with a huge quantitie of water iſſuing thereout, which caried away and drew into the bottomleſſe pit thereof, a number of houſes with all the perſons great and ſmall

within them. Now *Midas* the king was advertiſed by an oracle, that if he caſt within the ſaid pit the moſt precious thing that he had, both ſides would cloſe up againe, and the earth meet and be firme ground. So he cauſed to be throwen into it a great quantitie of gold and ſilver: but all would do no good. Then *Anchurus* his ſon, thinking with himſelfe, that there was nothing ſo precious as the life & ſoule of man, after he had lovingly embraced his father, and bid him farwel, and withall taken his leave of his wife *Timothea*, mounted on horſeback, and caſt himſelfe horſe and all into the ſaid chinke. And behold, the earth immediatly cloſed up: whereupon *Midas* made a golden altar, of *Jupiter Idæus*, touching it only with his hand. This altar about that time, when as the ſaid breach or chink of earth was, became a ſtone: but after a certaine prefixed time paſſed, it is ſeene all gold: this writeth *Calliſthenes* in his ſecond booke of Tranſformations.

The river *Tybris* running through the mids of the market place at *Rome*, for the anger of *Jupiter Tarſius* cauſed an exceeding great chinke within the ground, which ſwallowed up many dwelling houſes. Now the oracle rendred this anſwere unto the Romans, that this ſtould ceaſe in caſe they flang into the breach ſome coſtly and precious thing: and when they had caſt into it both gold and ſilver, but all in vaine: *Curtius* a right noble young gentleman of the citie, pondering well the words of the oracle, and conſidering with himſelfe that the life of man was more precious than gold, caſt himſelfe on horſeback into the ſaid chinke, and ſo delivered his citizens and countrimen from their calamitie: this hath *Ariſtides* recorded in fortieth booke of Italian hiſtories.

6 *Amphiaraus* was one of the princes and leaders that accompanied *Pollynices*: and when one day they were feaſting merily together, an eagle ſoaring over his head, chanced to catch up his javelin and carrie it up aloft in the aire, which afterwards when ſhe had let fall againe, ſtucke faſt in the ground and became a lawrell. The morrow after, as they joined battell, in that verie place, *Amphiaraus* with his chariot was ſwallowed up within the earth: and there ſtandeth now the citie *Harma* ſo called of the chariot: as *Triſimachus* reporteth in the third booke of his Foundations.

During the warres which the Romans waged againſt *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes, *Paulus Aemylius* was promiſed by the oracle that he ſhould have the victorie, if he would ſet up an altar in that verie place where he ſhould ſee one gentleman of qualitie and good marke, to be ſwallowed up alive in the earth, together with his chariot. Three daies after *Valerius* * *Conatus*, when in a dreame he thought that he ſaw himſelfe adorned with his prieſtly veſtments (for ſkilfull, he was in the art of divination) led forth the armie, and after he had ſlaine many of his enemies, was devoured quick within the ground. Then *Paulus Aemylius* cauſed an altar to be reared and wan the battell, wherein he tooke alive an hundred and threeſcore elephants carying turrets upon their backs, whom he ſent to *Rome*. This altar uſeth to give anſwer as an oracle about that time that *Pyrrhus* was defeated: according as *Critolaus* writeth in the third booke of the Epirotick hiſtorie.

* Or Torquatus.

7 *Pyraichnes* king of the Eubœans, whom *Hercules* being yet but a young man vanquiſhed, and tying him betweene two horſes, cauſed his bodie to be plucked and torne in pieces; which done, he caſt it forth for to lie unburied: now the place where this execution was performed, is called at this day, *Pyraichmes* his horſes, ſituate upon the rriver *Heraclius*: and whenſoever there be any horſes wattered there, a man ſhall ſenſibly heare a noice as if horſes neighed: thus we find written in the third booke entituled, Of rivers.

Tullius Hoſtilius king of the Romans, made warre upon the Albanes, who had for their king *Metius Suffetius*: and many times he ſeemed to retire and lie off, as loth to incounter and joine battell; inſomuch as the enemies ſuppoſing him to be diſcomfited, betooke themſelves to mirth and good cheere; but when they had taken their wine well, he ſet upon them with ſo hot a charge that he defeated them: and having taken their king priſoner, he ſet him faſt tied betweene two ſteeds and diſmembred him, as *Alexarchus* writeth in the fourth booke of the Italian hiſtories.

8 *Philip* intending to force and ſacke the cities of *Methone* and *Olynthus* as he laboured with much a doe to paſſe over the river *Sandanus*, chanced to be ſhot into the eie with an arrow by an Olynthian, whoſe name was *Aſter*, and in it was this verſe written:

Philip *beware, have at thine eie:*
After *thus deadly ſhaft lets flie.*

Whereupon *Philip* perceiving himſelfe to be overmatched, ſwam back againe unto his owne companie, and with the loſſe of one eie eſcaped with life, according as *Calliſthenes* reporteth in the third booke of the Macedonian Annales.

Porſena king of the Tuskans lying encamped on the other ſide of *Tybris*, warred upon the Romans, and intercepted their victuals, which were wont to be conveighed to *Rome*, whereby he put the citie to great diſtreſſe in regard of famine: but *Horatius Cocles* being by the common voice of the deople choſen captaine, planted himſelfe upon the woodden bridge, which the Barbarians were deſirous to gaine, and for a good while made the place good, and put backe the whole multitude of them preſſing upon him to paſſe over it; in the end finding himſelfe overcharged with the enemies, he commaunded thoſe who were ranged in battell-ray behind him, to cut downe the bridge: meane while he received the violent charge of them all, and impeached their entrance, untill ſuch time as he was wounded in the eie with a dart; whereupon he leapt into the river, and ſwam over unto his fellowes: thus *Theotinus* reporteth this narration in the third booke of Italian hiſtories.

9 There is a tale told of *Icarius*, by whom *Bacchus* was lodged and intertained, as *Eratoſthenes* in *Erigone* hath related in this wiſe. *Saturne* upon a time was lodged by an husbandman of the countrey, who had a faire daughter named *Entoria*: her hee deflowred and begat of her foure ſonnes, *Janus*, *Hymnus*, *Fauſtus* and *Fœlix*; whom hee having taught the manner of drinking wine, and of planting the vine, enjoyned them alſo to empart that knowledge unto their neighbours, which they did accordingly: but they on the other ſide: having taken upon a time more of this drinke than their uſuall manner was, fell a ſleepe, and ſlept more than ordinarie: when they were awake, imagining that they had drunke ſome poyſon, ſtoned *Icarius* the husbandman to death: whereat his nephewes or daughters children tooke ſuch a thought and conceit, that for verie griefe of heart, they knit their neckes in halters, and ſtrangled themſelves. Now when there was a great peſtilence that raigned among the Romanes, the oracle of *Apollo* gave anſwer, that the mortality would ſtay, in caſe they had once appeaſed the ire of *Saturne*; and likewiſe pacified their ghoſts, who unjuſtly loſt their lives. Then *Lutatius Catulus*, a noble man of *Rome*, built a temple unto *Saturne*, which ſtandeth neere unto the mount *Tarpeius*, and erected an altar with foure faces, either in remembrance of thoſe foure nephewes above ſaid, or reſpective to the foure ſeaſons and quarters of the yeere; and withall inſtituted the moneth Ianuarie. But *Saturne* turned them all foure into ſtarres, which be called the forerunners of the Vintage: among which that of *Janus* ariſeth before others, and appeareth at the feet of *Virgo*, as *Critolaus* teſtifieth in his fourth booke of *Phænomena*, or Apparitions in the heaven.

10 At what time as the Perſians overranne *Greece*, and waſted all the countrey before them: *Pauſanias* generall captaine of the Lacedæmonians, having received of *Xerxes* five hundred talents of gold, promiſed to betray *Sparta*: but his treaſon being diſcovered, *Ageſilaus* his father purſued him into the temple of *Minerva* called *Chalciœcos*, whither he fled for ſanctuarie; where he cauſed the doors of the temple to be mured up with brick, & ſo famiſhed him to death. His mother tooke his corps, and caſt it foorth to dogs, not ſuffering it to be buried: according to *Chryſermus* in the ſecond booke of his ſtorie.

The Romanes warring againſt the Latines, choſe for their captaine *Publius Decius*. Now there was a certaine gentleman of a noble houſe, howbeit poore, named *Coſſius Brutus*, who for a certaine ſumme of money which the enemies ſhould pay unto him, intended in the night ſeaſon to ſet the gates of the citie wide open for them to enter in. This treacherie being detected, he fled for ſanctuarie into the temple of *Minerva*, ſurnamed *Auxiliaria*; where *Caſſius* his father, named alſo *Signifer*, ſhut him up and kept him ſo long, that he died for verie famine; and when he was dead, threw his bodie foorth, and would not allow it any ſepulture: as writeth *Clitonymus* in his Italian hiſtories.

11 *Darius* king of *Perſia* having fought a field with *Alexander* the Great, and in that conflict loſt ſeven of his great lieutenants & governours of Provinces, beſides five hundred and two war charriots armed with trenchant ſithes, would notwithſtanding bid him battell againe: but *Ariobarzanes* his ſonne, upon a pitifull affection that he carried to *Alexander*, promiſed to betray his father into his hands; whereat his father tooke ſuch diſpleaſure and indignation, that he cauſed his head to be ſmitten off. Thus reporteth *Aretades* the Gnidian in his third booke of Macedonian hiſtories.

Brutus being choſen Conſull of *Rome* by the generall voice of the whole people, chaſed out of the citie, *Tarquinius Superbus* who raigned tyrannically; but he retyring himſelfe unto the Tuskanes, levied warre upon the Romanes. The ſonnes of the ſaid *Brutus* conſpiring to betray their father, were diſcovered, and ſo he commanded them to be beheaded: as *Ariſtides* the Mileſian writeth in his Annals of *Italie*.

12 *Epaminondas* captaine of the Thebanes, warred againſt the Lacedæmonians: and when the time was come that magiſtrates ſhould be elected at *Thebes*, himſelſe in perſon repaired thither, having given order and commandement in the meane while unto his ſonne *Steſimbrotus*, in no wiſe to fight with the enemie. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence given them, that the father was abſent, reproched and reviled this yoong gentleman, and called him coward; wherewith he was ſo galled, that he fell into a great fit of choler, and forgetting the charge that his father had laid upon him, gave the enemies battell, and atchieved the victorie. His father upon his returne, was highly offended with his ſonne, for tranſgreſſing his will and commandement: and after he had ſet a victorious crown upon his head, cauſed it to be ſtrooken off, as *Cteſiphon* recordeth in the third booke of the Bœotian hiſtories.

The Romanes during the time that they maintained warre againſt the Samnites, choſe for their general captain, *Manlius* ſurnamed Imperious; who returning upon a time from the camp to *Rome*, for to be preſent at the election of Conſuls, ſtraightly charged his ſon not to fight with the enemies in his abſence. The Samnites hereof advertiſed, provoked the yoong gentleman with moſt ſpitefull and villanous tearmes, reproching him likewiſe with cowardiſe: which he not able to endure, was ſo farre mooved in the end, that he gave them battel and defeated them: but *Manlius* his father when he was returned, cut him ſhorter by the head for it: as teſtifieth *Ariſtides* the Mileſian.

13 *Hercules* being denied marriage with the Ladie *Iole*, tooke the repulſe ſo neere to heart, that he forced and ſacked the citie *Oechalia*. But *Iole* flung herſelfe headlong downe from the wall into the trench under it: howbeit ſo it fortuned that the winde taking hold of her garments as ſhe fell, bare her up ſo, as in the fall ſhee caught no harme, as witneſſeth *Nicias* of *Malea*.

The Romans whiles they warred upon the Tuskans, choſe for their commander *Valerius Torquatus*; who having a ſight of *Cluſia* their kings daughter, fancied her, and demanded her of him in marriage: but being denied and rejected, he wan the citie, and put it to the ſaccage. The ladie *Cluſia* flung herſelfe downe from an high tower; but through the providence of *Venus*, her habillements were ſo heaved up with the winde, that they brake the fall, and albeit ſhee light upon the ground, ſhee eſcaped alive. Then the captaine before named, forced her and abuſed her bodie: in regard of which diſhonour and vilanie offered unto her, by a generall decree of all the Romanes, confined he was into the Iſle of *Corſica*, which lieth againſt *Italy*: as witneſſeth *Theophilus* in the third booke of his Italian hiſtorie.

14 The Carthaginians and Sicilians, being entred into league, banded themſelves againſt the Romanes, and prepared with their joint forces to warre upon them: whereupon *Metellus* was choſen captaine, who having offered ſacrifice unto all other gods and goddeſſes, left out onely the goddeſſe *Veſta*; who thereupon raiſed a contrarie winde to blow againſt him in his voiage. Then *Caius Julius* the ſoothſayer ſaid unto him, that the winde would lie, in caſe before he embarked and ſet ſaile, he offered in ſacrifice his owne daughter unto *Veſta*. *Metellus* being driven to this hard exigent, was coſtrained to bring foorth his daughter to be ſacrificed: but the goddeſſe taking pitie of him & her, in ſtead of the maiden ſubſtituted a yoong heyſer, and carried the virgin to *Lavinum*, where ſhe made her a religious prieſtreſſe of the Dragon, which they worſhip and have in great reverence within that citie: as writeth *Pythocles* in his third booke of Italian affaires.

In like manner is the caſe of *Iphigenia* which hapned in *Aulis* a citie of *Bæotia*: reported by *Meryllus* in the third booke of Bœotian chronicles.

15 *Brennus* a king of the Galatians or Gallo-Greekes, as he forraied and ſpoiled *Aſia*, came at length to *Epheſus*, where he fell in love with a yoong damoſell, a commoners daughter; who promiſed to lie with him, yea and to betray the citie unto him, upon condition that he would give unto her carquanets, bracelets, and other jewels of gold, wherewith ladies are woont to adorne and ſet out themſelves. Then *Brennus* requeſted thoſe about his perſon to caſt into the lap of this covetous wench, all the golden jewels which they had; which they did in ſuch quantitie, that the maiden was overwhelmed under them quick, & preſſed to death with their waight: as *Clitipho* writeth in the firſt booke of the Galatian hiſtorie.

Tarpeia a virgin, and yoong gentlewoman of a good houſe, having the keeping of the Capitoll, during the time that the Romanes warred againſt the Albanes, promiſed unto their king *Tatius*, for to give him entrance into the caſtle of mount *Tarpeius*, if in recompence of her good ſervice, he would beſtow upon her ſuch bracelets, rings, and carquanets, as the Sabine dames uſed to weare when they trimmed up themſelves in beſt manner: which when the Sabines underſtood, they heaped upon her ſo many, that they buried her quick underneath them: according as *Ariſtides* the Mileſian reporteth in his Italian hiſtorie.

16 The inhabitants of *Tegea* and *Phenea* two cities, maintained a lingring warre one againſt the other ſo long, until they concluded in the end to determine all quarrels and controverſies by the combat of three brethren, twinnes of either ſide. And the men of *Tegea* put foorth into the field for their part, the ſonnes of one of their citizens, named *Reximachus*: and thoſe of *Phinea* for themſelves, the ſonnes of *Damoſtratus*. When theſe champions were advanced foorth into the plaine, to performe their devoir, it fortuned that two of *Reximachus* his ſonnes were killed outright in the place; and the third whoſe name was *Critolaus*, wrought ſuch a ſtratagem with his three concurrents that he overcame them all: for making ſemblance as though he fled, he turned ſuddenly back, & ſlew them one after another, as he eſpied his advãtage, when they were ſingled and ſevered aſunder in their chaſe after him. At his returne home with this glorious victorie; all his citizens did congratulate and rejoice with him, onely his owne ſiſter named *Demodice*, was nothing glad therefore, becauſe one of the brethren whom he had ſlaine, was eſpouſed unto her, whoſe name was *Demoticus* *Critolaus* taking great indignation hereat, killed her out of hand. The mother to them both ſued him for this murder, and required juſtice; howbeit hee was acquit of all actions and enditements framed againſt him: as writeth *Demaratus* in the ſecond booke of Arcadian acts.

The Romans and the Albanes having warred a long time together, choſe for their champions to decide all quarrels, three brethren twinnes, both of the one ſide and the other. For the Albanes were three *Curiatii*, and for the Romans as many *Horatii*. The combate was no ſooner begun, but thoſe of *Alba* laid two of their adverſaries dead in the duſt; the third helping himſelfe with a feigned flight, killed the other three one after the other, as they were divided aſunder in purſuit after him: for which victorie, all other Romanes made great joy; only his owne ſiſter *Horatia* ſhewed herſelfe nothing well pleaſed herewith, for that to one of the other ſide ſhe was betrothed in marriage: for which he made no more ado, but ſtabbed his ſiſter to the heart: this is reported by *Ariſtides* the Mileſian, in his Annales of *Italy*.

17 In the citie *Ilium*, when the fire had taken the temple of *Minerva*, one of the inhabitants named *Ilus* ranne thither, and caught the little image of *Minerva* named *Palladium*, which was ſuppoſed to have fallen from heaven, and therewith loſt his ſight, becauſe it was not lawfull that the ſaid image ſhould be ſeene by any man: howbeit afterwards when he had appeaſed the wrath of the ſaid goddeſſe, he recovered his eie ſight againe: as writeth *Dercyllus* in the firſt book of Foundations.

Metellus a noble man of *Rome*, as he went toward a certaine houſe of pleaſure that hee had neere unto the citie, was ſtaied in the way by certaine ravens that flapped and beat him with their wings: at which ominous accident being aſtonied, and preſaging ſome evill to be toward him, he returned to *Rome*: and ſeeing the temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta* on fire, he ran thither and tooke away the petie image of *Pallas*, named *Palladium*, and ſo likewiſe ſuddenly fell blind: howbeit afterwards being reconciled unto her, he got his ſight againe: this is the report of *Ariſtides* in his Chronicles.

18 The Thracians warring againſt the Athenians, were directed by an oracle which promiſed them victorie, in caſe they ſaved the perſon of *Codrus* king of *Athens*: but he diſguiſing himſelfe in the habit of a poore labourer, and carrying a bill in his hand, went into the campe of the enemies, and killed one, where likewiſe he was killed by another, and ſo the Athenians obtained victorie: as *Socrates* writeth in the ſecond booke of Thracian affaires.

Publius Decius a Romane, making warre againſt the Albanes, dreamed in the night, and ſaw a viſion which promiſed him, that if himſelfe died, he ſhould adde much to the puiſſance of the Romans: whereupon he charged upon his enemies where they were thickeſt arranged; and when he had killed a number of them, was himſelfe ſlaine. *Decius* alſo his ſonne, in the warre againſt the Gaules, by that meanes ſaved the Romans: as ſaith *Ariſtides* the Mileſian.

19 *Cyanippus* a Siracuſian borne, ſacrificed upon a time unto all other gods, but unto *Bacchus*: whereat the god being offended, haunted him with drunckenneſſe; ſo as in a darke corner he deflowred forcibly his owne daughter, named *Cyane*: but in the time that he dealt with her, ſhe tooke away the ring off his finger, and gave it unto her nourſe to keepe, for to teſtifie another day who it was that thus abuſed her. Afterwards the peſtilence raigned ſore in thoſe parts: and *Apollo* gave anſwere by oracle, that they were to offer in ſacrifice unto the gods that turned away

calamities, a godleſſe and inceſtuous perſon : all others wiſt not whom the oracle meant ; but *Cyane* knowing full well the will of *Apollo*, tooke her father by the haire, and drew him perforce to the altar, and when ſhe had cauſed him to be killed, ſacrificed her ſelfe after upon him: as writeth *Doſitheus* in the third booke of the Chronicles of *Cicily*.

Whiles the feaſt of *Bacchus* called *Bacchanalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, there was one *Aruntius* who never in all his life had drunke wine but water onely, and alwaies deſpiſed the power of god *Bacchus*: who to be revenged of him, cauſed him one time be ſo drunke that he forced his owne daughter *Medullina*, & abuſed her bodie carnally; who having knowledge by his ring who it was that did the deed, and taking to her a greater heart than one of her age, made her father one day drunke, and after ſhe had adorned his head with garlands & chaplets of flowers, led him to a place called the altar of *Thunder*, where with many teares ſhe ſacrificed him who had ſurpriſed her, & takē away her virginity, as writeth *Ariſtides* the Mileſian in his third booke of Italian Chronicles.

20 *Erechtheus* warring upon *Eumolpus*, was advertiſed that he ſhould win the victorie, if before he went into the field he ſacrificed his owne daughter unto the gods: who when he had imparted this mater unto his wife *Praxithea*, he offered his daughter in ſacrifice before the battell; hereof *Euripides* maketh mention in his tragœdie *Erechtheus*.

Marius maintaining warre againſt the Cimbrians, and finding himſelfe too weake, ſaw a viſion in his ſleepe, that promiſed him victory, if before he went to battell, he did ſacrifice his daughter named *Calpurnia*: who ſetting the good of the weale publicke, and the regard of his countrimen, before the naturall affection to his owne blood, did accordingly and wan the field: and even at this day, two altars there be in *Germanie*, which at the verie time and hower that this ſacrifice was offered, yeeld the ſound of trumpets: as *Dorotheus* reporteth in the third booke of the Annales of Italy.

21 *Cyanippus* a Theſſalian borne, uſed ordinarily to go on hunting; his wife a young gentlewoman intertained this fancie of jealouſie in her head, that the reaſon why he went forth ſo often, and ſtaied ſo long in the forreſt, was becauſe he had the companie of ſome other woman whom he loved: whereupon ſhe determined with her ſelfe to lie in eſpiall : one day therefore ſhe followed and traced *Cyanippus*, and at length lay cloſe within a certaine thicket of the forreſt, waiting and expecting what would fall out and come of it. It chanced that the leaves and branches of the ſhrubs about her ſtirred: the hounds imagining that there was ſome wild beaſt within, ſeiſed upon her, and ſo tare in pieces this young dame (that loved her husband ſo well) as if ſhe had beene a ſavage beaſt. *Cyanippus* then ſeeing before his eies, that which he never would have imagined or thought in his mind, for verie griefe of heart killed himſelfe: as *Parthenius* the Poet hath left in writing.

In *Sybaris* a citie of Italy, there was ſometime a young gentleman named *Aemilius*, who being a beautifull perſon, and one who loved paſſing well the game of hunting, his wife who was young alſo, thought him to be enamoured of another ladie: and therefore got her ſelfe cloſe within a thicket, and chanced to ſtirre the boughes of the ſhrubs and buſhes about her. The hounds thereupon that ranged and hunted thereabout, light upon her and tare her body in pieces: which when her husband ſaw, he killed himſelfe upon her, as *Clytonimus* reporteth in his ſecond booke of the Sybaritick hiſtorie.

22 *Smyrna* the daughter of *Cinyras* having diſpleaſed and angred *Venus*, became enamored of her owne father, and declared the vehement heat of her love unto her nourſe. She therefore by a wily device went to worke with her maſter, and bare him in hand that there was a faire damoſell a neighbours daughter, that was in love with him, but abaſhed and aſhamed to come unto him openly, or to be ſeene at all with him: the maſter beleeved this & lay with her: but one time above the reſt, deſirous to know who ſhe was with whom he companied, called for a light; and ſo ſoone as he knew it was his owne daughter, he drew his ſword, and followed after this moſt vilanous and and inceſtuous filth, intending to kill her: but by the providence of *Venus*, tranſformed ſhe was into a tree, bearing her name, to wit, Myrtle, as *Theodorus* reporteth in his Metamorphoſes or tranſmutations.

Valeria Tuſculanaria, having incurred the diſpleaſure of *Venus*; became amorous of her owne father, and communicated this love of hers unto her nourſe: who likewiſe went cunningly about her maſter, and made him beleeve that there was a young maiden a neighbous child, who was in fancie with him, but would not in regard of modeſtie be knowen unto him of it nor be ſeene when ſhe ſhould frequent his companie. Howbeit her father, one night being drunk called for a candle: but the nourſe prevented him, and in great haſt wakened her: who fled therupon into the countrey great with child: where ſhe caſt her ſelfe downe from the pitch of a ſteep place, yet the fruit of her wombe lived; for notwithſtanding that fall ſhe did not miſcarie, but continued ſtill with her great belly: and when her time was come, delivered ſhe was of a ſonne, ſuch an one as in the Roman language is named *Sylvanus*, and in Greeke *Aegipanes*. *Valerius* the father tooke ſuch a thought thereupon, that for verie anguiſh of mind he threw himſelfe downe headlong from a ſteepe rocke: as recordeth *Ariſtides* the Mileſian in the third booke of Italian hiſtories.

23 After the deſtruction of *Troy*, *Diomedes* by a tempeſt was caſt upō the coaſt of *Libya*, where raigned a king named *Lycus*: whoſe maner and cuſtome was to ſacrifice unto his owne father god *Mars*, all thoſe ſtrangers that arrived and were ſet a land in his countrey. But *Callirohöe* his daughter caſting an affection unto *Diomedes*, betraied her father, and ſaved *Diomedes* by delivering him out of priſon. And he againe not regarding her accordingly, who had done him ſo good a turne, departed from her and ſailed away: which indignitie ſhe tooke ſo neere to the heart, that ſhe hanged her ſelfe, and ſo ended her daies: this writeth *Juba* in the third booke of the Libyan hiſtorie.

Calpurnius Craſſus a noble man of *Rome*, being abroad at the warres together with *Regulus*, was by him ſent againſt the Maſſilians, for to ſeize a ſtronge caſtle, and hard to be won, named *Garætion*; but in this ſervice being taken priſoner and deſtined to be killed in ſacrifice unto *Saturne*, it fortuned that *Byſatia* the kings daughter fanſied him, ſo as ſhe betraied her father, and put the victory into her lovers hand; but when this yoong knight was retired and gone, the damſell for ſorrow of heart cut her owne throat: as writeth *Heſianax* in the third booke of the Libian hiſtorie.

24 *Priamus* king of *Troy*, fearing that the city would be loſt, ſent his yoong ſonne *Polydorus* into *Thrace*, to his ſonne in law *Polymeſter* who married his daughter, with a great quantity of golde: *Polymeſter* for very covetouſneſſe, after the deſtruction of the city, murdered the childe, becauſe he might gaine the gold: but *Hecuba* being come into thoſe parts, under a colour and pretence that ſhe ſhould beſtow that golde upon him, together with the helpe of other dames priſoners with her, plucked with her owne hands both eies out of his head: witneſſe *Euripides* the tragædian poet.

In the time that *Hanniball* overran and waſted the countrey of *Campania* in *Italy*; *Lucius* * *Imber* beſtowed his ſonne *Ruſtius* for ſafetie, in the hands of a ſonne in law whom he had, named *Valerius Geſtius*, and left with him a good ſumme of money. But when this Campanian heard that *Anniball* had wonne a great victorie, for very avarice he brake all lawes of nature, and murdered the childe. The father *Thymbris* as he travelled in the countrey lighting upon the dead corps of his owne ſonne, ſent for his ſonne in law aforeſaid, as if he meant to ſhew him ſome great treaſure: who was no ſooner come, but he plucked out both his eies, and afterwards crucified him: as *Ariſtides* teſtifieth in the third booke of his Italian hiſtories.

* Or, *Thrymtius*.

25 *Aeacus* begat of *Pſamatha* one ſonne named *Phocus*, whom he loved very tenderly: but *Telamon* his brother not well content therewith, trained him foorth one day into the foreſt a hunting, where having rouzed a wilde bore, he launced his javelin or bore-ſpeare againſt the childe whom he hated, and ſo killed him: for which fact, his father baniſhed him: as *Dorotheus* telleth the tale, in the firſt booke of his Metamorphoſes.

Cajus Maximus had two ſonnes, *Similius* and *Rheſus*: of which two, *Rheſus* he begat upon *Ameria*, who upon a time as he hunted in the chaſe, killed his brother, and being come home againe, he would have perſwaded his father that it was by chaunce, and not upon a propenſed malice that he ſlew him: but his father when he knew the truth, exiled him: as *Ariſtocles* hath recorded in the third booke of Italian Chronicles.

26 *Mars* had the company of *Althæa*, by whom ſhe was conceived and delivered of *Meleager*: as witneſſeth *Euripides* in his tragœdie *Meleager*.

Septimus Marcellus, having maried *Sylvia*, was much given to hunting, and ordinarily went to the chaſe: then *Mars* taking his advantage, diſguiſing himſelfe in habit of a ſhepherd; forced this new wedded wife, and gat her with childe; which done, he bewraied unto her who he was, and gave her a launce or ſpeare, ſaying unto her: That the generoſitie and deſcent of that iſſue which ſhe ſhould have by him, conſiſted in that launce: now it hapned that *Septimius* ſlew *Tuſquinus*: and *Mamercus* when he ſacrificed unto the gods for the good encreaſe of the fruits upon the earth, neglected *Ceres* onely; whereupon ſhe taking diſpleaſure for this contempt, ſent a great wilde bore into his countrey: then he aſſembled a number of hunters to chaſe the ſaid beaſt and killed him; which done, the head and the skinne he ſent unto his eſpouſed wife: *Scimbrates* and *Muthias* her unckles by the mother-ſide, offended heereat, would have taken all away from the damoſell: but hee tooke ſuch diſpleaſure thereat, that hee ſlew his kinſmen: and his mother for to be revenged of her brethrens death, buried that curſed ſpeare: as *Menylus* reporteth in the third booke of the Italian hiſtories.

27 *Telamon* the ſonne of *Aeacus* and *Endeis*, fledde by night from his father, and arrived in the iſle of *Eubœa*, * * The father perceiving it, and ſuppoſing him to be one of his ſubjects, gave his daughter to one of his guard, for to be caſt into the ſea; but he for very commiſeration and pitty, ſould her to certaine merchants; and when the ſhippe was arrived at *Salamis*, *Telamon* chaunced to buy her at their hands, and ſhe bare unto him *Ajax*: witneſſe *Aretados* the Gnidian, in the ſecond booke of his Inſular affaires.

Lucius Trocius had by his wife *Patris*, a daughter named *Florentia*: her *Calphurnius* a Romane deflowred: whereupon he commaunded the yoong maid-childe which ſhe bare, to be caſt into the ſea; but the ſouldiour who had the charge ſo to doe, tooke compaſſion of her, and choſe rather to ſell her unto a merchant; and it fortuned ſo, that the ſhip of a certeine merchant arrived in *Italy*, where *Calphurinus* bought her, and of her body begat *Contruſcus*.

28 *Aeolus* king of *Tuskan*, had by his wife *Amphithea* ſix daughters, and as many ſonnes; of whom *Macareus* the yoongeſt, for very love deſloured one of his ſiſters, who when the time came brought foorth a child: when this came once to light, her father ſent unto her a ſword, and ſhe acknowledging the fault which ſhe had committed, killed her-ſelfe therewith, and ſo did afterwards her brother *Macareus*: as *Soſtratus* reporteth in the ſecond booke of the Tuſcan ſtorie.

Papyrius Volucer, having eſpouſed *Julia Pulchra*, had by her ſix daughters, and as many ſonnes; the eldeſt of whom named *Papyrius Romanus*, was enamoured of *Canulia*, one of his ſiſters ſo as ſhe was by him with childe: which when the father underſtood, hee ſent unto her likewiſe a ſword, wherewith ſhe made away her-ſelfe; and *Romanus* alſo did as much: thus *Chriſippus* relateth in the firſt booke of the Italian Chronicles.

29 *Ariſtonymus* the Epheſian, ſonne of *Demoſtratus*, hated women, but moſt unnaturally he had to doe with a ſhe aſſe; which when time came, brought foorth a moſt beautifull maide childe, ſurnamed *Onoſcelis*: as *Ariſtotle* writeth in the ſecond booke of his Paradoxes or ſtrange accidents.

Fulvius Stellus was at warre with all women, but yet he dealt moſt beaſtly with a mare, and ſhe bare unto him after a time, a faire daughter, named *Hippona*: and this is the goddeſſe forſooth that hath the charge and overſeeing of horſes and mares: as *Ageſilaus* hath ſet downe in the third booke of Italian affaires.

30 The Sardians warred upon a time againſt the Smyrneans, & encamped before the walles of their city; giving them to underſtand by their embaſſadors, that raiſe their ſiege they would not, unleſſe they ſent unto them their wives to lie withall: the Smyrneans being driven to this extremity, were at the point to doe that which the enemies demaunded of them: but a certeine waiting maiden there was, a faire and welfavoured damoſell, who ranne unto her maſter *Philarchus* and ſaid unto him, that he muſt not faile but in any caſe chuſe out the faireſt wenches that were maide-ſervants in all the citie, to dreſſe them like unto citizens wives, and free borne women, and ſo to ſend them unto their enemies in ſtead of their miſtreſſes, which was effected accordingly; and when the Sardians were wearied with dealing with theſe wenehes, the Smyrneans iſſued foorth, ſurprized and ſpoiled them: whereupon it commeth that even at this day in the citie of *Smyrna* there is a ſolemne feaſt named *Eleutheria*: upon which day, the maide-ſervants weare the apparell of their miſtreſſes which be free women: as ſaith *Doſitheus* in the third booke of Lydian chronicles.

Antepomarus king of the Gaules, when he made warre upon the Romans, gave it out flatly and ſaid, that he would never diſlodge and breake up his campe before they ſent unto them their wives, for to have their pleaſure of them: but they by the counſell of a certeine chamber maide, ſent unto them their maid-ſervants: the Barbarians medled ſo long with them, that they were tired, and fell ſound aſleepe in the end: then *Rhetana* (for that was her name who gave the ſaid counſell) tooke a branch of a wilde figge tree; and mounting up to the toppe of a rampier wall, gave a ſignall thereby to the Conſuls, who ſallied foorth and defeated them; whereupon there is a feaſtivall day of chambermaids: for ſo ſaith *Ariſtides* the Mileſian, in the firſt booke of the Italian hiſtorie.

31 When the Athenians made warre upon *Eumolpus*, and were at ſome default of victuals, *Pyrander* who had the charge of the munition & was treaſurer of the State (for to make ſpare of the proviſion) diminiſhed the ordinary meaſure, and cut men ſhort of their allowances: the inhabitants, ſuſpecting him to be a traitor to his country in ſo dooing, ſtoned him to death as *Calliſtratus* teſtifiieth in the third booke of the Thracian hiſtory.

The Romans warring upon the Gaules, and having not ſufficient ſtore of victuals, *Cinna* abridged the people of their ordinary meaſure of corne: the Romans ſuſpecting therupon that he made way thereby to be king, ſtoned him likewiſe to death: witneſſe *Ariſtides* in his third booke of Italian hiſtories.

32 During the Peloponneſiack warre, *Piſiſtratus* the Orchomenian hated the nobles and affected men of baſe and low degree; whereupon the Senators complotted and reſolved among them ſelves to kill him in the Counſell houſe, where they cut him in pieces, and every one put a gobbet of him in his boſome, and when they had ſo done they ſcraped and clenſed the floore where his blood was ſhed. The common people having ſome ſuſpition of the matter ruſhed into the Senat houſe: but *Tleſimachus* the kings youngeſt ſonne, who was privy to the foreſaid conſpiracie, withdrew the multitude from the common place of aſſembly; and aſſured them that he ſaw his father *Piſiſtratus* carying a more ſtately majeſty in his countenance than any mortal man, aſcending up with great celerity the top of mount *Piſæus*, as *Theophilus* recordeth in the ſecond of his Peloponneſiackes.

In regard of the warrs ſo neere unto the city of *Rome*, the Roman Senat cut the people ſhort of their allowances in corne: whereat *Romulus* being not well pleaſed, allowed it them againe, rebuked, yea and chaſtiſed many of the great men: who thereupon banded againſt him and in the middeſt of the Senat houſe made him away among them, cut him in pieces, and beſtowed on every man a ſlice of him in his boſome. Whereupon, the people ran immediatly with fire in their hands to the Senat houſe minding to burne them all within; but *Proculus* a noble man of the city aſſured them, that he ſaw *Romulus* upon a certeine high mountaine, and that he was bigger than any man living and become a very god. The Romans beleeved his words, (ſuch authority the man caried with him) and ſo retired back, as *Ariſtobulus* writeth in the third booke of his Italian Chronicles.

33 *Pelops* the ſonne of *Tantalus* and *Eurianaſſa*, wedded *Hippodamia* who bare unto him *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*: but of the Nimph *Danais* a concubine, he begat *Chryſippus*, whom he loved better than any of his legitimate ſonnes: him *Laius* the Theban being inamoured ſtole away by force; and being attached and intercepted by *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*, obteined the good grace and favour of *Pelops* to enjoy him, for his love ſake. Howbeit *Hippodamia* perſwaded her two ſonnes *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* to kill him, as if ſhe knew that he aſpired to the kingdome of their father: which they refuſing to doe, ſhe her ſelfe imploied her owne hands to perpetrate this deteſtable fact: for one night as *Layus* lay ſound aſleepe, ſhe drew forth his ſword, and when ſhe had wounded *Chriſippus* as he ſlept, ſhe left the ſword ſticking in the wound: thus was *Laius* ſuſpected for the deed becauſe of his ſword: but the youth being now halfe dead, diſcharged and acquit him and revealed the whole truth of the matter: whereupon *Pelops* cauſed the dead body to be enterred, but *Hippodamia* he baniſhed: as *Doſitheus* recordeth in his booke *Pelopidæ*.

Hebius Tolieix having eſpouſed a wife named *Nuceria*, had by her two children: but of an infranchiſed bond woman he begat a ſon named *Phemius Firmus* a childe of excellent beauty, whom he loved more deerely than the children by his lawfull wife. *Nuceria* deteſting this baſe ſon of his, ſolicited her own children to murder him; which when they (having the feare of God before there eyes) refuſed to do, ſhe enterpriſed to execute the deed her ſelfe. And in truth ſhe drew forth the ſword of one of the ſquires of the body in the night ſeaſon, and with it gave him a deadly wound as he lay faſt aſleepe: the foreſaid ſquire was ſuſpected and called in queſtion for this act, for that his ſword was there found; but the childe himſelfe diſcovered the truth: his father then commanded his body to be buried; but his wife he baniſhed: as *Doſitheus* recordeth in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

34 *Theſeus* being in very truth the naturall ſonne of *Neptuue*, had a ſonne by *Hippolite* a princeſſe of the Amazones whoſe name was *Hippolytus*: but afterwards maried againe, and brought into the houſe a ſtep-mother named *Phædra*, the daughter of *Minos*: who falling in love with her ſonne-inlaw *Hippolitus*, ſent her nourſe for to ſollicite him: but he giving no eare unto her, left *Athens* and went to *Troezen*, where he gave his minde to hunting. But the wicked and unchaſte woman ſeeing her ſelfe fruſtrate and diſapointed of her will, wrot ſhrewd letters

unto her husband againſt this honeſt and chaſte yong gentleman, informing him of many lies,and when ſhe had ſo done,ſtrangled her ſelfe with an halter,and ſo ended her daies. *Theſeus* giving credit unto her letters, beſought his father *Neptune* of the three requeſts,whereof he had the choiſe, this one; namely,to worke the death of *Hippolytus*. *Neptune* to ſatisfie his mind, ſent out unto *Hippolytus* as he rode along the ſea ſide, a monſtrous bull, who ſo affrighted his coatch horſes, that they overthrew *Hippolytus*, and ſo he was cruſhed to death.

Comminius Super the Laurentine,having a ſonne by the nimph *Aegeria*,named *Comminius*,eſpouſed afterwards *Gidica*, and brought into his houſe a ſtepmother, who became likewiſe amorous of her ſon-in law; and when ſhe ſaw that ſhe could not ſpeed of her deſire, ſhe hanged her ſelfe, and left behind her certaine letters deviſed againſt him containing many untruths. *Comminius* the father having read theſe ſlanderous imputations within the ſaid letters,and beleeving that which his jealous head had once conceived, called upon *Neptune*,who preſented unto *Comminius* his ſonne as he rode in his chariot,a hideous bull:which ſet his ſteeds in ſuch a fright,that they fell a flinging, and ſo haled the young man that they diſmembred and killed him: as *Doſitheus* reporteth in the third booke of the Italian hiſtorie.

35 When the peſtilence raigned in *Lacedæmon*; the oracle of *Apollo* delivered this anſwer: That the mortalitie would ceaſe, in caſe they ſacrificed yeerly, a young virgin of noble blood. Now whẽ it fortuned that the lot one yeere fell upõ *Helena*, ſo that ſhe was led forth all prepared and ſet out readie to be killed; there was an eagle came flying downe,caught up the ſword which lay there, and caried it to certaine droves of beaſts,where ſhe laid it upon an heyfer: whereupon ever after they forbare to ſacrifice any more virgins; as *Ariſtodemus* reporteth in the third Collect of fables.

The plague was ſore in *Falerij*, the contagion thereof being verie great, there was given out an oracle, That the ſaid affliction would ſtay and give over, if they ſacrificed yeerly a yong maiden unto *Juno*: and this ſuperſtition continuing alwaies ſtill *Valeria Luperca* was by lot called to this ſacrifice: now when the ſword was readie drawen, there was an eagle came downe out of the aire and caried it away: and upon the altar where the fire was burning laid a wand,having at one end in maner of a little mallet: as for the ſword, ſhe laid upon a young heyfer, feeding by the temple ſide; which when the young damſell perceived, after ſhe had ſacrificed the ſaid heyfer, and taken up the mallet, ſhe went from houſe to houſe, and gently knocking therewith all thoſe that lay ſicke,raiſed them up and ſaid to everie one: Be whole and receive health: whereupon it commeth that even at this day this myſterie is ſtill performed and obſerved: as *Ariſtides* hath reported in the 919. booke of his Italian hiſtories.

36 *Phylonome* the daughter of *Nyctimus* and *Arcadia*, hunted with *Diana*; whom *Mars* diſguiſed like a ſhepherd,got with child. She having brought foorth two twinnes,for feare of her father threw them into the river *Erymanthus*: but they by the providẽce of the gods, were caried downe the ſtreame without harme or danger,and at length the current of the water caſt them upon an hollow oake,growing up on the banke ſide, whereas a ſhe woolfe having newly kennelled had her den. This woolfe turned out her whelps into the river,and gave ſucke unto the two twins above ſaid: which when a ſhepherd named *Tyliphus*, once perceived and had a ſight of,he tooke up the little infants,and cauſed them to be nouriſhed as his owne children,calling the one *Lycaſtus*,and the other *Parrhaſius*, who ſucceſſively reigned in the realme of *Arcadia*.

Amulius bearing himſelfe inſolently and violently like a tyrant, to his brother *Numitor*; firſt killed his ſonne *Aenitus* as they were hunting; then his daughter *Sylvia* he cloiſtred up as a religious nunne to ſerve *Juno*. She conceived by *Mars*; and when ſhee was delivered of two twins, confeſſed the truth unto the tyrant: who ſtanding in feare of them, cauſed them both to be caſt into the river *Tybris*; where they were carried downe the water unto one place, whereas a ſhee woolfe had newly kennelled with her yoong ones: and verily her owne whelps ſhee abandoned and caſt into the river; but the babes ſhee ſuckled. Then *Fauſtus* the ſhepherd chauncing to eſpie them, tooke them up and nouriſhed as his owne; calling the one *Remus*,and the other *Romulus*: and theſe were the founders of *Rome* citie: according to *Ariſtides* the Mileſian in his Italian hiſtories.

37 After the deſtruction of *Troy*, *Agamemnon* together with *Caſſandra* was murdred: but *Oreſtes* who had beene reared and brought up with *Strophius*, was revenged of thoſe murderers of his father: as *Pyrander* ſaith in his fourth booke of the Peloponneſian hiſtorie.

Fabius Fabricianus, deſcended lineally from that great *Fabius Maximus*, after he had wonne and ſacked *Tuxium*,the capitall citie of the Samnites,ſent unto *Rome* the image of *Venus* Victoreſſe, which was ſo highly honoured and worſhipped among the Samnites. His wife *Fabia* had committed adulterie, with a faire and well favoured yoong man, named *Petronius Valentinus*, and afterwards treacherouſly killed her husband. Now had *Fabia* his daughter ſaved her brother *Fabricianus*, being a verie little one, out of danger, and ſent him away ſecretly to be nouriſhed and brought up. This youth when he came to age, killed both his mother and the adulterer alſo; for which act of his, acquit he was by the doome of the Senate: as *Doſitheus* delivereth the ſtorie in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

38 *Buſiris* the ſonne of *Neptune*, and *Anippe* daughter of *Nilus*, under the colour of pretended hoſpitalitie, and courteous receiving of ſtrangers, uſed to ſacrifice all paſſengers: but divine juſtice met with him in the end, and revenged their death: for *Hercules* ſet upon him and killed him with his club: as *Agathon* the Samian hath written.

Hercules as he drave before him thorow *Italy*, *Geryons* kine, was lodged by king *Faunus* the ſonne of *Mercurie*, who uſed to ſacrifice all ſtrangers and gueſts to his father: but when hee meant to do ſo unto *Hercules*, was himſelfe by him ſlaine: as writeth *Dercyllus* in the third booke of the Italian hiſtories.

39 *Phalaris* the tyrant of the Agrigentines (a mercileſſe prince) was wont to torment & put to exquiſite paine ſuch as paſſed by or came unto him: and *Perillus* (who by his profeſſion) was a skilfull braſſe-founder, had framed an heyfer of braſſe, which he gave unto this king, that hee might burne quicke in it the ſaid ſtrangers. And verily in this one thing did this tyrant ſhew himſelfe juſt; for that he cauſed the artificer himſelf to be put into it: and the ſaid heyfer ſeemed to low, whiles he was burning within: as it is written in the third booke of Cauſes.

In *Aegeſta* a citie of *Sicilie*, there was ſometime a cruell tyrant, named *Aemilius Cenſorinus*, whoſe manner was to reward with rich gifts thoſe who could invent new kinds of engines to put men to torture: ſo there was one named *Aruntius Paterculus*, who had deviſed and forged a braſen horſe, and preſented it unto the foreſaid tyrant, that he might put into it whom he would. And in truth the firſt act of juſtice that ever he did was this, that the partie himſelfe, even the maker of it gave the firſt hanſell thereof; that he might make triall of that torment himſelfe, which he had deviſed for others. Him alſo hee apprehended afterwards, and cauſed to bee throwen downe headlong from the hill *Tarpeius*. It ſhould ſeeme alſo that ſuch princes as reigned with violence, were called of him *Aemylii*: for ſo *Ariſtides* reporteth in the fourth booke of Italian Chronicles.

40 *Euenus* the ſon of *Mars* & *Sterope*, tooke to wife *Alcippe* daughter of *Oenomaus*, who bare unto him a daughter, named *Marpiſſa*, whom he minded to keepe a virgin ſtill: but *Aphareus* ſeeing her, carried her away from a daunce, and fled upon it. The father made ſute after, but not able to recover her: for verie anguiſh of mind, he caſt himſelfe into the river of *Lycormas*, and thereby was immortalized: as ſaith *Doſitheus* in the fourth booke of his Italian hiſtorie.

Anius king of the Tuſkans, having a faire daughter, named *Salia*; looked ſtraightly unto her that ſhe ſhould continue a maiden: but *Cathetus* one of his nobles, ſeeing this damoſell upon a time as ſhe diſported herſelfe was enamoured of her, and not able to ſuppreſſe the furious paſſion of his love, raviſhed her and brought her to *Rome*. The father purſued after; but ſeeing that he could not overtake them, threw himſelfe into the river, called in thoſe daies *Pareüſus*, and afterwards of his name *Anio*. Now the ſaid *Cathetus* lay with *Salia*, and of her bodie begat *Salius* and *Latinus*; from whom are diſcended the nobleſt families of that countrey: as *Ariſtides*, the Mileſian, and *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, write in the third booke of the Italian hiſtorie.

41 *Egeſtratus* an Epheſian borne, having murdered one of his kinſmen, fled into the citie *Delphi*, and demaunded of *Apollo* in what place he ſhould dwell? who made him this anſwere, that he was to inhabit there, whereas he ſaw the peaſants of the countrey dauncing, and crowned with chaplets of olive branches. Being arrived therefore at a certaine place in *Aſia*, where he found the rurall people crowned with garlands of olive leaves, and dauncing; even there hee founded a citie, which he called *Elaus*: as *Pythocles* the Samian writeth in the third booke of his Georgicks.

Telegonus the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* by *Circe*, being ſent for to ſeeke his father, was adviſed by the oracle to build a citie there, where he ſhould find the ruſticall people and husbandmen of the countrey, crowned with chaplets and dauncing together: when he was arrived therefore at a certaine coaſt of *Italie*, ſeeing the peaſants adorned with boughes & branches of the wild olive tree, paſſing the time merily, and dauncing together: he built a citie, which upon that occurrent he named *Prineſta*; and afterwards the Romans altering the letters a little, called it *Preneſte*: as *Ariſtotle* hath written in the third booke of the Italian hiſtorie.

THE LIVES OF THE TEN ORATOVRS.

The Summarie.

IN theſe lives compendiouſly deſcribed, Plutarch *ſheweth in part, the government of the Athenian common-weale which flouriſhed by the meanes of many learned perſons; in the number of whom we are to reckon thoſe under written; namely,* Antipho, Andocides, Lyſias, Iſocrates, Iſæus, Aeſchines, Lycurgus, Demoſthenes, Hyperides, *and* Dinarchus: *but on the other ſide he diſcovereth ſufficiently the indiſcretion of cretaine oratours, how it hath engendred much confuſion; ruined the moſt part of ſuch perſonages themſelves; and finally overthrowen the publick eſtate: which he ſeemeth expreſly to have noted and obſerved, to the end that every one might ſee, how dangerous (in the managemēt of State affaires) he is, who hath no good parts in him but onely a fine and nimble tongue. His meaning therefore is, that lively vertue indeed ſhould be joined unto eloquence: meane while, we obſerve alſo the lightneſſe, vanitie, and ingratitude of the Athenian people in many places: and in the divers complexions of theſe ten men here depainted; evident it is, how much availeth in any perſon, good inſtruction from his infancie, and how powerfull good teachers be, for to frame and faſhion tender minds unto high matters, and important to the weale-publicke. In peruſing and paſſing through this treatiſe, a man may take knowledge of many points of the ancient popular government, which ſerve verie well to the better underſtanding of the Greeke hiſtorie, and namely, of that which concerneth* Athens: *As alſo by the recompenſes both demanded, and alſo decreed in the behalfe of vertuous men, we may perceive and ſee among the imperfections of a people which had the ſoveraigntie in their hands, ſome moderation from time to time: which ought to make us magnifie the wiſedome and providence of God, who amid ſo great darkneſſe, hath maintained ſo long as his good pleaſure was, ſo many States and governours in* Greece, *which afterwards fell away and came to nothing, ſo as at this preſent that goodly countrey is become ſubject, and made thrall to the moſt violent, wicked and wretched nation under heaven.*

THE LIVES OF THE ten oratours.

ANTIPHON. I.

A*Ntipho* the ſonne of *Saphilus*, and borne in the borough and corporation of *Karannum*, was brought up as a ſcholar under his owne father, who kept a Rhetorick ſchoole, whereunto *Alcibiades* alſo (by report) was wont to go and reſort when he was a young boy, who having gotten ſufficiencie of ſpeech and eloquence, as ſome thinke, himſelfe, (ſuch was the quickneſſe of his wit, and inclination of of his nature) he betooke himſelfe to affaires of State: and yet he held a ſchoole nevertheleſſe, where he was at ſome difference with *Socrates* the Philoſopher in matter of learning and oratorie, not by way of contention and æmulation, but in maner of reprehenſion & finding fault with ſome points, as *Xenophon* teſtifieth in the firſt booke of his Commentaries, as touching the deeds and ſayings of *Socrates*. He penned orations for ſome citizens at their requeſt for to be pleaded and pronounced in judiciall courts: and as it is given out by ſome, was the firſt who gave himſelfe to this courſe, and profeſſed ſo to do: for there is not extant one oration written in maner of a plea, by any oratours who lived before his time, no more by thoſe that flouriſhed in his daies (for it was not the maner yet and cuſtome to cōpoſe oraions for others) *Themiſtocles* (I meane) *Pericles, and Ariſtides*; notwithſtanding that the time preſented unto them many occaſions, yea and meere neceſſities ſo to do: neither was it upon their inſufficiencie, that they thus abſtained, as it may appeare by that which Hiſtorians have written of everie one of theſe men above mentioned. Moreover if we looke into the moſt ancient oratours whom we can cal to mind, to wit, *Alcibiades, Critias, Lyſius* and *Archilochus*, who have written one & the ſame ſtile, and exerciſed the ſame forme & maner of pleading; it wilbe found that they all converſed and conferred with *Antiphon*, being now very aged and farre ſtept in yeeres: for being a man of an excellent quicke and readie wit, he was the firſt that made and put forth the Inſtitutions of oratorie; ſo as, for his profound knowledge he was ſurnamed *Neſtor*. And *Cecilius* in a certaine treatiſe which he compiled of him, conjectureth, that he had beene ſometime ſchoolemaſter to *Thucydides* the Hiſtoriographer; for that *Antipho* is ſo highly commended by him. In his ſpeeches and orations he is verie exquiſite and ful of perſwaſion, quicke and ſubtil in his inventions: in difficult matters verie artificiall; aſſailing his adverſarie after a covert maner; turning his words and ſayings reſpective to the lawes, and to move affections withal, aiming alwaies to that which is decent & ſeemely, and carying the beſt apparance & ſhew with it.

He lived about the time of the Perſian warre, when *Gorgias Leontinus* the great profeſſor in Rhetoricke flouriſhed, being ſomewhat yonger than he was: and he continued to the ſubverſion of the popular ſtate and government, which was wrought by the 400 conſpirators, wherin himſelfe ſeemed to have had a principall hand, for that he had the charge and command of two great gallies at ſea, and was beſides a captaine and had the leading of certaine forces: during which time he wan the victorie in divers battels, and procured unto them the aide of many allies: alſo he moved the young and luſtie able man of warre to take armes; he rigged, manned, and ſet out ſixtie gallies, and in all their occaſions was ſent embaſſadour to the Lacedæmonians, when as the citie *Eetionia* was fortified with a wall: but after that thoſe 400 before ſaid were put downe and overthrowen, he was together with *Archiptolemus* one of the 400, accuſed for the conſpiracie, condemned and adjudged to the puniſhment which is due unto traitours. His corps was caſt forth without ſepulture; himſelfe and all his poſteritie regiſtred for infamous perſons upon record: and yet ſome there be who report, that he was put to death by the 30 tyrants, and namely among the reſt, *Lyſias* teſtifieth as much in an oration which he made for *Antiphoes* daughter; for a little daughter he had, unto whom *Calleſchrus* made claime in right for his wife: and that the thirtie tyrants wee they who put him to death, *Theopompus* beareth witneſſe in the fifteenth of his Philippickes. But more moderne ſurely was this man, and of a later time, yea and the ſonne of one * *Lyſidonides*, of whom *Cratinus* maketh mention, as of no wicked man in his commedie called *Pytine*. For how ſhould he who before was executed by thoſe 400 returne to life againe in the time of the thirtie uſurpers or tyrants: but his death is reported otherwiſe; namely, that being verie aged he ſailed into *Cicily*, when as the tyrannie of the former *Denys* was at the higheſt: and when the queſtion was propoſed at the table, which was the beſt braſſe? as ſome ſaid this, and others that: he anſwered, that for his part he thought that braſſe was beſt, whereof the ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* were made: which when *Denys* heard, he imagining that the ſpeech imported thus much covertly, as to ſet on the Syracuſians, for to attempt ſome violence upon his perſon, commanded him to be put to death. Others report, that the ſaid tyrant gave order that he ſhould be made away, upon indignation that he ſkoffed at his tragœdies.

* or *Simonides*.

There be extant in this oratours name three ſcore orations; whereof as *Cecilius* ſaith 25 are untruly reported to be his. Noted he is and taxed by *Plato* the comicall poet, together with *Pyſander*, for avarice & love of money. It is ſaid moreover, that he compoſed certaine tragœdies alone, and others with *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who joined with him. At the ſame time alſo when he gave his mind unto Poetrie, he deviſed the art of curing the griefes and maladies of the minde, like as phyſicians pretend skill for to heale the diſeaſes and paines of the bodie. Certes, having built a little houſe at *Corinth* in the market place, hee ſet up a bill on the gate, wherein hee made profeſſion: That he had the skill to remedie by words, thoſe who were vexed and grieved in ſpirit: and he would demaund of thoſe who were amiſſe, the cauſes of their ſorrow, and according thereto, apply his comforts and conſolations. Howbeit afterwards ſuppoſing this art and profeſſion to be too baſe and meane for him, he turned his ſtudie to Rhetoricke, and taught it. Some there be who attribute unto *Antipho* the booke of *Glaucus* the Rhegine as touching poets: but principally is that treatiſe commended which he made unto *Herodotus*; as alſo that which is dedicated to *Eraſiſtratus* touching the Ideaes; and the oration of Meſſage which he penned for his owne ſelfe; & another againſt *Demoſthenes* the captaine, which he named *Paranomon*, for that he charged him to have broken the lawes. Alſo another oration he wrote againſt *Hippocrates* the generall commander, & cauſed him to be condemned for his contumacy, in that he failed to anſwer at the day aſſigned for his triall, that verie yeere when *Theopompus* was Provoſt of the citie, under whom the foure hundred conſpiratours and uſurpers of the common-weale were put downe and overthrowen. Now the decree of the Senate, by vertue whereof ordained it was: That *Antiphon* ſhould be judicially tried and condemned, *Cecilius* hath put downe in theſe tearmes. The one and twentith day of Prytaneia, when *Demonicus* of *Alopece*, was ſecretarie or publike notarie, *Philoſtratus* of *Pellene* chiefe commander, upon the propoſition or bill-preferred of *Andron* the Senate, hath ordained as touching theſe perſons; namely *Archiptolemus, Onomacles* and *Antiphon*, whom the captaines have declared againſt; that they went in embaſſage unto *Lacedæmon*, to the loſſe and detriment of the citie of *Athens*, and departed from the camp, firſt in an enemies ſhip, and ſo paſſed by land by *Decelia*; that their bodies ſhould be attached and caſt into priſon, for to abide juſtice and puniſhment according to law. *Item*, that the captaines themſelves, with certaine of the Senate, to the number of ten, ſuch as it pleaſed them to chuſe and nominate, ſhould make preſentment and give in evidence, that upon the points alledged and prooved, judgement might paſſe according. *Item* that the *Theſmothetes* ſhould call for the ſaid perſons judicially, the verie next morow after they were committed, and convent them before the judges, after that they be choſen by lot: when and where they ſhould accuſe the captaines with the orators aboveſaid, of treaſon; yea & whoſoever els would come in, he ſhould be heard. *Item*, when ſentence is concluded and pronounced againſt them, then the judgement of condemnation ſhall be executed according to the forme and tenure of the law eſtabliſhed, in caſe of traitors. Vnder the inſtrument of this decree, was ſubſcribed the condemnation of treaſon in this manner: Condemned there were of treaſon, *Archiptolemus* the ſonne of *Hippodamus* of *Agryle*, preſent; *Antiphon* the ſonne of *Sophilus*, of *Rhamus*, likewiſe preſent: and awarded it was by the court, that theſe two ſhould be delivered over into the hands of the eleven executors of juſtice; their goods to be confiſcate; the diſme whereof to be conſecrate unto the goddeſſe *Minerva*; their houſes to be demoliſhed and pulled downe to the very ground; and upon the borders of the plots wherein they ſtood, this ſuperſcription to be written: *Here ſtood the houſes of* Archiptolemus *and of* Antiphon, *two traitours of the State* * * * Alſo, that it might not bee lawfull to enter or burie the bodie of *Archiptolemus* and of *Antiphon* within the citie of *Athens*, nor in any part belonging to their domain or territorie. That their memorie ſhould be infamous, and all their poſteritie after them, as well baſtards as legitimate: and that whoſoever adopted any one of *Archiptolemus* or *Antiphons* children for his ſonne, himſelfe ſhould be held infamous. Finally, that all this ſhould be engroſſed and engraven in a columne of braſſe, wherein alſo ſhould be ſet downe the ſentence and decree which paſſed as concerning *Phrynichus*.

ANDOCIDES. II.

Andocides was the ſonne of that *Leagoras*, who ſomtime made a peace betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians; borne in the tribe of *Cydathene* or *Thurie*, deſcended from a noble houſe, and as *Hellanicus* ſaith, even from *Mercurie*; for the race of the *Ceryces*, that is, Heraults pertaineth unto him: and therefore choſen he was upon a time with *Glaucon*, for to go with a fleet of twentie ſaile, to aide the Corcyreans, who warred upon the Corinthians. But after all this, accuſed he was of impietie and irreligion; for that hee with others had mangled and defaced the images of *Mercurie*, that ſtood within the citie: alſo for that he had treſpaſſed againſt the holy myſteries and ſacred ceremonies of *Ceres*; in as much as being before time a wild youth and looſely given, he went in a maſke one night, and brake certaine images of the god *Mercurie*; whereupon (I ſay) he was judicially convented. And becauſe he would not deliver and bring foorth to be examined upon torture, that ſervant of his, whom his accuſers called for, he was held attaint & convict of that crime which was laid to his charge; yea & for the ſecond imputation charged upon him verie deeply ſuſpected: for which alſo he was called into queſtion, not long after the ſetting foorth of the great *Armada* at ſea which went into *Sicily*, when the Corinthians had ſent certaine Aegeſians and Leontines, into the citie of *Athens*, unto whom the Athenians privately were to yeeld aid & ſuccour, in the night ſeaſon they brake all the images of *Mercury* which ſtood about the market place, as *Cratippus* ſaith. Well, being ſuſpected for offending againſt the ſacred myſteries of *Ceres*, & thereupon judicially called to his anſwer, he eſcaped judgement of condemnation, and was acquit; ſo that he would diſcover and declare the delinquents and offenders indeed. Now having emploied his whole ſtudie & endevor thereabout, he wrought ſo, that he found out thoſe who were faultie as touching the ſacred myſteries aforeſaid, among whom was his owne father. As for all the reſt when they were convicted, he cauſed them to be put to death: only his fathers life he ſaved, although he was already in priſon; promiſing withall that he would doe much good ſervice unto the common-weale, wherein he failed not of his word. For *Leagoras* accuſed many who had robbed and embezilled the cities treaſure, and committed other wicked parts, by the meanes whereof he was abſolved.

Now albeit *Andocides* was in great name and reputation for mannaging the affaires of common-weale; yet neverthleſſe he ſet his mind to trafficke and merchandize at ſea; whereby hee got amitie, and entred into league of hoſpitalitie, which many princes and great potentates, but principally with the king of *Cyprus*: and it was than, that he ſtole and carried away a citizens child, the daughter of *Ariſtides* and his owne niece, without the privitie and conſent of her friends, and ſent her cloſely for a preſent to the ſaid king of *Cyprus*: but when he was upon the point to be called in queſtion judicially for this fact, he ſtole her privily away againe out of *Cyprus*, and brought her home to *Athens*. Hereupon the king of *Cyprus* cauſed hands to be laid upon him, where he was kept in priſon; but he brake looſe and eſcaped to *Athens*, at the verie time when the foure hundred conſpiratours and uſurpers governed the State: and being by them caſt into priſon, he got away againe when the ſaid Olygarchie was diſſolved. Howbeit he was drawen out of the citie, when the thirtie tyrants ruled all and uſurped their government. During which time of his exile, he abode in the citie of *Elis*: but when *Thraſibulus* and his adhærents returned into the city, he alſo repaired thither, and was ſent in an embaſſage to *Lacedæmon*; where being taken againe in a trip, he was for his ill demeanour baniſhed.

All theſe premiſes appeare evidently by his orations which he hath written; for in ſome of them we find how he anſwereth to thoſe imputations which were charged upon him for violating of the foreſaid holy myſteries: in others, he generally craveth for the favour of the judges and ſtandeth upon the tearmes of mercie: there is an oration alſo of his extant, as touching the appeaching or diſcoverie of thoſe, who were faultie for thoſe ſacred ceremonies: as alſo his Agologie or defence againſt *Phæax*, and cõcerning peace. He flouriſhed at the very ſame time that *Socrates* the Philoſopher was in ſo great name. But borne he was in the * 78 Olympias that yeere wherein *Theagenides* was provoſt or chiefe ruler of *Athens*; ſo that by this computation he muſt needs be more ancient than *Lyſias* by ſome hundred yeeres. There was one of the *Hermes* that caried his name, and was called *Hermes* of *Andocides*, for that this image being dedicated by the tribe or linage *Aegeis*, ſtood neere unto the houſe where *Andocides* dwelt. This *Andocides* defraied the charges of a ſolemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred *Aegeis*, which contended for the priſe in the honor of *Dithyrambicus* at the feaſt of *Bacchus*: where having obtained the victorie, he conſecrated a trefeet, and ſet it up an high, juſt againſt *Porinus Selinus*.

* Or rather 68.

His ſtile is plaine and ſimple, without all art, bare and naked without any figures whatſoever.

LYSIAS. III.

LYſias the ſonne of *Cephalus*, the ſonne of *Lyſanias*, who had likewiſe for his father *Cephalus*, borne in *Syracuſe*, but he went to dwell at *Athens*, partly for the affection that he bare to the citie, and in part through the perſwaſion of *Pericles* the ſon of *Xantippus*, who being his friend & gueſt, perſwaded him thereto, and the rather for that he was a mightie man there, and exceeding rich: or as ſome think, he came to *Athens* by occaſion that he was baniſhed out of *Syracuſe*, at what time as the citie was tyrannically oppreſſed by *Gelon*: ſo he arrived at *Athens* that yeere, wherin *Philocles* was provoſt next after *Phraſicles*, in the ſecond yeere of the 82 Olympias: at his firſt cõming brought up he was, & taught with the nobleſt Athenians; but after that the citie ſent out the colonie of *Sybaris*, which afterwards was named *Thury*, he wẽt with his eldeſt brother *Polemarchus*: (for he had beſides him 2. other brethrẽ, *Eudemus* & *Brachillus* their father being now departed this life) to have his part ſet out & allotted unto him out of his fathers lands, being not fifteene yeeres old, that verie yeere when as *Praxiteles* was provoſt : where he remained, and was inſtructed by *Nicias*, & *Tiſias*, two Syracuſans. Now having bought him an houſe, with the portion of land which fell unto his ſhare, he lived there, in ſtate of a citizen, and was called to government of common weale, when his lot came, for the ſpace of 63 yeeres, untill the time that *Clearchus* was provoſt of *Athens* : but the yeere next following when *Callias* was provoſt; namely, in the 92 Olympias, when as the Sicilians and Athenians fought a field, by reaſon whereof many of their allies ſtirred and revolted, and eſpecially thoſe who dwelt in *Italy* and coaſted thereupon, accuſed he was to have favoured the Athenians and ſided with them, and thereupon was baniſhed with three other. Now being arrived at *Athens* in the yeere wherein *Callias* was provoſt next after *Cleocritus*, while the foure hundred uſurpers were poſſeſſed of the State, hee there reſted : but after the navall battell was ſtricken neere to a place called the Goats rivers, when as the thirtie tyrants had the adminiſtration of the common weale in their hands, baniſhed he was from thence for the ſpace of ſeven yeeres; loſt his goods and his brother *Polemarchus*; himſelfe eſcaped with life narrowly out of the houſe at a poſterne gate or backe-doore; in which houſe he had beene beſet with a full purpoſe that he ſhould end his life there: and then he retired himſelfe to the citie *Megara*, where he abode. When as thoſe of *Phila* had made a reentrie into the citie, and chaſed out the tyrants; for that he ſhewed himſelfe (above all others) moſt forward in this enterpriſe, as having contributed (for the exploiting of this ſervice) two thouſand dragmes weight in ſilver, and two hundred targuets : and being ſent beſides with *Herman*, waged three hundred and two ſouldiers, and wrought ſo effectually with *Thraſylæus* the Elian, his friend and old hoſt, that he helped him unto certeine talents of ſilver : in regard wherof, *Thraſibulus* (upon his returne and reentry into the city) propoſed unto the people : That for and in conſideration of theſe good ſervices, the right of free burgeoſie ſhould be granted unto him. This hapned in the yeere of the Anarchie, when there was no provoſt elected, next before the provoſtſhip of *Euclides*. This was granted and ratified by the people : onely there was one *Archinus* ſtood up, and impeached the proceeding thereof, as being againſt the law, becauſe it was propoſed unto the people, before it was conſulted upon in the Senate : ſo the foreſaid decree was anulled and revoked. Thus being diſappointed of his right of burgeoſie, he remained nevertheleſſe (during his life) as a citizen, and enjoyed the ſame rights, franchiſes and priviledges that other burgeſſes did; & ſo died in the end, when he had lived the ſpace of foure ſcore and three yeeres, or as ſome ſay, three ſcore and ſixteene; and as others write, foure ſcore: ſo that he lived to ſee *Demoſthenes* a childe. It is ſaid, that he was borne the yeere that *Philocles* was provoſt. There goe in his name foure hundred orations; of which number (according to *Dionyſius* and *Cecilius*) two hundred and thirtie be of his owne making in deed: in the pronouncing of all which, he failed but twice, and had the foile. There is extant alſo, that very oration which he made againſt *Archinus*, in the maintenance and defence of the ſaid decree; by vertue whereof, the right of burgeoſie was given unto him : alſo another, againſt the thirtie tyrants. Apt he was to perſwade; and in thoſe orations which he gave out to others, very briefe and ſuccinct. There be found likewiſe of his making, certeine introductions to Rhetoricke, and ſpeeches delivered publickly before the people; letters miſſive; ſolemne praiſes; funerall orations; diſcourſes of love; and one defence of *Socrates*, which directly ſeemed to touch the judges to the quicke. His ſtile was thought to be plaine and eaſie, howbeit, inimitable. *Demoſthenes* in one oration which he made againſt *Neæra*, ſaith: That he was enamoured of one *Metaneira*, a ſervant with *Neæra*; but afterwards he eſpouſed and tooke to wife the daughter of his brother *Brachyllus*. *Plato* himſelfe maketh mention of him in his booke entituled *Phædrus*, as of an oratour paſſing eloquent, and more ancient than *Iſocrates*. *Philiſcus* who was familiar with *Iſocrates*, and the companion of *Lyſias*, made an Epigram upon him, wherby it appeareth, that he was more ancient, (as alſo it is evident by that which *Plato* hath ſaid) & the Epigram is to this effect:

Now ſhew Callippes *daughter, thou*
  that art ſo eloquent;
If ought of wittie ſpirit thou haſt,
  and what is excellent:
For meet it is that thou ſhould'ſt bring,
  ſome little Lyſias *foorth:*
To blaze his fathers name abroad,
  for vertuous deeds of woorth.
Who (now transform'd, and having caught

a bodie ſtrange to ſee
In other worlds for Sapience ſhould
now immortall bee)
My loving heart to friend now dead,
likewiſe to notifie;
And to delare his vertuous life
unto poſteritie.

He compoſed likewiſe an oration for *Iphicrates*, which he pronounced againſt *Harmodius* as alſo another wherein he accuſed *Timotheus* of treaſon, and both the one and the other he overthrew: but afterwards when *Iphicrates* tooke upon him againe to enquire into the dooings of *Timotheus*, calling him to account for the revenues of the State which he had mannaged, and ſet in hand againe with this accuſation of treaſon, hee was brought into queſtion judicially, and made anſwere in his owne defence by an oration that *Lyſias* penned for him. And as for himſelfe he was acquit of the crime and abſolved; but *Timotheus* was condemned and fined to pay a great ſumme of money. Moreover, he rehearſed in the great aſſembly and ſolemnity at the Olympick games, a long oration, wherein he perſwaded the Greekes, that they ſhould be reconciled one to another, and joine together for to put downe the tyrant *Dionyſius*.

ISOCRATES. IIII.

ISocrates was the ſonne of one *Theodorus*, an Erechthian, a man reckoned in the number of meane citizens, one who kept a ſort of ſervants under him, who made flutes and hautboies; by whoſe workmanſhip he became ſo rich, that he was able to bring up and ſet out his children in worſhipfull manner. For other ſonnes he had beſides, to wit, *Teleſippus* and *Diomneſtus*; and alſo a little daughter unto them. Hereupon it is that he was twitted and flouted by the comicall poets *Ariſtophanes* and *Stratis*, in regard of thoſe flutes. He lived about the 86. Olympias elder than *Lyſimachus* the Myrrhinuſian by two and twentie yeeres, and before *Plato* ſome ſeven yeeres. During his childhood, he had as good bringing up as any Athenian whatſoever, as being the diſciple & ſcholar of *Prodicus* the Chian, of *Gorgias* the Leontine, of *Tyſias* the Syracuſian, & *Theramenes* the profeſſed Rhetorician: who being at the point to be apprehended & taken by the 30. tyrants, & flying for refuge to the altar of *Minerva* the Counſeller, when all other friends were affrighted and amazed: onely *Iſocrates* aroſe and ſhewed himſelfe for to aſſiſt and ſuccor him, and at the firſt continued a long time ſilent. But *Theramenes* himſelfe began and prayed him to deſiſt; ſaying, that it would be more dolorous and grievous unto him, than his owne calamitie, in caſe he ſhould ſee any of his friends to be troubled and endangered for the love of him. And it is ſaid, that he helped him to compile certaine Inſtitutions of Rhetoricke, at what time as he was maliciouſly and falſely ſlandered before the judges in open court: which Inſtitutions are gon under the name and title of *Boton*.

When he was growen to mans eſtate, he forbare to meddle in State matters, and in the affaires of common-weale; as well for that he had by nature a ſmall and feeble voice, as becauſe naturally he was fearfull and timorous: and beſides, his ſtate was much impaired, by reaſon that he loſt his patrimonie in the warre againſt the Lacedæmonians. It appeareth that to other men he had beene aſſiſtant in counſell, and giving teſtimonie for them in places of judgement: but it is not knowen that he pronounced above one onely oration, to wit, περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, that is to ſay, concerning counterchange of goods. And having ſet up a publicke ſchoole, he gave himſelfe to the ſtudie of philoſophie, and to write; where he compoſed his Panegyrique oration, and certaine others of the Deliberative kind: and thoſe that he wrote himſelfe, ſome he read, ſome he penned for others; thinking thereby to exhort and ſtirre up the Greekes to deviſe and performe ſuch duties as beſeemed them to doe. But ſeeing that he miſſed of his purpoſe and intention, hee gave over that courſe, and betooke himſelfe to keepe a ſchoole: firſt, as ſome ſay, in *Chios*, having nine ſcholars that came unto him: where when he ſaw that his ſcholars paid him downe in money his Minervals for their ſchooling, hee wept and ſaid: I ſee well now that I am ſold unto theſe youthes. He would conferre willingly with thoſe that came to deviſe and talke with him, being the firſt that put a difference betweene wrangling pleas or contentious orations, and ſerious politike diſcourſes of common-weale, in which he rather employed himſelfe. He ordained magiſtrates in *Chios*, erecting the ſame forme of government there, which was in his owne countrey. He gathered more ſilver together by teaching ſchoole, than ever any profeſſor in Rhetoricke or ſchoole-maſter was knowen to have done; ſo that he was well able to defray the charges of a galley at ſea. Of ſcholars he had to the number of one hundred: and among many others, *Timotheus* the ſonne of *Conon*; with whom he travelled abroad, and viſited many cities: he penned all thoſe letters which *Timotheus* ſent unto the Athenians; in regard whereof he beſtowed upon him a talent of ſilver, the remainder of that money due by compoſition from *Samos*. There were beſides of his ſcholars *Theopompus* the Chian, and *Ephorus* of *Cumes*; *Aſclepiades* alſo who compoſed tragical matters and arguments; and *Theodectes*, who afterwards wrote tragœdies (whoſe tombe or ſepulcher is as men go toward *Cyamite*, even in the ſacred way or ſtreet that leadeth to *Eleuſis*, now altogether ruinate and demoliſhed: in which place he cauſed to be erected and ſet up the ſtatues of famous poets together with him, of all whom there remaineth none at this day but *Homer* alone;) alſo *Leodamus* the Athenian; *Lacritus* the law-giver unto the Athenians, and as ſome ſay, *Hyperides* and *Iſæus*. And it is ſaid that *Demoſthenes* alſo came unto him whiles he yet taught a Rhetoricke ſchoole, with an earneſt purpoſe to learne of him, uſing this ſpeech: that he was not able to pay him a thouſand drachms of ſilver, which was the onely price that he made and demaunded of everie ſcholar; but meanes he would make to give him two hundred drachms, ſo he might learne of him but the fift part of his skill, which was a proportionable rate for the whole; unto whom *Iſocrates* made this anſwere: We uſe not, *Demoſthenes*, to do our buſineſſe by piece-meale; but like as men are woont to ſell faire fiſhes all whole; even ſo will I, if you purpoſe to be my ſcholar, teach and deliver you mine art full and entier, and not by halfes or parcels.

He departed this life the verie yeere that *Chæronides* was Provoſt of *Athens*; even when the newes came of the diſcomfiture at *Chæronea*, which he heard being in the place of *Hippocrates* publicke exerciſes: and voluntarily he procured his owne death, in abſtaining from all food and ſuſtenance the ſpace of foure daies, having pronounced before this abſtinence of his, theſe three firſt verſes which begin three tragœdies of *Euripides*:

1 *King* Danaus, *who fiftie daughters had.*
2 Pelops *the ſonne of* Tantalus, *when he to* Piſa *came.*
3 Cadmus *whilom, the citie* Sidon *left.*

He lived 98 yeeres, or as ſome ſay, a full hundred, & could not endure for to ſee *Greece* fower times brought into ſervitude: the yeere before he died, or as ſome write, fower yeeres before he wrote his Panathenaick oration: as for his Panegyrik oration, he was in penning it tenne yeeres, and by the report, of ſome, fifteene, which he is thought to have tranſlated and borrowed out of *Gorgias* the Leontine and *Lyſias*: and the oration concerning the counterchange of goods, he wrote when he was foureſcore yeeres old & twaine: but his Philippike oration he ſet downe a little before his death: when he was farre ſtepped in yeeres, he adopted for his ſonne, *Aphareus*, the yoongeſt of the three children of *Plathane* his wife, the daughter of *Hippias* the oratour, and profeſſed Rhetorician. He was of good wealth, as well for that he called duely for money of his ſcholars, as alſo becauſe he received of *Nicocles* king of *Cypres*, who was the ſonne of *Euagoras*, the ſumme of twenty talents of ſilver for one oration which hee dedicated unto him: by occaſion of this riches, he became envied, and was thrice choſen and enjoined to be the captaine of a galley, and to defray the charges thereof: for the two firſt times he feigning himſelfe to be ſicke, was excuſed by the meanes of his ſonne; but at the third time he roſe up and tooke the charge, wherein he ſpent no ſmall ſumme of money. There was a father, who talking with him about his ſonne whom he kept at ſchoole, ſaid: That he ſent with him no other to be his guide and governour, but a ſlave of his owne: unto whom *Iſocrates* anſwered: Goe your waies then, for one ſlave you ſhall have twaine. Hee entred into contention for the prize at the ſolemne games which queene *Artemiſia* exhibited at the funerals and tombe of her huſband *Mauſolus*: but this enchomiaſticall oration of his which he made in the praiſe of him, is not extant: another oration he penned in the praiſe of *Helena*; as alſo a third in the commendation of the counſell *Areopagus*. Some write, that he died by abſteining nine daies together from all meat: others report but fower; even at the time that the publike obſeqnies were ſolemnized for them who loſt their lives in the battell at *Chæronea*. His adopted ſonne *Aphareus* compoſed likewiſe certeine orations: enterred hee was together with all his linage and thoſe of his bloud, neere unto a place called *Cynoſarges*, upon a banke or knap of a little hill on the left hand, where were beſtowed, the ſonne, and father *Theodorus*; their mother alſo and her ſiſter *Anaco*, aunt unto the oratour; his adopted ſonne likewiſe *Aphareus*, together with his couſen germain *Socrates*, ſonne to the a foreſaid aunt *Anaco* *Iſocrates* mothers ſiſter: his brother *Theodo-*

rus who bare the name of his father, his nephewes, or children of his adopted ſonne *Aphareus*, and his naturall *Theodorus*; moreover, his wife *Plathane* mother to his adopted ſonne *Aphareus*: upon all theſe bodies there were ſix tables or tombs erected of ſtone, which are not to be ſeene at this day: but there ſtood upon the tombe of *Iſocrates* himſelfe, a mightie great ramme engraven, to the height of thirtie cubits, upon which there was a ſyren or mere-maid ſeven cubits high, to ſignifie under a figure his milde nature and eloquent ſtile: there was beſides neere unto him, a table conteining certaine poets and his owne ſchole-maſters: among whom was *Gorgias* looking upon an aſtrologicall ſphære, and *Iſocrates* himſelfe ſtanding cloſe unto him: furthermore, there is erected a braſen image of his in *Eleuſin*, before the entrie of the gallery *Stoa*, which *Timotheus* the ſonne of *Caron* cauſed to be made, bearing this epigram or inſcription:

> Timotheus *upon a loving minde,*
> *And for to honour mutuall kindneſſes,*
> *This image of* Iſocrates *his friende,*
> *Erected hath unto the goddeſſes.*

This ſtatue was the handi-worke of *Leochares*. There goe under his name threeſcore orations; of which five and twentie are his indeed, according to the judgement of *Dionyſius*: but as *Cecilius* ſaith, eight and twentie; all the reſt are falſly attributed unto him. So farre was he off from oſtentation, and ſo little regard had hee to put foorth himſelfe and ſhew his ſufficiencie, that when upon a time there came three unto him, of purpoſe to heare him declame and diſcourſe, he kept two of them with him, and the third he ſent away, willing him to returne the next morrow: For now (quoth he) I have a full theater in mine auditorie. He was wont to ſay alſo unto his ſcholars and familiars: That himſelfe taught his art for ten pounds of ſilver; but hee would give unto him that could put into him audacity, and teach him good utterance, ten thouſand. When one demanded of him how it was poſſible that he ſhould make other men ſufficient orators, ſeeing himſelfe was nothing eloquent: Why not (quoth he) ſeeing that whet-ſtones which can not cut at all, make iron and ſteele ſharpe enough and able to cut. Some ſay, that he compoſed certeine books as touching the art of rhetorick; but others are of opinion, that it was not by any method, but exerciſe onely, that he made his ſcholars good oratours: this is certeine, that he never demanded any mony of naturall citizens borne, for their teaching. His maner was to bid his ſcholars to be preſent at the great aſſemblies of the citie, and to relate unto him what they heard there ſpoken and delivered. He was wonderfull heavy and ſorrowfull out of meaſure for the death of *Socrates*, ſo as the morrow after he mourned & put on blacke for him. Againe, unto one who asked him what was Rhetorick? he anſwered: It is the art of making great matters of ſmall, & ſmall things of great. Being invited one day to *Nicocreon* the tyrant of *Cypres*; as he ſat at the table, thoſe that were preſent, requeſted him to diſcourſe of ſome theame; but he anſwered thus: For ſuch matters wherein I have ſkill the time will not now ſerve; and in thoſe things that fit the time, I am nothing ſkilfull. Seeing upon a time *Sophocles* the tragicall poet, following wantonly and hunting with his eie, a yoong faire boy; he ſaid: O *Sophocles* an honeſt man ought to conteine not his hands onely, but his eies alſo. When *Ephorus* of *Cunes* went from his ſchoole *non proficiens*, and able to doe nothing, by reaſon whereof his father *Demophilus* ſent him againe with a ſecond ſalary or minervall; *Iſocrates* ſmiled thereat, and merily called him *Diphoros*, that is to ſay, bringing his money twice: ſo hee tooke great paines with the man, and would himſelfe prompt him, and give him matter and invention for his declamatorie exerciſe.

Inclined he was and naturally given unto the pleaſures of wanton love; in regard whereof he uſed to lie upon a thinne and hard ſhort mattreſſe, and to have the pillow and bolſter under his head perfumed, and wet with the water of ſaffron. So long as he was in his youth he maried not; but being now ſtriken in age and growen old, he kept a queane or harlot in his houſe, whoſe name was *Lagiſca*, by whom he had a little daughter, who died before ſhe was maried, when ſhe was about twelve yeeres old. After that, he eſpouſed *Plathane*, the wife of the rhetoritian * *Gorgias*, who had three children before, of whom he adopted *Aphareus* for his owne ſonne, as hath beene ſaid before, who cauſed his ſtatue to be caſt in braſſe, and erected it neere unto the image of *Jupiter Olympius*, as it were upon a columne, with this Epigram:

* *Hippias.*

> *This portraict of* Iſocrates *in braſſe,*
> *His ſonne adopted,* Aphareus, *who was,*
> *Erected hath to* Jupiter, *in view*

Of all the world thereby to make a ſhew,
That unto gods he is religious,
And honoureth his father vertuous.

It is ſaid, that whiles he was but a yong boy, he ran a courſe on horſebacke; for he is to be ſeene all in braſſe in the caſtle or citadell of the city, ſitting and riding his horſe, in forme and proportion of a boy within the teniſe court of thoſe prieſts of *Minerva*, which attend there, to tarie the ſacred ſecrets, not to be revealed, as ſome have reported. In all his life time there were two only ſutes commenſed againſt him: the former, for the exchange of his goods, being challenged and provoked by *Megaclides*; for the triall whereof, he appeared not perſonally at his day, by reaſon of ſickneſſe: the ſecond action was framed againſt him by *Lyſimachus*, for the exchange of his goods, with charge to defray the expenſes of mainteining a galley at ſea: in which proceſſe he was caſt, and forced to ſet out a galley. There was alſo a painted image of his in the place called *Pompeium*. And *Aphareus* compoſed verily orations, though not many, both judiciall and alſo deliberative. He made alſo tragœdies, to the number of ſeven and thirtie; whereof there be two which were contradicted. And he began to have his works openly heard in publicke place, from the yeere wherein *Lyſiſtratus* was provoſt, unto that yeere wherein *Soſicles* was in place; to eight and twentie yeeres: in which time he cauſed ſix civill plaies to be acted, and twice gained the prize of victorie, having ſet them forth by a principall actour or plaier, named *Dionyſius*: and by other actours he exhibited two more, of the Lenaick kind, that is to ſay, full of mirth, and to move laughter.

There were the ſtatues alſo to be ſeene within the citadell, of the mother of *Iſocrates* and of *Theodorus*, as alſo of *Anaco* her ſiſter; of which, that of his mother is yet extant; and it ſtandeth neere unto the image of *Hygia*, that is to ſay Health; onely the inſcription is changed: but the the other of *Anaco* is not to be found. This *Anaco* had two ſonnes, *Alexander* by *Cœnes*, and *Uſicles* by *Lyſias*.

ISAEUS. V.

Iſæus was borne in *Chalcis*: and being come to *Athens*, he ſtudied the works of *Lyſias*, whom he did ſo neerely imitate, aſwell in the apt couching of his words, as in the witty device & ſubtiltie of his inventions; that if a man were not very well practiſed & perfect in the ſtile and maner of writing of theſe two orators, hardly he ſhould be able to diſcerne many of their orations, and diſtinguiſh one from another. He was in greateſt name, about the time of the Peloponneſiacke warre, as may be conjectured by his orations; and continued unto the reigne of king *Philip*. He gave over his publicke ſchoole, and went to teach *Demoſthenes* privatly at home, for the ſum of ten thouſand drachmes of ſilver; whereby he became very famous: and as ſome ſay, he it was that compoſed for *Demoſthenes* certeine exhortatory orations. He left behind him three ſcore and foure orations going in his name; whereof fiftie are his indeed: alſo ſome particular introductions of his owne, and rules of Rhetoricke. He was the firſt who began both to forme and to turne the ſenſe of his ſtile unto the politicke management of affaires; a thing that *Demoſthenes* doth moſt of all imitate. Of this oratour, *Theopompus* the comicall poet maketh mention in his *Theſeus*.

AESCHINES. VI.

Aeſchines was the ſonne of *Atrometus*, (a man who being baniſhed in the time of the thirtie tyrants, was a meanes to aide the people, and to ſet up the popular ſtate againe) and his mothers name was *Glaucothea*. He was of the burrough or tribe *Cothocis*: ſo that his parents were neither for nobilitie of race, nor yet for wealth and riches renowmed in the citie: but being yoong, and of a luſtie and able conſtitution, he fortified and confirmed the ſame more by bodily exerciſe: and finding himſelfe to have a ſtrong breſt and cleere voice; thereupon afterwards he made profeſſion to act tragœdies; but (as *Demoſthenes* ſaid of him by way of reproch) hee went after others, and could never proceed higher than to act the third and laſt parts in the ſolemnities of the Bacchanale plaies under one *Ariſtodemus*. When he was but a boy, he taught petties the letters; namely, to ſpel and reade together with his father: and being of ſome growth, he ſerved as a common ſouldier in the warres. The ſcholar and auditor he was (as ſome thinke) of *Iſocrates* & *Plato*; but according to *Cecilius*, of *Leodamas*. Being entred into the managing of State affaires, and that not without credit & reputation; becauſe he made head & ſided againſt the faction of *Demoſthenes*, emploied he was in many embaſſages; and namely unto K. *Philip*, for to treat of peace: for which, accuſed he was by *Demoſthenes*, and charged to have beene the cauſe that the nation of the Phocæans was rooted out, and for that he kindled warre betweene the Amphyctions and the Amphiſſians, what time as he was choſen one of the deputies to be preſent in the aſſembly or diet of the Amphyctions, who made alſo an haven, whereby it hapned withall, that the Amphyctions put themſelves into the protection of *Philip*, who being wrought by *Aeſchines*, tooke the matter in hand, and conquered all the territorie of *Phocis*: howbeit, through the port and favourable countenance of *Eubulus* the ſonne of *Spintharus* a Proballuſian, who was of great credit and reputation among the people, and ſpake in his behalfe, he eſcaped, and was found unguiltie, and caried it by thirtie voices; although others ſay, that the oratours had penned their orations, and were at the point to plead; but upon the newes of the overthrow at *Cheronæa*, which impeached the proceeding of law, the matter was not called for, nor the cauſe pleaded.

A certeine time after, when king *Philip* was dead, and his ſonne *Alexander* gone forward in his expedition into *Aſia*, he accuſed *Cteſiphon* judicially, for that he had paſſed a decree contrary unto the lawes, in the honour of *Demoſthenes*; but having on his ſide not the fift part of the ſuffrages and the voices of the people, he was baniſhed out of *Athens*, and fled to *Rhodes*, becauſe he would not pay the fine of a thouſand drachmes, in which he was condemned, upon his overthrow at the barre. Others ſay, that over & beſide, he was noted with infamie, becauſe he would not depart out of the citie; and that he retired himſelfe to *Epheſus* unto *Alexander*. But upon the deceaſe of *Alexander*, when there was great troubles towards, he returned to *Rhodes*, where he kept a ſchoole, and beganne to teach the art of Rhetoricke. He read other-whiles unto the Rhodians (and that with action and geſture) the oration which he had pronounced againſt *Cteſiphon*; whereat, when all the hearers marvelled, and namely, how poſſibly he could be caſt, if he acted ſuch an oration: You would never wonder at the matter (quoth he) my maſters of *Rhodes*, if you had beene in place and heard *Demoſthenes* impleading againſt it. He left behinde him a ſchoole at *Rhodes*, which afterwards was called the *Rhodian* ſchoole. From thence he ſailed to *Samos*, and when he had ſtaied a time in the Iſle, within a while after, he died. A pleaſant and ſweet voice he had, as may appeare both by that which *Demoſthenes* hath delivered of him, and alſo by an oration of *Demochares*.

There be found foure orations under his name; one againſt *Timarchus*; another as touching falſe embaſſage; and a third againſt *Cteſiphon*, which in truth be all three his: for the fourth entituled *Deliaca*, was never penned by *Aeſchines*. True it is indeed, that appointed and commanded he was to plead judicially the cauſes of the temple of *Delos*: but he pronounced no ſuch oration; for that *Hyperides* was choſen in ſtead of him, as ſaith *Demoſthenes*. And by his owne ſaying two brethren he had, *Aphobus* and *Demochares*. He brought unto the Athenians the firſt tidings of the ſecond victorie which they obtained at *Tamyne*, for which he was rewarded with a crowne. Some give it out that *Aeſchines* was ſcholar to none, and never learned his Rhetoricke of any maſter; but being brought up to writing, and a good pen-man, he became a clarke or notarie; and ſo grew up to knowledge of himſelfe by his owne induſtrie, for that he ordinarly converſed in judiciall courts, and places of judgement. The firſt time that ever he made publike ſpeech before the people, was againſt king *Philip*: and having then audience with with great applauſe and commendation, he was preſently choſen embaſſadour, and ſent to the Arcadians; whither when he was come, he raiſed a power of ten thouſand men againſt *Philip*. He preſented and indited *Timarchus* for maintaining a brothell houſe; who fearing to appeare judicially, and to have the cauſe heard, hung himſelfe, as after a ſort *Demoſthenes* in ſome place ſaith. Afterwards elected he was to go in embaſſage unto *Philip* with *Cteſiphon* & *Demoſthenes*, about a treatie of peace, wherein he carried himſelfe better than *Demoſthenes*. A ſecond time was hee choſen the tenth man in an embaſſage, for to goe and conclude a peace upon certaine capitulations and covenants; for which ſervice he was judicially called to his anſwere and acquit, as hath beene ſaid before.

LYCURGUS. VII.

LYcurgus was the ſonne of *Lycophron*, the ſonne of *Lycurgus*; him I meane whom the thirtie tyrants did to death, by the procurement & inſtigation of one *Ariſtodemus* that came from *Bata*; who having beene treaſurer generall of *Greece*, was baniſhed during the popular government. Of the borrough or tribe he was named *Buta*, and of the family or houſe of the *Eteobuta-*

des. At the beginning, the ſcholar he was of *Plato* the philoſopher, and made profeſſion of philoſophie: but afterwards being entred into familiar acquaintance with *Iſocrates*, hee became his ſcholar, and dealt in affaires of State where he wan great credit, as well by his deeds, as words; and ſo put in truſt he was with the mannagement of the cities revenues: for treaſurour general he was the ſpace of fifteene yeeres; during which time, there went thorow his hands fortie millions of talents, or as ſome ſay, fourſcore millions ſix hundred and fiftie talents. And it was the orator *Stratocles* who preferred him to this honor, by propounding him unto the people. Thus I ſay at the firſt was he himſelfe choſen treaſurour in his own name; but afterwards he nominated ſome one of his friends; and yet neverthleſſe mannaged all, and had the whole adminiſtration of it in his owne hands; for that there was a Statute enacted and publiſhed, that none might be choſen to have the charge of the publicke treaſure above five yeeres. He continued alwaies an overſeer of the citie workes both winter and ſummer: and having the office and charge committed unto him for proviſion of all neceſſaries for the warres, he reformed many things that were amiſſe in common-wealth. He cauſed to be built for the citie foure hundred gallies. He made the common hall or place for publicke exerciſes in *Lyceum*, and planted the ſame round about with trees: He reared alſo the wreſtling hall, and finiſhed the theater which is at the temple of *Bacchus*, being himſelfe in perſon to overſee and direct the workmen. He was reputed a man of ſuch fidelitie and ſo good a conſcience, that there was committed upon truſt into his hands, to the ſumme of two hundred and fiftie talents of ſilver, by divers and ſundrie private perſons to be kept for their uſe. He cauſed to be made many faire veſſels of gold and ſilver to adorne and beautifie the citie: as alſo ſundrie images of Victorie in gold. And finding many publicke workes unperfect and halfe done, he accompliſhed and made an end of them all: as namely the Arſenals, the common hals for armour and other utenſiles and implements, ſerving for the cities uſes. He founded a wall round about the ſpatious cloiſture, called *Panathenaike*, which he finiſhed up to the verie cape and batilments; yea and laid levell and even, the great pit or chinke in the ground: for that one *Dinius*, whoſe plot of ground it was, gave away the proprietie which he had in it unto the citie, in favour eſpecially of *Lycurgus*, and for his ſake. He had the charge and cuſtodie of the citie, and commiſſion to attache and apprehend malefactours, whom he drave all quit out of the citie; inſomuch that ſome of the oratours and ſubtle ſophiſters would ſay, that *Lycurgus* dipt not his pen in blacke inke, but in deadly blood, when he drew his writs againſt malefactours: In regard of which benefit unto the common-weale, ſo well beloved he was of the people, that when king *Alexander* demaunded to had him delivered into his hands, the people would not forgo him. But when as king *Philip* made warre upon the Athenians the ſecond time, he went in embaſſage with *Polyeuctus* and *Demoſthenes*, as well into *Peloponneſus*, as to other States and cities. All his time he lived in good eſtimation among the Athenians, reputed evermore for a juſt and upright man, in ſuch ſort that in all courts of juſtice, if *Lycurgus* ſaid the word, it was held for a great prejudice & good foredoome in his behalfe, for whom he ſpake. He propoſed & brought in certaine lawes; the one to this effect, that there ſhould be exhibited a ſolemnitie of plaies or comedies at the feaſt *Chytræ*, wherein the poets ſhould do their beſt, and ſtrive a vie within the theatre for the priſe; and whoſoever obtained victorie, ſhould therewith have the right and freedome of burgeoſie, a thing that before was not lawfull nor graunted unto poets; and thus hee brought unto uſe and practiſe againe, a ſolemne game which he had diſcontinued. Another, that there ſhould be made at the publike charges of the citie, ſtatues of braſſe for the poets *Aeſchylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; that their tragœdies ſhould be exemplified and engroſſed faire, for to be kept in the chamber of the citie; and that the publicke notarie of the citie ſhould reade them unto the plaiers, for otherwiſe unlawfull it was to act them. A third there was, that no citizen, nor any other perſon reſiant and inhabitant within the citie of *Athens*, ſhould be permitted to buy any priſoners taken in warre, ſuch as were of free condition before, to make them ſlaves, without the conſent of their firſt maſters. *Item*, that within the haven *Pyræum*, there ſhould be exhibited a ſolemne play or game unto *Neptune*, conſiſting of round daunces, no fewer than three: and that unto thoſe who woon the firſt priſe, there ſhould be given for a reward no fewer than ten pound of ſilver; to the ſecond, eight at the leaſt; and to the third, not under ſix, according as they ſhould be adjudged by the umpiers. *Item*, that no dame of *Athens* might be allowed to ride in a coatch to *Eleuſin*; for feare that the poore might be debaſed by the rich, and herein reputed their inferiours: but in caſe any of them were ſo taken riding in a coatch, ſhe ſhould be fined and pay ſix thouſand drachms: now when his owne wife obeied not his law, but was ſurprized in the manner by the ſycophants and promoters, he himſelfe gave unto them a whole talent, with which afterwards when he was charged, and accuſed before the people: You ſee yet (quoth he) my maſters of *Athens* that I am overtaken for giving, and not for taking ſilver.

He mette one day as he went in the ſtreet, a publicane or farmer of the forrain taxes and tributes for the city, who had laid hands upon the philoſopher *Xenocrates,* and would have ledde him to priſon in all haſte, becauſe he paid not the duties impoſed upon ſtrangers; for which he gave the publicane a rappe on the head with the rodde or walking ſtaffe which hee had in his hand, and recovered the philoſopher out of his clouches; which done, he caſt the ſaid officer himſelfe into priſon for his labor, as having cōmitted a great indignity unto ſuch a perſonage: a few daies after, the ſame philoſopher meeting him with the children of *Lycurgus*: I have (quoth he unto them) my good children rendred thanks unto your father, and that right ſpeedily, in that he is ſo praiſed and commended of all men for ſuccouring and reſcuing me. He propoſed and publiſhed certeine publicke decrees, uſing the helpe heerein of one *Euclides* an Olynthian, who was thought to be a very ſufficient man in framing and penning ſuch acts; and albeit he was a wealthy perſon, yet he never ware but one and the ſame kinde of garment both winter and ſummer, yea, and the ſame ſhooes he went in every day, what need ſoever was. He exerciſed himſelfe continually in declaming both night and day, for that he was not ſo fit to ſpeak of a ſudden and unprovided. upon his bedde or pallet where he lay, he had onely for his covering a ſheepes ſkinne, fell and all, and under his head a boulſter, to the end that the ſooner and with more eaſe, he might awake and goe to his ſtudy. There was one who reproched him, for that he paid his money ſtill unto ſophiſters and profeſſed rhetoricians, for teaching him to make orations: But (quoth he) againe, if there were any would promiſe and undertake to profit my children and make them better, I would give him willingly not onely a thouſand deniers, but the one moitie of all my goods. Very bold he was and reſolute to ſpeake his minde franckly unto the people, and to tell them the truth plainly, bearing himſelfe upon his nobility; inſomuch as one day when the Athenians would not ſuffer him to make a ſpeech in open audience, he cried out with a loud voice; ô whippe of *Corfu,* how many talents art thou woorth? Another time, when ſome there were who called *Alexander* god: And what maner of god may he be (quoth *Lycurgus,* out of whoſe temple whoſoever go, had need to be ſprinckled and drenched all over with water to purifie themſelves.

After he was dead, they delivered his children into the hands of the eleven officers for execution of juſtice, for that *Thraſicles* had framed an accuſation, & *Meneſæchmus* endited them; but upon the letters of *Demoſthenes,* which in the time of his exile he wrote unto the Athenians, advertiſing them that they were ill ſpoken of about *Lycurgus* his children, they repented themſelves of that which they had done, and let them go: & verily *Democles* the ſcholar of *Theophraſtus* juſtified them, and ſpake in their defence. Himſelfe and ſome of his children were buried at the cities charges, over and againſt the temple of *Minerva Pæonia,* within the orchard or grove of *Melanthius* the philoſopher: and found there be even in theſe our daies certeine tombes with the names of *Lycurgus* and his children written thereupon. But that which is the greateſt thing that ſoundeth moſt to the praiſe of his government, he raiſed the revenues of the common-weale unto twelve hundred talents, whereas before they amounted but unto threeſcore. A little before he died, when he perceived death to approch, hee cauſed himſelfe to be caried into the temple of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and into the Senate houſe, deſirous there to render an account of his whole adminiſtration of the common-weale: but no man was ſo hardy as to come foorth and charge him with any unjuſt and wrongfull dealing, ſave onely *Meneſæchmus*; now after he had fully anſwered thoſe imputations which he charged upon him, he was caried home againe to his houſe, where he ended his daies; reputed all his life time for a good and honeſt man, commended for his eloquence, and never condemned in any ſuite, notwithſtanding many actions and accuſations were framed againſt him.

Three children he had by *Caliſto,* the daughter of *Abron,* and ſiſter to *Calæus*, the ſonne alſo of *Abron*, of the burrough *Bata*, who was treaſurour of the campe during the warres that yeere wherein *Chærondas* was provoſt; of this affinitie and alliance, *Dinarchus* maketh mention, in that oration which he made againſt *Paſtius.* He left behinde him theſe children, *Abron, Lycurgus,* and *Lycophron*; of whom *Abron* and *Lycurgus* died without iſſue; but *Abron* after he had with good reputation and credit, managed State matters, changed this life: and *Lycophron* having eſpouſed *Caliſtomacha,* the daughter of *Philippus Aixenes*, begat a daughter named *Caleſto,* married afterwards to *Cleombrotus,* the ſonne of *Dimocrates,* an Acharnanian, who by her had a ſonne named *Lycophron*, whom *Lycophron* the grand-father adopted for his owne ſonne; and he departed this life without children: after the deceaſe of this *Lycophron*, *Calliſto* was remarried unto *Socrates*, unto whom ſhe bare a ſonne, named *Symmachus*; who begat *Ariſtonymus*, and of *Ariſtonymus* came *Charmides*, whoſe daughter was *Philippe*, and ſhe bare a ſonne, to wit, *Lyſander Medius*, who became an interpreter alſo, one of the *Eumolpides*: of him and of *Timothea* the daughter of *Glaucus* deſcended *Laodamia* and *Medius*, who held the prieſthood of *Neptune Erectheus*: *Philippa* alſo a daughter, who afterwards was a religious prieſtreſſe, devoted to *Minerva*; for before time, had *Diocles* the Melittean eſpouſed her, and ſhe bare him a ſonne named likewiſe *Diocles*, who was a colonell of a regiment of footmen; and he tooke to wife *Hediſte* the daughter of *Abron*, of whoſe body he begat *Philippide* and *Nicoſtrata*; and *Themiſtocles* the torch-bearer ſonne of *Theophraſtus* married *Nicoſtrata*, by whom he had *Theophraſtus* and *Diocles*, notwithſtanding he was prieſt unto *Neptune Erechtheus*.

There be found of this oratours penning, fifteene orations. Crowned hee was many times by the people: and ordeined there were for him divers ſtatues and images, whereof there was one all of braſſe, according to a publike decree of the citie, ſtanding in the ſtreet *Ceranicum*, that yeere when *Anaxicrates* was provoſt; under whom there was allowed unto himſelfe and his ſonne *Lycurgus*, as alſo to his eldeſt nephew, table and diet in *Prytaneum*, by vertue of the ſame decree of the people: howbeit, after the deceaſe of *Lycurgus*, *Lycophron* his eldeſt ſonne made ſute by law for this gift and donation. He pleaded alſo many times for matters of religion, and accuſed *Autolycus* the ſenatour, and one of the high court *Areopagus*, *Lyſicles* alſo the captaine, and *Demades* the ſonne of *Demius*, together with *Meneſachmus*, and many others, whom he overthrew and cauſed to be condemned every one. Moreover, he called judicially into queſtion *Diphilus*, for that he tooke away out of the mettal mines, thoſe middle poſts or props which ſupported the weight of earth bearing upon them, by which meanes he enriched himſelfe, directly againſt the lawes: and whereas the penaltie of this crime was death, he cauſed him to be condemned. He diſtributed out of his goods, unto every citizen of *Athens* fiftie drachmes, or as ſome ſay, one *mna*, or pound of ſilver: for the totall ſumme of his wealth amounted unto an hundred and threeſcore talents. He accuſed likewiſe *Ariſtogiton*, *Cleocrates*, and *Autolycus*, for that being no better than ſlaves, they caried themſelves like men of free condition. This *Lycurgus* was ſurnamed *Ibis*, that is to ſay, the blacke Storke: and men commonly would ſay to *Lycurgus*, *Ibis*, like as to *Xenophon*, *Nycteris*, that is to ſay, the Howlet. The moſt ancient of this houſe, were deſcended from *Erectheus*, the ſonne of the Earth and of *Vulcane*; but the neereſt, from *Lycomedes* and *Lycurgus*, whom the people honoured with publicke funerals and obſequies. And this deſcent of their race, is drawen from thoſe who were prieſts of *Neptune*, and ſet downe in a full and perfect table, which hangeth up in the temple *Erechthium*, and was painted by *Iſmenias* the Chalcidian; where alſo ſtand certeine ſtatues of wood, aſwell of *Lycurgus* as of his children, to wit, *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lychophron*, which ſometimes were made by *Timarchus* and *Cephiſodorus* the ſonnes of *Praxiteles* the imager. He who ſet up and dedicated the painted table beforeſaid, was *Abron*, unto whom by order of hereditarie ſucceſſion, fell the prieſthood, but he gave over his right thereto voluntarily unto his brother *Lycophron*: this is the reaſon that he is painted giving a three-forked mace unto his brother. Now this *Lycurgus* having cauſed to be engraven upon a ſquare pillar, a briefe of his whole adminiſtration of the cõmon weale, cauſed it to be planted juſt beford the wreſtling hall, for every man to ſee it that would. Neither could any man be foũd ſo hardy, as to accuſe him for robbing the State, or inverting any thing to his own uſe. He propoſed unto the people, that there ſhould be a coronet given unto *Neoptolemus* the ſonne of *Anticles*, and a ſtatue beſides, for that he undertooke and promiſed to gild (all over) the altar of *Apollo* in the market place, according to the commandement & direction of the oracle. He demanded alſo, that honour ſhould be decreed for *Euonymus* the ſonne of *Diotimus*, whoſe father was *Diopithes*, in that yeere wherein *Cteſicles* was provoſt.

DEMOSTHENES. VIII.

D*emoſthenes* the ſonne of *Demoſthenes* and of *Cleobule* the daughter of *Gylon*, of the linage or tribe of *Pæania*, being left an orphan by his father, at the age of ſeven yeeres, together with a ſiſter five yeeres olde; during the time of orphanage kept with his mother a widow, and went to ſchoole unto *Iſocrates*, as ſome ſay, or as moſt men give out, to *Iſæus* the Chalcidian the diſciple of *Iſocrates*, who lived in *Athens*: he imitated *Thucydides* and *Plato* the Philoſopher, in whoſe ſchoole there be that ſay he was firſt brought up: but as *Hegeſias* the Magneſian reporteth,

teth, being advertiſed that *Calliſtratus* the ſonne of **Empædes**, an Aphidnean and famous orator, who had bene captaine and commander of a troupe of horſemen, and who had dedicated an altar to *Mercurie* ſurnamed *Agoraios*, that is to ſay, the Speaker, was to make a ſolemne oration unto the people, craved leave of his tutour and ſchoolemaſter, that he might go to heare him: and no ſooner had he heard him ſpeake, but he was in love with his eloquence.

But as for this oratour, he heard him but a while, even until he left the citie; for baniſhed he was. Now after that he was departed into *Thrace*, by which time *Demoſthenes* grew to be a yong man, then began he to frequent the company of *Iſocrates* and *Plato*: howbeit, afterwards hee tooke home into his houſe *Iſæus*, whom he enterteined the ſpace of foure yeeres, and exerciſed himſelfe in the imitation of his ſtile, or (as *Cteſibius* reporteth in his treatiſe of Philoſophie) he wrought ſo, that by the meanes of *Callias* the Syracuſian, he recovered the orations of *Zethus* the Amphipolitane, and by the helpe of *Charicles* the Chariſtian, he got them alſo of *Alcidamus*, and thoſe he gave himſelfe wholly to imitate. But in proceſſe of time, when he was come to mans eſtate, and paſt a ward, ſeeing that his tutours and guardians allowed him not ſufficiently out of his living and patrimonie, he called them to account for their guardianſhip, that yeere wherein *Timocrates* was provoſt of *Athens*. Now three tutours or governours he had, to wit, *Aphobus*, *Theripedes*, *Demophon aliâs Demea*, whom he charged more than the reſt, being his uncle by the mothers ſide: he laied actions upon them of ten talents a piece, and ſo much he demanded of them by law: he overthrew them all; but he could not come by ought of that wherein they were condemned: for neither recovered he money nor favour of the one or the other. * * * * When *Ariſtophon* was now ſo aged, that he could not take paines nor attend to ſet out the ſolemne dances and ſhewes, for which he was choſen commiſſarie and overſeer, he gave over his place, and *Demoſthenes* in his roome was ſubſtituted the maſter of the ſaid dances: and for that in the open theater as he was buſie in his office about ſetting out and ordering the dances, *Medias* the Anagyraſian, gave him a box of the eare with his fiſt, he ſued him in an actiō of batterie: howbeit, he gave over his ſute for the ſum of three thouſand drachmes of ſilver, which *Midias* paied him. This is reported of him, that being a yoong man, he retired himſelfe apart into a certeine cave, where he gave himſelfe unto his booke, having cauſed his head to be ſhaven the halfe of it, becauſe he might not goe abroad to be ſeene, and ſo leave his booke: alſo, that he lay upon a very ſtreight and narrow bed, for that he would the ſooner ariſe, and with more eaſe: and there he exerciſed and forced himſelfe to frame his ſpeech better: but for that he had an ill grace with him, ever as he ſpake, to ſhake and ſhrinke up his ſhoulder, he remedied that, by ſticking up a broch or ſpit, or as ſome ſay, a dagger, to the floore over head, that for feare of pricking his ſhoulder, he might forget this evill cuſtome that he had in his geſture: and according as he profited and proceeded forward in the art, he cauſed a mirrour to be made juſt as bigge as himſelfe, before which he uſed to declame, that thereby he might obſerve the evill geſtures or ilfavoured faces that he made when he ſpake, and learne to reforme and amend them: alſo, he uſed otherwhiles to goe downe to the water ſide, to the haven *Phalerium*, for to exerciſe himſelfe in declaming, even where the ſurging waves of the ſea did beat upon the banks, to the end that he might at no time after be troubled nor put out and driven to an extaſie, with the noiſe and clamour of the people when hee ſhould ſpeake before them: but for that naturally hee was ſhort-winded, and his breath commonly failed him, hee beſtowed upon *Neoptolemus* a famous actour or ſtage-plaier, tenne thouſand drachmes of ſilver, to teach him for to pronounce long periods and ſentences with one breath, and not taking his winde betweene.

When he began to enter into the management of the publicke State, finding that the citizens were divided into two factions; the one ſiding and taking part with king *Philip*; the other ſpeaking and pleading ſtill for their liberties and freedom, he choſe to joine with that which was oppoſite in all their dooings unto *Philip*; and all his life time he continued counſelling and perſwading the people to ſuccour thoſe who were in danger to fall under the hands of *Philip*: communicating his counſels in the adminiſtration of State affaires, & deviſing evermore with *Hyperides*, *Nauſicles*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Diotimus*: and therefore he drew into league & confederacy with the men of *Athens*, the Thebanes, Eubœans, Corryceans, Corinthians, Bœotians, and many others beſides. One day he chanced to be out and his memorie to faile him, ſo that he was hiſſed at by the people in a great aſſembly of the citie: for which diſgrace he was out of heart, and ill appaid, inſomuch as in great diſcontentment he went home to his houſe; where by the way, *Eunomus* the Thriaſian, being now an ancient man, met with him, who cheered up *Demoſthenes*, and comforted him all that he could: but moſt of all ***Andronicus*** the ſtage-plaier; who ſaid unto him:

That his orations were as good as poſſibly might be, only he was wanting ſomwhat in action; & thereupon rehearſed certaine places out of his oration, which he had delivered in that frequent aſſembly: unto whom *Demoſthenes* gave good eare and credit, whereupon he betooke himſelfe unto *Andronicus*; inſomuch as afterwards when he was demaunded the queſtion which was the firſt point of eloquence, he anſwered, Action; which the ſecond, he made anſwer, Action; and which was the third, he ſaid, Action, ſtill. Another time he put himſelfe foorth to ſpeak in open audience of a great aſſembly, and was likewiſe whiſtled at, and driven luſty out of countenance; for ſpeaking ſome words that ſavoured too much of youthfulneſſe; ſo that he was flouted by the comicall poets, *Antiphanes* and *Timocles*, who uſed to twit him with theſe tearmes:

μα γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμοὺς, μὰ νάματα.

That is to ſay,

By the earth, by the fountaines, by rivers, flouds, and ſtreames.

For having ſworne in this maner before the people, hee raiſed a ſtirre and hurli-burly among them. He tooke his oath another time by the name of *Aſclepius*, which hee ſounded aloft with accent in the * ſecond ſyllable; and although he did this upon errour in *Proſodia*, yet hee mainteined and proved that he had pronounced the word aright; for that *Aeſculapius* was θεὸς ἤπιος, that is to ſay, a milde and gracious god: and for this maner of ſwearing he was oftentimes troubled; but after he had frequented the ſchoole of *Eubulades* the Mileſian, and a Logicien, he corrected and amended all. Being one day at the ſolemnitie of the Olympian games, and hearing *Lamachus* the Terinæan how he rehearſed an encomiaſticall oration in the praiſe of king *Philip*, and of *Alexander* his ſonne; namely, how they invaded and over-ran the Thebans and Olynthians, he came forward, and ſtanding cloſe unto him, on the contrary ſide, alledging teſtimonies out of auncient poets, importing the commendation of Thebans and Olynthians both, for the brave exploits by them atchieved; which when *Lamachus* heard, hee gave over and would not ſpeake a word more, but ſlipt away as ſoone as hee could out of the aſſemblie. King *Philip* himſelfe would ſay unto them who related unto him the cautions and orations that he made againſt him: Certes, I beleeve verily, that if I had heard him with mine owne eares pleading in this wiſe, I ſhould have given the man my voice, and choſen him captaine to make warre upon my ſelfe. And much to the ſame purpoſe the ſaid *Philip* was wont to liken the orations of *Demoſthenes* unto ſouldiers, for the warlike force that appeared in them; but the ſpeeches of *Iſocrates* he compared to fenſers or ſword-plaiers, for the delightfull ſhew and flouriſh that they made.

* i. *Aeſculapius.* * μὰ Ἀσκλήπιον, not Ἀσκληπιόν. * προπαροξύτονον, or the laſt ſillable but twaine.

Being now thirtie ſeven yeeres old, counting from *Dexitheus* to *Callimachus*, in the time of whoſe provoſtſhip the Olynthians by their embaſſage required aid of the Athenians, for that they were ſore plagued with the warre that king *Philip* levied againſt them; he perſwaded the people to ſend them ſuccour: but in the yeere following, wherein *Plato* changed this life, king *Philip* utterly deſtroied the Olynthians. *Xenophon* alſo the diſciple of *Socrates*, had a knowledge of *Demoſthenes*, either in his prime when hee began to riſe and grow up, or elſe in the very floure and beſt of his time; for *Xenophon* wrote his Chronicles as touching the acts and deeds of the Greeks, and ſpecially of thoſe affaires which paſſed about the time of the battell at *Mantinea*, or a little after, namely, in that yeere when *Charicles* was provoſt; and *Demoſthenes* ſomewhat before that, had given his tutors and guardians the overthrow at the barre. When as *Aeſchines* upon his condemnation was fledde toward *Athens*, there to live in exile; *Demoſthenes* being advertiſed thereof, made after him on horſe-backe; whereupon *Aeſchines* imagining that he ſhould be taken priſoner, fell downe at his feet, and covered his face, but *Demoſthenes* willed him to ariſe and ſtand up, gave him comfortable words, and beſides, put a talent of ſilver into his hands. He gave counſell unto the Athenians to enterteine a certeine number of mercenarie ſouldiers, ſtrangers in the iſle of *Thaſos*, and to this effect he ſailed thither as captaine with the charge of a great galley under his hands. He was choſen another time chiefe purveior of corne, and being accuſed for demeaning himſelfe badly, and purloining the cities money, he cleared himſelfe and was acquit. When *Philip* had forced the city *Elatia*, and was maſter of it, *Demoſthenes* abandoned the ſaid city, together with thoſe who had fought in the battell of *Cheronæa*; whereupon is thought that he forſooke his colours and fledde; now as he made haſte away, there chanced a bramble to take hold of his caſſocke behinde, whereat he turned backe and ſaid unto the bramble: Save my life and take my ranſome. Upon his target he had for his mot or device, *Good fortune*. And verily he it was that made the oration at the funerals of thoſe who loſt their lives in the ſaid battell.

After this he applied his minde, and bent his chiefe care to the reparations of the citie, and being choſen commiſſarie for repairing the walles, he laide out of his owne (beſides the defraying of the cities money) an hundred pounds of ſilver: over and above that, he gave ten thouſand for to be emploied in the ſetting out of ſhewes, games, and plaies; which done, he embarked himſelfe in a galley, and ſailed up and downe from coaſt to coaſt, for to levie money of the allies and confederates; for which good ſervices hee was crowned many times: firſt by the meanes and motion of *Demoteles, Ariſtonicus,* and *Hyperides*; who propounded that he ſhould be honoured with a coronet of gold, and laſt of all, at the inſtant ſute of *Cteſiphon*: which decree was empeached and blamed, as contrarie to the lawes by *Diodotus* and *Aeſchynes*: againſt whom he defended and maintained it ſo well, that he carried it cleane away; ſo as his accuſer had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages and voices of the people on his ſide.

Afterwards when *Alexander* was paſſed onward his voyage into *Aſia*, & *Harpalus* fled into *Athens* with a great ſumme of money: at the firſt hee would not ſuffer him to bee entertained and kept ſafely; but after he was once arrived and ſet aland, and that he had received of him a thouſand good pieces of gold, called Dariks; then he changed his note and ſung another ſong: for when the Athenians were minded to deliver the man into the hands of *Antipater*, he withſtood them, and withall ſet downe under his hand-writing, that his money was laid up ſafe in the Citadel; the ſumme wherof he had declared already unto the people, whereas *Harpalus* had ſpecified it to be ſeven hundred and fiftie talents or ſomewhat above, as ſaith *Philocharus*. But after this when *Harpalus* had broken priſon, wherein hee ſhould have beene kept, untill ſome meſſenger and newes came directly from *Alexander*, and was eſcaped and retired, as ſome ſay, to *Candie*, or as others, to *Tenarus* in *Laconia*; *Demoſthenes* was called into queſtion for corruption, briberie, and taking his money; for that he neither declared the juſt quantitie and ſumme of coine that thither was brought, nor the negligence of thoſe who had the cuſtodie of it and him: thus I ſay was he brought to his anſwere judicially by *Hyperides, Pytheus, Meneſechmus, Hymeræus,* and *Patrocles*, who followed the ſute ſo hard, that they cauſed him to be condemned in the high court and chamber of *Ariopagus*: and thus condemned he went into exile, being not able to pay five fold; for charged he was to have taken thirtie talents: others ſay that he would not abide the iſſue of judgement, and therefore went voluntarie before the day of triall into baniſhment. After this time the Athenians ſent *Polyeuctus* in embaſſage to the communaltie of the Arcadians, for to divert and withdraw them from the league and confederacie of the Macedonians: but when *Polyeuctus* could not perſwade them to revolt; *Demoſthenes* came upon them and ſhewed himſelfe to ſecond the motion, where he ſpake ſo effectually, that he prevailed with them: for which ſervice he was highly admired, and thereby wanne ſuch favour and reputation, that after a certaine time, by vertue of a publicke decree, he was called home againe out of exile, and a galley was ſet out of purpoſe to bring him backe to *Athens*: and the Athenians moreover ordained, that whereas he owed unto the State thirtie talents, in which he was condemned, he ſhould cauſe an altar to be built unto *Jupiter* the Saviour, in the port *Pyreæum*, & in ſo doing be held aquit and diſcharged. This decree was propounded by *Dæmon* the Pæanian his couſen germain.

By this meanes he returned to the politicke mannaging of affaires as before. Now when as *Antipater* was ſtreightly beſieged by the Greeks, and encloſed within the citie *Limia*, whereupon the Athenians offered ſacrifices for the good and joyfull tidings thereof, he chaunced to let fall a word in talking with *Ageſiſtratus*, a familiar friend of his, and to ſay that he was not of the ſame mind and opinion with other, as touching the State: For I know full wel (quoth he) that the Greeks are skilfull and able both to run a ſhort carriere, and good to make a skirmiſh for a ſpurt and away; but to hold on a long race, and to continue the warre unto the end, they can never abide. But afterwards when *Antipater* had wonne *Pharſalus*, and threatned the Athenians to lay ſiege unto their citie, unleſſe he would deliver into his hands thoſe oratours who had inveighed againſt him: *Demoſthenes* for feare of himſelfe, left the citie of *Athens*, and fled firſt into the Iſle *Aegina*, for to put himſelfe within the liberties and franchiſes of the temple or ſanctuarie, called *Aeacium*: but afterwards being affraid that he ſhould be fetched out from thence by the eares, he paſſed over into *Calauria*: where having intelligence that the Athenians were reſolved and had concluded to deliver thoſe oratours, and himſelfe principally among the reſt; hee reſted as a poore diſtreſſed ſuppliant within the temple of *Neptune*: and when there came unto him thither *Archias* the purſuivant, ſurnamed *Phygadotheres*, that is to ſay, the hunter of Fugitives, who was a diſciple and ſectarie of *Anaximenes* the philoſopher, perſwading him to ariſe, and that no doubt he ſhould be reckoned one of the friends of *Antipater*; he anſwered thus: When you play a part in a tragœdie, you can not make me beleeve that you are the man whom you repreſent; no more ſhall you perſwade me now to give eare unto your counſell: and when the other laid hands on him and would have drawen him foorth by violence, thoſe of the city would not ſuffer him; then ſaid *Demoſthenes* unto them: I fledde not unto *Calabria* for my ſafetie, and with any intention to ſave my life, but to convince the Lacedæmonians of their impietie and violence, even againſt the gods; and with that he called for writing tables, and wrote this dyſtichon; as ſaith *Demetrius* the Magneſian, which the Athenians afterwards cauſed to be ſet as an Epigram over the ſtatue:

Had thy good heart Demoſtenes,
mette with as good an hand:
The Greeks of Macedonian ſword,
ſhould never have had command.

This image of his ſtandeth neere unto the purpriſe or cloiſter, wherein is erected the altar of the twelve gods, and made it was by the hands of *Polyeuctus*: but as ſome ſay, this was found written withall: *Demoſthenes* to *Antipater* greeting. *Philocharus* ſaith, that hee died of poiſon which he drank: but *Satyrus* the hiſtoriographer reporteth, that the penne was poiſoned wherewith he beganne to write his epiſtle, and chancing to put it into his mouth, ſo ſoone as ever he taſted thereof, died: *Eratoſthenes* writeth otherwiſe, namely that hee ſtanding in feare a long time of the Macedonians, was provided of poiſon, which he caried within a little ring or bracelet that he wore about the wriſt of his arme: & there be againe who ſay, that he killed himſelfe by holding his winde ſo long, that he was overcome and ſtifled withall: laſt of all, others write that he caried a ſtrong poiſon within the collet of his ſignet, which he taſted, and died thereof, * * * two and twenty.

When king *Philip* was dead, he came abroad wearing a faire & rich new robe, although but a while before he had buried his owne daughter, ſo glad was he of the death of that Macedonian king. He aided the Thebanes alſo when they warred with *Alexander*, and all other Greeks hee encouraged as much as poſſibly he could at all times; and therefore *Alexander* after he had deſtroied the city of *Thebes*, demaunded of the Athenians for to have him, menacing them if they would not deliver him into his hands. And when the ſaid king warred upon the Perſians, and required of the Athenians their ſhipping, *Demoſthenes* oppoſed himſelfe and denied it: For who is able to ſay (quoth he) that he will not uſe the ſame ſhippes even againſt our ſelves that ſend them. He left behinde him two ſonnes by one wife, the daughter of one *Heliodorus* a principall citizen. One daughter he had, who died before ſhe was maried, being but yet a young childe. A ſiſter alſo he had, who being married unto *Laches* the Leuconian his nephew or ſiſters ſonne, bare *Demochares*, a valiant man in warre, and beſides, for policie and eloquence inferior to none in his time. There is an image of his to be ſeene at this day, ſtanding within the common hall of the citie, called *Prytaneum*, on the right hand as men do enter in and go toward the altar. The firſt man he was who made an oration to the people with a ſword by his ſide girded over his robe: for in that habit it is ſaid, that he delivered a ſpeech unto the citizens, when *Antipater* came to demand their oratours: but afterwards, the Athenians both ordeined allowance of diet in the *Prytaneum* for the kinred of *Demoſthenes*, and alſo ſet up a ſtatue for himſelfe when he was dead, in the Market place, that very yeere when *Gorgias* was provoſt, at the ſute of *Demochares* his nephew or ſiſters ſonne, who required theſe honours for his uncle: yea, and afterwards, *Laches* the ſonne of *Demochares* a Leuconian, made ſute for the like honours for himſelfe, the yeere that *Pitharatus* was provoſt, which was ten yeeres after; namely, his ſtatue for to ſtand in the market place, and allowance of diet in the palace *Prytaneum*, aſwell for himſelfe as for the eldeſt alwaies of his houſe and linage in every deſcent, with a priviledge of the higheſt roome or uppermoſt place at all ſolemne ſights and games. And theſe decrees as touching them both, are regiſtred, and to be ſeene engroſſed upon record. As for the image of *Demochares*, whereof we have already ſpoken, it was tranſported into the palace or hall of the citie named *Prytaneum*.

There be extant orations which be his in deed, to the number of three ſcore and five. Some ſay, that he lived a diſſolute and riotous life, and that he would not ſticke to goe in womans apparell, to banquet, to be one ordinarily in all masks and mommeries; whereupon he was ſurnamed *Batalus*: though others there are, who ſay that this was the name of his nourſe, and that therupon he was ſo tearmed by way of flouting ſpeech or nick-name. *Diogenes* the dogged Cynick, ſpied him one day in a taverne; whereat *Demoſthenes* was abaſhed, & retired more inward into the houſe: Nay (quoth *Diogenes* to him) the more you draw or ſhrinke backeward, the further ſtill you go into the taverne. The ſame *Diogenes* ſaid to him upon a time, when he was diſpoſed to ſcoffe: That in words he was a Scythian, that is to ſay, a tough Tartarian and a brave warriour; but in warre, a fine and delicate burgeſſe of *Athens*. He tooke golde of *Ephialtes* alſo, being one of the oratours who went in embaſſage to the king of *Perſia*, and brought with him a great ſumme of money ſecretly to diſtribute among the oratours of *Athens*, to this end, that they might ſtirre coales, and blow the fire, to kindle warre againſt *Philip*: and it is ſaid, that he for his part had at one clap of the king, three thouſand daricks. He cauſed one *Anaxilus* of the citie of *Orea*, to be apprehended, who had otherwiſe bene his familiar friend; and being caſt into priſon, put him to be examined by torture, as a ſpie; and albeit he confeſſed nought, yet he ſued out a writ or decree that he ſhould be committed into the hands of the eleven executioners of juſtice. One day when he meant to make a ſpeech in the full aſſembly of the people, they were not willing to heare him: Why (quoth he unto them) it is but a ſhort tale that I purpoſe to tell unto you: which when they heard, they gave him audience willingly: and then began he in this maner: There was not long ſince (quoth he) a yong man who hired an aſſe in the time of Summer, from this citie to *Megara*: now when it was noone time of the day, and the Sun exceeding hot, both the one and the other, aſwell the owner of the aſſe as he who hired him, would needs have the benefit of the aſſes ſhade, and ſtand under it, but they hindred and impeached one another; for the owner ſaid that he had let to hire, his aſſe, but not the ſhadow of him: the other againe who hired him, pleaded that the aſſe, ſhadow and all was in his power. Having thus begun his tale, he came downe and went his way: the people then called him backe, and praied him to tell the tale out, and make an end thereof: Why my maſters (quoth he) how is it, that you are ſo deſirous that I ſhould tell you a tale of the ſhadow of aſſe, and will not give me the hearing when I am to ſpeake unto you of your affaires of great importance? *Polus* the famous actour and ſtage-plaier made his boaſt upon a time, that in two daies wherein he plaied his part, he had gotten a whole talent of ſilver: And I (quoth he) have gained five in one day, for holding my peace and keeping ſilence. His voice upon a time, when he made a ſpeech unto the people, failed him; whereupon his audience being not well pleaſed, and himſelfe ſomewhat troubled, he ſaid aloud unto them: You are to judge plaiers by their pleaſant and ſtrong voice; but oratours by their good and grave ſentences. *Epicles* ſeemed to upbraid and reproch him, for that he was alwaies muſing and premeditating: I would be aſhamed (quoth he unto him) if being to ſpeake before ſo great an aſſembly of people, I ſhould come unprovided. It is written of him, that he never put out his lampe, that is to ſay, that he never ceaſed ſtudying how to file and poliſh (as it were) his orations, untill he was fiftie yeres old. He ſaid of himſelfe, that he drunke nothing but faire water. *Lyſias* the oratour had knowledge of him: and *Iſocrates* ſaw him to manage the affaires of State, untill the battell of *Chæronea*, yea, and ſome alſo of the Socraticall oratours. The moſt part of his orations he pronounced * *ex tempore* and of a ſudden, as having a ready and pregnant wit, and one who naturally was fitted to ſpeake. The firſt that ever propoſed and put up a bill unto the people, that he ſhould be crowned with a coronet of gold, was *Ariſtonicus* the Anagyraſian the ſonne of *Nicophanes*: and *Diondas* did ſecond the motion with an oath.

*How agreeth this to that which went a little before? I ſuppoſe this is foiſted in by ſome other.

HYPERIDES. IX.

Hyperides the ſonne of *Glaucippus*, who was the ſonne of *Dionyſius* of the burrough *Colyttea*, had a ſonne who bare the name of his father *Glaucippus*; an orator who compoſed certeine orations: and he begat another oratour, named *Alphinus*. He was at one time the ſcholar of *Plato* the Philoſopher, of *Lycurgus* and of *Iſocrates*. He dealt in the State at what time as *Alexander* the Great intended the affaires of *Greece*, and he croſſed him as touching thoſe captaines which he demanded of the Athenians, as alſo about the gallies which he required to have. He adviſed the people not to caſſe and diſcharge thoſe ſouldiers which were enterteined at *Tænara*, who had for their captaine, *Chares*, and whoſe friend particularly he was. He pleaded ordinarily at the firſt as an advocate for his fee; and was ſuſpected to have received part of that money which *Ephialtes* brought out of *Perſia*. Choſen he was the captaine of one great galley, at what time as king *Philip* went to lay ſiege unto the citie *Bizantium*: and ſent he was to aide the Bizantines. The very ſame yeere he tooke the charge of defraying the expenſes of the ſolemne dances; whereas the reſt of the captaines were exempt from all publicke offices for that yeere. He paſſed a decree, that certeine honours ſhould be done unto *Demoſthenes*; and when the

the ſaid decree was by *Diondas* repealed, as made againſt the lawes, and himſelfe thereupon accuſed, yet found he was unguiltie, and thereupon acquit. Friend he was to *Demoſthenes*, *Lyſicles* and *Lycurgus*; howbeit, in this amitie he continued not unto the end: for after that *Lyſicles* and *Lycurgus* were dead, when *Demoſthenes* was once called in queſtion for taking money of *Harpalus*, he alone (for that his hands onely were free of bribery) was nominated and picked out from the reſt, to frame an accuſation againſt him, becauſe they were all thought culpable in the ſame fault, and ſo he judicially accuſed him: but himſelfe was charged by *Ariſtogiton* for publiſhing acts contrary to the lawes, after the battell at *Chæronea*, namely; That all the inhabitants and dwellers in *Athens*, ſhould be burgeſſes of the citie; that all ſlaves ſhould manumized and made free; that all ſacred and holy reliques; that women and children ſhould be beſtowed within the port or haven *Pireaum*: howbeit, abſolved he was, and went cleere away. And when ſome there were who found fault with him, and marvelled how he ſhould be ſo negligent aud overſeene, as not to know ſo many lawes which were directly oppoſit to the ſaid decrees; he made this anſwere: If (quoth he) the armes of the Macedonians and the battell of *Chæronea*, had not dazzeled and dimmed my ſight, I had never written nor propoſed ſuch an edict. But certeine it is, that after this, *Philip* being affrighted, gave the Athenians leave to take up the bodies of their dead that lay in the field, which before he had denied unto the heralds that came of purpoſe unto him out of *Lebadia*.

Afterwards, upon the defaiture at *Cranon*, when he was demanded by *Antipater*, and the people reſolved to deliver him into his hands, he forſooke the citie, and fled into the Iſle *Aegina*, with other perſons who likewiſe were condemned; where meeting with *Demoſthenes*, he deſired him to holde him excuſed, for that he had by conſtraint accuſed him. And when he minded to depart from thence, ſurpriſed he was by one *Archias* ſurnamed *Phygadotheres*, a man borne in the citie of *Thurii*, and who at the firſt was a profeſſed ſtage-plaier, but then imploied in the ſervice and aid of *Antipater*: ſo he was apprehended perforce within the temple of *Neptune*; notwithſtanding hee held the image of the ſaid god in his armes; and from thence brought to *Corinth* before *Antipater*; where being ſet upon the racke, and put to torture, he bit his tongue off with his owne teeth, becauſe he would not diſcover the ſecrets of the city, and ſo ended his daies the ninth day of the moneth October: howbeit, *Hermippus* ſaith, that as he went into *Macedonie*, he had his tongue cut out of his head, and his dead corps was caſt forth unto the beaſts of the field without ſepulture: yet one *Alphinus* his couſen germaine, or as ſome ſay, the couſen of *Glaucippus* his ſonne obteined licence (by the meanes of *Philopithes* a certeine phyſician) to take up his bodie, who burnt the ſame in a funerall fire; the aſhes and bones whereof, he caried to *Athens* afterwards, among his kinsfolke and friends, contrary to the orders and decrees ſet downe, both by the Macedonians and the Athenians: for by vertue thereof they were not onely baniſhed but interdicted, ſo as they might not be interred within their owne countrey. Others ſay, that he was carried unto the citie *Cleonæ* with others, where he died; and that his tongue was cut, and afterwards, himſelfe murdred in maner aforeſaid. Howbeit, his kinſemen and friends gathered up his bones when his corps was burnt, and buried them amongs his parents and progenitours before the gates called *Hippades*, according as *Heliodorus* hath recorded in the third booke of his monuments. But his ſepulchre at this day is quite demoliſhed, and no token remaineth thereof to be ſeene.

He had a ſingular name above all other oratours, for ſpeaking before the people; inſomuch, as ſome have ranged him even above *Demoſthenes*. There go in his name, three ſcore and ſeventeene orations; of which, two and fitie are truely attributed unto him, and no more. Given he was exceeding much to the love of women, which was the cauſe that he drave his owne ſonne out of his houſe, and brought in thither *Myrrhina* the moſt ſumptuous and coſtly courtiſan in thoſe daies: and yet in *Pyreæum* he kept *Ariſtagora*, and at *Eleuſin* (where his lands and poſſeſſions lay) he had another at command, namely, *Philte* a Thebane borne, who coſt him twentie pounds weight of ſilver. His ordinarie walke was every day thorow the fiſh market. And when the famous courtiſan *Phryne* (whom he loved alſo) was called into queſtion for Atheiſme and impietie, inquiſition was made after him likewiſe; and ſo he was troubled with her and for her ſake, as it ſhould ſeeme: for, ſo much he declareth imſelfe in the beginning of his oration: now when ſhe was at the very point to be condemned, he brought the woman foorth in open court before the judges, rent her clothes, and ſhewed unto them her bare breſt; which the judges ſeeing to be ſo white and faire, in regard of her very beautie abſolved and diſmiſſed her.

He had very cloſely and ſecretly framed certeine accuſatorie declarations againſt *Demoſthenes*,

nes,yet ſo, as they came to light in this maner: for when *Hyperides* lay ſicke, it fortuned that *Demoſthenes* came one day to his houſe for to viſit him, where he found a booke drawen full of articles againſt him; whereat when he was much offended, and tooke it in great indignation, *Hyperides* made him this anſwere: So long as you are my friend, this ſhall never hurt you; but if you become mine enemie, this ſhallbe a curbe to reſtreine you from enterpriſing any thing prejudiciall unto me. He put up a bill unto the people, that certeine honours ſhould be done unto *Iolas*, who gave unto *Alexander* the cuppe of poiſon. Hee ſided with *Demoſthenes*, and joined in the raiſing of the Lamiacke warre, and made an admirable oration at the funerals of thoſe who loſt their lives therein. When king *Philip* was ready to embark & paſſe over into the iſle *Eubæa*, whereupon the Athenians were in great feare and perplexitie; he gathered together in a ſmall time a fleete of fortie ſaile, by voluntarie contribution, and was the firſt man who for himſelfe and his ſonne rigged and ſet foorth two gallies of warre. When there was a controverſie in law betweene the Athenians and Delians to be decided, unto whether of them apperteined by right the ſuperintendance of the temple at *Delos*, and that *Aeſchynes* was choſen to plead the cauſe, the counſell of *Areopagus* elected *Hyperides*; and his oration as touching this matter is at this day extant, entituled The Deliaque oration. Moreover, he went in embaſſage to *Rhodes*, where there arrived other embaſſadours in the behalfe of *Antipater*, whom they highly praiſed, as a good, milde, and gracious prince: True it is (quoth *Hyperides* unto them again) I know well that he is good and gracious, but we have no need of him to be our lord and maſter how good and gracious ſoever he be. It is ſaid, that in his orations he ſhewed no action nor geſture at all: his maner was onely to ſet downe the caſe and lay open the matter plainely and ſimply, without troubling the judges any otherwiſe than with a naked narration. Sent hee was likewiſe unto the Elians for to defend the cauſe of *Calippus*, one of the champions at the ſacred games, unto whom this imputation was laid, that by corruption he had caried away the prize, and indirectly obteined the victorie. He oppoſed himſelfe alſo againſt the gift which was ordeined in the honour of *Phocion*, at the inſtant ſute of *Midias* of *Anagyrra*, the ſonne of *Midias*, the yeere wherein *Xenius* was provoſt, the 27. day of the moneth of May; and in this cauſe he was caſt and had the overthrow.

DINARCHUS. X.

Dinarchus the ſonne of *Socrates* or *Soſtratus*, borne as ſome thinke in the countrey of *Attica*, or as others would have him, in *Corinth*, came to *Athens* very yoong, at what time as king *Alexander* the Great, paſſed with his armie into *Aſia*; where he dwelt, and frequented the lecture of *Theophraſtus*, who ſucceeded *Ariſtotle* in the Peripateticke ſchoole: he converſed alſo with *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, and tooke his time eſpecially to enter into the adminiſtration of State affaires, after the death of *Antipater*, when the great oratours and ſtates-men were ſome dead and made away, others baniſhed and driven out of the citie: and being beſides friended and countenanced by *Caſſander*, he grew in ſhort time to be exceeding rich, exacting and taking money for his orations, of thoſe at whoſe requeſt he compoſed them. Hee banded againſt the moſt renowmed oratours in his time; not by putting himſelfe foorth to come in open place to ſpeake before the people (for no gift nor grace he had therein) but by penning orations for thoſe who made head againſt them. And namely when *Harpalus* had broken priſon and was fled, he compoſed divers accuſatorie declarations againſt all ſuch as were ſuſpected to have takē money of him, and thoſe he delivered into the hands of their accuſers to be pronounced accordingly. Long time after, being accuſed himſelfe to have communicated, conferred, and practiſed with *Antipater* and *Caſſander*, about the time that the haven *Munichia* was ſurpriſed by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who placed there a garriſon in that yeare when *Anaxicrates* was provoſt of the city, he ſold moſt part of his goods, and made money, and when hee had done, fled out of the way to *Chalcis*, where he lived as it were in exile the ſpace well neere of 15. yeeres; during which time, he gathered great riches, and became very wealthy, and ſo returned againe to *Athens*, by the meanes of *Theophraſtus*, who procured both him and other baniſhed perſons to be recalled and reſtored: he abode then in the houſe of one *Proxenus* his familiar friend; where being now very aged, and beſides weake-ſighted, he loſt his gold that he had gotten together; and when *Proxenus* his hoſt would have given information thereof, and ſeemed to make inquiſition, *Dinarchus* called him into queſtion judicially for it; and this was the firſt time that ever he was knowen to ſpeake & plead perſonally at the barre. This oration of his is now extant, and there are beſides in mens hands threeſcore and foure more acknowledged all to be his, and yet ſome of theſe are to be excepted, as namely, that againſt *Artſtogiton.* He did imitate *Hyperides*, or as ſome thinke *Demoſthenes* in regard of that patheticall ſpirit in mooving affections, and the emphaticall force which appeereth in his ſtile. Certeinly in his figures and exornations he followeth him very evidently.

DECREES PROPOSED UNTO the people of *Athens.*

DEmochares the ſonne of *Laches*, of the burrough *Leucon*, demandeth for *Demoſthenes*, the ſonne of *Demoſthenes* of the burrough of *Pæania*, a ſtatue of braſſe to be ſet up in the market place or common hal of *Athens:* alſo allowance of diet in the palace *Prytanæum*, & the firſt place or ſeat in al honorable aſſemblies for himſelfe, & the eldeſt of his houſe in every deſcent for ever; for that he the ſaid *Demoſthenes* hath alwaies bene a bene factour to the citie, & given counſell unto the people of *Athens*, in many of their honorable affaires to their behoofe; for that he hath at all times expoſed his goods to the ſervice of the common-weale, & namely, of his liberall and bountifull minde contributed eight talents of ſilver, and mainteined one galley of warre, at what time the people freed & delivered the iſle *Eubæa :* & another, when captaine *Cephiſodorus* ſet out his voiage into *Helleſpont*; as alſo a third when *Chares* and *Phocion* were ſent as captaines to *Byzantium* by the people. *Item*, for that with his owne money he raunſomed and redeemed many citizens taken priſoners & captives in *Pydne, Methone* & *Olynthus* by king *Philip. Item*, for that he defraied at his own proper coſt & charges, the publick plaies & daunces when the tribe of the *Pandionides* failed to furniſh the officers & wardens appointed thereto. *Item*, for that he armed many poore citizens who had not wherewith to ſet thēſelves forth to the warres. *Item*, for that being choſen by the people one of the Aediles or Commiſſaries, for repairing the citie walles, he laid out of his owne purſe to the value of three talents of ſilver, over and beſides ten thouſand drachms which of his owne mony he emploied, in caſting of two trenches about *Pyreæum. Item*, that after the diſaſterous battell of *Chæronea*, he gave out of his owne ſtocke one talent; & another to buy corne with all in time of a dearth and great famine. *Item*, for that by his effectual remonſtrances, faire perſwaſions, holeſome counſels, and good demerits, he had induced the Thebanes, Eubœans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achians, Locrians, Bizantines, and Meſſenians, to enter into a league as well offenſive as defenſive with the people of *Athens. Item*, for that he levied a power of ten thouſand footmen well armed, and a thouſand horſemen, over and above the contribution of monies, by the people and their allies. *Item*, for that being embaſſadour, he had perſwaded the aſſociats and confederates of *Athens*, to make a contribution of money to the ſumme of five hundred talents and above, toward the warres. *Item*, for that he empeached the Peloponneſians for aiding king *Alexander* againſt the Thebanes; for which ſervice he parted with his owne ſilver, and went perſonally in embaſſage. As alſo in regard of many other good deſerts, and woorthy exploits by him atchieved: in conſideration likewiſe of much wiſe counſel and advice, which he hath given unto the people, and of his politicke government & mannaging of State affaires, wherein he hath carried himſelfe as well, yea and much better than any in his time: for the preſervation of the libertie and maintenance of the authoritie of the people. Over and beſides, in that he was baniſhed out of his countrey by certaine ſeditious uſurpers, who for the time ſuppreſſed the authoritie of the people: and finally loſt his life in *Calauria*, in the quarrell of the ſaid people, and for the love and good will that he alwaies bare affectionately unto the commonalty of *Athens*, there being ſent of purpoſe from *Antipater* certaine ſoldiers to apprehend him. Notwithſtanding, which preſent danger wherin he ſtood, being now in the hands of his enemies, yet perſiſted he firme & faſt in his heartie affection alwaies unto the people: inſomuch as he never did any deed, nor let fall any word prejudiciall to his countrey, or unbeſeeming the honour of the people, as neere as hee was unto his death. *Subſcribed, that verie yeere when* Pytharatus *was Provoſt.*

Laches the ſonne of *Demochares*, of the borrough *Leucon*, demaundeth in free gift of the Senate and people of *Athens*, for *Demochares* the ſonne of *Laches*, of the tribe or borrough *Leucon*, one ſtatue of braſſe to be erected in the market place: alſo his table and diet in the palace or citie hall *Prytanæum* for himſelfe, and for him that ſhall be the eldeſt of his houſe in everie deſcent for ever; as alſo the priviledge of preſidence or firſt ſeat at all ſolemne ſights and publicke plaies: for that he hath alwaies beene a benefactour and good counſeller unto the people of *Athens*, as having deſerved well of the common-weale in theſe particulars; as well in thoſe things which he hath penned, propoſed and negotiated in his embaſſage, as in the adminiſtration of common-weale; in that he hath cauſed the walles of the citie to be built, made proviſion of harneſſe & armor, as well offenſive as defenſive; of fabricks & engines of battery, & of artillery with ſhot to be diſcharged out of them; in that he hath well fortified the citie during the warres with the Bœotians which continued for the ſpace of foure yeeres: for which good ſervice done, baniſhed he was and chaſed out of the citie by the tyrants, who oppreſſed the libertie and authoritie of the people: and in that being reſtored againe and called home by an honourable decree of the ſaid people, when *Diocles* was Provoſt, he was the firſt man who reſtrained the adminiſtration and mannagement of thoſe who made ſpare of their owne goods, and ſent embaſſages unto *Lyſimachus*: in that alſo hee levied for the good of the common-wealth at one time thirtie talents, and at another a hundred talents of ſilver; in that he mooved the people by a bill preferred unto them, for to ſend an embaſſage to king *Ptolemæus* in *Aegypt*; by meanes whereof they that went that voyage, brought backe with them fiftie talents of ſilver for the people. *Item*, in that being ſent embaſſador to *Antipater*, he received thereby twentie talents of ſilver, which he brought unto the people into the citie of *Eleuſin*, where he practiſed and perſwaded with them to receive the ſame. *Item*, in that he ſuffered baniſhment, becauſe he was a protectour and defender of the popular State, never ſiding nor taking part with any faction of the uſurpers; nor bearing office or magiſtracie in common-weale, after that the ſaid popular State was put downe and aboliſhed. *Item*, in that he onely in his time, of all thoſe who medled in the affaires of State, never ſtudied nor intended alteration, and to reduce his countrey unto any another kind of government, but popular. *Item*, in that by his politicke counſell and adminiſtration he hath put in ſafetie and ſecuritie all judgements paſſed; all lawes enacted; all decrees concluded; yea and the goods and ſubſtance of all the Athenians: finally, in that he hath gone about and attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the popular government, either in word or deed.

Lycophron the ſon of *Lycurgus*, of the borrough or communaltie of *Buta*, hath preſented this requeſt: That he might be allowed his diet in the palace *Prytanæum*, according to the free gift granted before time to his father *Lycurgus* by the people, in that yeere wherein *Anaxicrates* was Provoſt of the citie, and the tribe *Antiochis* Preſident of *Prytanæum*: which *Stratocles* the ſon of *Euthydemus*, of the borrough *Diomeia*, propoſed it in this forme: Foraſmuch as *Lycurgus*, the ſonne of *Lycophron* of *Buta*, hath received of his anceſtors (as it were) from hand to hand a certaine hereditarie love and affection to the people of *Athens*, and his progenitours likewiſe, *Diomedes* and *Lycurgus*, both during their lives were eſteemed and highly honoured by the people; and after their death, had this honour done unto them in teſtimonie of their vertue and valour, as to be enterred at the publike charges of the citie in that conſpicuous ſtreet called *Ceramicum*: conſidering alſo, that *Lycurgus* himſelfe (whiles he managed the affaires of the State) enacted many good and holſome lawes for his countrey, and being treaſurer-generall of all the cities revenues, by the ſpace of fifteene yeeres, during that time, had the receit and laying out of the publicke moneys, to the ſumme of eighteene thouſand and nine hundred talents: and for that many private mens ſtocks were put into his hands upon truſt, for the confidence they had in him, in regard of his fidelitie; in regard alſo, that he hath disburſed and laied foorth of his owne moneys at ſundry times and upon divers occaſions, for the benefit of the citie and communaltie, as much as amounteth in all, to ſixe hundred and fiftie talents: for that likewiſe in all his imploiments, having beene ever found moſt truſtie, juſt and loyall, and to carie himſelfe as an honeſt man and good citizen, he hath bene many times crowned by the city: moreover, in this reſpect, that having beene choſen by the people the receiver of the finances, hee gathered together a great maſſe of money, and brought the ſame into the common cheſt within the citadell, and beſides, provided ornaments for the goddeſſe *Minerva*, to wit, images of victorie all of beaten gold, veſſels to carie in proceſſion both of golde and ſilver, beſides other jewels of fine gold for the ſervice and worſhip of the ſaid goddeſſe, and namely, to the number of one hundred *Canephoræ*, that is to ſay, Virgins carrying paniers or baskets with ſacred reliques upon their heads. *Item*, for that being elected commiſſarie for the munitions and proviſions neceſſarie for the warres, he brought into the citadell a great number of armours and weapons, and among the reſt, fiftie thouſand ſhot; rigged and ſet a float foure hundred gallies, ſome new built, others repaired and trimmed: over and beſides, for that finding certeine of the citie works unperfect, to wit, the Arcenall, the Armorie and the Theater of *Bacchus*, he cauſed them to be made up, and withall, finiſhed both the Cirque or running place *Panathenaicum*, and alſo the empaled parke for publicke exerciſes, and built the *Lycium* likewiſe, and adorned the citie with many faire buildings and publicke edifices: whereas alſo, king *Alexander* the Great, having already ſubdued all *Aſia*, and intending generally to be commander over all *Greece*, demanded to have *Lycurgus* delivered up into his hands, for that he onely ſtood in his way, and croſſed his deſſeignes, the people would not deliver him for any feare they had of *Alexander*: and for that being oft times called judicially to his anſwere, and to render an account of his government and adminiſtration in a free citie and governed by a popular State, he was alwaies found innocent and unreproveable, not tainted with any briberie, nor ſpotted with corruption and taking gifts for to pervert juſtice all his life time. To the end therefore, that all men might know that they who are well affected to the maintenance of liberty and popular government be highly acounted of by the people whiles they live, and that after their death the citie is willing to render unto them immortall thanks; in a good and happie houre, let it be ordeined by the people, that *Lycurgus* the ſonne of *Lycophron* of *Buta*, be honoured for his vertue and righteouſneſſe; and that the people erect his ſtatue all of braſſe in the market-ſteed, unleſſe it be in ſome place where the trade expreſly forbiddeth it to ſtand. *Item*, that there be allowance of diet in the *Prytanæum*, to the eldeſt of his houſe in every deſcent for ever. Alſo, that the decrees by him propoſed, ſhalbe ratified and engroſſed by the publicke notarie of the citie, yea, and engraven in pillars of ſtone, and ſet up in the citadell neere unto the offerings conſecrated unto the goddeſſe *Minerva*: and for the engraving of the ſaid pillars, the treaſurie of the citie ſhall defray fiftie drachmes of ſilver out of thoſe moneys which are allowed for the citie decrees.

OF THREE SORTS OF GOVERNMENT: MONARCHIE, DEMOCRATIE AND OLIGARCHIE.

AS I deviſed with my ſelfe and purpoſed to put to queſtion for to be decided by this judicious companie, a matter which yeſterday I diſcourſed of before you; me thought that I heard politicke vertue in a true viſion in deed (and not in the vaine illuſion of a dreame) thus to ſay unto me:

The golden baſe and ground that now belongs
Unto our worke, is laied with ſacred ſongs.

I have already laied the foundation of a diſcourſe, perſwading and exhorting to the management of State affaires, if now we can proceed to build upon it the doctrine fit for ſuch an exhortation, which is a due debt unto *Atticus*: for meet it is and requiſit, that after a man hath received an admonition inciting him to deale in politicke matters of common-weale, there ſhould conſequently be given unto him and ſounded in his eares the precepts of policie; the which he obſerving and following, may (as much as lieth in man to performe) be profitable to the common-weale; and withall, in the meane time manage his owne private buſineſſe, both in ſafetie, and alſo with ſuch honour as is juſt and meet for him.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, we are to conſider and diſcourſe of one point; which as it is a very materiall precedent unto all that ſhall be ſaid, ſo it dependeth, and is neceſſarily to be inferred of that which hath bene delivered already; namely, What maner of policie and government is beſt: for as there be many ſort of lives in particular men; ſo there are of people in generall:

nerall: and the life of a people or commonaltie, is the politicke ſtate and government thereof. Neceſſarie it is therfore, that we declare which is ſimply the beſt; that a man of State may chuſe it from among the reſt: or at leaſtwiſe, if that be impoſſible, take that which moſt reſembleth the beſt. Now there is one ſignification of this word *Politia*, that is to ſay, Policie, which is as much as Burgeoſie, that is to ſay, the indument and enjoying of the right and priviledges of a citie: as for example, when we ſay that the Megarians (by a publicke ordinance of their city) gave unto *Alexander* the great, their *Politia*, that is to ſay, their Burgeoſie: and when he ſeemed to laugh at this offer and grant of theirs, they made him anſwer againe: That they had never decreed this honour to any, but firſt to ***Hercules***, and now to himſelfe: which ſpeech of theirs he ſo admired, that he accepted of their gift, reputing it honourable, becauſe it was ſo rare. Alſo the life of a politicke perſon who adminiſtreth State affaires, is called Policie: according to which ſenſe and acceptation of the word, wee commend the policie of *Pericles* and *Bias*, that is to ſay, their maner of government, but contrariwiſe, we diſcommend that of ***Hyperbolus*** and *Cleon*. Moreover, others there be, who call ſome one woorthy act or memorable deed tending to the good of the common weale, by the name of Policie: as for example, the contribution of money, the finall ending and diſſolution of warre, and the publiſhing or declaration of ſome notable decree: in which ſignification we uſe commonly to ſay: Such a man hath this day bene the authour of a good policie, if haply he have done and effected ſome woorthy things, importing the weale-publicke. Over and above all theſe ſignifications before ſpecified, there is another; namely, the order and ſtate of a citie and common-wealth, by which are managed and adminiſtred all the affaires thereof: and according to this ſenſe we ſay, there be three ſorts of policies, Monarchie, that is to ſay, Roialtie; Oligarchie, that is to ſay, Seignory; and Democratie, that is to ſay, Popular authoritie: of which three *Herodotus* maketh mention in the third booke of his hiſtorie, comparing them together; and it ſeemeth that theſe be the moſt generall, for all others be (as it were) the depravations and corruptions of theſe, according to want or exceſſe, like as it falleth out in accords and conſonances of muſicke, when the firſt and principall ſtrings or notes are ſtretched over high, or let downe to low: and ſo hee devided theſe three governments among thoſe nations which had the largeſt empire and greateſt dominion: for the Perſians held the Monarchie and abſolute roialtie, for that their king had plenary power in all things, not ſubject to be called unto account by any perſon whatſoever. The Spartiats or Lacedæmonians, mainteined a grave and ſevere counſell, conſiſting of ſome fewe, and thoſe the beſt and principall perſonages of the city, who managed and diſpatched all affaires. The Athenians embraced a popular government, living under their owne lawes, free, and without all mixture whatſoever. Now of theſe States and governments, when they be faulty and out of order, the tranſgreſſions, exorbitations and exceſſes, be called tyrannies, lordly oppreſſions of the mightier, and unbrideled rule, or licentious miſrule rather of the multitude: to wit, when the prince in his abſolute roialtie taketh upon him inſolent pride, to commit wrong and outrage unto whom he liſt: when ſome fewe ſenatours or rulers in their ſeignorie enter into an arrogant and preſumptuous lordlineſſe, whereby they contemne and oppreſſe all others: alſo when the multitude in their popular iſonomie, runne into anarchie, unrulineſſe, diſobedience, tearmes of equalitie, and unmeaſurable libertie: and in one word, when all theſe ſorts of government fall to raſh and witleſſe folly: like as therefore a skilfull and harmonicall muſician can make uſe of all kindes of inſtruments, framing and accommodating himſelfe by art and cunning unto every one, ſtriking each one according as he knoweth the quality and nature thereof, to give the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant ſound: howbeit, if he follow the counſell of ***Plato***, will paſſe by the fiddels, rebecks, dulcimers, the many ſtringed pſalteries or virginals, the vials likwiſe & the triangled harpes, preferring before all others the lute and the citheron or bandora: even ſo a good politician, will handle with dexteritie the Laconicke ſeignorie, and manage well enough *Lycurgus* his Oligarchie, applying and fitting his companions in government, who have equall authoritie unto himſelfe, gently drawing and reducing them by little and little unto the bent of his bow: ſemblably, he will carie himſelfe with wiſedome and diſcretion in the popular State, as if he had to deale with an inſtrument of many ſounds, and as many ſtrings, letting downe and remitting ſome matters, ſetting up and extending other things in the government, as he ſeeth his time, giving eaſe and liberty, and againe, carying a hard hand and a rigorous, as one who knoweth when to reſiſt and withſtand ſtoutly any proceedings: But if he were put to his choiſe, among theſe muſicall inſtruments as it were of a politicke government; certes if he bee ruled by *Plato*, he would never chuſe any other but that regall and princely *Monarchia*, which onely

* ὄρθιον. is able to mainteine that direct, abſolute and * loftie note (indeed) of vertue, and not ſuffer it either by force of neceſſitie, or upon affectionate favour and grace, to frame it ſelfe to gaine and profit; for other governments after a ſort as they be ruled by a politician, ſo they rule him, and as he leadeth them, ſo they cary him, for that he hath no aſſured power over thoſe, from whom he hath his authority, but oftentimes he is enforced to exclame and reſound theſe verſes of *Aeſchylus* the poet, which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was wont to alledge unto fortune, after that he had loſt his kingdome:

Thou mad'ſt me budde and burgen freſh
at firſt, but now at laſt,
Thou ſeem'ſt my lovely bloume to burne,
and beauty for to blaſt.

A BREVIARIE OF THE COMPARISON BETWEENE ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER.

The Summarie.

HE *preferreth* Menander *an excellent comicall poet, in all reſpects before* Ariſtophanes, *who is heere deſcribed and depainted in his colours. Then examineth he in particular what he had ſaid before in generality. He conſidereth the ſtile, diſpoſition, uniformity, and artificiall contriving of* Menanders *comedies, ſhewing that* Ariſtophanes *in compariſon of him was no better than a counterfeit couſiner, a craftie and prating companion, ignorant, audacious, and intollerable unto all: having written his comedies not to be read of any honeſt men, but onely for leud and diſſolute perſons.*

A BREVIARIE OF THE COMpariſon betweene *Ariſtophanes* and *Menander*.

TO ſpeake in generall and ſummarily, he preferreth *Menander* by many degrees before *Ariſtophanes*; but to come unto particularities, ſee what he addeth moreover: The ſtile of *Ariſtophanes*, and his manner of language is unſavorie and unpleaſant, counterfeit, baſe and mechanicall, whereas in *Menander* there is no ſuch thing to be ſeene. And verily a groſſe, ignorant, and unlettered idiot may take pleaſure and be delighted in *Ariſtophanes* his ſpeeches; but a learned man will ſoone bee diſpleaſed and diſcontented therewith. I meane, his *Antitheta* or oppoſite tearmes; his clauſes ending alike, and his alluſions to names, which *Menander* uſeth but now and then to good purpoſe, and with great reaſon and judgement, being therein verie ſparie, warie, and religious: whereas the other ever and anon abuſeth them hand over head, and out of ſeaſon without all grace or life to commend them. Praiſed he is (forſooth) for theſe cold jeſts; namely, when he ſaith: That he had drenched over head and eares the treaſurours, who were not ταμίαι, but λαμίαι. Alſo, This fellow doth breath out, either malice or ſlanderous calumniation. Againe, Here is one that liveth for his belly, his entrals and his guts. Likewiſe, Even for verie laughter, I ſhall breake out a laughing. Moreover, What ſhall I do to thee thou unhappy damned pitcher, and baniſhed ; ſemblaby, You women, here I ſhall make you wild and ſavage evils, like as I am my ſelfe, who have beene fed among wild and ſavage worts: but theſe curled treſſes and friſled haires ſurely have devoured my creſt: laſtly,

Come bring him hither his targuet round,
with Gorgons *hideous head:*
But give me here my cake as round,
as face, buckler in his ſtead.

beſides many other bald jeſts of the like ſort: for there is in the compoſition and texture of his words, that which is tragicall and comicall both: proude and inſolent; baſe alſo and lowly; darke and myſticall, and anon plaine and familiar; ſwelled, puft up and loftie; but afterwards, vanitie, lightnes, and lothſome ſcurrilitie, enough to overturne a mans ſtomacke. Now there being in his writings ſuch diverſitie, difference, and diſſimilitude; yet giveth not he to every perſon that which is proper and beſeeming. As for example, he attributeth not unto a king, a high and loftie language; to an oratour, eloquent and pithie ſpeech; to a woman, a plaine and ſimple tongue; to an ignorant and unlettered commoner, baſe and lowly words; to a buſie barriter or pragmaticall merchant, ſhrewd and odious tearmes; but he allotteth unto everie perſon at a venture whatſoever attributes come firſt to hand; ſo that a man cannot know nor diſcerne by any ſpeech, whether he be a ſonne or a father that ſpeaketh; a countrey peaſant or a citizen; a god or an old woman, or ſome demi-god: whereas the ſtile and phraſe of *Menander* is ſo uniforme; ſo conſonant and like it ſelfe, that howſoever it be converſant in ſundrie maners and divers paſſions, howſoever it be accommodate to all ſorts of perſons, yet it ſeemeth ſtill one and the ſame, and to keepe the ſemblance in common and familiar words, and ſuch as are alwaies in uſe. And if perhaps otherwhiles according to the matter and preſent occaſion offred, there bee required ſome extraordinarie narration or ſtrange bruit and unexpected noiſe; he ſetteth a worke and openeth (as it were) all the holes of his pipe; but preſently and with a ſeemely grace he reduceth and compoſeth his voice to the naturall ſtate againe. Now albeit there be in all arts & myſteries excellent artiſanes; yet was there never knowen any ſhoomaker to make a ſhooe; nor artificer a maske or viſour; nor tailor a robe or garment, that would fit at one time a man and woman both; a yoong youth, an aged perſon, and a varlet: but *Menander* hath ſo framed his phraſe and ſpeech, that proportionate it is and ſutable to all natures & ſexes, to each ſtate and condition, yea and to every age, and this was he able to performe and doe in his very youth, when he began to write: for then died he when he entred into his floure and beſt time, either of compoſing or ſetting out and publiſhing his works, at ſuch an age, when as the ſtile (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) is come to the very grouth and height in them who make profeſſion to pen or write ought. And if a man would conſider the firſt comedies of *Menanders* making, and conferre them with thoſe in the middes, and which he made in his latter end, a man thereby may ſoone know how much hee would have added to theſe in other, if he had lived longer: for that of them who put foorth their works to be ſeene and read, ſome write to the capacity of the multitude and vulgar ſort, others for men of marke and underſtanding; and hardly is a man able to name the author, who can skill how to obſerve that which is meet and befitting two kinds of people. As for *Ariſtophanes* he is neither pleaſing unto the common ſort, nor acceptable to men of woorth and judgment; but his poeſie may be likened unto an old ſtale and overworne whoore, who forſooth would counterfet an honeſt maried wife; for as the people cannot endure his arrogancie; ſo men of account and quality, deteſt his intemperance and maliciouſneſſe: whereas *Menander* on the contrary ſide, with a good and ſeemely grace, ſatisfieth and contenteth all, ſerving as a lecture, a knowledge and exerciſe common to theaters, ſchooles, ſports, paſtimes, feaſts, and bankets, ſhewing thereby, that his poeſie is one of the goodlieſt things that ever *Greece* brought foorth; making it to appeere what a gay matter, and how puiſſant is the dexteritie of ſpeech and language, paſſing throughout, with an attractive grace, which it is impoſſible to eſcape, raviſhing and winning everie mans eare and underſtanding, who hath the knowledge of the Greeke toong. For wherfore ſhould a learned man take paines to go unto the theater, but for *Menanders* ſake? when are the theaters frequented and full of great clearks, but when there is a masked ſhew before of acting his comedies? And at banquets, for whom doth the table make roome or *Bacchus* give place more juſtly than for *Menander?* And as for philoſophers, great ſcholars and ſtudents, like as painters when they have wearied their eies with looking upon freſh, lively & bright colours, turne them to thoſe that are verdant and greene; as namely, upon herbes and flowers for to recreat and refreſh their ſight; even ſo *Menander* is he who intertained their minds and ſpirits(as it were)in a faire medow full of lovely and pleaſant flowers, where there is ſhade, freſh and coole aire, with mild and comfortable winds. What is the reaſon that the city of *Athens* at this day is furniſhed with many ſingular actours and plaiers of comedies? even becauſe the comedies of *Menander* are ſo full of many graces and pleaſant conceits, ſo ſavorie, as if they ſprang foorth of the verie ſea, out of which *Venus* herſelfe was borne: whereas the conceits and jeſts of *Ariſtophanes*, are bitter and ſharpe withall, carrying with them a mordicative qualitie which doth bite, ſting and exulcerate whereſoever they light. And verily I wot not wherin lieth that lively dexteritie which is ſo highly commended in him; whether in his words & phraſes, or in the perſonages and actours? Certes, thoſe things which he doth imitate and counterfeit, encline alwaies to the woorſe part: his cunning caſts and conveyances are nothing civill and gentle, but ſhrewd and malicious: the ruſticitie in clownes that he reſembleth, is not naturall, but affected and fooliſh: his merrie jeſts to moove laughter, are nothing jocund, but rather ridiculous and to be derided: his amorous parts be not lovely and delectable, but wanton and diſſolute. In ſumme, it ſeemeth this man wrote not his poeſie to be read of any honeſt and ſober perſon; for his filthie and laſcivious tearmes are meet for leacherous folke, and thoſe which are given over to all looſenes, like as his bitter and ſpitefull ſpeeches, for envious and malicious perſons.

NARRATIONS OF LOVE.

The Summarie.

IN this diſcourſe, Plutarch *relateth five tragicall hiſtories, which ſhew the pitifull accidents that befell certeine perſons tranſported with the inordinate and irregular affection of Love; leaving thereby unto the reader a faire and cleere mirrour wherein to beholde the judgements of God upon thoſe that abandon themſelves to be carried away by intemperance and looſeneſſe.*

NARRATIONS OF LOVE.

IN the citie *Aliartos* ſituate within *Bœotia*, there was ſometime a yoong maiden of excellent beautie, named *Ariſtoclea*, and the daughter ſhe was of *Theophanes*: and two yoong gentlemen there were, that made ſute unto her in way of mariage, to wit, *Straton* an Orchomenian, & *Calliſthenes* of *Aliartos* aforeſaid. Now was *Straton* the richer of the twaine, and farre more enamoured of the damoſell; for ſeene her he had when ſhe waſhed herſelfe in the fountaine of *Ercyne*, which is in *Lebadia*, againſt the time that ſhe was to carrie in proceſſion to *Jupiter*, ſurnamed King, a ſacred panier, as the maner was of the *Canephoræ* to do. But *Calliſthenes* had the vantage of him, and was deeper in her love, for that he was beſides neere of kin unto the virgin. So *Theophanes* her father being doubtfull what to doe (for he ſtood in feare of *Straton*, as one who for wealth and noble parentage went wel-neere beyond all the Bœotians) reſolved at length to referre the choiſe unto the oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius*: but *Straton*, who was borne in hand by thoſe of the houſe about *Ariſtoclea*, that ſhe inclined more unto him, laboured earneſtly, that the matter might be put unto the election of the damoſell herſelfe: whereupon, when *Theophanes* the father demanded of her in the face of the world, Whom ſhe loved better, and would chuſe to be her huſband; ſhe preferred *Calliſthenes*: whereat *Straton* ſhewed himſelfe immediatly not a little diſcontented for this repulſe and diſgrace; but two daies after, he came unto *Theophanes* and *Calliſthenes*, pretending and ſaying, that he would not fall out with them, but was deſirous ſtill of their good favour and friendſhip, how ever his ill fortune had envied him the marriage of the yoong virgin. They approving well of this ſpeech, and taking his words in very good part, invited him as a gueſt to the wedding feaſt: meane while, he provided himſelfe of a good number of his friends, and beſides, no ſmall troupe of ſervants, whom he diſpoſed ſecretly in their houſes heere and there, againſt the time that this maiden (after the cuſtome and maner of the countrey) ſhould go downe to a certeine fountaine named *Ciſſoeiſa*, there to ſacrifice unto the Nymphes before her marriage day: now as ſhe paſſed by, thoſe who lay in ambuſh came all running forth from every ſide, and ſeized upon her bodie, but *Straton* himſelfe principally, who drew and haled the damoſell unto him as hard as he could: *Calliſthenes* againe on the other ſide, for his part (as became him) held her faſt, & ſo did they about him: thus the ſilly maiden was tugged and pulled to and fro ſo long betweene them, that before they were aware, dead ſhe was among them in their hands: upon which ſtrange occurrent, what became of *Calliſthenes*, it is not knowen, whether he preſently made away himſelfe, or fled into voluntary exile; for he was no more ſeene: as for *Straton*, in the very ſight of all men there in the place he killed himſelfe upon the very body of his eſpouſed bride.

2 There was one named *Phidon* a Peloponneſian, affecting the ſeignorie of all *Peloponneſus*, and being deſirous that the citie of *Argos* his native ſeat ſhould be ladie over all others, laied an ambuſh firſt for the Corinthians, to intrap them: for he ſent an embaſſage unto *Corinth*, to demand a levie of a thouſand yoong men, that were the luſtieſt and moſt valourous gallants of the whole citie. The Corinthians ſent them accordingly, under the conduct of one of their captaines, named *Dexander*. Now the purpoſe of this *Phidon* was, to ſet upon this troupe, and kill them every one, to the end that he might thereby enfeeble the Corinthians, and make the citie ſerve his owne turne (as a ſtrong bulwarke moſt commodiouſly ſeated) to command and ſubdue all *Peloponneſus*. This deſſeigne of his he communicated unto certeine of his friends for to be put in execution accordingly; among whom there was one named *Abron*, who being a familiar friend unto *Dexander*, revealed unto him the conſpiracie: whereupon the ſaid regiment of a thouſand yong men (before they were charged by the ſaid ambuſh) retired themſelves, and recovered *Corinth* in ſafetie. Then *Phidon* beſtirred himſelfe to finde out the man who had thus betraied and diſcovered his plot: which *Abron* fearing, withdrew himſelfe to *Corinth*, taking with him his wife, children, and his whole familie, where he ſetled and remained in a village named *Meliſſa*, belonging to the territorie of that citie: there begat he a ſonne, whom of the very place which he inhabited, he named *Meliſſus*; and this *Meliſſus* in proceſſe of time had a ſonne of his owne, called *Actæon*, who proved the moſt beautifull, and withall, the modeſteſt lad of all other youths and ſpringals of his age; in regard whereof, many there were enamoured of him; but among the reſt, one eſpecially, named *Archias*, deſcended lineally from the noble race of *Hercules*, and for wealth, credit and authoritie, the greateſt perſon in all *Corinth*. This *Archias*, ſeeing that by no faire meanes and perſwaſions he could prevaile with yoong *Actæon*, and winne his love, reſolved with himſelfe to uſe violence, and forcibly to raviſh and carrie away this faire boy: ſo he came upon a time (as it were) to make merrie, unto the houſe of *Meliſſus* his father, accompanied with a great traine of friends, and attended upon with a good troupe of his owne houſeholde-ſervants, where he gave the attempt to have away the boy by force: but the father with his friends made reſiſtance; the neighbours alſo came foorth to reſcue, and did all what they could, to holde and keepe the youth with them: but what with the one ſide and what with the other, poore *Actæon* was ſo pulled and tugged, that betweene them hee loſt his life; which done, all the reſt went their waies and departed; but *Meliſſus* the father brought the dead corps of his childe into the market place of the Corinthians, preſented it there unto them, and demaunded juſtice to be done upon thoſe who had committed this foule outrage. The Corinthians made no greater a matter of it, but onely ſhewed, that they were ſory for his miſhap; and ſo he returned home as he came without effect, attending and waiting for the ſolemne aſſembly at the Iſthmicke games; where being mounted up to the top of *Neptunes* temple, he cried out againſt the whole race of the *Baccharides*, and withall, rehearſed by way of commemoration, the beneficence of his father *Abron* unto them, and when he had called for vengeance unto the gods, hee threw himſelfe downe headlong among the rocks, and brake his necke. Not long after there fell out to be a great drouth, and the the citie was ſore viſited with famine, inſomuch as the Corinthians ſent unto the oracle, for to know by what meanes they

might be delivered from this calamitie. unto whom the god made this anſwer: That the wrath of *Neptune* was the cauſe of all their miſerie, who would by no meanes be appeaſed untill they had revenged *Actæons* death: which *Archias* hearing, (who was himſelfe one deputed to this embaſſage) he was not willing to returne againe to *Corinth*, but croſſed over the ſeas into *Sicily*, where he founded and built the city *Syracuſa*; and there hee begat two daughters, *Ortygia* and *Syracuſa*, but in the end was himſelfe trecherouſly murdred by one *Telephus*, whom in his youth he had abuſed as his minion, and who having the conduct of a ſhippe had ſailed with him into *Sicilie*.

3 A poore man named *Scedaſus* who dwelt in *Leuctra*, a village within the territorie of the Theſpians, had two daughters, the name of the one was *Hippo*, and of the other *Miletia*, or as ſome write, clepid they were, *Theano* and *Enippe*. Now this *Scedaſus* was a bounteous and kind perſon, yea, and a good fellow in his houſe, and curteous to all ſtrangers, notwithſtanding he had but ſmall ſtore of goods about him. So there fortuned to viſit him two yoong men of *Sparta*, whom hee friendly and lovingly enterteined; who being fallen into fancie with his two daughters, had thus much power yet of themſelves, that in regard of their father *Scedaſus*, and his kindneſſe unto them, they attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the honeſt pudicitie of the virgins for that time; but the next morning tooke their leave and went directly toward the city of *Delphos*, unto the oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, for to that purpoſe expreſly tooke they this journey and pilgrimage: after that they had conſulted with the god about ſuch matters as they came for, they returned backe againe into their owne country; & as they paſſed thorough *Bæotia*, tooke *Scedaſus* houſe by the way, there for to lodge; who at that time was not at *Leuctra*, but gone forth: howbeit his daughters according to their courteous bringing up, & their uſual maner of intertainment, received theſe two gueſts into the houſe, who ſeeing their opportunitie, & that they were alone, forced & defloured the ſilly maidens: and after this deed, ſeeing them exceedingly offended and angry for this villany offered unto them, ſo as by no meanes they would be appeaſed, they proceeded farther & murdred them both, and when they had ſo done, threw them into a certeine blinde pit, and ſo departed. *Scedaſus* being returned home, found all things elſe in his houſe ſafe and ſound as hee left them, onely his two daughters hee could not meet with, neither wiſt he what to ſay or doe, untill ſuch time as a bitch that he had began to whine and complaine, running one while to him and another while training him as it were to the pit ſide, whereupon at length, he ſuſpected that which was, and ſo drew foorth the dead bodies of his two daughters; underſtanding moreover by his neighbors, that the day before they had ſeene going into his houſe thoſe two yoong men of *Lacedæmon*, who not long before had beene lodged with him; he doubted preſently that they were thoſe who had committed this crime, and namely, when he called to minde that the firſt time they came, they did nothing but praiſe the maidens, ſaying: That they reputed them moſt happy, whoſe fortune ſhould be to eſpouſe them for their wives. Well, to *Lacedæmon* he went, for to conferre with the *Ephori* about this matter; and by that time that he entred within the territory of *Argos*, he was benighted, ſo that he tooke up his lodging in a common inne or hoſtelry; within which, he found another poore old man, borne in the city *Oreos*, within the province *Heſtræa*, whom when *Scedaſus* heard to ſigh and groane grievouſly, yea and to fall a curſing of the Lacedæmonians, he demaunded what the Lacedæmonians had done unto him, that he fared thus againſt them, the old man ſet tale an end and ſaid: That a ſubject he was of the Spartans, and that when one *Ariſtodemus* was ſent as governour from the State of *Sparta*, into the citie *Oreum*, he had dealt very cruelly, and committed many outrages and enormites: for being (quoth he) wantonly fallen in love with a ſonne of mine, and ſeeing that he would not frame nor be induced to ſatisfie his will, he aſſaied to enforce him, and by violence to hale him out of the publicke wreſtling place, where he exerciſed himſelfe with other his feeres and companions: the warden of the exerciſes empeached the ſaid governour, with the aſſiſtance of many yoong men, who ranne into the reſcue, in ſuch ſort, as for that preſent *Ariſtodemus* retired without effect; but the next morrow having ſet out and manned a galley of purpoſe, hee came with a ſecond charge, and caried away my childe; and no ſooner was he rowed from *Oreum* to the otherſide of the water, but he offred to abuſe his body; which when the youth would in no wiſe abide, nor yeeld unto, he made no more adoo but cut his throat, and killed him outright in the place, which done, he returned backe to *Oreum*, where hee feaſted his friends and made great cheere: This accident was I ſoone advertiſed of (quoth the old man) whereupon I went and performed the laſt dutie unto my ſonne, and ſolemnized his funerall; and ſo immediately

put my ſelfe upon my journey toward *Sparta*, where I complained unto the *Ephori* or lords controulers, declaring unto them the whole fact, but they gave no eare unto me, nor made any reckoning of my grievance. *Scedaſus* hearing this tale was il appaid & troubled in his mind imagining that the Spartans would make as little account of him; and therewith to requite his tale, related for his part likewiſe unto the ſtranger, his owne caſe; who thereupon gave him counſel, not ſo much as once to go unto the *Ephori*, but to returne immediately backe into *Bœotia*, and to erect a tombe for his two daughters. Howbeit, *Scedaſus* would not be ruled by him, but held on his journey forward to *Sparta*, & opened his griefe unto the lords cõtroulers before ſaid: & when he ſaw that they tooke ſmall heed of his words, he addreſſed himſelfe to the kings of *Sparta*; yea and afterwards to ſome particular burgeoſies of the citie, unto whom he declared the fact, and bewailed his owne infortunitie. But ſeeing that all booted not, he ran up and downe the ſtreets of the citie, ſtretching forth his hands up to heaven, and to the ſun and ſtamping upon the ground with his feet, calling upon the furies of hell to be revenged, and at the laſt killed himſelfe. But in proceſſe of time the Lacedæmonians paid deerely for this their injuſtice: for when they were growen to that greatnes, that they commanded all *Greece*, and had planted their garriſons in everie citie; firſt *Epaminondas* the Theban cut the throtes of thoſe ſouldiers who lay in garriſon at *Thebes*; whereupon the Lacedæmonians made warre upon the Thebanes, who went out with a power to encounter them as far as to the village of *Leuctra*, taking that place for a good preſage unto them: for that before time they had been there delivered out of ſervitude, what time as *Amphictyon* chaſed by *Sthenelus*, fled and retired himſelfe unto the citie of *Thebes*; where finding them ſubdued by the Chalcidians, and made their tributaries: after he had ſlaine *Chalcodon* the king of the Eubæans, he eaſed the Thebanes of the tribute which they before had paid. So it fortuned that the Lacedæmonians were diſcomfited and defeated, neere unto the verie ſame monument or tombe of the ſaid two daughters of *Scedaſus*. It is reported moreover that a little before this battell, *Scedaſus* appeared in a viſion or dreame unto *Pelopidas*, one of the captaines of the Thebane army, who had beene altogether diſcouraged with certaine ſignes and foretokens, which he judged and interpreted to portend ill; whom *Scedaſus* willed to take a good heart, for that the Lacedæmonians were thither come, for to ſuffer that puniſhment which they owed to him & his daughters; adviſing him withal the day before he encountred with the Lacedæmonians, to ſacrifice a yoong white fole or colt, which he ſhould find readie even before the ſepulcher of his two daughters. And then *Pelopidas*, whiles the enemies lay yet encamped at *Tegea*, ſent before unto *Leuctra* for to enquire of the ſaid tombe; and being enformed thereof by the inhabitants of the countrey, advanced forward boldly with his army, and wan the field.

4 *Phocus*, a Bæotian borne (for deſcended he was from *Gleiſas*) had a daughter named *Callirrhoe*, a maiden of ſingular beautie, and ſurpaſſing honeſty and ſobrietie withall. So there were to the number of thirtie yoong gentlemen, the nobleſt and beſt reputed of all *Bœotia*, who were all ſuters unto her in the way of marriage. But *Phocus* her father made alwaies ſome delay or other, and found meanes to put off ſtill from day to day, as fearing leſt ſhee ſhould be forced. At laſt ſeeing how he was overpreſſed with theſe inſtant wooers; he requeſted them to referre the election of him that ſhould be her husbaud unto the oracle of *Apollo*. The yoong men taking indignation at theſe words and anſwere of his, fell upon him and ſlew him: but in this affray and tumult the yoong maiden eſcaped and ran thorow the fields into the countrey: but the yoong luſtie ſuters made after and purſued her; and ſhee lighting upon certaine husbandmen, who were laying together and piling up of wheat upon a floore in a ricke, by the meanes of them ſaved herſelfe; for the ſaid husbandmen hid her within the corne, ſo as they paſſed by who followed in chaſe after her. Thus having eſcaped this danger, ſhee expected the ſolemne feaſt and generall aſſembly, called *Pambæotia*, for that all the Bœotians met together: then came ſhee to the citie of *Coronea*, and there in habite and forme of a ſuppliant, ſhe ſat before the altar of *Minerva Itonia*; where ſhe related unto all commers the enormious wickednes and miſchiefe committed by her wooers, rehearſing them everie one by name, and ſhewing in what countrey ech one was borne. The Bœotians tooke pitie of the damoſell, and were highly diſpleaſed and incenſed againſt thoſe yoong gentlemen: which they hearing, fled into the citie *Orchomenus*; but the Orchomenians would not receive them: by occaſion whereof they meant to put themſelves within *Hippotæ*, a pretie towne neere unto *Helicon*, ſituate betweene *Thebes* and *Coronea*, which gave them entertainment. Then ſent the Thebanes unto the inhabitants therof certaine perſons to cal upon them for to deliver up the murderers of *Phocus*, that they might receive juſtice accordingly: but when they would not yeeld ſo to do, the Thebanes with other Bœotians, gathered

an armie and went againſt them, under the leading of *Phœdus*, who at that time was the chiefe ruler of *Thebes*, and laid ſiege unto the ſaid towne, which being otherwiſe ſtrongly fortified, was in the end forced for want of water: where they ſtoned to death the murderers; brought the inhabitants unto bondage and ſlaverie; raſed their walles; overthrew their dwelling houſes; and devided their whole territorie among the Thebanes and Coronæans. The report goeth, that overnight before that this towne of *Hippotæ* was wonne, there was a voice heard from the mount *Helicon* of one eftſoones itterating theſe words: *Here I am, Here I am*; which voice the thirty wooers knew all verie well to be the ſpeech of *Phocus*. Alſo the ſame day that they were ſtoned, it is ſaid that the monument or toombe of this old man, which ſtood at *Gleiſas*, flowed and ran with ſaffron. Thus when *Phædus* the captaine and ruler of the Thebanes, returned from warre with victorie, newes came unto him that his wife was delivered of a daughter; which he taking to be a good preſage, named her thereupon *Nicoſtrata*.

5 *Alcippus*, a Lacedæmonian borne, eſpouſed a ladie named *Democrita*; by whom hee was the father of two daughters, who alwaies both giving counſell unto the citie for the beſt things, and alſo ready in perſon to ſerve, & execute the ſame in al occurrences preſented, for the good of his countrey, incurred the envie and emulation of his concurrents in the government of the State, who with falſe ſurmiſes and ſlanderous imputations, went about to ſeduce the *Ephori*, buzzing into their heads, how this *Alcippus* would overthrow the lawes, and change the whole State and common-wealth of *Sparta*: inſomuch as they baniſhed him out of his countrey, and would not ſuffer his wife with her daughters to follow him: and that which woorſe is, they did confiſcate his goods, to the end that his daughters might have no portions to beſtow them for their advancement in marriage. And notwithſtanding that divers yoong men in regard of their fathers vertue, made meanes for to marrie theſe maidens without any dowry, yet his adverſaries wrought ſo cunningly, that they paſſed an act and publicke edict, forbidding expreſly, that any man ſhould ſeeke unto them for marriage: for they alledged and pretended that their mother *Democrita* had often times made her praiers unto the gods, that her daughters might quickly bring foorth children who might be revenged for the injurie done unto their father. *Democrita* then perceiving how on every ſide ſhe was hardly beſted & driven to a ſtraight, obſerved her time, and waited a certeine ſolemne and feſtivall day, which the dames of the citie, with their daughters virgins, with their maid-ſervants likewiſe and little children, did celebrate: on which day, the wives of magiſtrates and men of honour, watched and paſſed the whole night by themſelves in a great and ſpacious hall. When this day was come, ſhe girded herſelfe with a dagger or ſkeine under her clothes, and taking her daughters with her, when night came, went into the temple; and obſerving the opportunitie of the time when all the ſaid dames were buſie in their divine ſervice and hard at their devotions in the hall aboveſaid, when all the waies and paſſages were ſhut up, ſhe brought a great deale of wood which was provided for the ſacrifice, and piled the ſame againſt the doores, and ſo ſet it on fire. But when their husbands came running for to helpe from all parts, *Democrita* killed her two daughters and herſelfe upon them. The Lacedæmonians not knowing upon whom to diſcharge their anger, cauſed the dead bodies of *Democrita* and her two daughters to be throwen without the confines and liberties of their territorie: for which act of theirs, God being highly diſpleaſed, ſent (as the Chronicles do record) a great earthquake among the Lacedæmonians.

(* * *)

WHETHER CREATVRES BE MORE WISE, THEY OF THE LAND, OR THOSE OF THE WATER.

The Summarie.

IN this treatiſe and diſcourſe, affoording (among other things) much pleaſure in the reading, Plutarch bringeth in two yoong gentlemen, Ariſtotimus and Phœdimus, who in the preſence of a frequent companie plead the cauſe of living creatures: Ariſtotimus in the firſt place, for them of the land; and Phœdimus in the ſecond, for thoſe of the water: the drift and concluſion of whoſe pleas commeth to this point, that without reſolving unto whom the prize ought to be adjudged, one of the companie inferreth that the examples alledged both of the one ſide and of the other, do prove that thoſe creatures have ſome uſe of reaſon. Moreover, we may diſtinctly divide this booke into three principall parts: the firſt conteineth a conference betweene Soclarus and Autobulus, who gave eare afterwards unto the others: for Soclarus taking occaſion to ſpeake of a written diſcourſe recited in the praiſe of hunting, commendeth this exerciſe, and preferreth it before combats of ſword plaiers and fencers; which Autobulus will in no wiſe approove, but holdeth that this warre againſt beaſts, ſchooleth (as it were) and traineth men to learne for to kill one another afterwards. And for that ſome entrance and acceſſe there was to be given unto the principall diſputation of the intelligence and knowledge which is in brute beaſts, they doe examine the opinion of the Stoicks, who bereave them of all underſtanding, paſſion and pleaſure: which opinion of theirs being at large debated, is afterward refuted; with this reſolution, that man out-goeth beaſts in all ſubtiltie and quickneſſe of wit, in juſtice and equitie meet for civill ſocietie: and yet beaſts, although they be more dull and heavie than men, are not therefore void of all diſcourſe and naturall reaſon. Then Autobulus confirmeth this by the conſideration of horſes and dogges enraged: a ſufficient teſtimonie that ſuch creatures before-time had reaſon and underſtanding. Soclarus oppoſeth himſelfe againſt ſuch a confirmation, in the behalfe of the Stoicks and Peripateticks: whereupon Autobulus diſtinguiſheth of the arguments, and inclining partly to the ſide of the Pythagoreans, ſheweth what maner of juſtice or injuſtice we ought to conſider in the carriage of men toward beaſts. And then come the two yoong gentlemen abovenamed in place; where Ariſtotimus taking in hand the cauſe of land-beaſts, diſcourſeth at large thereupon, which is the ſecond part of this preſent treatiſe. True it is, that all the beginning of his plea is defective and wanting: howbeit, that which remaineth and is extant, ſheweth ſufficiently the carefull induſtry of our author in ſearching into the hiſtory of nature, and examples drawen out thereof, as alſo out of an infinit number of books, to paſſing good purpoſe. Well then, Ariſtotimus ſheweth in the firſt place, that the hunting of land-beaſts, is a far nobler and more commendable exerciſe than that of the water: and comming then to the point; namely, to the uſe of reaſon, which conſiſteth in the election and preference of one thing before another, in proviſions, fore-caſts and prerogatives in affections, aſwell thoſe which be milde and gentle, as the other which are violent; in diligence and induſtry in arts and ſciences, in hardineſſe, equitie, temperance, courage and magnanimitie, he prooveth all this to be (without compariſon) farre more in land-creatures than in other: for the proofe and verifying whereof, he produceth bulles, elephants, lions, mice, ſwallowes, ſpiders ravens, dogs, bees, geeſe, cranes, herons, piſmires, wolves, foxes, mules, partridges, hares, beares, urchins, and divers ſorts beſides of foure footed beaſts: of fowles likewiſe, inſects, wormes and ſerpents: all which are ſpecified in particular afterwards. In the laſt part, Phœdimus making ſome excuſe that he was not well prepared, taketh in hand nevertheleſſe, the cauſe of fiſhes; and in the very entrance, declareth, that notwithſtanding it be an hard matter to ſhew the ſufficiencie of ſuch creatures, which are ſo divided and ſevered from us; yet notwithſtanding, produce he will his proofs and arguments drawen from certeine and notable things, recommending fiſhes in this reſpect, that they are ſo wiſe *and conſiderate (as he ſheweth by examples) being not taught nor moniſhed unto any waies framed and trained by man, like as moſt part of land beaſts be; and yet by the way he prooveth by eeles, lampreis, and crocodiles, that fiſhes may be made tame with men, and how our auncients eſteemed highly the inſtitution of ſuch mute creatures: after this he deſcribeth their naturall prudence, both in defending themſelves and alſo in offending and aſſailing others, alledging infinit examples to this purpoſe: as the skill and knowledge they have in the Mathematicks, their amity, their fellowſhip, their love, their kinde affection to their yoong ones: alledging in the end divers hiſtories of dolphins love unto men: whereupon* Soclarus *taking occaſion to ſpeake, inferreth that theſe two pleaders agree in one point, and if a man would joine and lay together their arguments, proofes, and reaſons, they would make head paſſing well and ſtrongly againſt thoſe, who would take from beaſts both of land and water all diſcourſe of reaſon.*

WHETHER CREATURES BE more wiſe; they of the land, or they of the water.

AUTOBULUS.

Leonidas, a king of *Lacedæmon*, being demaunded upon a time what he thought of *Tyrtæus*: I take him to bee (quoth he) a good poet, to whet and poliſh the courages of yoong men; for that by his verſes he doth imprint in the hearts of yoong gentlemen an ardent affection, with a magnanimous deſire to winne honour and glorie, in regard whereof, they will not ſpare themſelves in battels and fights, but expoſe their lives to all perils whatſoever: Semblably, am I greatly affraid my very good friends, leſt the diſcourſe as touching the praiſe of hunting, which was read yeſterday in this company, hath ſo ſtirred up and excited beyond all meaſure our yoong men, who love that game ſo well, that from hencefoorth they will thinke all other things but acceſſaries and by-matters, or rather make no account at all of other exerciſes, but will runne altogether unto this ſport, and minde none other beſides, conſidering that I finde my ſelfe now a freſh more hotly given, and youthfully affectionate thereunto than mine age would require, inſomuch as according to the words of dame *Phædra* in *Euripides*:

All my deſire is now to call
And cry unto my hounds in chaſe,
The dapple ſtagge and hinde withall,
To hunt and follow hard at trace.

So neere unto the quicke did that diſcourſe touch me, alleaging ſuch a number of proper and pithy reaſons.

SOCLARUS.

True it is that you ſay ô *Autobulus*, for me thought that therein he ſtirred up and awakened his ſingular eloquence and skill in Rhetoricke, which ſome time he had diſcontinued & which lay aſleepe, to gratifie (as I take it) thoſe yoong gentlemen who were preſent in place, and withall to ſolace and diſport himſelfe among them, but that which pleaſed me moſt was this: When hee repreſented unto our eies by way of compariſon, ſword-fencers fighting at ſharpe one with another to the uttrance, alledging this for one of his reaſons, wherefore he principally commending hunting, in that it diverteth and calleth away a certeine affection that we have either naturally engraffed, or elſe acquired by uſe and cuſtome to take pleaſure in ſeeing men at ſwords point enter into combat for life & death one againſt another, & turneth it eſpecially hither, yeelding unto us a faire pure and innocent ſpectacle of artificial cunning, conjoined with hardineſſe and courage, guided with reaſon, againſt brutiſh force and witleſſe ſtrength: and in ſo doing giveth us to underſtand that this ſentence of *Euripides* is woorthy to be praiſed when he ſaith:

Small is mans ſtrength and puiſſance corporall;
His wit is great and prudence naturall;
It tames all fiſh beneath in ſeas ſo deepe
And wily beaſts aloft on earth that keepe.

AUTOBULUS.

And yet my good friend *Soclarus*, ſome there be who hold, that this inflexible rigour and ſavage impaſſibility of not being mooved at all with pitty, came from hence into mens hearts, namely, from the cuſtome of killing of beaſts in chaſe, and of learning not to have in honour the ſight of bloudſhed, and of the grievous wounds of beaſts which they received, but to take delight in ſeeing them to die, and to be cut in pieces: and like as in the citie of *Athens*, when it was reduced under the tyrannie of the thirtie uſurpers, the firſt man whom they put to death was a ſycophant, of whom it was ſaid then, that hee had well deſerved it, and was rightly ſerved; and ſo they ſaid by a ſecond and a third: but from thence they went forward by little and little, untill they came to lay hold upon honeſt men, and in the end ſpared not the beſt and moſt vertuous citizens: even ſo he that killed at the firſt a beare, or a woolfe, was highly commended, and thought to have done a very good deed; and an oxe or a ſwine that had eaten ſome things provided for a ſacrifice or oblation to the gods, was condemned as fit and worthy to die: heereupon ſtagges and hinds, hares alſo and goates, which men began already to eat, invited alſo the fleſh of ſheepe, yea, and in ſome places of dogges and horſes to the table. But they who taught firſt to diſmember, and cut in pieces for meat, a tame gooſe, a houſe dove, and familiar pigeon, a dung-hill cocke, or domeſticall henne of the rouſt, and that not for to ſatisfie and remedie the neceſſitie of hunger, as doe theſe weezils and cattes, and but onely for pleaſure, and to feed a daintie tooth, ſurely have confirmed and ſtrengthened all that bloudineſſe and ſavage cruelty which was in our nature, and made it altogether inflexible and immooveable without any compaſſion: but contrariwiſe enfeebled and dulled for the moſt part all naturall mildneſſe and humanitie; whereas on the other ſide the Pythagoreans would have men to accuſtome themſelves to uſe gentleneſſe even towards beaſts, as an exerciſe of pitty and mercy to men: for cuſtome which traineth us familiarly by little and little to any paſſion and affection, hath a wonderous efficacie, to ſet a man forward thereunto. But I wot not how, being entred into ſpeech, we have forgotten our ſelves, and not kept us to that which was begun yeſterday, and ſhould be continued and held on this day: for yeſterday as you know very well, having agreed upon this: That all ſorts of living creatures have in them ſome little diſcourſe and reaſon, we gave good occaſion and matter of a learned and pleaſant diſputation, unto our yoong gentlemen, who love hunting ſo well, namely, as touching the wit and wiſedome of beaſts, whether there be more in them of the land, or thoſe of the ſea? which queſtion we are as I take it, this day to decide, in caſe *Ariſtotimus* and *Phædimus* hold on ſtill, and perſiſt in their defiances and chalenges, which yeſterday they gave one another; for the one of them undertooke unto his friends and companions, to mainteine that the earth bringeth foorth beaſts of more ſenſe, capacitie and underſtanding; and the other contrariwiſe promiſed as much in the behalfe of the water.

SOCLARUS.

That they do, *Autobulus*, they are of the ſame mind ſtill to diſpute it out, and here they wil be anon for this very purpoſe; for I ſaw them in the morning betimes, addreſſing & making themſelves readie: but if you thinke it good, before this combat begin, let us go in hand againe with that which yeſterday ſhould have been handled, and was not; partly for that the time and place ſerved not therto; or rather becauſe the matter was propoſed unto them at the table, and among the cups of wine, which went merrily about, and not treated of in good earneſt and ſadneſſe in deed: for one there was, who ſeemed after a pragmaticall ſort to reſound on the adverſe part not impertinently, as if he came out of the Stoicks ſchoole, thus much: That like as mortal is oppoſite unto immortall, corruptible unto incorruptible, and corporall to incorporall; even ſo, confeſſe we ought, that reaſonable is contrarie to unreaſonable; ſo that if one of them be, the other ought likewiſe of neceſſitie to be, and that this onely couple of contraries among ſo many other, ought not to be left defectuous or unperfect.

AUTOBULUS.

And what is he, friend *Soclarus*, who will ſay, that if we admit in nature, that which is reaſonable to ſubſiſt and have being; wee ſhould not likewiſe allow that which is unreaſonable: for (no doubt) it is, and that in great meaſure, namely in all creatures which have no life nor ſoule: neither need we to ſeeke farther for any other oppoſition unto that which is reaſonable; for whatſoever is without life and ſoule, is incontinently oppoſite unto that which together with ſoule, hath the uſe of underſtanding and reaſon: and if any one there be who maintaineth, that nature for all this is not unperfect, in that everie ſubſtance having ſoule is either reaſonable or unreaſonable: another will ſay unto him likewiſe, that a nature endued with life and ſoule, is not defective, namely in that, either it hath imagination, or elſe is without; it is either ſenſitive, or elſe hath no ſenſe; to the end that it may have on either ſide theſe two oppoſitions or privations, making counterpoiſe one againſt another, about one and the ſame kind, as two contrarie branches ariſing out of one ſtemme or trunke. And if he thinke him to be abſurd, who demaundeth that it ſhould be graunted unto him, that of a nature endued with ſoule, one branch ſhould be ſenſitive, and another ſenſleſſe; for that he thinketh that everie nature which hath a ſoule is incontinently both ſenſitive, and alſo imaginative: yet for all this ſhall he have no more apparance to require that one ſhould ſuppoſe this unto him for to be true; namely, that whatſoever hath ſoule, ſhould be either reaſonable or unreaſonable, diſcourſing with thoſe men, who held opinon that nothing hath ſenſe, but the ſame hath underſtanding withall; and that there is not one kind of animall creatures, but it hath ſome manner of opinion and diſcourſe of reaſon, like as it hath ſenſe and naturall appetite: for nature, who as men ſay, and that right truely, maketh all things for ſome cauſe and to ſome end, hath not made a living creature ſenſitive, onely and ſimply to have a paſſive ſenſe: but whereas there be a number of things proper and agreeable to it, and as many againe for the contrarie, it could not poſſibly endure and continue the minute of an houre, if it knew not how to fit it ſelfe with one, and to take heed and beware of the other. So it is therefore, that ſenſe giveth unto every animall creature the knowledge of them both indifferently: but the diſcretion which accompanieth the ſaid ſenſe, in chuſing, receiving, and purſuing after that which is profitable; or refuſing, rejecting and flying from that which is hurtfull and pernicious: there is no apparance at all of reaſon to induce us to ſay that thoſe creatures have, if they had not withall ſome meane facultie and aptitude naturall, to diſcourſe, judge, conceive, comprehend, retaine, and remember: as for thoſe creatures verily, from which you take altogether the gift of expectance, remembrance, election, proviſion, and preparation afore hand: and moreover, the facultie of hoping, fearing, deſiring and refuſing; good have they none at all of their eies, of their eares, or of any other ſenſe, apprehenſion or imagination, in caſe there be no uſe thereof: and farre better it were for them, that they were cleane deſtitute and quite deprived of ſuch faculties, than to ſuffer travell, paine and ſorrow, and have not wherewith to put by and repell ſuch inconveniences: and yet there is a diſcourſe extant of the naturall philoſopher *Strato*, ſhewing by plaine demonſtration, that impoſſible it is to have any ſenſe at all, without ſome diſcourſe of reaſon: for many times we runne over the letters in bookes and writings with our eies; yea and we heare the ſound of words with our eares, without conceiving and comprehending either the one or the other, but they fly and paſſe away, when as our mind is otherwiſe occupied: but afterwards when the mind is come againe to it ſelfe and united it, it runneth and purſueth after the ſame, and gathereth every thing together againe which was ſcattered: In regard whereof it was not ſaid amiſſe in old time:

The mind it is, that doth both heare and ſee:
As for the reſt full deafe and blind they bee.

as if the motion and paſſion about the eies and eares, cauſed no ſenſe at all, if the mind and underſtanding were away. And therefore *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedæmon*, being one day at a feaſt in *Egypt*, where there was rehearſed at the table a pretie Acroame or eare-delight, which pleaſed the companie verie well; being demaunded the queſtion what hee thought of it? and whether hee judged it not verie well penned and ſet downe? As for that (quoth he) I report me unto you that heard it, and I referre it to your judgement: for mine part, my mind was all the while in *Peloponneſus*. And therefore neceſſarie it is, that everie creature which hath ſenſe, ſhould likewiſe be endued with diſcourſe of reaſon and underſtanding, conſidering that by our underſtanding wee come to ſenſe. But ſet the caſe that the ſenſes have no need at all of the underſtanding, to exerciſe their functions & operations: but when the ſenſe hath done her part, in diſcerning that which is proper and familiar unto a living creature, from it that is contrarie & adverſe unto it, it paſſeth away and is gone: What is it then that remembreth and calleth to minde? what is it that feareth things noiſome and offenſive, and contrariwiſe deſireth thoſe which be good and holſome? what is it that ſeeketh meanes to compaſſe and get things when they are not preſent? what is it that deviſeth and prepareth offenſive, forts and retracts, yea, and engins to catch and take; or contrariwiſe, ſhifts and policies to eſcape nets and grinnes laied for them when they are at the point to be caught and ſurpriſed? and yet * theſe men ſay as much as this comes to, when ever and anon in all their introductions they dull our eares and make our heads ake againe with their definitions; for they define πρόθεσις, that is to ſay, a project or deliberat purpoſe, to be a deſſeigne of

* That is to ſay, Stoicks.

of bringing ſomewhat to effect; ἐπιβολή, that is to ſay, endevour, to be an appetite or deſire before an appetite; παρασκευή, that is to ſay, proviſion, to be an action before action; μνήμη, that is to ſay, remembrance or memorie, to be the comprehenſion of a propoſition affirmative or negative, already paſt; whereof the preſent trueth was otherwiſe compriſed by the ſenſe: for of all theſe faculties, there is not ſo much as one reaſonleſſe (I meane) not proceeding from the diſcourſe of reaſon: and yet they all concurre, and are to be found in every living creature: and even ſo verily, they define νοήσεις, that is to ſay, intelligences, to be notions laied up apart and reſerved within; but διανοήσεις, that is to ſay, cogitations, to be notions ſtill in motion: as for paſſions, they confeſſing and defining them all in generality to be evil judgements & falſe opinions, a woonder it is, how they paſſe over ſo many effects and motions which are to be found in brute beaſts; ſome proceeding from anger and choler, others againe from feare: and beſides all this, envie (I may tell you) and jealouſie; when as they themſelves (beleeve me) ſticke not to puniſh their horſes, and beat their dogs, when they do a fault; not raſhly and in vaine, but conſideratly, for to correct them and make them wiſer, working thereby & imprinting in them a diſpleaſure with themſelves proceeding from paine, which we call repentance: as touching other pleaſures and delights, that which paſſeth and is received by the eares, they terme it (forſooth) κήλησις, that is to ſay, an enchantment; that which commeth by the eie, γοητεία, that is to ſay, bewitching: and they uſe both the one and the other againſt wilde beaſts; for certeine it is, that ſtagges and horſes do joy in the ſound of whiſtles, flutes and hautboies: alſo men call forth crabfiſh, creviſſes and grampels out of their holes perforce, with burning torches and light fire-brands: moreover, it is ſaid, that the fiſh *aloſa* hearing men to ſing, to clap their hands, or otherwiſe to make a noiſe, will ariſe out of the water, and come abroad: likewiſe, the horne owle or buſtard is (as it were) enchanted with the beholding of men dancing together in his ſight, and ſo far overtaken he is with the delight thereof, that whiles he thinketh to counterfeit their jeſtures, ſtirring and moving his ſhoulders according to the meaſures with them, he ſuffereth himſelfe (like a foole) to be taken by the fowler. As for thoſe who of theſe matters ſpeake ſo fooliſhly and abſurdly, ſaying, that beaſts rejoice not, are not angry, nor fearefull; and namely, that the * nightingale doth not ſtudie, meditate and prepare againſt her ſinging; that the bee hath no memorie; but that the ſwallow ſeemeth onely to make proviſion by a kinde of providence; that the lion is (as it were) angrie; and the hinde given as though ſhe were afraied: I wot not what anſwer they will make to thoſe who ſhall urge them to this, that they may aſwell ſay, that the ſame creatures neither ſee nor heare, but ſeeme onely (as it were) to heare and ſee and to have a voice; and in one word, that they live not at all, but ſeeme to live: for I aſſure you (in my judgement) theſe are no more repugnant to evidence and daily experience, than the other.

* μὴ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀηδόνα, as *Plinie* reporteth of her, unleſſe you reade χελιδόνα in this ſenſe, that the ſwallow doth not prepare beforehand: for *Plinie* alſo commendeth her induſtrie in artificiall building.

SOCLARUS.

I thinke no leſſe (ô *Autobulus*) and therefore range me among thoſe of your opinion in this point. But to compare the maners, lives, actions, behaviours and converſations of men, with thoſe of beaſts, & to affirme that beaſts herein ſort with us: beſides, that I ſee in this, great indignitie derogatorie to mans woorthineſſe, I doubt much, and can not conceive how nature hath given unto them the beginning of vertue, which is reaſon, and unto which reaſon is referred and doth aime, conſidering they can not attaine unto the end: and beſides, there is not one of them all that ſheweth any ſigne of tending thereto, of progreſſe therein, or of deſire and appetite that way.

AUTOBULUS.

Yea, but this (my good friend *Soclarus*) is no ſtrange and abſurd thing with theſe men, I meane the Stoicks: for notwithſtanding that they put downe the naturall love and affection which we have to the iſſue of our owne bodies begotten, for the foundation of civill ſocietie and of juſtice, and ſee the ſame in brute beaſts very evident and puiſſant, yet for all that, they flatly and ſtoutly denie that they have any part of juſtice in them. And that which more is, mules are not without all the inſtruments of generation; for nature hath given to the males generative members, and to the females the parts fit for conception; yea, and in the uſe of theſe members and inſtruments they have the ſame delight and pleaſure which other creatures have; howbeit, they never ſpeed, nor attaine to the end of generation. Conſider againe on the other ſide, whether it were not a ridiculous abſurditie for ſuch philoſophers as they would ſeeme to be, to affirme and mainteine, that *Socrates* and *Plato*, and ſuch men as they, were no leſſe vicious than any vile ſlave or wicked wretch in the world, but that all were fooliſh, witleſſe, laſcivious and unjuſt alike (becauſe forſooth, all ſinnes with them be equall) and then to lay the blame and fault in the ſource and beginning of vertue, that is to ſay, Reaſon, as being not pure nor perfect in brute beaſts to the accompliſhment of vertue: as if this were not ſome defect and imbecillitie of reaſon, ſeeing they confeſſe themſelves that there is an imperfection in the uſe of reaſon, of which all beaſts be full: for we ſee in many of them, that there is cowardiſe, intemperance, injuſtice and malice. Now he who affirmeth that whatſoever is not apt and fitted by nature, to receive reaſon aright and in abſolute maner, is ſimply not capable of reaſon: firſt he doth as much as if he mainteined, that neither the ape is capable of ilfavoured deformitie, nor the tortoiſe of ſlow pace, becauſe the one of them is not ſuſceptible of beautifull favour, nor the other of ſwiftneſſe and good footmanſhip. Againe, he doth not ſee and marke the difference betweene reaſon perfect, and ſimple reaſon; for reaſon ſimply proceedeth from nature, but honeſt, vertuous, and perfect reaſon commeth by induſtry, ſtudy, diligence, and teaching; which is the cauſe that all creatures endued with a ſenſitive ſoule, are capable and ſuſceptible of a kinde of diſcipline and learning by the meanes of this facultie of diſcourſe and reaſon: mary this abſolute and right reaſon indeed which we affect and ſeeke for, and is nothing elſe but ſapience and wiſedome, they are not able to name any one man, that ever attained unto it. Like as therefore a difference there is betweene ſight and ſight; betweene flight and flght; for haukes ſee otherwiſe than graſhoppers doe; eagles alſo and partridges flie not alike; even ſo all creatures endued with reaſon, have not the like vivacity, promptitude and nimbleneſſe of reaſon, as to reach up to the higheſt pitch and perfection thereof: for we may obſerve in ſome beaſts many evident tokens of juſt ſocietie, of valour, of witty induſtry in their proviſion and diſpoſe: and contrariwiſe, in others as many ſignes of inſociable violence and injuſtice, of cowardiſe and ſottiſhneſſe, as witneſſeth that which now mooveth the contention and debate betweene our yoong gentlemen; for as if they both ſuppoſed there was a difference in this behalfe, ſome of them mainteine that naturally, the beaſts of the land are proceeded farther in vertue; and others contrariwiſe affirme, the ſame of thoſe in the ſea and waters; a thing very evident, whoſoever will compare ſtorkes with the river horſes; for thoſe doe nouriſh and feede their fathers who engendred them, whereas theſe doe kill them, becauſe they might ride and cover their mothers: as alſo who will but conferre cocke-doves with partridges; for doves doe oftentimes ſquaſh and marre the egges, yea, and otherwhiles kill the hennes when they cover or ſit, becauſe they are not willing during that time to be troden; whereas the male partridges take upon them part of the care and paine in ſitting upon the egges, and in their turne doe keepe them warme, that they chill not; yea, and that which more is, they be the firſt that bring meat in their billes unto the little ones newly hatched; and if haply the damme raunge abroad, tarie foorth too long out of the neſt, the male beats and pecks her with his bill, drives her home to her egges and yoong birds. As for *Antipater* who reprocheth and rebuketh both aſſes and ſheepe for their filthineſſe, and being ſo negligent in keeping themſelves cleane, he hath forgotten (I wot not how) to ſpeake of ounces and ſwallowes: for the ounces ſeeke a by-place by themſelves apart, where to beſtow their urine, and by all meanes hide and conceale that fine ſtony ſubſtance, called *Lyncurium*, which is engendred of it: and the ſwallowes teach their yoong ones to turne their tailes ſo, as they may meut out of their neſts. Moreover, why ſay we not that one tree is more ignorant or untaught than another, like as we hold, and that truely, that a ſheepe is more dull of capacitie than a dogge? or that this herbe is more fearefull than that, like as we affirme very well, that a ſtagge is more timorous, or rather leſſe valourous than a lion: and as in things which are unmooveable, we never ſay, that one is more ſlow than another; nor among ſuch things as yeeld no ſound at all, that this hath a ſmaller or bigger voice than that; Semblably, it is never ſaid, that there is leſſe witte, more dulneſſe, and greater intemperance in ſuch or ſuch things, unleſſe it be in that kinde, whereof all by nature are endued with the gift of reaſon, and of prudence in ſome meaſure, which puiſſance and facultie being given to ſome more, and to others leſſe, is that which maketh all the difference that we ſee. Yea mary, but there is no compariſon will ſome man ſay, betweene men and beaſts; ſo infinitly ſurpaſſeth he them in fineneſſe of witte, in juſtice and equity, beſeeming civill ſocietie, that it is wonderfull: And even ſo, (my good friend) there be many which in biggeneſſe and ſtrength of bodie, in ſwiftneſſe of feet, in quickneſſe of eie-ſight, and ſubtility, of hearing out-goe all the men in the world, and leave them farre behinde, and yet for all this, wee are not to inferre and conclude that man is blinde, that he is impotent of hand and foot, or otherwiſe deafe: neither hath nature deprived us altogether of bigge armes and bodies, or of ſtrength both in the one and the other, although in compariſon of the elephant and the camell, our force and bulke of body is nothing: after the ſame maner may we ſpeake of beaſts; if their diſcourſe and underſtanding be more groſſe, if their witte be more dull than ours, it followeth not thereupon, that they have neither reaſon nor naturall witte: for without all queſtion, both they have, feeble though they be and troubled, like as an eie is otherwhiles weake, dimme, and muddy: and were it not that I certeinly expect, and that among our yoong men who are ſtudious, learned and verie well ſeene in the books of our auncient writers, that they will alledge an infinit number of examples, the one from the land, and the other out of the ſea; I could not conteine my ſelfe but recite and alledge heere before you an innumerable ſort of proofes and arguments, as well of the naturall ſubtilty of beaſts, as of their docility, which the beautifull and famous city of *Rome* hath affourded unto us to draw and lade up aboundantly by whole ſcuppets and buckets full (as they ſay,) from the ſtately theaters of their emperours, and the princely games exhibited there.

But let us leave this matter freſh and entire for thoſe yoong men, thereby to embeliſh their diſcourſes, and ſet out their eloquence: meane while I would gladly examine and conſider one point with you now that we are at leaſure. For I ſuppoſe that in every part & naturall power or facultie of our bodie, there doth befall ſome proper defect, ſome maime or maladie, as namely, in the eie, blindneſſe; in the legge, lameneſſe; in the tongue, ſtutting and ſtammering; and that which is proper to one member, is not incident unto another: for wee uſe not to ſay, that a thing is become blinde, which never had power by nature to ſee, nor lame which was not ordeined to goe; neither was there ever man who would ſay, that a thing ſtammered which never had tongue, or muffled and wharled, which naturally yeeldeth no voice at all: and even ſo we cannot (to ſpeake properly and truely) tearme that fooliſh, furious, or enraged, which by courſe of nature is not capable of underſtanding, diſcourſe and reaſon: for impoſſible it is, that a part may be ſaid to be intereſſed, affected or prejudiced in a thing, which never had an aptitude or naturall power, that might receive diminution, privation, mutilation, or otherwiſe ſome infirmitie: and yet I doubt not but you have otherwhiles ſeene dogges runne madde; and for mine owne part I have knowen horſes enraged; and there be moreover, who affirme that kine and other beeſes will be horne-wood, yea and foxes as well as dogges: but the example of dogges whereof no man makes doubt, may ſuffice to proove and beare witneſſe, that this kinde of beaſt hath reaſon and underſtanding, and therefore not in ſmall meaſure to bee contemned but when it chanceth that it is troubled and confounded, then comes upon them that diſeaſe which is called rage and madneſſe; for at ſuch a time we cannot perceive in them, that either their ſight or their hearing is altered: but like as he that ſhould give out of a man who is overcharged with a melancholike humour, or given to rave and go beſide himſelfe, that his underſtanding is not tranſported and out of order, that his diſcourſe of reaſon is not out of the way, nor his braines broken, or memorie corrupt, were very abſurd: for that the ordinary cuſtome and behaviour of ſuch fooliſh and beſtraught perſons ſufficiently convinceth, that they are paſt themſelves, and have loſt the diſcourſe of reaſon; even ſo, whoſoever thinketh that mad dogges ſuffer any other paſſion, than a confuſion and perturbation of that part in them, which before time was woont to imagine, diſcourſe and remember, in ſuch ſort that when they be thus ſurpriſed with rage, they are ſo fooliſh and ſottiſh, as they know not their beſt friends, who were woont to make much of them, but flie thoſe places of their feeding and bringing up, which they uſed moſt to haunt & to converſe in, & do not ſo much as diſcerne; but overſee that which is preſented plaine before them: this man (I ſay) ſeemeth obſtinately to ſtrive againſt the truth, and not to comprehend that which daily experience doth ſhew.

SOCLARUS.

Certes, your conjecture in mine opinion is very good, and you are in the right: but the Stoicks and Peripateticks ſtifly ſtand againſt all this, and impugne it with tooth and naile, ſaying: That juſtice cannot have any other breeding and beginning; and that impoſſible it is to maintaine that there is any juſtice in the world, if it be confeſſed that all beaſts are any waies capable of reaſon: for that neceſſarie it is, either that we do injurie in not ſparing them; or in caſe we make no uſe of them for our food, that impoſſible it were for us to live; or elſe our life ſhould remaine deſtitute of ſuch things as well it may not miſſe and be without. In ſumme, that we were to live in ſome ſort a ſavage and beaſtlike life, if wee ſhould reject the profits and commodities which they affoord. For I paſſe by infinit thouſands and millions of the Troglodyts and Nomades, that know no other feeding, but of fleſh only and nothing elſe: but as for us who ſeeme to leade a mild, civill, & more gentle life, what worke were there left for us to do upon the land; what buſineſſe have wee at ſea? what skill or art ſhould wee exerciſe among the mountaines? what ornament or beautie would there be in our life, if wee were taught this once as a true leſſon, that we ought to reſpect all beaſts, and uſe all equitie towards them, as being reaſonable creatures as we are, and made of the ſame mould that we be? Certes, it were verie hard to ſay; and therefore there is no anſwere to aſſoile this doubt; no medicine or ſalve to heale this ſore; no device to undo this knot, and difficulty which taketh away, either all civilitie, or elſe all juſtice out of mans life, unleſſe we keepe that ancient limit and lawe, whereby God having ſeparated (according as *Heſiodus* ſaith) ſundrie natures and diſtinguiſhed every kind a part by it ſelfe:

To fiſhes, beaſts and feathered fowles, hath graunted power and might,
One of another for to feed, becauſe they have no right
To men alone, he juſtice gave therein to take delight.

Given (I ſay) he hath juſtice unto them for to exerciſe among themſelves: and as for other living creatures as they cannot deale juſtly with us; ſo it is certaine that we cannot uſe injuſtice to them: and looke whoſoever reject this concluſion and reſolution, have left no other uſe, nor ſo much as a ſimple way whereby juſtice may enter and come among us.

AUTOBULUS.

Now truely my friend, you have ſaid this very wel, and even according to the mind and hearts deſire of theſe men: howbeit we are not to give & grant unto theſe philoſophers (as the maner is to tie about thoſe women who have hard travell, ſome *Ocytocium*, or medicinable drogue, to cauſe them for to have more ſpeedy and eaſie deliverance) this device to hang upon them, that they may with eaſe and without all paine, beare and bring foorth juſtice unto us; ſeeing that in the maine and moſt important points of all philoſophie, they would not allow *Epicurus* ſo ſmall a thing, & ſo vile, as to decline one only atomie, or indiviſible body never ſo little aſide, for to make way for the ſtarres, for living creatures, and fortune to come into the world, and that thereby our free will might bee ſaved: for they ought either to proove by demonſtration, that which is doubtfull, or to ſuppoſe that which of it ſelfe is manifeſt; and not to take this article as touching beaſts, for to eſtabliſh juſtice, ſeeing that it is neither confeſſed & granted unto them, nor they otherwiſe doe proove it: for another path-way there is to bring in juſtice among men, which is nothing ſo ſlipperie, dangerous, and full of ſteepe downfalles, nor that which leadeth thorough the ſubverſion and overthrow of things moſt evident; even that which my ſonne and one of your familiar friends (*Soclarus*) having learned of *Plato*, doeth ſhew and teach thoſe who will not obſtinately conteſt, but follow reaſon and learne: for that man is not altogether cleere and voide of injuſtice, in uſing beaſts, and dealing with them as he doeth. *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles* receive as an undoubted truth, complaining in many places, and reproching nature, as if ſhe were under neceſſity, and a very warre, having in her nothing that is ſimple, pure, ſincere, and unmixed, but performing all her operations by many unjuſt accidents and paſſions; ſeeing they hold that even her generation proceeded from injuſtice, namely, by conjunction of mortall with immortall, and in that the thing which is engendred thereof, rejoiceth to diſmember unnaturally, that which engendred it: but haply all this may ſeeme too bitter and exceeding ſharpe: well there is another gentle meanes, and eaſie remedy of this inconvenience which doth not quite bereave beaſts of all uſe of reaſon, and ſaveth juſtice in thoſe who uſe them as they ought; which meane and indifferent way being in times paſt brought in by wiſe men, was afterwards rejected and wholly deſtroied by a conſpiracie of gourmandiſe and fleſhly pleaſure together; howſoever *Pythagoras* would have recovered it againe, by teaching men how they might make uſe and commoditie of beaſts, and yet doe them no wrong nor injurie; for they who puniſh and put to death thoſe wilde beaſts which have no ſocietie nor fellowſhip at all with man, but rather doe him much hurt and dammage, commit no injuſtice; no more than they who make them tame and familiar, training them up to their uſe and imploying them in ſervices, whereunto they are by nature moſt fit:

The race of horſe and aſſes for to breed,
With bulles encreaſe, which in the fields doe feed.

whom *Prometheus* in a tragœdie of *Aeſchylus*, ſaith he beſtowed upon us,

To ſerve and drudge in ſtead of us,
And do our works laborious.

Neither do they any wrong, who make uſe of dogges to keepe their flocks of goats and ſheepe: nor they who milke goats and ſheepe, and ſheare their fleeces for the wooll, eſpecially if they give them paſturage: for it can not be ſaid, that men can not live, or their life is utterly undone, if they have not their platters of fiſh, or their livers of geeſe, or if they cut not beefs and goats into pieces for to ſerve up at their feaſts: or if for their idle diſport in theaters, or to take their pleaſure in chaſe and hunting, they put not ſome to the combat and force them to fight whether they will or no; and kill others which have no defence of their owne, nor any meanes to make reſiſtance: for he who needs wil have his delights and paſtimes, ought in all reaſon (as I thinke) to make himſelfe merrie, and ſolace his heart with thoſe that can play and diſport together with him; and not to do (as *Bion* ſaid) like to little children, who joy in throwing ſtones at frogs, and make a game of it; meane while, the poore frogges have no pleaſure in this their game, for they are ſure to die for it in good earneſt; even ſo we are not either to hunt or fiſh for any delight that we have in the paine, and much leſſe in the death of other creatures: no more to take a pleaſure in driving or taking them away from their whelps and yoong ones, a pitifull ſight to beholde; for they be not they that commit injuſtice, who uſe beaſts, but ſuch as miſuſe them unmercifully and cruelly, without any reſpect and commiſeration.

SOCLARUS.

Stay a while, good *Ariſtobulus*, and put off this invective of yours unto another time; for now I ſee comming toward us neere at hand, a crew of yoong gentlemen, all great hunters and lovers of the game, whom it were neither an eaſie matter to drive off unto another day, neither is it needfull to provoke and offend them.

AUTOBULUS.

True it is that you ſay, and I like your admonition; but as for *Eubiotus*, I know very well, and my nephew *Ariſton*; the two ſonnes alſo of *Dionyſius* a citizen of *Delphos*, to wit, *Aecides* and *Ariſtotimus*, yea, and after them, *Nicander* the ſonne of *Euthydamus*,

All ſkilfull hunters (in good faith)
Upon the land (as Homer *ſaith)*

and therefore (no doubt) they will ſide every one with *Ariſtotimus*, and take his part; whereas contrariwiſe, the others who be Iſlanders, and were borne along the ſea ſide, I meane *Heracleon* of *Megara*, and *Philoſtratus* of the iſle *Eubœa*,

Who cunning are upon the ſeas,
And therein much themſelves do pleaſe.

Loe, how they accompanie your friend *Phædimus*, and are ready to ſtand with him:

As for Tydides *there, 'tis hard to ſay,*
To whether ſide he will in judgement ſway.

Iliad. e. 85.

I meane that ſame *Optatus*, our fellow and companion in yeeres,

Who of wilde beaſts on mountaines ſlaine,
and fiſhes caught in ſea,
With many firſt fruits and eſſayes,
to teſtifie his prea,
Hath often duely honoured
Diana *goddeſſe bright,*
Who cleped is * Agrotera,
and is * Dictynna *hight.*

for lo, how he commeth directly toward us, as one who will not range himſelfe to one ſide more than to another. How ſay you, *Optatus*, do we not conjecture well, that you meane to be an indifferent arbitratour or common umpire betweene theſe two yoong gentlemen.

* Of chaſing in the foreſt.
* Of fiſhers caſting nets, called properly, δικτυα ἀπο τοῦ δικειν, i. βαλλειν, of caſting: in which ſenſe, the caſting net is alſo called βόλος.

OPTATUS.

Very well gueſſed of you *Autobulus*, I purpoſe ſo indeed; for long ſince was that law of *Solon* repealed and aboliſhed, by vertue wherof, they were puniſhed who in a civill ſedition joined not to the one ſide nor to the other.

AUTOBULUS.

Come hither, therefore, and ſit by us, that if we have need of any teſtimonies, we trouble not the books of *Ariſtole*, with dripping and turning over their leaves; for that we will referre our ſelves and ſtand to that which you ſhall ſay, as juſtly and truely delivered, in regard of your great knowledge and experience.

SOCLARUS.

How now my maſters, you two gentlemen, are you agreed betweene your ſelves of the order, who ſhall begin firſt to ſpeake?

PHAEDIMUS.

Yes *Soclarus*, we are at a point for that now, although we were long enough debating about it; for in the end (to uſe the very words of *Euripides*)

Lot, Fortunes childe, hath this caſe tried,
As one ordein'd doubts to decide.

and hath appointed that the land-beaſts cauſe ſhould be pleaded before theirs of the ſea.

SOCLARUS.

Well then it is time (*Ariſtotimus*) that both you begin to ſpeake, and we alſo to heare.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

In this place a great defect and breach there is in the Greeke originall, which can not be made up and ſupplied without the helpe of ſome ancient copie, not yet extant.

The barre and the hall is for them that plead. * But theſe deſtroy the ſpawne within the wombe, by running upon their females when they be great and neere the time of caſting the ſame. And one kinde there is of ſpotted mullets, called thereupon *Perdiæ*, which feed upon their owne * ſlime and glutinous ſubſtance that proceedeth from themſelves. As for the poulpe or polyp fiſh, he eateth and gnaweth himſelfe, ſitting ſtill all Winter

In houſe full colde, without fire-light,
In wofull bale and wretched plight.

ſo idle is he, or ſo blockiſh and ſenſeleſſe, or els ſo gluttonous, or rather ſubject to all theſe vices together: which is the reaſon that *Plato* alſo in his booke of lawes, forbiddeth eftſoones yoong men to ſet their minds upon fiſhing in the ſea, or rather he deteſteth it in them, as an abominable thing, if they ſhould take a love thereto. For no exerciſe there is of hardineſſe and valour; no proofe of wit or triall of wiſdome; no imploiment of ſtrength, ſwiftneſſe or activitie of bodie in combats and fights with the wide mouthed ſea-pikes, with congres or guiltheads, like as there is in hunting upon the land, where the fierce and courageous beaſts exerciſe the fortitude of thoſe who encounter them, and ſtirring up their animoſitie to enter upon dangers: the wily and craftie, whet and ſharpen the wits of ſuch as ſet upon them, cauſing them to looke about and beſtirre themſelves every way with great circumſpection: and the ſwift and light-footed, trie the able, nimble, and painfull bodies of thoſe who have them in chaſe: in all which reſpects hunting is reputed an honeſt and commendable exerciſe: whereas contrariwiſe, fiſhing hath nothing in it to commend the game, and make it honourable; neither ſhall you ever finde my good friend, any one of the gods, deſirous to be called *Congroctónus*, that is to ſay, the conger-killer; as *Apollo* gloried to be named *Lycoctónus*, that is to ſay, the killer of woolves: nor any of them delighted in the name of *Triglobólos*, that is to ſay, the ſtriker of barbels: like as *Diana* joied in the epithit of *Elaphobolos*, that is to ſay, a ſhooter at ſtagges and hindes: and no marvell, conſidering that it is more laudable for a gentleman to take in chaſe a wilde boare, a ſtagge, a fallow deere, a roe bucke, yea, & it were but an hare, than to buie any of theſe with his money: but ſurely it is more for his credit & reputation to go into the fiſh market as a cater to exchange his coine for a tunny, a lobſtar, or the * *Amia*, than to be ſeene fiſhing for them: for the cowardiſe, blockiſhneſſe, ſtupiditie, want of ſhifts and meanes in fiſhes, either offenſive, or defenſive, cauſe the taking of them to be diſhoneſt, diſcommendable, unlovely, and illiberall.

*It may ſeeme he ſpeaketh of certeine milters in the kind of fiſhes, by way of oppoſition to ſome land-creatures.

* Haply the milt.

* Or *Hamia*, as appeereth afterwards,

In ſumme, foraſmuch as the proofes and arguments which philoſophers alledge, to ſhew that beaſts have ſome diſcourſe and uſe of reaſon, are drawen from their projects, their elections in preferring one thing before another, their proviſions and forecaſts, their memories, their affections, their tender care of their yong ones, their thankfulneſſe to thoſe who have done the good, their hatred & rankor againſt them who have done them a ſhrewd turne: their induſtry to find out things neceſſary for them, the evident apparence of vertues in them, to wit, of fortitude, ſociable equity & communion, temperance and magnanimitie: Let us conſider theſe maritime ſea creatures, whether they have any one at all of theſe parts, or if there be any little ſhew thereof, it is ſo darke and obſcure, that unneth or hardly it can be perceived, how diligent ſoever we be in ſearching after it; whereas in theſe terrene beaſts, and ſuch as the land breedeth, a man may conceive, yea and plainly ſee moſt cleere, evident, and aſſured examples of ech, of the qualities beforeſaid. Firſt & formoſt behold I pray you the firſt ſetting out, the preparatives and flouriſhes as it were, that bulles and boares make againſt their combat, how they raiſe and caſt up the duſt with their feet al about them, as alſo how theſe whet & ſharpen their tusks; the elephants likewiſe for that one of their two teeth wherewith they root in the earth, or plucke up and cut ſuch matter as they feed upon, is ordinarily thereby worne dull and blunt, they uſe it onely for theſe purpoſes, but the other they keepe and reſerve alwaies ſharpe pointed and keene edged, for to ſerve their turnes when they are to fight; the lion when he goeth in the forreſt, marcheth evermore with his pawes drawen in cloſe and turned round, hiding his cleies and nailes within, for feare leſt being worne with going, their points ſhould be dull and blunt, as alſo becauſe he would give no light by his tracts to the hunters that follow in chaſe; for hardly and with much adoo ſhall you trace a lion by his foot, the print of his clawes is ſo ſmall that it cannot be ſeene, whereby they that are full upon their footing, yet miſſe of him, and wander a contrary way.

Yee have heard I am ſure of the Ichnewnon or ratte of *India*, how he prepares himſelfe againſt he ſhould fight with the crocodile, no leſſe than a legionarie ſouldiour armed at all pieces, in complet harneſſe, ſuch a deale of mudde, and the ſame hardned and baked in maner of a cruſt, hath he all over his body, as it were a good curace of proofe.

What proviſion and preparation the ſwallowes or martines make againſt their breeding and laying time, we daily ſee; namely, how in building of their neſts, they lay firſt as a ground-worke underneath, good ſtickes, ſtiffe ſtrawes, and ſound bents, and thoſe they enterlace afterwards with others that be more gentle and pliable; and if they ſee that their neſts had need of ſome glutinous mudde to glue and ſodder all together, what doe they? mary they flie floting ſo cloſe to the water of ſome river, lake, or the ſea, that lightly they dippe their wings therewith, ſo that they may be onely wette, and in no wiſe heavy and overcharged with moiſture, then they role and basker themſelves in the duſt, by which meanes they cloſe up, binde, and knit as with parget or plaſtre, all chinks and breaches, and whatſoever was not well compact and united together in their neſts: as for the forme and figure thereof, they make them not cornered nor yeelding many ſides and faces, but even and ſmooth as poſſible may be, and the ſame round as a bal; for ſurely this kinde of workmanſhip is moſt durable without, and of greateſt capacity within, and ſuch as giveth leaſt hold unto other beaſts abroad that lie in wait to deſtroy them.

The copwebs that ſpiders weave, which ſerve for patterns, as wel for our women to make their webbes of cloth, as for fiſhers to knit and worke their nets, are in many reſpects very admirable: firſt in regard of the fine threeds, and the ſubtile weaving thereof, which are not diſtinct one from another, nor ranged after the order of the warpe & woofe in our artificiall webbes upon the loome, but are continued and runne all into one, in maner of thinne filme, kell, & skin, united and ſodred as one would ſay, with I wot not what glutinous humidity mingled among, after an inviſible and imperceptible maner; then the tincture and colour thereof, which maketh it ſeeme a farre off like unto ſome thicke or duskiſh aire, to the end that it ſelfe might the leſſe be perceived; but principally and above all, the very governing, conduct, and managing of this fabrick & device made by her-ſelfe, ſurpaſſeth; namely, when ſome flie or ſmall creature is gotten within the compaſſe of this toile & entangled, to ſee how immediately ſhe perceiveth it, and can skill quickly to pull in and draw the nette; no hunter & fouler in the world, be he never ſo cunning, more nimbly, for to encloſe the prey: al which becauſe we daily ſee in our continuall experience preſented unto our eies, we beleeve and know to be true; otherwiſe we would hold all to be fables: like as wee thinke that to be a tale of the crowes and ravens in *Barbary*, who when they are very thirſty & the water ſetled ſo low where they ſhould drinke, that they can not reach unto it, caſt ſtones into it for to make it ariſe ſo high as they may eaſily meet with it. And verily upon a time, I marvelled my ſelfe very much whē I ſaw a dog within a ſhip, while the marriners were out of the way, to caſt little ſtones into an earthen pot, which was nothing neere ful of oyle, how he ſhould diſcourſe and reaſon thus in his mind, that the lighter things, as namely oyle, muſt needs mount up & be driven aloft, when the weightier ſuch as the ſtones were went downe to the bottome. As much may be ſaid of the bees in *Candi*, and the geeſe of *Cilicia*. As for the bees, being to double a point or cape lying into the ſea, which is much expoſed to the winds, they ballaſe themſelves with ſmall grit or pretie ſtones, for to bee able to endure the weather, and not be carried away againſt their wils with the wind through their lightnes otherwiſe. And the geeſe aforeſaid being affraid of the eagles, which have their airies upon the high rocks, at what time as they ſhould paſſe over the mountaine *Taurus*, take every one within their bils a good big ſtone, thereby to ſtop and muzzle (as it were) their mouthes, that being by nature clamorous

morous and given much to gagling, they might make no noiſe nor crie at all during their flight, and ſo in ſilence and ſafetie both, get beyond the ſaid hill. The verie order that cranes keepe in their flying is woonderfull and memorable: for when the aire is troubled and the wind aloft, they fly not as they uſe to do when it is faire weather and calme, either all afront, or in manner of the halfe moone or croiſſant: but preſently at their firſt ſetting out, they caſt themſelves into a triangle with the point forward, therby to cut and pierce the wind that bloweth before and about them, to the end that their ranke thus raunged and ſet in order, might not poſſibly bee broken: afterwards when they are alighted and ſettled upon the ground; looke whoſe courſe and charge it is to watch al night, ſtands up right upon one leg, & in the foot of the other claſpes a ſtone and holds it up a loft; for the continuall ſtreining of themſelves to hold the ſaid ſtone, keepeth them that long they cannot ſleepe: and when once they chance to let go their hold, the ſtone falling upon the rocke, quickly awakneth her that let it fall. So that after I had ſeene this, I did not greatly wonder at *Hercules*, if putting his bow under his arme hole, and clipping it hard with his mightie ſtrong arme

Holding full faſt in his right hand,
His maſſie club, a ſleepe doth ſtand.

neither marvelled I much at him who firſt deviſed the meanes how to open an oyſter cloſe and hard ſhut, when I beheld once the craftie ſubtiltie of herons: for the heron when he hath ſwallowed downe an oyſter, or other ſhell fiſh, all whole and faſt ſhut, although it put him to ſome trouble, yet he endureth for a time and keepeth it within his craw or giſier, untill he perceive that it is mollified and relaxed by the naturall heat of his bodie, then caſteth he it up againe by vomit, findeth it gaping and wide open, and ſo picketh out of it the good meat therein.

As touching the induſtrious proviſion and care of houſekeeping which is in piſmires, to diſcourſe thereof in particular, and exquiſitely to deliver the ſame were a verie hard piece of worke, if not impoſſible; and to paſſe the ſame over in ſilence, argueth ſupine negligence: for looke throughout the whole hiſtorie of nature, you ſhall not find ſo ſmall a mirrour againe for to repreſent greater things and more beautifull, being (as it were) a moſt pure and cleere drop, wherein appeareth moſt apparantly the full reſemblance of entier vertue. Here may be ſeene lovely friendſhip and civill ſocietie: here ſheweth it ſelfe the verie image of valour and proweſſe, with painfull patience and induſtrie: here may a man behold many ſeeds of continence, many ſparks of wiſedome, and as many of righteouſnes. *Cleanthes* the philoſopher, although he maintaineth not that beaſts have any uſe of reaſon, made report neverthelesse that he was preſent at the ſight of ſuch a ſpectacle and occurrent as this. There were (quoth he) a number of ants which went toward another ants hole, that was not their owne, carrying with them the corps of a dead ant: out of which hole, there came certaine other ants to meet them on the way (as it were) to parle with them, and within a while returned backe and went downe againe: after this they came forth a ſecond, yea a third time, & retired accordingly untill in the end they brought up from beneath (as it were a ranſom for the dead body) a grub or little worme; which the others received and tooke upon their ſhoulders, and after they had delivered in exchange the foreſaid corps, departed home: moreover, it is worth the obſervation, although it be a thing daily ſeene of everie man, what curteſie and civilitie they uſe in meeting one another, how thoſe who be light and carie nothing, willingly give way unto ſuch as bee charged and loaden, and ſuffer them to paſſe: likewiſe how they gnaw aſunder and divide piece meale ſuch burdens, as they being ſingle, cannot beare whole, to the end that the ſame may be carried and tranſported from place to place by more in number. *Aratus* in his prognoſtickes ſetteth this downe for a ſigne of raine toward, when they bring foorth their ſeeds and graines, and lay them abroad to take the aire:

* ὤεα.

*When ants make haſte with all their *egs a load,*
Foorth of their holes to carrie them abroad.

And yet there be ſome who in this place write not ὤεα, that is to ſay, egs, but ἤια, as if they would ſay, their goods, to wit, the fruits or ſeeds which they have gathered and laid up for their proviſion, when they perceive them to begin to mould or bee fuſty, or feare that they will corrupt and putrifie. But that which ſurpaſſeth all other prudence, policie and wit, is their caution and prevention which they uſe, that their wheat or other corne may not ſpurt and grow. For this is certaine, that dry it cannot continue alwaies nor ſound and uncorrupt, but it will in time waxe ſoft, reſolve into a milkie juice, when it turneth and beginneth to ſwell and chit: for feare therefore that it become not a generative ſeed, and ſo by growing, looſe the nature & property of food for their nouriſhment, they gnaw that end thereof or head, where it is woont to ſpurt and bud forth.

For mine owne part, I do not admit or beleeve all that which ſome do anatomize of their caves and holes: who give out that there is not one direct and ſtraight way leading downe thereinto, nor the ſame eaſie and ready for any other creature to paſſe through; but there be certeine ſecret allies, blinde-pathes, crooked turnings, and hollow cranks, which meet all at the end in three holes or concavities; whereof the one forſooth is the common hall for them to meet all together: the ſecond is their cellar or ambry for their victuals and proviſion; and the third a by-roome where they beſtow their dead.

Well, I thinke it not amiſſe nor impertinent, if next after piſmires, I bring foorth upon the ſtage before you the elephants, to the end that we may know the nature of this art, and intelligence which now is in queſtion, as well in the greateſt beaſts as the ſmalleſt creatures, and ſee how as it appeereth in the one, ſo it is not defective or wanting in the other. Other men I am ſure doe make a woonder at that which the elephant learneth, and is taught, whoſe docilitie is exhibited unto us in the theaters, by his ſundry ſorts of geſtures, and changes in dauncing, ſuch as for their varietie and exquiſit elegancie, it were very hard for men with all their memorie, perfection of witte, and exerciſe, to remember, to expreſſe, and performe accordingly: but I for my part, me thinks, doe ſee more cleerely and evidently the prudence and ſagacitie of this beaſt, in the paſſions, affections, and motions which he hath of himſelfe without teaching, as being more ſimple, ſincere, and naturall; for not long ſince, at *Rome* there were a number of them trained and exerciſed againſt the ſolemnity of their games and plaies, in certeine ſtrange ſtations, intricate motions, and hard turnings round, to goe, to come, to ſtande, and wheele about in a trice: but among them, there was one more dull, blockiſh, groſſe, and ſlowe, than the reſt, both in conceiving, and alſo in reteining; by reaſon whereof, he being ever and anon reproched and rated with ſhamefull words, yea, and many times beaten well for his untowardneſſe, was found otherwhiles alone by himſelfe in the night, repeating as it were and conning his leſſons by moone-ſhine, labouring hard for to expreſſe and atteine unto that which hee had beene taught. *Agnon* writeth, that before this time, in *Syria* there was an elephant kept and nouriſhed in a private mans houſe, whoſe governour had allowed unto him from his maſter, a certeine meaſure of barley every day for his provender; but there was not a day went over his head, wherein he robbed and deceived him not of the one halfe: it fortuned, that one time above the reſt, the maſter of the houſe would needs ſee the elephant ſerved, then his governour powred out before him his full allowance, even the whole meaſure that was his due; but the elephant caſting an unhappy and untoward eie at him, divided his barley with the ſnout of his trunke, and put a part the one moity thereof, ſhewing the beſt way he could deviſe unto his maſter, the wrong that the governour aforeſaid had done unto him: He reporteth likewiſe of another, who ſeeing that his keeper blended earth and ſtones among his barley, to make the meaſure to ſeeme compleat; ſpied his time and came unto the potage pot ſtanding over the fire, wherein was fleſh a ſeething for dinner, and filled it up with aſhes.

Another being provoked and miſuſed at *Rome*, by certeine little boies, who with their bodkins and penknives uſed to pricke and punch his ſnout or trunke; caught up one of them by the middle, and held him up in the aire, ſo as it was thought he would have cruſhed and ſqueazed the guttes out of his belly; they that ſaw the maner of it, tooke up a great cry incontinently for feare of the poore boy, but the elephant ſet him downe ſoftly againe upon the ground, in the very place where he caught him up, and doing him no hurt at all paſſed by; judging it a ſufficient chaſticement for ſo little a childe, that he was onely put in a fright: Thus much of tame and trained elephants. As for thoſe which are ſavage, and live in the wilde fields at their liberty, woonderfull things be reported of them, and namely as touching their paſſage over rivers; for the yoongeſt and leaſt of them all, expoſing himſelfe to hazard for the reſt, leadeth the way, and wadeth firſt thorough; the other ſeeing him landed upon the banke o[illegible]he other ſide, make this account, that if the leaſt and loweſt of their heard be tall enough to ſurmount the depth of the chanell, they which are bigger and higher, have no cauſe to feare any thing, but that they alſo may get over in ſafety.

And ſince I am fallen into this argument, and proceeded ſo farre into it, me thinks I ſhould not forget one example of *Reinard*, for the affinitie and conformity it hath with this device laſt rehearſed: Thoſe who have invented fabulous tales make report, that during the great deluge, *Deucalion* uſed to let foorth a dove out of the arke, to know what weather it was like to be abroad; for if ſhe returned ſoone againe, ſhe brought newes of tempeſt and raine, but if ſhe flew cleane away, and came no more backe, ſhe ſhewed thereby that it was calme and faire weather.

But true it is that the Thracians even at this day when they purpoſe to paſſe over a river frozen all over with ice, take a fox with them for their guide, to ſound the way before them, whether the ice be ſtrong enough and able to beare; the fox goes gently before, and laieth his eare cloſe to the ice, and if by the noiſe of the water running underneath and comming unto his eare, he gueſſeth that the ice is not thicke nor frozen deepe, but thinne and weake, he maketh a ſtay, and returneth if a man will let him: contrariwiſe, if hee perceive by his eare no noiſe at all of water running under the ice, he paſſeth forward confidently: Surely we cannot ſay that this is onely an exquiſite quickneſſe in the ſenſe of hearing, without any diſcourſe of reaſon, but without all queſtion a kinde of ſyllogiſme or reaſoning, by conſequence drawen from that naturall ſence in this ſort: that which ſoundeth ſtirreth; that which ſtirreth is not frozen or congealed; what is not congealed, muſt needs be liquid; and whatſoever is liquid, yeeldeth, and is not able to hold, *ergo, &c.*

The Logicians holde that the hound meeting with a quarreferrie or croſſe way divided into many paths, uſeth a kinde of argumentation or reaſoning, which is called a disjunct proceeding from the enumeration of many parts; in this maner diſcourſeth with himſelfe: It muſt needs be that the beaſt in chaſe, paſſed by one of theſe three waies: but this way it went not, nor yet that way; therefore it can not chuſe, but this way he tooke, for the ſent of the noſethrils yeelded him no other intelligence, than of the premiſſes: and it was the diſcourſe of reaſon which gave him to underſtand the neceſſitie of the conſequence or concluſion inſerted upon the ſaid premiſſes and ſuppoſitions. Howbeit, the dogge hath need of no ſuch teſtimonie of Logicians, for falſe it is and counterfeit, becauſe it is the ſmell it ſelfe and ſent of the noſe, which by the tract of the foot and the fluxion of the odour comming from the beaſt, ſheweth him which way it fled, bidding farewell to theſe propoſitions either disjunct or junct, neither careth it for that enumeration of parts; but by many other effects, paſſions, functions, offices and actions which proceed neither from ſenſe of ſeeing nor of ſmelling, but onely from intelligence and diſcourſe of reaſon, by which they are evidently performed, a man may ſufficiently perceive and comprehend what is the nature of a dogge, whoſe continencie, obedience, ſagacitie, patience and paines-taking in chaſe, if I ſhould now diſcourſe upon, I ſhould but make my ſelfe ridiculous unto you, who ſee the ſame daily, and have experience and practiſe thereof continually. But this one example will I alledge unto you; namely, that during the civill warres at *Rome,* when a Romane citizen was murdered, the murderers could never cut off his head, untill they environed his dogge round and ſtabbed him to death, who guarded his maſters bodie, and fought moſt fiercely for him. King *Pyrrhus* as he travelled by the way, met with a dogge who kept the dead corps of his maſter lately ſlaine, and underſtanding by the inhabitants of the place, that he had continued three daies already, and never ſtirred from thence, nor yet eat or drunke ought, he commanded the bodie to be interred, ledde the dogge away with him, and made much of him: certaine daies after, there hapned a muſter or generall revew to be made of his ſouldiers, who ſhewed themſelves and paſſed before the king ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, and having the ſaid dog hard by him, who never quetched nor ſtirred all the whiles, untill he had a ſight of thoſe perſons who murdered his maſter; upon whom he ranne immediatly, baying and barking at them with open mouth and in great anger, eftſoones running backe and making toward *Pyrrhus*; inſomuch as not onely the king, but all thoſe who were about his perſon, entred into great ſuſpition that thoſe parties were they who had killed his maſter; whereupon they were apprehended, put in priſon, and judicially brought to their anſwere upon the point, and together with other preſumptions and light evidences inferred againſt them, they were ſo hardly urged, that they confeſſed the fact, and ſuffered puniſhment accordingly. The like (by report) did the dogge of learned *Heſiodus,* who detected the ſonnes of *Ganyctor* the Naupactian, of murder committed upon the perſon of his maſter. But that which our fathers ſaw themſelves with their owne eies whiles they were ſtudents at *Athens,* is more evident than all that hath beene ſaid already. And this it was: A certaine fellow had by ſtealth entred into the temple of *Aeſculapius,* & ſtollen from thence the faireſt and goodlieſt jewels both of gold and ſilver among the oblations there, which were moſt portable, and thinking that he was not eſpied by any creature, made means to get away againe ſecretly. The dog which kept the ſaid temple, and was named *Capparus,* did his beſt to barke and bay; but ſeeing none of the ſextanes and wardens of the church to come for all that, purſued the church-robber as he fled away; and notwithſtanding that he flung ſtones at him, yet gave not he over his purſute, but traced him hard at heels al the night. When day light was come, he would not approch neere unto him, but kept alooſe, followed him with his eie and never loſt the ſight of him; and notwithſtanding that he caſt him bread and other meat, he would none: ſo the night following the theefe laid him downe to ſleepe, the dog likewiſe kept all night hard by him; and the morrow morning when he tooke his way againe, the dog likewiſe aroſe and went after. Met he any paſſengers or waifaring men, hee would fawne upon them and wag his taile; contrariwiſe he barked eagerly at the theefe, and was readie to fly upon him. They who had the charge to follow with huy and crie, being enformed thus much by the travellers whom they met, as alſo of what bignes, colour and haire the dog was, continued their chaſe more willingly, and made ſuch hot purſute that they overtooke the fellow at *Crommyon*, & from thence brought him to *Athens*. The dog he marched before them all and leade them the way, as jocound, pleaſant, and gameſome as poſſibly could bee, as taking great joy that this church-robber had beene the game and prey that he had hunted and gotten. The Athenians when they heard the truth of this matter related unto them, ordained that the ſaid dog ſhould have a certaine meaſure of corne allowed him at the cities charges for his bread, and gave an eſpecially charge to the prieſts of that temple, to have a care of him ſo long as he lived: following herein the kindneſſe and liberallitie of their anceſtours which they extended in times paſt to a mule. For what time as *Pericles* cauſed to be built the temple of *Minerva*, named *Hecatompedon*, within the caſtle of the citie, there were is ordinarie for ſuch buildings, conveighed thither daily ſtones, timber, and other ſtuffe in carts and wagons drawen with beaſts. Now when many of thoſe mules which before time had willingly and painefully ſerved, were now for verie age diſcharged and ſent away to paſture: one there was among the reſt, who everie day would come into the high broad ſtreet *Ceramicum*, and go before thoſe draught beaſts which drew up ſtones to the mount, yea & accompanie them, as if he encouraged and hartned them to labour and travell. The people of *Athens* commending and admiring the good heart and induſtrious mind of the beaſt, gave order by a publike decree for his maintenance and keeping at the cities coſt, no leſſe than they would have done for an old bruiſed ſouldier, who now was paſt ſervice. And therefore we muſt ſay, that thoſe philoſophers who hold: That there is no communion nor ſocietie of juſtice betweene us and bruit beaſts, ſay true, if they reſtraine their ſpeech unto thoſe creatures onely, which live in the ſea and deepe bottomleſſe waters, with whom in deed we can have no fellowſhip at all of good will, love and affection, as being beaſts farre remote from all gentleneſſe, ſweet converſe, and good nature: and therefore *Homer* ſpeaking unto a man, who ſeemed to be inhumane, cruell and unſociable, ſaid elegantly thus:

The blackiſh blew ſea I thinke well,
Engendred thee, thou art ſo fell.

as if he would thereby give us to underſtand, that the ſea brings forth no creature that is milde, lovely, meek and gentle: but he that ſhould ſay as much and apply the former propoſition unto the land-beaſts, were himſelfe cruell and ſavage; if I ſay, he denied that there was no reciprocall commerce of amitie and juſtice betweene king *Lyſimachus* and his dog *Hyrcanus*, who remained continually alone about his corps when he was dead; yea and at the time that it was burned in the funerall fire, lept into it and was conſumed into aſhes with him for company. And reported it is, that there was another dog named *Actus*, did no leſſe which *Pyrrhus* kept, I meane not the king of that name, but another private perſon: for after his maſter was dead, he would never ſtirre from the bodie; and when the corps was carried forth in a couch upon the biere, he leapt upon it and was borne withall: and finally ſprung himſelfe into the fire and was burnt with him.

When king *Porus* was ſore wounded in a battell againſt king *Alexander* the Great; the elephant upon whoſe backe he rode and fought, drew foorth with his trunke right gently for feare of doing harme, many darts, arrowes and javelins wherewith hee was ſhot: and albeit himſelfe was grievouſly hurt, yet never fainted he and gave over before he perceived that his lord the king was readie to reele and ſinke downe, by reaſon of the effuſion of blood which hee had loſt; and then fearing that he would fall from on high to the grouud, he gently couched and yeelded with his bodie downeward to the earth, that he might alight with eaſe and without all danger.

King *Alexanders* horſe called *Bucephalus*, all while he was bare without his ſaddle and capariſon, would wel enough abide that his keeper ſhould mount upon his backe: was he trapped once and richly ſet out with the kings royall furniture, harneſſe, and ornament, hee would ſuffer none to ſit him but *Alexander* alone. And if others came neere him, and went about to get upon his backe,he would runne a front upon them ſnuffing, ſnorting and neighing, riſing up all afore at them; and if they made not good haſte to retire behind him and fly, hee would bee ſure to have them under his feet and trample over them. I know full well that you thinke theſe examples are hudled together in a confuſed varietie:but ſurely it is no eaſie matter to find any action of theſe noble beaſts,which repreſenteth one bare vertue and no more: for together with their kindneſſe and naturall love there is to be ſeene a certaine deſire of honour: amid their generoſitie a man may perceive a kind of induſtrious ſagacitie and wiſedome; neither is their wit and ſubtiltie void of courage and magnanimitie: howbeit,if men be diſpoſed to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate one from another by themſelves; the dogs do repreſent an example of a mild and gentle nature together with an haughtie courage and high mind, namely when they paſſe by and turne aſide from thoſe that ſubmit themſelves before them,according to that which *Homer* ſaith in one place:

The dogs ran foorth with open mouth,
they cried and bark't amaine:
Ulyſſes *wiſe his ſtafe let fall,*
and ſtirred not againe.

For their manner is not to fight any longer againſt thoſe who humbly fall downe proſtrate, or ſhew any ſemblance of lowly ſuppliants. Certes,the report goeth of a principall Indian dogge, who being for a ſingularitie above all other, ſent to fight a combat before king *Alexander* the Great,when there was let looſe at him firſt a ſtag,then a wild boare,and afterwards a beare, made no reckoning of them,nor deigned once to ſtirre out of his place nor riſe up: but when hee ſaw a lion preſented unto him,then incontinently he ſtood upon his feet, and addreſſed himſelfe to the combat; ſhewing evidently that he eſteemed the lion alone worthie to fight with him, and diſdained all the reſt. As for thoſe here among us which are woont to hunt hares, if they themſelves chaunce to kill them with faire play in the open field, they take pleaſure to teare them in pieces; they licke and lap their blood full willingly: but if the hare being out of heart and in deſpaire of her ſelfe,as many times it falleth out,employ all the force and ſtrength that ſhee hath in one courſe for all,and run her ſelfe out of breath, ſo as her winde is now cleane gone, and ſhee dead withall: the hounds finding her ſo, will not once touch her, but they keepe a wagging of their tailes round about her body,as if they would ſay,it is not for greedineſſe of hares fleſh, but an earneſt deſire to winne the priſe in running,that we hunt thus as we do.

As touching the craft and ſubtiltie which is in beaſts; foraſmuch as there be infinit examples thereof, overpaſſe I will the wily pranks of foxes, woolves,cranes and jaies: for common they be and every man ſeeth them; onely produce I will the teſtimonie of wiſe *Thales*, the moſt ancient of the ſeven ſages,who by report was not leaſt admired for his skill and cunning, in that hee diſcovered right well the craftines in a beaſt,and went beyond it.There was a companie of mules that had ſalt a load,and were carrying it from one place to another; and as they paſſed through the foord of a river, one of them chanced to fall under his burden into the water: the ſalt in his ſacke by this meanes taking wet, melted and reſolved into water for the moſt part of it, in ſuch ſort as the mule having recovered himſelfe upon all foure,found that he was well lightned of his load, and preſently conceived what was the reaſon: which gave ſo deepe an impreſſion in his memorie,that ever after, as often as he was to go thorow a river, hee would be ſure to ſtoup and couch his bodie low; firſt leaning of one ſide,and then of another,purpoſedly and for the nonce to wet and drench the bags on his backe which had ſalt in them. *Thales* hearing of this unhappy and ſhrewd wit of the mule, commaunded the muliter to fill the ſacks with the ſame weight of wooll and ſpundges,in ſtead of ſalt,to lay them upon his backe,and ſo to drive him with the reſt. The mule left not his old woont; but when he perceived that he was overcharged now with water beſides his ordinary load of wooll and ſpunges, he tooke himſelfe in the maner, and found that his craft now ſtood him in ſmall ſtead,but did him hurt: whereupon,ever after,he would go upright whenſoever he waded, and was very carefull that none of his packs or carriages ſhould once (though full againſt his will) touch the water.

Partridges have another kinde of ſubtiltie and craft by themſelves, and the ſame proceedeth from a certaine naturall love and motherly affection to their yoong birds,whom, when they are yet ſo feeble that they cannot flie & make ſhift for themſelves being purſued,they teach to caſt themſelves on their backs,with their heeles and bellies upward,and to hold either a clot of earth or ſome locke of ſtraw or ſuch like ſtuffe, to cover and ſhadow their bodies withal: meane while, the olde rowens turne thoſe that follow in chace another way, drawing them toward themſelves in flying to and fro juſt before them, even at their feet, ſeeming (as it were) by little and little to retire, and making as though they were ſcarſe able to ariſe from the earth, and as if they were ready to be taken, untill ſuch time as they have trained the fowlers farre from their little ones.

The hares when they have kinled, and be afraied of the hunters, returne to their formes, and carrie their leverets, ſome one way and ſome another, ſo as many times there is an arpent or good acre of ground diſtance betweene them, to the end that if either hound or hunter ſhould come upon them, they might not be all in danger at once to be taken; and they themſelves runne up and downe backward and forward in divers places, croſſing this way and that way, leaving their tracts very confuſed, and in the end take one great leape as farre as ever they can, from their foreſaid footing, and ſpring unto their forme, where they reſt and take their repoſe.

The beare being ſurpriſed with a certeine drowſie diſeaſe, called *Pholia,* before ſhe be altogether ſo heavily benummed and ſtupified therewith, that ſhe can not well ſtirre, maketh cleane the cave into which ſhe meaneth to retire herſelfe: & when ſhe is to go downe into it, all the way beſides which is toward it, ſhe treadeth very lightly, bearing herſelfe (as it were) upon her tiptoes: and being come neere unto it, ſhe turnes upon her backe, and ſo eicheth forward her bodie aſwell as ſhe can into her den.

Of red deere, the hynds commonly calve neere unto highway ſides, where ravenous beaſts, ſuch as live by prey, doe not ordinarily haunt. The ſtags when they perceive themſelves to be fat, well fleſhed, and good veniſon, ſeeke blinde corners to hide themſelves in, for the better ſecuritie of their lives, as not truſting then to their heeles and ſwift running.

The land-urchins are ſo wiſe and wary in defending and ſaving themſelves, that they have thereby given occaſion of this proverbe:

A thouſand wiles and mo,
of craftie fox there are:
The urchin one doth know,
and that is ſingular.

for when the urchin perceiveth Renard comming toward him,

All of a lumpe, as round as bur or ball,
His bodie lies, with pricks beſet withall:
No meanes ſhe hath, for thornie briſtles thicke,
To bite, to pinch, or touch him to the quicke.

and yet more ingenious is their forecaſt and providence for the feeding of their little ones; for in Autumne, a little before vintage time, you ſhall have an urchin or hedge-hogge get under a vine, and with his feet ſhake the ſtocke untill the grapes from their branches be fallen upon the ground, then he rouleth himſelfe round like a foot-ball among them, and catcheth them up with his ſharpe pricks; inſomuch as when we ſtood all of us ſometime to behold the manner of it, it ſeemed as if a cluſter of grapes had beene quicke, and ſo crept upon the ground; ſo beſet went he and covered all over with grapes: then ſo ſoone as he is gotten into his hole or neaſt, he offereth them unto his yoong ones to eat, to take from him and lay up for ſtore. This hole hath two faces or proſpects; the one regardeth the ſouth, the other looketh into the north. When they foreſee change & alteration of weather, like as skilful ſhip-maſters turne their ſailes according to the time; even ſo, they ſhut up that hole or entrie which ſtandeth in the wind, and ſet open the other: which when one of the citie *Cyzicum* had once obſerved and learned, he got a great name and reputation of a weather-wiſe-man, as if he foreknew of himſelfe by ſome ſingular gift, and could foretell from which coſt the wind would blow.

As touching ſocial love and fidelitie, accompanied with wit and underſtanding, the elephants as king *Juba* writeth, ſhew unto us an evident example: for they that hunt them are woont to dig deepe trenches, and thatch them over with a thinne cote of light ſtraw or ſome ſmall bruſh. Now when one of the heard chanceth to fall into a trench, for many of them uſe to go and feed together, all the reſt bring a mighty deale of ſtones, rammell wood, and whatſoever they can get, which they fling into the ditch for to fill it up, to the end that their fellow may have meanes thereby to get up againe. The ſame writer recordeth alſo that elephants uſe to pray unto gods, to purifie themſelves with the ſea water, and to adore the ſunne riſing, by lifting up their trunked ſnout into the aire (as if it were their hãd) & all thus of their own accord & untaught. And to ſay a truth of all beaſts the elephant is moſt devout & religious, as K. *Ptolemæus Philopater* hath wel teſtified: for after he had defaited *Antiochus,* & was minded to render condign thanks unto the gods for ſo glorious a victorie, among many other beaſts for ſacrifice, he ſlew foure elephants: but afterwards being much diſquieted and troubled in the night with fearefull dreames, and namely, that God was wroth and threatned him for ſuch an uncouth and ſtrange ſacrifice; hee made meanes to appeaſe his ire by many other propitiatorie oblations, and among the reſt, hee dedicated unto him fower elephants of braſſe, in ſteed of thoſe which were killed: no leſſe is the ſociable kindneſſe and good nature which lions ſhew one one unto another; for the yoonger ſort which are more able and nimble of body, lead forth with them into the chace for to hunt and prey thoſe that be elder and unweldy; who when they be weary, ſit them downe and reſt, waiting for the other; who being gone forward to hunt if they meet with game and ſpeed, then they all ſet up a roaring note altogether, much like unto the bellowing of bulles, and thereby call their fellowes to them; which the old lions hearing, preſently runne unto them, where they take their part, and devour they prey in common.

To ſpeake of the amatorious affections of brute beaſts, ſome are very ſavage and exceeding furious: others more milde, and not altogether unlike unto the courting and wooing uſed betweene man and woman, yea, & I may ſay to you, ſmelling ſomewhat of wanton and venerious behaviour: and ſuch was the love of an elephant, a counter ſuter or corrivall with *Ariſtophanes* the grammarian, to a woman in *Alexandria*, that ſold chaplets or garlands of flowers: neither did the elephant ſhew leſſe affection to her than the man, for hee would bring her alwaies out of the fruit market, as he paſſed by, ſome apples, peares, or other fruit, and then he would ſtay long with her, yea, and otherwhiles put his ſnout, as it were his hand, within her boſome under her partlet, and gently feele her ſoft pappes and white ſkinne about her faire breſt.

A dragon alſo there was enamoured upon a yoong maiden of *Aetolia*: it would come to viſit her by night, creepe along the very bare ſkinne of her body, yea, and winde about her without any harme in the world done unto her, either willingly or otherwiſe, and then would gently depart from her by the breake of day: now when this ſerpent had continued thus for certeine nights together ordinarily; at the laſt the friends of the yoong damoſel remooved her, and ſent her out of the way a good way off; but the dragon for three or fower nights together came not to the houſe, but wandred and ſought up and downe heere and there as it ſhould ſeem for the wench; in the end, with much adoo, having found her out, he came and claſped her about, not in that milde and gentle maner as before time, but after a rougher ſort; for having with other windings and knots bound her hands and armes faſt unto her body, with the reſt of his taile he flapped and beat her legges, ſhewing a gentle kinde of amorous diſpleaſure and anger, yet ſo, as it might ſeeme he had more affection to pardon, than deſire to puniſh her.

As for the gooſe in *Aegypt* which fell in love with a boy; and the goat that caſt a fanſie to *Glauce* the minſtrell wench: becauſe they are hiſtories ſo wel knowen, and in every mans mouth: for that alſo I ſuppoſe you are wearie already of ſo many tedious tales and narrations, I forbeare to relate them before you: but the merles, crowes, and perroquets or popinjaies, which learne to prate, and yeeld their voice and breath to them that teach him, ſo pliable, ſo tractable and docible, for to forme and expreſſe a certeine number of letters and ſyllables as they would have them, me thinks they plead ſufficiently, and are able to defend the cauſe of all other beaſts, teaching us as I may ſay, by learning of us, that capable they be not onely of the inward diſcourſe of reaſon, but alſo of the outward gift uttered by diſtinct words, and an articulate voice: were it not then a meere ridiculous mockerie, to compare theſe creatures with other dumbe beaſts which have not ſo much voice in them, as will ſerve to houle withall, or to expreſſe a groane and complaint? but how great a grace and elegancie there is in the naturall voices and ſongs of theſe, which they reſound of themſelves, without learning of any maſters, the beſt muſicians and moſt ſufficient poets that ever were do teſtifie, who compare their ſweeteſt canticles and poems unto their ſongs of ſwannes and nightingals: now foraſmuch as to teach, ſheweth greater uſe of reaſon; than to learne wee are to give credit unto *Ariſtotle*, who ſaith: that brute beaſts are endued alſo with that gift, namely, that they teach one another: for hee writeth that the nightingale hath beene ſeene to traine up her yoong ones in ſinging; and this experience may ſerve to teſtifie on his behalfe, that thoſe nightingales ſing nothing ſo well, which are taken very yong out of the neſt, and were not fedde nor brought up by their dammes; for thoſe that be nouriſhed by them, learne withall, of them to ſing, and that not for money and gaine, nor yet for glory, but becauſe they take pleaſure to ſing well, and love the elegance above the profit of the voice: and to this purpoſe report I will unto you a ſtorie which I have heard of many, as well Greeks as Romans, who were preſent and eie witneſſes: There was a barber within the city of *Rome*, who kept a ſhoppe over againſt the temple, called *Grecoſtiſis*, or *Forum Græ-*

cum, and there nouriſhed a pie, which would ſo talke, prate, and chatte, as it was woonderfull, counting the ſpeech of men and women, the voice of beaſts, and ſound of muſicall inſtruments, and that voluntarily of her ſelfe without the conſtreint of any perſon, onely ſhe accuſtomed her ſelfe ſo to doe, and tooke a certeine pride and glory in it, endevouring all that ſhe could to leave nothing unſpoken, or not expreſſed: now it hapned that there were ſolemnized great funerals of one of the welthieſt perſonages in the city, and the corps was caried foorth in a great ſtate, with the ſound of many trumpets that marched before; in which ſolemnitie, for that the maner was that the pompe and whole company ſhould ſtand ſtill and reſt a time in that verie place, it fell out ſo, that the trumpetters who were right cunning and excellent in their arte, ſtaied there, ſounding melodiouſlie all the while: the morrow after this, the pie became mute and made no noiſe at all, nor uttered not ſo much as her naturall voice which ſhe was wont to doe, for to expreſſe her ordinarie and neceſſarie paſſions; inſomuch, as they who before time woondered at her voice and prating, marvelled now much more at her ſilence, thinking it a very ſtrange matter to paſſe by the ſhop and heare her ſay nothing; ſo as there grew ſome ſuſpition of others profeſſing the ſame art and trade, that they had given her ſome poiſon: howbeit, moſt men gueſſed that it was the violent ſound of the trumpets which had made her deafe, and that together with the ſenſe of hearing, her voice alſo was utterly extinct: but it was neither the one nor the other; for the trueth was this, as appeared afterwards: ſhe was in a deepe ſtudie, and through meditation retired within herſelfe, whiles her minde was buſie and did prepare her voice like an inſtrument of muſicke, for imitation; for at length her voice came againe and wakened (as it were) all on a ſudden, uttering none of her olde notes nor that which ſhe was accuſtomed before to parle and counterfeit; onely the ſound of trumpets ſhe reſembled, keeping the ſame periods, the ſame ſtops, pauſes and ſtraines; the ſame changes, the ſame reports, and the ſame times and meaſures: a thing, that confirmeth more and more that which I have ſaid before; namely, that there is more uſe of reaſon in teaching of themſelves, than in learning by another. Yet can I not conteine my ſelfe, but I muſt needs in this place recite unto you one leſſon that I my ſelfe ſaw a dogge to take out, when I was at *Rome*: This dog ſerved a plaier who profeſſed to counterfeit many perſons, and to repreſent ſundry geſtures; & among ſundry other prety tricks which his maſter taught him, anſwerable to divers paſſions, occaſions and occurrents repreſented upon the ſtage, his maſter made an experiment on him with a drogue or medicine which was ſomniferous indeed and ſleepie, but muſt be taken and ſuppoſed deadly; who tooke the piece of bread wherein the ſaid drogue was mingled, and within a little while after he had ſwallowed it downe, he began to make as though hee trembled, quaked, yea and ſtaggered, as if he had beene aſtonied, in the end he ſtretched out himſelfe, and lay as ſtiffe as one ſtarke dead, ſuffering himſelfe to be pulled, haled, and drawen from one place to another, like a very blocke, according as the preſent argument and matter of the place required; but afterwards, when hee underſtood by that which was ſaid and done, that his time was come, and that he had caught his hint, then beganne he at the firſt to ſtirre gently by little and little, as if hee had newly revived or awakened, and ſtarted out of a dead ſleepe, and lifting up his head, began to looke about him too and fro; at which object all the beholders woondered not a little; afterwards he aroſe upon his feet, and went directly to him unto whom he was to goe, very jocund and mery: this pageant was performed ſo artificially, I cannot tell whether to ſay or naturally, that all thoſe who were preſent, and the emperour himſelfe (for *Veſpaſian* the father was there in perſon, within the theater of *Marcellus*) tooke exceeding great pleaſure, and joied woonderfully to ſee it.

But peradventure we may deſerve well to be mocked for our labour, praiſing beaſts as we doe ſo highly, for that they be ſo docible and apt to learne, ſeeing that *Democritus* ſheweth and proveth, that we our ſelves have beene apprentiſes and ſcholars to them in the principall things of this life; namely, to the ſpider, for ſpinning, weaving, derning, and drawing up a rent; to the ſwallow, for architecture and building; to the melodious ſwanne and ſhrill nightingale, for vocall muſicke, and all by way of imitation. As for the art of phyſicke, and the * three kindes thereof, we may ſee in the nature of beaſts, the greateſt and moſt generous part of each of them: for they uſe not onely that, which ordeined drogues and medicines to purge ill humours out of the body, ſeeing that the tortoiſes take origan; wezels, rue, when they have eaten a ſerpent; dogges alſo when they be troubled with choler of the gall, purge themſelves with a certeine herbe, thereupon called dogges-graſſe; the dragon likewiſe if he finde his eies to be dimme, clenſeth, ſcoureth, and diſpatcheth the cloudineſſe thereof with fenell; and the beare ſo ſoone

* φαρμακευτικὴ.
διαιτητικὴ.
χειρουργικὴ.

as ſhe is gone out of her denne, ſeeketh out the firſt thing that ſhe doth, the wilde herbe called *Aron,* that is to ſay, wake-robin, for the acrimonie and ſharpneſſe thereof openeth her bowels when they are growen together, yea, and at other times finding herſelfe upon fulneſſe, given to loth and diſtaſte all food, ſhe goes to finde out ants neſts, where ſhe ſits her downe lilling out the tongue which is glibbe and ſoft, with a kinde of ſweet and ſlimy humour, untill it be full of ants and their egges, then draweth ſhe it it againe, ſwalloweth them downe, and thereby cureth her lothing ſtomacke. Semblably it is ſaid, that the Aegyptians having obſerved their bird *Ibis,* which is the blacke ſtorke, to give herſelfe a cliſter of ſea water, by imitation of her did the like by themſelves. Certeine it is, that their prieſts uſe to beſprinkle, purifie, and hallow themſelves with that water out of which ſhe hath drunke; for let any water be venemous, or otherwiſe hurtfull and unholſome, the *Ibis* will none of it: but alſo ſome beaſts there be, which feeling themſelves ill at eaſe, are cured by diet and abſtinence; as namely woolves and lions, when they have devoured too much fleſh, and are cloied or glutted therewith, they lie me downe, take their eaſe, cheriſhing and keeping themſelves warme.

It is reported likewiſe of the tygre, that when a yoong kidde was given unto her, ſhe faſted two daies, according to the diet which ſhe uſeth, before ſhe touched it, and the third day being very hungry, called for other food, ready to burſt the cage wherein ſhe was encloſed, and forbare to eat the ſaid kid, ſuppoſing that now ſhe was to keepe it with her, as a familiar & domeſticall companion. Nay that which more is, recorded it is, that elephants practiſe the feat of chirurgery; for ſtanding by thoſe that are wounded in a battell, they can skill of drawing out tronchions of ſpeares, javelin heads, arrowes and darts out of their bodies, with ſuch dexterity and eaſe, that they will neither teare and hurt their fleſh, nor put them to any paine whatſoever. The goats of *Candy* when they be ſhotte into the body with arrowes or darts, fall to eat the herbe *Dictamus,* & thereby thruſt them out, and make them fal off with facility, & by this meanes they have taught women with child that this herbe hath a propertie to cauſe abortive birth, and the child in their wombe to miſcarrie: for the ſaid goats are no ſooner wounded, but they runne preſently to this herbe, and never ſeeke after any other remedy. Woonderfull theſe things are (no doubt) howbeit leſſe miraculous, when we conſider the natures of beaſts, how they be capable of arithmeticke, and have the knowledge of numbring and keeping account: as the kine and oxen about *Suſa*; for appointed they be there to water the kings gardens, drawing up water in buckets with a device of wheels that they turne about in maner of a windles; and everie one of them for their part muſt draw up an hundred buckets in a day: ſo many they will do juſt, but more you ſhal not get of them, neither by faire meanes nor foule; for no ſooner have they performed their task, but preſently they give over & impoſſible it is to force them any farther then their account: notwithſtanding triall hath bene made; ſo juſtly and exactly they both know, and alſo keepe the reckoning, as *Cteſians* the Guidian hath left in writing. As for the Lybians they mocke the Aegyptians, for reporting this of their beaſt called *Oryx,* as a great ſingularitie, that hee ſetteth up a certaine crie that verie day and houre, when as the ſtar named by them *Sothe,* and by us the Dog, or *Sirius* doth ariſe: for they give out, that with them all their goats together, at the verie inſtant when the ſaid ſtarre mounteth up within their horizon with the ſunne, will bee ſure to turne and looke into the eaſt: and this they hold to be an infallible ſigne of the revolution of that ſtarre, agreeing juſt with the rules and obſervations of the Mathematicians. But to cloſe up and conclude at length this diſcourſe, that it may come to an end, let us (as it were) take in hand the ſacred anchor, and for a finall concluſion knit up all with a briefe ſpeech of their divinitie and propheticall nature. For certaine it is, that one of the greateſt, moſt noble and ancient parts of divination or ſoothſaying, is that which being drawen from the flight and ſinging of birds, they call Augurie: and in truth the nature of theſe birds being ſo quicke, ſo active, ſo ſpirituall, and in regard of that agilitie & nimbleneſſe verie pliable, and obſequent to all viſions & fantaſies preſented, offereth it ſelfe unto God, as a proper inſtrnment to be uſed & turned which way he wil; one while to motion, another while into certaine voices, laies & tunes, yea & into divers & ſundrie geſtures: now to ſtop and ſtay, anon to drive and put forward, in manner of the winds; by meanes whereof he impeacheth and holdeth backe ſome actions and affections, but directeth others unto their end & accompliſhment. And this no doubt is the reaſon that *Euripides* tearmeth al birds in generall the heraulds and meſſengers of the gods: and particularly *Socrates* ſaid, that he was become a fellow ſervitor with the ſwans: ſemblably, among the kings, *Pyrrhus* was well pleaſed when as men called him the Eagle, and *Antiochus* tooke as great pleaſure to be called the Sacre or the Hauke. Whereas contrariwiſe, when we are diſpoſed to mocke, to flout, or to reproch thoſe that be dull, indocible and blockiſh, wee call them fiſhes. To bee ſhort, an hundred thouſand things there be that God doth ſhew, foretell and prognoſticate unto us by the meanes of beaſts, as well thoſe of the land beneath, as the fowles of the aire above. But who that ſhall plead in the behalfe of fiſhes or water-creatures, will not be able to alledge ſo much as one: for, deafe they be all and dombe; * blind alſo for any fore-ſight or providence that they have, as being caſt into a balefull place and bottomleſſe gulfe, where impious Atheiſts & rebellious Titans or giants againſt God are beſtowed; where they have no ſight of God, no more than in hell where damned ſoules are; where the reaſonable and intellectuall part of the ſoule is utterly extinct, and the reſt that remaineth, drenched or rather drowned (as a man would ſay) in the moſt baſe and vile ſenſuall part, ſo as they ſeeme rather to pant then to live.

* τυφλά.

HERACLEON.

Plucke up your browes, good *Phædimus*, open your eies, awake your ſpirits, and beſtirre your ſelfe in the defenſe of us poore Ilanders and maritime inhabitants: for here we have heard not a diſcourſe iwis merrily deviſed to paſſe away the time, but a ſerious plea premeditate and laboured before hand, a verie Rhetoricall declamation which might beſeeme well to bee pronounced at the barre in judiciall court, or delivered from a pulpit and tribunall before a publicke audience.

PHAEDIMUS.

Now verily, good ſir *Heracleon*, this is a meere ſurpriſe and a manifeſt ambuſh laid craftily of ſet purpoſe; for this brave oratour (as you ſee) being yet faſting and ſober himſelfe; and having ſtudied his oration all night long hath ſet upon us at the diſvantage, and altogether unprovided, as being ſtill heavy in the head, and drenched with the wine that we drunke yeſterday. Howbeit we ought not now to draw backe and recule for all this: for being as I am an affectionate lover of the poet *Pindarus*, I would not for any good in the world, heare this ſentence of his juſtly alledged againſt me.

When games of priſe and combats once are ſet,
Who ſhrinketh backe, and doth pretend ſome let,
In darkneſſe hides and obſcuritie,
His fame of vertue and activitie.

for at great leaſure we are all, and not the dances onely be at repoſe, but alſo dogs and horſes, caſtnets, drags, and all manner of nets beſides: yea and this day there is a generall ceſſation given to all creatures as wel on land as in ſea, for to give eare unto this diſputation. And as for you my maſters here, have no doubt, nor be you affraid; for I will uſe my libertie in a meane, and not draw out an Apologie or counterplea in length, by alledging the opinions of philoſophers; the fables of the Aegyptians; the headleſſe tales of the Indians or Libyans, without proofe of any teſtimonies; but quickly come to the point, and looke what examples be moſt manifeſt and evident to the eie, and ſuch as ſhall bee teſtified and verified by all thoſe marriners or travellers that are acquainted with the ſeas, ſome few of them I will produce. And yet verily in the prooſes and arguments drawen from creatures above the ground, there is nothing to empeach the ſight, the view of them being ſo apparant and daily preſented unto our eie, whereas the ſea affoordeth us the ſight of a few effects, within it & thoſe hardly and with much adoe (as it were) by a glaunce and glimmering light, hiding from us the moſt part of the breeding and feeding of fiſhes: the meanes alſo that they uſe, either to aſſaile one another or to defend themſelves wherein I aſſure you there be actions of prudence, memory, ſocietie, and equity not a few, which becauſe they are not knowen, it cannot chuſe but our diſcourſe as touching this argument will be leſſe enriched and enlarged with examples, and ſo by conſequence the cauſe more hardly defended and mainteined.

Over and beſides, this advantage have land beaſts, that by reaſon of their affinity as it were, and daily converſation with men, they get a tincture as it were from them, of their maners and faſhions, and conſequently enjoy a kinde of nurture, teaching, diſcipline, and apprentiſing by imitation; which is able to dulce, allay, and mittigate all the bitterneſſe and auſterity of their nature, no leſſe than freſh water mingled with the ſea, maketh it more ſweet and potable: likewiſe all the unſociable wildeneſſe, and heavy unweldineſſe therein, it ſtirreth up, when the ſame is once mooved and ſet on foot by the motions that it learneth by converſing with men: whereas on the otherſide the life of ſea-creatures being farre remote and devided by long and large confines from the frequentation of men, as having no helpe of any thing without, nor any thing to be taught it by uſe and cuſtome, is altogether ſolitarie and by it ſelfe, as nature brought it foorth, ſo it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forren faſhions, and all by reaſon of the place which they inhabit, and not occaſioned by the quality of their owne nature, for ſurely their nature conceiving and reteining within it ſelfe as much diſcipline and knowledge as it is poſſible for to atteine unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar eeles (which they call ſacred) that uſe to come to hand; ſuch as are among the reſt, of thoſe in the fountaine *Arethuſa*, beſides many other fiſhes in divers places, which are very obeiſant and obſequious when they be called by their names, as is reported of *Marcus Craſſus* his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when *Domitus* upon a time reproched him for it, by way of mockerie in this wiſe: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him preſently in this maner: And were not you the kinde and ſweet husband who having buried three wives never ſhed teare for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the preiſts when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and ſtroked by them, but alſo yawne and offer there teeth unto them to be picked and clenſed with there hands, yea and to be skowred and rubbed all over with linen clothes. It is not long ſince that *Philinus* a right good man and well reputed, after his returne from his voiage out of *Aegypt*, where he had bin to ſee the countrey recounted unto us, that in the city of *Anteus* he had ſeene an olde woman ly a ſleepe on a little pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modeſtly couched cloſe along by her ſide. And it is found in old records, that when one of the kings called *Ptolomai*, called unto the ſacred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the prieſts, notwithſtanding they gently praied and intreated her; a ſigne thought to be a prognoſticke and preſage of his death, which ſoone after enſued: whereby it is plaine that the kind and generation of theſe water beaſts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that ſacred and highly eſteemed ſcience of divination and foretelling future things; conſidering that even in the countrey of *Lycia*; betweene the cities of *Phellos* and *Myrz*, that is, a village called *Sura*, where I heare ſay, the inhabitants uſe to ſit and behold the fiſhes ſwimming in the water, like as in other places they obſerve birds flying in the aire, marking their lying in wait and ambuſh, their ſcudding away and purſute after them; whereby according to a certeine skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may ſuffice to ſhew and declare, that their nature is not altogether eſtranged from us, nor unſociable.

As touching their proper wit, and naturall prudence, wherein there is no mixture at all borrowed from other, this is ingenerall, a great argument thereof, that there is no creature that ſwimmeth or liveth in the waters, except thoſe which ſticke to ſtones, and cleave to rocks, that is ſo eaſie to be caught by man, or otherwiſe to be taken without trouble, as aſſes are by wolves; bees by the birds *Meropes*; graſhoppers by ſwallowes; or ſerpents by ſtagges, who are ſo eaſily caught up by them; in Greeke they tooke the name ἔλαφοι, not ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαφρότητος, that is to ſay, of lightneſſe: but ἀπὸ τῆς ἕλξεως, τοῦ ὄφεως, that is to ſay, of drawing up a ſerpent out of his hole. The ſheepe calleth as it were the woolfe, by the foote; like as by report the leopard allureth unto him the moſt part of beaſts, who are willing to approch him for the pleaſure they take in his ſmell, and above all others the ape. But ſea creatures generally all, have a certeine inbred ſagacity, a wary perceivance before hand, which maketh them to be ſuſpicious and circumſpect, yea, and to ſtand upon their guard againſt all fore-laying; ſo that the arte of hunting and catching them is not a ſmall piece of worke, and a ſimple cunning; but that which requireth a great number of engins of all ſorts, and asketh woonderfull devices, and ſubtill ſleights to compaſſe and goe beyond them; and this appeereth by the experience of ſuch things, as we have daily in our hands: For firſt and formoſt the cane or reed of which the angle rodde is made, fiſhers would not have to bee bigge and thicke, and yet they had need of ſuch an one as is tough and ſtrong, for to plucke up and hold the fiſhes, which commonly doe mightily fling and ſtruggle when they be caught; but they chuſe rather that which is ſmall and ſlender, for feare leſt if it caſt abroad ſhadow, it might moove the doubt and ſuſpicion that is naturally in fiſhes: moreover the line they make not with many water-knots, but deſire to have it as plaine and even as poſſibly may be without any roughneſſe, for that this giveth as it were ſome denuntiation unto them of fraud and deceit: they take order likewiſe that the haires which reach to the hooke, ſhould ſeeme as white as poſſibly they can deviſe, for the whiter they be, the leſſe are they ſeene in the water, for the conformity and likeneſſe in colour to it: as for that which the poet *Homer* ſaith:

Downe right to bottome of the ſea,
like plumbe of leade ſhe went,

That peiſeth downe the fiſhers hooke,
and holdes the line extent;
*Which paſſing through tranſparent * horne,*
that rurall oxes head bare,
To greedy fiſhes ſecretly
brings death ere they be ware.

* κέρας.

Some miſunderſtanding theſe verſes, would infer therupon, that men in old time uſed the hairs of an oxe tale to make there lines withal, ſaying that this word κερας, which commonly in Greeke is taken for an horne, ſignifieth in this place haire; & that hereupon κειρασθαι is derived, which betokeneth to ſheere or cut haire; and κουρα, that is to ſay, ſheering or clipping; as alſo, that from hence it is that *Archilochus* tearmeth a daintie & wanton minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the haire & wearing a peruke curiouſly ſet, κεραπλαστης. But ſurely, this their collection is not true, for they uſed as we do, the haire of horſe tailes, to make their angle-lines withal, chuſing thoſe that grow either on ſtone-horſes or geldings, and not of mares, for that ever & anon they wet their tailes with ſtaling, and by that means the haires of them are tenderand apt to breake. And *Ariſtotle* himſelfe writeth, that in thoſe verſes above cited there is no deepe matter that requireth ſuch an exquiſit & curious ſcanning; for that (in truth) fiſhers uſe to overcaſt the line neere unto the hooke with a piece of horne, for feare leſt fiſhes when they have ſwallowed down the hooke, ſhould with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooks, they uſe thoſe that be round, for to take mullets and the fiſhes *amiæ*, becauſe they have narrow mouthes: for very wary they are to avoid the longer and ſtreighter kind; yea, and many times the mullet ſuſpecteth the round hooke, ſwimming round about it, and flurting with the taile the bait and meat that is upon it, and never linnes flapping, untill he have ſhaken it off, and then devoureth it: but ſay, he can not ſpeed that way, he drawes his mouth together, and with the very edge and utmoſt brim of his lips he nibleth about the bait, untill he have gnawen it off. The wide mouthed ſea-pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hooke, ſheweth herein more valour and animoſitie than the elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow ſticking the bodie; but maketh meanes to deliver himſelfe from the ſaid hooke, ſhaking his head and writhing it to and fro untill he have inlarged the wound and made it wider; enduring moſt ſtoutly and reſolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torne, and never gives over, untill he have wreſted and wrung the hooke out of his bodie. The ſea fox will not many times come neere unto an hooke, he reculeth backe and is afraid of ſome deceitfull guile; but ſay that he chance to be ſurpriſed quickly, he maketh ſhift to winde himſelfe off againe: for ſuch is his ſtrength, agilitie and ſlipperie moiſture withall, that he will turne himſelfe upſide downe with his taile upward, in ſuch ſort, that when by overturning his ſtomacke all within is come forth, it can not chuſe but the hooke looſeth the hold which it had and falleth foorth.

Theſe examples do ſhew a certeine intelligence, and withall a wittie and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occaſion requireth. But other fiſhes there be, which beſides this induſtrious ſagacitie in ſhifting for themſelves, do repreſent a ſociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the *anthiæ* and *ſcari*: for when the *ſcarus* hath ſwallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellowes come leaping about him, and gnaw the line aſunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net and entangled, their companions give them their tailes without, which they holde as faſt as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawen them foorth. As for the *anthiæ*, they come to reſcue and ſuccour one of their owne kinde with more audacitie, for putting the line againſt their backe, they ſet to it the ridge bone, which is ſharpe toothed in maner of a ſaw, and with it they endevour to file and ſaw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as farre as wee know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellowes being in danger of life, neither beare, bore, lion, nor leopard. Well may thoſe gather all together in heaps, which are of the ſame kind and run one with another round about the cirque or ſhew-place with the Amphitheaters: but to reſcue or ſuccour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have the courage to doe it: for they fly and leape backward as farr as ever they can poſſibly from one that is hurt or killed in their ſight: as for that ſtory my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they caſt into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may caſt himſelfe upon, & beſides ſo get forth, it is very ſtrange and far fet: and becauſe it commeth it foorth, ſo it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forren faſhions, and all by reaſon of the place which they inhabit, and not occaſioned by the quality of their owne nature, for ſurely their nature conceiving and reteining within it ſelfe as much diſcipline and knowledge as it is poſſible for to atteine unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar eeles (which they call ſacred) that uſe to come to hand; ſuch as are among the reſt, of thoſe in the fountaine *Arethuſa,* beſides many other fiſhes in divers places, which are very obeiſant and obſequious when they be called by their names, as is reported of *Marcus Craſſus* his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when **Domitus** upon a time reproched him for it, by way of mockerie in this wiſe: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him preſently in this maner: And were not you the kinde and ſweet husband who having buried three wives never ſhed teare for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the preiſts when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and ſtroked by them, but alſo yawne and offer there teeth unto them to be picked and clenſed with there hands, yea and to be skowred and rubbed all over with linen clothes. It is not long ſince that *Philinus* a right good man and well reputed, after his returne from his voiage out of *Aegypt,* where he had bin to ſee the countrey recounted unto us, that in the city of *Anteus* he had ſeene an olde woman ly a ſleepe on a little pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modeſtly couched cloſe along by her ſide. And it is found in old records, that when one of the kings called *Ptolomæi,* called unto the ſacred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the prieſts, notwithſtanding they gently praied and intreated her; a ſigne thought to be a prognoſticke and preſage of his death, which ſoone after enſued: whereby it is plaine that the kind and generation of theſe water beaſts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that ſacred and highly eſteemed ſcience of divination and foretelling future things; conſidering that even in the countrey of *Lycia*; betweene the cities of *Phellos* and *Myrz,* that is, a village called *Sura,* where I heare ſay, the inhabitants uſe to ſit and behold the fiſhes ſwimming in the water, like as in other places they obſerve birds flying in the aire, marking their lying in wait and ambuſh, their ſcudding away and purſute after them; whereby according to a certeine skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may ſuffice to ſhew and declare, that their nature is not altogether eſtranged from us, nor unſociable.

As touching their proper wit, and naturall prudence, wherein there is no mixture at all borrowed from other, this is ingenerall, a great argument thereof, that there is no creature that ſwimmeth or liveth in the waters, except thoſe which ſticke to ſtones, and cleave to rocks, that is ſo eaſie to be caught by man, or otherwiſe to be taken without trouble, as aſſes are by wolves; bees by the birds *Meropes*; graſhoppers by ſwallowes; or ſerpents by ſtagges, who are ſo eaſily caught up by them; in Greeke they tooke the name ἔλαφοι, not ἀπὸ τ̃ ἐλαφρότητος, that is to ſay, of lightneſſe: but ἀπὸ τ̃ ἕλξεως, τοῦ ὄφεως, that is to ſay, of drawing up a ſerpent out of his hole. The ſheepe calleth as it were the woolfe, by the foote; like as by report the leopard allureth unto him the moſt part of beaſts, who are willing to approch him for the pleaſure they take in his ſmell, and above all others the ape. But ſea creatures generally all, have a certeine inbred ſagacity, a wary perceivance before hand, which maketh them to be ſuſpicious and circumſpect, yea, and to ſtand upon their guard againſt all fore-laying; ſo that the arte of hunting and catching them is not a ſmall piece of worke, and a ſimple cunning; but that which requireth a great number of engins of all ſorts, and asketh woonderfull devices, and ſubtill ſleights to compaſſe and goe beyond them; and this appeereth by the experience of ſuch things, as we have daily in our hands: For firſt and formoſt the cane or reed of which the angle rodde is made, fiſhers would not have to bee bigge and thicke, and yet they had need of ſuch an one as is tough and ſtrong, for to plucke up and hold the fiſhes, which commonly doe mightily fling and ſtruggle when they be caught; but they chuſe rather that which is ſmall and ſlender, for feare leſt if it caſt abroad ſhadow, it might moove the doubt and ſuſpicion that is naturally in fiſhes: moreover the line they make not with many water-knots, but deſire to have it as plaine and even as poſſibly may be without any roughneſſe, for that this giveth as it were ſome denuntiation unto them of fraud and deceit: they take order likewiſe that the haires which reach to the hooke, ſhould ſeeme as white as poſſibly they can deviſe, for the whiter they be, the leſſe are they ſeene in the water, for the conformity and likeneſſe in colour to it: as for that which the poet **Homer** ſaith:

Downe right to bottome of the ſea,
like plumbe of leade ſhe went,

That peiſeth downe the fiſhers hooke,
and holdes the line extent;
*Which paſsing through tranſparent * horne,*
that rurall oxes head bare,
To greedy fiſhes ſecretly
brings death ere they be ware.

* κέρας.

Some miſunderſtanding theſe verſes, would infer therupon, that men in old time uſed the hairs of an oxe tale to make there lines withal, ſaying that this word κέρας, which commonly in Greeke is taken for an horne, ſignifieth in this place haire; & that hereupon κείρασθαι is derived, which betokeneth to ſheere or cut haire; and κουρὰ, that is to ſay, ſheering or clipping; as alſo, that from hence it is that *Archilochus* tearmeth a daintie & wanton minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the haire & wearing a peruke curiouſly ſet, κεροπλάστης. But ſurely, this their collection is not true, for they uſed as we do, the haire of horſe tailes, to make their angle-lines withal, chuſing thoſe that grow either on ſtone-horſes or geldings, and not of mares, for that ever & anon they wet their tailes with ſtaling, and by that means the haires of them are tenderand apt to breake. And *Ariſtotle* himſelfe writeth, that in thoſe verſes above cited there is no deepe matter that requireth ſuch an exquiſit & curious ſcanning; for that (in truth) fiſhers uſe to overcaſt the line neere unto the hooke with a piece of horne, for feare leſt fiſhes when they have ſwallowed down the hooke, ſhould with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooks, they uſe thoſe that be round, for to take mullets and the fiſhes *amiæ*, becauſe they have narrow mouthes: for very wary they are to avoid the longer and ſtreighter kind; yea, and many times the mullet ſuſpecteth the round hooke, ſwimming round about it, and flurting with the taile the bait and meat that is upon it, and never linnes flapping, untill he have ſhaken it off, and then devoureth it: but ſay, he can not ſpeed that way, he drawes his mouth together, and with the very edge and utmoſt brim of his lips he nibleth about the bait, untill he have gnawen it off. The wide mouthed ſea-pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hooke, ſheweth herein more valour and animoſitie than the elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow ſticking the bodie; but maketh meanes to deliver himſelfe from the ſaid hooke, ſhaking his head and writhing it to and fro untill he have inlarged the wound and made it wider; enduring moſt ſtoutly and reſolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torne, and never gives over, untill he have wreſted and wrung the hooke out of his bodie. The ſea fox will not many times come neere unto an hooke, he reculeth backe and is afraid of ſome deceitfull guile; but ſay that he chance to be ſurpriſed quickly, he maketh ſhift to winde himſelfe off againe: for ſuch is his ſtrength, agilitie and ſlipperie moiſture withall, that he will turne himſelfe upſide downe with his taile upward, in ſuch ſort, that when by overturning his ſtomacke all within is come forth, it can not chuſe but the hooke looſeth the hold which it had and falleth foorth.

Theſe examples do ſhew a certeine intelligence, and withall a wittie and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occaſion requireth. But other fiſhes there be, which beſides this induſtrious ſagacitie in ſhifting for themſelves, do repreſent a ſociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the *anthiæ* and *ſcari*: for when the *ſcarus* hath ſwallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellowes come leaping about him, and gnaw the line aſunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net and entangled, their companions give them their tailes without, which they holde as faſt as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawen them foorth. As for the *anthiæ*, they come to reſcue and ſuccour one of their owne kinde with more audacitie, for putting the line againſt their backe, they ſet to it the ridge bone, which is ſharpe toothed in maner of a ſaw, and with it they endevour to file and ſaw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as farre as wee know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellowes being in danger of life, neither beare, bore, lion, nor leopard. Well may thoſe gather all together in heaps, which are of the ſame kind and run one with another round about the cirque or ſhew-place with the Amphitheaters: but to reſcue or ſuccour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have the courage to doe it: for they fly and leape backward as farr as ever they can poſſibly from one that is hurt or killed in their ſight: as for that ſtory my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they caſt into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may caſt himſelfe upon, & beſides ſo get forth, it is very ſtrange and far fet: and becauſe it commeth out of the books of king *Juba*, it would ſeeme to command us (as it were) by a roiall edict, to give credit thereto. But ſay it were, true there be examples of ſea-creatures enough to prove that for ſociable kindneſſe and prudence withall, there be many of them which give no place to the wiſeſt of all thoſe which the land affoordeth: but as touching their communion and fellowſhip, we will treat thereof apart, and that anon.

To returne unto our fiſhers: perceiving as they doe, that the moſt part of fiſhes ſcorne the line and hooke as ſtale devices or ſuch as be diſcovered, they betake themſelves to fine force, and ſhut them up within great caſting nets, like as the Perſians uſe to ſerve their enemies in their warres, making this account, that if they be encloſed once within thoſe nets, they are theirs ſure enough, as if no diſcourſe of reaſon in the world, no wit & policie whatſoever will ſerve them to eſcape: for with hoopnets or caſtnets are mullets caught, & the *iulides*, the *marmyri* alſo, the *ſargi*, ſea-gogeon, and the wide mouthed pikes: but ſuch as plunge themſelves downe to the bottome of the water, called thereupon βολιστικὰ, ſuch as are the barbel, the guiltheads, and the ſcorpions of the ſea, thoſe they uſe to catch and draw up with great drags and ſweepnets. And verily this kinde of net *Homer* calleth *Panagra*, which is as much to ſay, as catching and ſwooping all afore it. And yet as cunningly deviſed as theſe engins be, the ſea-dogs have devices to avoid the ſame, as alſo the wide mouthed *labrax*; for when he perceiveth that the ſaid ſweepe net is a drawing along the bottome, he ſetteth all his ſtrength to, ſcrapeth in the earth, and patteth it ſo, as he maketh an hole therein; and when he hath thus digged (as it were) as deepe a trench as will hide him againſt the incurſion of the net, then he coucheth himſelfe cloſe within it, waiting untill the net be glided over him and paſt. The dolphin, if he be ſurpriſed, and perceive that he is incloſed and claſped within the armes (as one would ſay) of a net, endureth his fortune reſolutely, and never diſmaieth for the matter; nay, he is very well appaied and pleaſed; for he is glad in his heart, that he hath ſo many fiſhes about him caught in the ſame net, which hee may devour and make merrie with at his pleaſure without paines taking: and when he ſees that he is drawen up neere to the land, he makes no more adoe but gnawes a great hole in the net, & away he goes. But ſay that he cannot diſpatch this feat ſo quickly, but he comes into the fiſhers hands, yet hee dieth not for this at the firſt time; for they draw a riſh or reed thorow the ſkinne along his creſt, and ſo let him go: but if he ſuffer himſelfe to be taken the ſecond time, then they beat and cudgell him well; and know him they do by the ſeames or ſkars remaining of the foreſaid reed. Howbeit, this falleth out verie ſeldome; for the moſt part of them when they have beene once pardoned, do acknowledge what favour they have received, and beware for ever after how they do a fault and come into danger againe. But whereas there be infinit other examples of ſubtle ſlights and wittie wiles which fiſhes have invented, both to foreſee and prevent a perill, & alſo to eſcape out of a danger, that of the cuttle is woorthie to be recited and would not be paſſed over in ſilence: for having about her necke a bladder or bag hanging, full of a blacke muddie liquor, which thereupon they call θόλον, that is to ſay, Inke: when ſhe perceives herſelfe beſet & compaſſed about, ſo as ſhe is ready to be taken, ſhe caſteth forth from her the ſaid inke full craftily, that by troubling the water of the ſea all about her, and making it looke thicke and blacke, ſhe might avoid the ſight of the fiſher, and ſo make an eſcape unſeene. Following heerein the gods in *Homer*, who many times with overſpreading a back cloud withdraw and ſteale away thoſe whom they are minded to ſave: but enough of this.

Now as touching their craft and ſubtiltie in aſſailing and chaſing others, there be many experiments and examples preſented unto our ſight: for the fiſh called the Starre, knowing full well, that whaſoever he toucheth wil melt and reſolve, offreth and yeeldeth her body to be handled, ſuffering as many as paſſe by her, or approch neere to ſtroke him: and as for the cramp-fiſh *Torpedo*, you all know well enough her powerfull propertie; not onely to benumme and ſtupifie thoſe who touch her, but alſo to tranſmit a ſtupefactive qualitie, even along the maiſhes and cords of the net, to the verie hands of the fiſhers who have caught her. And ſome there be who report thus much moreover, as having farther experience of her woonderfull nature, that in caſe ſhe eſcape and get away alive, if men do baddle aloft in the water, or daſh the ſame upon them, they ſhall feele the ſaid paſſion running up to the verie hand, and benumming their ſenſe of feeling, as it ſhould ſeeme, by reaſon of the water which before was altered and turned in that manner. This fiſh therefore having an imbred knowledge hereof by nature, never fighteth a front with any other; neither hazardeth himſelfe openly: but fetching a compaſſe about the prey which it hunteth after, ſhooteth forth from her theſe contagious influences like darts, infecting or charming rather the water firſt therewith, and afterwards by meanes thereof the fiſh that ſhe laieth for; ſo that it can neither defend it ſelfe, nor flie and make an eſcape, but remaineth as it were arreſted, and bound faſt with chaines, or utterly aſtonied.

The ſea-frog, called the Fiſher, which name he gat by a kind of fiſhing that he doth practiſe, is knowen well enough to many: and *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the cuttle aforeſaid uſeth likewiſe the ſame craft that he doth. His manner is to hang downe as it were an angle line, a certaine ſmall ſtring or gut from about his necke, which is of that nature, that hee can let out in length a great way when it is looſe, and draw it in againe cloſe together verie quickly when he liſt. Now when he perciveth ſome ſmall fiſh neere unto him, hee ſuffreth it to nibble the end thereof and bite it, and then by litle and little privily plucketh and draweth it backe toward him, untill he can reach with his mouth the fiſh that hangeth to it.

As touching poulps or purcuttles, and how they change their colour, *Pindarus* hath ennobled them in theſe verſes:

His mind doth alter moſt mutable,
To poulpe the ſea fiſh skinne ſemblable,
Which changeth hue to all things ſutable,
To live in all worlds he is pliable.

The poet *Theognis* likewiſe:

Put on a mind like polyp fiſh,
and learne ſo to diſſemble,
Which of the rocke whereto it ſticks,
the colour doth reſemble.

True it is that the chamæleon alſo eftſoone changeth colour, but it is not upon any craftie deſſeigne that he hath, nor yet for to hide himſelfe, but only for that he is ſo timorous; for cowardly he is by nature, and feareth everie noiſe. Over and beſides (as *Theophraſtus* writeth) full he is of a deale of wind; and the bodie of this creature wanteth but a little of being all lungs and lights; whereby it may bee gueſſed that it ſtandeth altogether upon ventoſitie and wind, and ſo conſequently verie variable and ſubject to change: whereas that mutabilitie of the polype is a powerfull and ſetled action of his, and not a momentarie paſſion or infirmitie: for hee altereth his colour of a deliberate purpoſe, uſing it as a ſleight or device, either to conceale himſelfe from that whereof he is affraid; or elſe to catch that whereof hee feedeth: and by meanes of this deceitfull wile, he praieth upon the one that eſcapeth him not, & eſcapeth the other that paſſeth by & ſees him not. But to ſay that he eateth his owne cleies or long armes that he uſeth to ſtretch foorth, is a loud lie; marie that he ſtandeth in feare of the lampray and the conger, is verie true: for theſe fiſhes do him many ſhrewd turnes, and he cannot requite them the like, ſo ſlipperie they be and ſo ſoone gone. Like as the lobſter on the other ſide if they come within his clutches, holdeth them faſt & ſqueizeth them to death: for their glibby ſlickneſſe ſerveth them in no ſtead againſt his rough cleies; and yet if the polype can get & entangle him once within his long laces, hee dies for it. See how nature hath given this circular viciſſitude to avoid and chaſe one another by turnes, as a verie exerciſe and triall to make proofe of their wit and ſagacitie.

But *Ariſtotimus* hath alledged unto us the hedghoge, or land urchin, and ſtood much upon I wot not what foreſight he hath of the winds: and a woondrous matter he hath made alſo of the triangular flight of cranes. As for me, I will not produce the ſea urchins of this or that particular coaſt, to wit, either of *Bizantine*, or of *Cyzicum*, but generally all in what ſeas ſoever; namely, how againſt a tempeſt and ſtorme, when they ſee that the ſea will bee very much troubled, they charge and ballaſt themſelves with little ſtones, for feare of being overturned or driven to and fro for their lightneſſe, by the billowes and waves of the ſea: and thus by the meanes of this weight, they remaine firme and faſt upon the little rocks whereto they are ſetled. As for the cranes, who change their maner of flying according to the winde; I ſay, this is a skilfull quality, not proper and peculiar to one kinde of fiſhes, but common unto them all; namely, to ſwimme evermore againſt the waves & the current; yea, and very warie they be, that the winde blow not their tailes, and raiſe their skales, and ſo hurt and offend their bodies laid bare and naked, yea and made rugged by that meanes. Heereupon they carie their ſnouts and muzzels alwaies into the winde, and ſo direct their courſe: and thus the ſea being cut afront at their head, keepeth downe their finnes, and gliding ſmoothly over their body, laieth their ſcales even, ſo as none of them ſtand ſtaring up. This is a thing, as I have ſaid, cōmon unto al fiſhes, except the Elops, whoſe nature is to ſwimme downe the winde and the water; neither feareth he that the winde will drive up his ſcales in ſo ſwimming, becauſe they doe not lie toward his taile, but contrary to other fiſhes, toward his head.

Moreover, the tuny is ſo skilfull in the ſolſtices and equinoxes, that he hath taught men to obſerve them without need of any aſtrologicall rules; for looke in what place or coaſt of the ſea the winter tropicke or ſolſtice finds him, there reſteth he, and ſtirreth not untill the equinox in the ſpring. But a woonderfull wiſedome (quoth he) there is in the crane, to hold a ſtone in his foot, that by the fall thereof he may quickly awaken. How much wiſer then, my good friend *Ariſtotimus*, is the dolphin? who may not abide to lie ſtill and ceaſe ſtirring, for that by nature he is in continuall motion, and endeth his mooving and living together: but when he hath need of ſleepe, he ſpringeth up with his body to the toppe of the water, and turneth him upon his backe with the belly upward, and ſo ſuffreth it partly to flote and hull, and in part to be caried through the deepe, waving to and fro as it were in a hanging bedde, with the agitation of the ſea, ſleeping all the while, untill he ſettle downe to the bottom of the ſea, and touch the ground: then wakeneth he, and mounting up with a jerke a ſecond time, ſuffreth himſelfe to bee caried untill he be ſetled downe againe; and thus hath he deviſed to have his repoſe and reſt intermingled with a kinde of motion. And it is ſaid that the tunies doe the like, and upon the ſame cauſe.

And now foraſmuch as we have ſhewed already the mathematicall and aſtrologicall foreknowledge that fiſhes have in the revolution and converſion of the ſunne, which is confirmed likewiſe by the teſtimonie of *Ariſtotle*, liſten what skill they have in arithmeticke; but firſt (beleeve me) of the perſpective ſcience; whereof as it ſhould ſeeme, the poet *Aeſchylus* was not ignorant: for thus he ſaith in one place:

> *Like tuny fiſh he ſeemes to ſpie,*
> *He doth ſo looke with his left eie.*

For tunies in the other eie are thought to have a dimme and feeble ſight: and therefore when they enter *Mer major* into the ſea of *Pontus*, they coaſt along the land on the right ſide; but contrariwiſe when they come foorth, wherein they doe very wiſely and circumſpectly, to commit the cuſtody of the body alwaies to the better eie. Now for that they have need of arithmeticke, by reaſon of their ſocietie (as it may be thought) and mutuall love wherein they delight; they are come to that height and perfection in this arte, that becauſe they take a woondrous pleaſure to feed together, and to keepe one with another in ſculles & troupes, they alwaies caſt their company into a cubicke forme, in maner of a battailon, ſolid and ſquare every way, cloſe, and environed with ſix equall ſides or faces; and arranged in this ordinance as it were of a quadrat battell doe they ſwim, as large before as behind, & of the one ſide as of the other, in ſuch ſort, as he that lieth in eſpiall to hunt theſe tunies, if he can but take the juſt number how many there be of that ſide or front that appeereth next unto him, may preſently tell what the number is of the whole troupe, being aſſured that the depth is equall to the bredth, and the bredth even with the length.

The fiſh called in Greeke* *Hamiæ*, tooke that name, it may be thought, for their converſing in companies al together: and ſo I ſuppoſe came the *Pelamydes* by their name. As for other fiſhes that be ſociable & love to live & are ſeene to converſe in great companies together, no man is able to nūber thē, they be ſo many. Come we rather therfore to ſome particular ſocieties & inſeparable fellowſhips that ſome have in living together: amōg which is that* *Pinnotheres*, which coſt the philoſopher *Chryſippus* ſo much inke in his deſcriptiō, for in al his books as wel of morall as naturall philoſophie, he is ranged formoſt. As for the *Spongetheres*, I ſuppoſe he never knew, for otherwiſe he would not have left it out. Well, this *Pinnotheres* is a little fiſh, as they ſay, of the crabs kind, which goeth & commeth evermore with the *Nacre*, a big ſhel fiſh keeping ſtill by it, and ſits as it were a porter at his ſhell ſide, which he letteth continually to ſtand wide open, untill he ſpie ſome ſmall fiſhes gotten within it, ſuch as they are woont to take for their food: then doth he enter likewiſe into the *Nacres* ſhell, and ſeemeth to bite the fleſhy ſubſtance thereof; whereupon preſently the *Nacre* ſhutteth the ſhell hard, and then they two together feed upon the bootie which they have gotten priſoners within this encloſure.

* Of ἅμα, that is to ſay, altogether.

* Of πέλας, neere.

* Some take it for the ſhrimp.

As touching the *ſpongotheres*, a little creature it is, not like unto the crabbe fiſh as the other, but rather reſembling a ſpider, & it ſeemeth to rule and governe the ſpunge, which is altogether without life, without bloud and ſenſe; but as many other living creatures within the ſea, cleaveth indeed heard to the rocks, and hath a peculiar motion of the owne, namely, to ſtretch out and draw in it ſelfe: but for to do this need, ſhe hath of the direction and advertiſement of another: for being of a rare, hollow, and ſoft conſtitution otherwiſe, and full of many concavities, void & ſo dull of ſenſe beſides, & idle withal, that it perceiveth not when there is any ſubſtance of good meat gotten within the ſaid void and emptie holes; this little animall at ſuch a time giveth a kind of warning, and with it ſhe gathereth in her body, holdeth it faſt, and devoureth the ſame: but much more will this ſpunge draw in her ſelfe when a man comes neere and touches her; for then being better advertiſed and touched to the quicke, ſhe quaketh as it were for feare, and plucketh in her body ſo ſtreight and ſo hard, that the divers, and ſuch as ſeeke after them have no ſmall adoe, but finde it to be a painfull matter for to get under and cut them from the rocks.

The purple fiſhes keepe in companies together, & make themſeves a common cel, much like to the combs which bees doe frame, wherein by report, they do engender & breed: and looke what they have laid up for their ſtore and proviſion of victuals, to wit, moſſe, reits and ſuch ſea-weeds, thoſe they put forth out of their ſhels, & preſent them unto their fellowes for to eat, banquetting round as it were every one in their turne, and keeping their courſe to feaſt, one eating of anothers proviſion. But no great marvell it is to ſee ſuch an amiable ſociety and loving fellowſhip among them, conſidering that the moſt unſociable, cruel and ſavage creature of all that live either in rivers or lakes or ſeas, I meane the crocodile, ſheweth himſelfe wonderfull fellow-like and gracious in that ſocietyand dealing that is betweene him & the *trochilus*. For this *trochilus* is a little bird of the kinde of thoſe which ordinarily doe haunt meres, mariſhes and rivers, waiting and attending upon the crocodile as it were one of his guard: neither liveth this bird at her owne finding nor upon her owne proviſion, but of the reliques that the crocodile leaveth. The ſervice that ſhe doth for it is this: when ſhe ſeeth the ichneumon, having plaſtred his body as it were with a coat of mud baked hard in maner of a cruſt, and like unto a champion with his hands al duſty, ready to wreſtle & prepared to take hold of his enimy, ly in wait for to ſurpriſe the crocodile aſleepe, ſhe awakeneth him partly with her voice, and partly by nebbing him with her bill. Now the crocodile is ſo gentle and familiar with her, that he will gape with his chawes wide open, and let her enter into his mouth, taking great pleaſure that ſhe ſhould picke his teeth and pecke out the little morſels of fleſh that ſticke betweene, with her prety beake, & withall, to ſcarifie his gummes. But when he hath had enough of this, & would ſhut and cloſe his mouth againe, he letteth fall the upper chaw a little, which is a warning unto the bird for to get forth: but he never bringeth both jawes together, before he knowe that the *trochilus* is flowen out.

There is a little fiſh called the guide, for quantity & proportion of ſhape, reſembling the gudgeon, only without forth it ſeemeth like unto a bird, whoſe feathers for feare ſtand up; the ſcales ſtare ſo, and are ſo rough. This fiſh is ever in the company of one of theſe great whales, ſwimming before, and directing his courſe as if he were his pilot, for feare leſt he ſhould light upon ſome ſhelves, runne upon the ſands in the ſhallowes, or otherwiſe ſhoot himſelfe into ſome narrow creeke where he can hardly turne and get foorth. The whale followeth hard after, willing to be guided, and directed by him, even as a ſhippe by the helme: and looke what other thing ſoever beſides commeth within the chaos of this monſters mouth, be it beaſt, boat, or ſtone, downe it goes all incontinently that foule great ſwallow of his, and periſheth in the bottomleſſe gulfe of his panch: onely this little fiſh he knoweth from the reſt, and receiveth into his mouth and no farther, as an ancker, for within it ſleepeth; and while the fiſh is at repoſe, the whale likewiſe reſteth ſtill, as if he ridde at ancker; no ſooner is it gotten foorth, but he followeth on a freſh, never leaving it by day nor by night, for otherwiſe hee would wander heere and there: and many of theſe whales there have beene loſt in this manner, wanting their guide & pilot, which have runne themſelves a land, for default of a good pilot. For we our ſelves have ſeene one of them ſo caſt away not long ſince about the iſle *Anticyra*: and before time by report, there was another caſt upon the ſands, and not farre from the city *Buna*, which lay there ſtinking and putrified; whereupon by the infection of the aire, there enſued a peſtilence in thoſe parts adjoining. What ſhould one ſay? Is there any other example woorthy to bee compared with theſe ſocieties ſo ſtreightly linked, and enterlaced with mutuall benevolence? *Ariſtotle* indeed reporteth great friendſhip and amitie betweene foxes and ſerpents, joining and combining together againſt their common enemie the eagle: alſo betweene the *Otides* and horſes; for the bird *otis* delighteth in their company, and to be neere them, for that they may rake into their dung. For mine owne part, I cannot ſee that the very bees, or the piſmires, are ſo induſtrious and carefull one for another. True it is, that they travell and labour in common for a publicke weale; but to aime at any particular good, or to reſpect the private benefit one of another, we can finde example of no beaſt upon the land wheresſoever: but we ſhall perceive this difference much better, if we convert our ſpeech to the principall duties and greateſt offices of ſocietie; generation (I meane) and procreation of yoong: Firſt and formoſt, all fiſhes which haunt any ſea, either neere unto lakes, or ſuch as receiveth great rivers into it, when they perceive their ſpawning time to be neere, come up toward the land, and ſeeke for that freſh water which is moſt quiet and leaſt ſubject to agitation for that calmeneſſe is good for their breeding; beſides, theſe lakes and rivers ordinarily have none of theſe monſtrous ſea monſters; ſo as both their ſpawne and their yoong frie, is there in moſt ſafetie, which is the reaſon that there are ſo many fiſhes bred about the Euxine ſea; for that it nouriſheth no whales or other great fiſhes: onely the ſea-calfe which there is but ſmall, and the dolphin who is as little. Moreover, the mixture of many great rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea, cauſeth the temperature of the water to be very good and fit for great bellied ſpawners. But moſt admirable of all others, is the nature of the fiſh anthios, which ***Homer*** called the ſacred fiſh; although ſome thinke that ſacred in that place, is as much to ſay, as great: in which ſenſe we tearme the great bone, ἱερὸν, that is to ſay, ſacred; whereupon the ridge bone reſteth: as alſo the great maladie, called the falling ſickneſſe, is tearmed in Greeke ἱερὰ νόσος, that is to ſay, the ſacred ſickneſſe: others interpret it after the common and vulgar maner, namely, for that which is vowed and dedicated to ſome god, or otherwiſe abandoned: but it ſeemeth that ***Eratoſthenes*** ſo called the guilthead or golden-ey, as appeareth by this verſe of his:

Moſt ſwift of courſe, with browes as bright as golde,
This is the fiſh which I doe ſacred holde.

but many take it for the elops; for rare he is to be found, and hard to be taken: howbeit, manie times he is ſeene about the coaſt of ***Pamphylia***; and whenſoever the fiſhers can meet with any of them, and bring them home, both they themſelves weare chaplets of flowers for joy, and alſo they crowne and adorne their barques with garlands, yea, and at their arrivall they are received with much ſhouting and clapping of hands; but the moſt part are of opinion, that the anthios beforeſaid, is he which they call the ſacred fiſh; and ſo is he held to be; for that whereſoever he is, there may no hurtfull nor ravening monſter be found there: inſomuch as the Divers plunge downe into the ſea for ſpunges, boldly in thoſe coaſts where theſe be; yea, and other fiſhes, both ſpawne and reare their yoong frie ſafely there, as having him for their pledge and warrant of all ſafety and ſecurity, as in a priviledged place. The cauſe hereof is hardly to be rendred; whether it be that ſuch hurtfull fiſhes upon a ſecret antipathie in nature, doe avoid him as elephants a ſwine, and lions a cocke; or that there be ſome marks & ſignes of thoſe coaſts which are clere of ſuch harmfull monſters, which he knoweth well and obſerveth, being a fiſh quicke of wit, and as good of memorie. Common it is to all females for to have a naturall care and providence for their yong, but in fiſhes, the males generally are ſo reſpective that way, and ſo farre off from devouring the ſeed of their owne kinde, that they continue neere unto the ſpawne that the females have caſt, and keepe the ſame, as ***Ariſtotle*** hath left in writing. Some milters there be, that follow after the ſpawners, and ſprinkle them a little about the taile; otherwiſe, the ſpawne or frie will not be faire and great, but remaine unperfect, and come to no growth. This property particularly by themſelves have the phycides, that they build their neſts with the ſea weeds or reits, covering and defending therewith their ſpawne and frie againſt the waves of the ſea.

Moles or Lepoes.

Dog-fiſhes give not place in any ſort to the moſt tame and gentle beaſts in the world, for kinde love and naturall affection to their yoong: for firſt they engender ſpawne, and after that, a quicke frie; and that not without, but within, nouriſhing and carrying the ſame within their owne bodies, after a kind of ſecond generation; but when they are growen to any bigneſſe, they put them foorth and teach them how to ſwim hard by them, and afterwards receive them by the mouth into their bodie, which ſerveth in ſtead of a place of abode, of nouriſhment and of refuge, untill ſuch time as they be ſo big, that they can ſhift for themſelves.

Moreover, the provident care of the tortoiſe in the generation, nouriſhment and preſervation of yer yoong, is woonderfull: for out ſhe goeth of the ſea, and laieth her egges or caſteth her ſpawne upon the banke ſide; but being not able to cove or ſit upon them, nor to remaine herſelfe upon the land out of the ſea any long time, ſhe beſtoweth them in the gravell, and afterwards covereth them with the lighteſt and fineſt ſand that ſhe can get: when ſhe hath thus hidden them ſurely, ſome ſay, that with her feet ſhe draweth raies or lines, or els imprinteth certeine pricks, which may ſerve for privy marks to herſelfe, to finde out the place againe: others affirme, that the male turneth the females upon the backe, and ſo leaveth the print of their ſhell within the ſame: but that which is more admirable, ſhe obſerveth juſt the fortieth day (for in ſo many daies, the egges come to their maturity, and be hatched) and then returneth ſhe to the place where knowing her owne treaſure by the ſeale, ſhe openeth it with great joy and pleaſure, as no man doth his casket of jewels or cabinet where his golde lieth.

The crocodiles deale much after this maner in all other points; but at what marks they aime in chuſing or finding out the place where they breed, no mortall man is able to imagine or give a reaſon whereupon it is commonly ſaid, that the foreknowledge of this beaſt in that reſpect, proceedeth not from any diſcourſe of reaſon, but of ſome ſupernaturall divination: for going neither farther nor neerer than juſt to that gage and heigth where *Nilus* the river for that yeere will riſe and cover the earth, there laieth ſhe her egges: ſo that when the paiſant or countrey man chanceth by fortune to hit upon a crocodiles neſt, himſelfe knoweth and telleth his neighbours how high the river will overflow that Summer following: ſo juſt doth ſhe meaſure the place that will be drowned with water, that herſelfe may be ſure not to be drenched while ſhe ſitteth and coveth: furthermore, when her yoong bee newly hatched, if ſhe ſee any one of them (ſo ſoone as ever it is out of the ſhell) not to catch with the mouth one thing or other comming next in the way, be it flie, piſmire, gnat, earth-worme, ſtraw or graſſe, the damme taketh it betweene her teeth, teareth it and killeth it preſently; but ſuch as give ſome proofe of animoſitie, audacitie and execution, thoſe ſhe loveth, thoſe ſhe cheriſheth and maketh much of, beſtowing her love as the wiſeſt men judge it meet and reaſonable, according to reaſon and diſcretion, and not with blinde affection.

The ſea-calves likewiſe bring forth their yoong on the dry land; but within a while after they traine them to the ſea; give them a taſte of the ſalt water, & then quickly bring them back againe: thus practiſe they with them by little and little many times together, untill they have gotten more heart and begin of themſelves to delight for to live within the ſea. Frogs about their breeding time, cal one to another, by a certaine amorous note or nuptiall tune, called properly *Ololugon*. And when the male hath by this meanes entiſed and allured the female to him, they attend and waite together for the night: and why? In the water they cannot poſſibly engender, and upon the land they fear to do it in the day time; dark night is no ſooner come, but boldly they go foorth of the water, and then without feare they claſpe and embrace one another. Moreover againſt a ſhowre of raine their crooking voice, ſuch as it is, you ſhall heare more cleere and ſhrill than ordinarie, which is a moſt infallible ſigne of raine.

But (oh ſweet *Neptune*) what a foule fault and groſſe errour was I like to have committed; how abſurd and ridiculous ſhould I have made my ſelfe, if being amuſed and buſied to ſpeake of theſe ſea-calves and frogs, I had forgotten and overpaſſed the wiſeſt creature, and that which the gods love beſt, of all thoſe that do frequent and hant the ſea? for what muſicke of the nightingale is comparable to that of the halcyon; what * artificiall building of the ſwallowes, and martinets; what entier amitie & love of doves; what ſkilfull cunning of the bees, deſerveth to be put in ballance with theſe ſea-fowles halcyones? Of what living creatures have the gods and goddeſſes ſo much honored the breeding, travell and birth? for it is ſaid that there was but one onely Iſle, to wit *Delos*, that was ſo wel beloved, that it received the childbirth of *Latona*, when ſhe was delivered of *Apollo* & *Diana*: which iland floating before time, continued afterwards firme-land; whereas the pleaſure of God is ſuch, that all ſeas ſhould be ſtill and calme without waves, winds or drop of raine falling upon them, all the while that the halcyon laieth and coveth, which is juſt about the winter ſolſtice, even when the daies bee ſhorteſt: which is the reaſon that there is no living creature that men love ſo well; by whoſe meanes ſeven daies they have, and ſeven nights even in the verie heart of winter, during which time they may ſafely ſaile, having their voiage by ſea for thoſe daies ſpace, more ſecure than their travell by land. Now if I muſt ſay ſomewhat likewiſe of ech particular vertue that this bird hath: firſt and foremoſt the female is ſo loving to the male her mate, that ſhe tarrieth not with him for one ſeaſon only, but al the yeere long keepeth him company; and that not for ſhameleſſe luſt & wantonneſſe (for ſhe never admitteth any other male to tread her) but onely upon a kind love and tender affection; even like an honeſt wedded wife that keepeth onely to her husband. And when the male groweth to be for age weake and unweldie, in ſuch ſort as he cannot follow her, but with much ado, ſhe beareth and feedeth him in his old age; ſhe never forſaketh nor leaveth him alone for any thing, but ſhe taketh him upon her ſhoulders, carrieth him everie where about, tendeth him moſt tenderly, and is with him ſtil unto his dying day. Now for the affection which ſhe beareth to her yoong, and the care that ſhe hath of them and their ſafetie: when ſhe perceiveth once that ſhe is with egge, preſently ſhee goeth about the building

* φιλοτέχνω, ſome read φιλοτέκνω, that is, love to their yoong birds.

building of her neſt; not tempering mudde or cley for to make thereof morter; nor dawbing it upon the walles, and ſpreading it over the rouſe as the ſwallowes do; and yet employing her whole body or the moſt part thereof about her worke, as doth the bee, which entring in the hony-combe with her entier bodie; and working withall the ſix feet together, devideth the place in ſix angled cels: but the alcyon having but one inſtrument, one toole, one engine to worke withall, even her owne bill, without any thing elſe in the world to helpe her in her travell and operation; yet what workmanſhip ſhe makes & what fabricks ſhe frameth, like unto a maſter carpenter or ſhipwright, hard it were to beleeve, unleſſe a man had ſeene it, being in deed ſuch a fabricke and piece of worke, which onely of all other cannot bee overthrowen nor drenched with the ſea: for firſt and formoſt ſhee goes and gathers a number of bones of the fiſh called Belone, that is to ſay, a Needle, which ſhee joineth and bindeth together, interlacing them ſome long-wiſe, others overthwart, much like as the wooſe is woven upon the warpe in a loome, winding, plaiting and twiſting them up and downe one within another; ſo that in the end faſhioned it is in forme round, yet extended out in length like unto a fiſhers weele or bow-net: after ſhe hath finiſhed this frame, ſhee bringeth it to ſome creeke, and oppoſeth it againſt the waves, where the ſea gently beating and daſhing upon it, teacheth her to mend that was not well compact, and to fortifie it in ſuch places where ſhee ſees it gapeth, or is not united cloſe by reaſon of the ſea-water that hath undone the compoſition thereof: contrariwiſe, that which was well jointed, the ſea doth ſo ſettle and drive together, that hardly a man is able to breake, diſſolve or doe it injurie either with knocke of ſtone or dint of edged toole. But that which yet maketh it more admirable, is the proportion and forme of the concavitie and hole within this veſſell; for framed it is & compoſed in ſuch ſort, that it will receive and admit no other thing, but the verie bird which made it, for nought elſe can enter into it, ſo cloſe it is and ſhut up, no not ſo much as the very water of the ſea. I am aſſured that there is not one of you all, but he hath many times ſeene this neſt: but for mine owne part, who have both viewed, touched and handled it, and that verie often, I am readie to ſay and ſing thus:

The like at Delos *once I weene,*
Was in Apollos *temple ſeene.*

I meane the altar made al of hornes, renowmed amongſt the ſeven wonders of the world; for that without ſoder, glew, or any other matter to binde and holde the parcels together, made it was and framed of hornes which grew on the right ſide of the head onely. But ô that this god would be ſo good and gracious unto me, being in ſome ſort muſicall and an iſlander, like himſelfe, as to pardon me if I ſing the praiſe of that ſirene and mer-maid ſo highly commended; as alſo gently to heare mee laugh at theſe demands and interrogatories that theſe propound, who in mockerie ſeeme to aske, Why *Apollo* is never called Κογγροκτόνος, that is to ſay, the killer of conger, nor *Diana* his ſiſter Τριγλοβόλος, that is to ſay, a ſtriker of barbels, knowing that even *Venus*, borne as ſhe was of the ſea, and inſtituting her ſacrifices neere unto it, taketh no pleaſure that any thing ſhould be killed. And moreover, ye wot well enough, that in the city of *Leptis*, the prieſts of *Neptune* eat nothing that commeth out of the ſea, as alſo that in the citie *Eleuſin*, thoſe who are profeſſed religious, and admitted to the holy myſteries of *Ceres*, honour the barbell; yea, and in the city of *Argos* the prieſtreſſe of *Diana* upon a devout reverence forbeareth to feed of this creature; for that theſe barbles doe kill and deſtroy all that ever they can, the ſea-hare, which is ſo venimous and ſo deadly a poiſon to man: in regard of which benefit, reported they are friendly unto mankinde, and preſervers of their health, and therefore honoured they be, and kept as ſacroſanct: and yet you ſhall ſee in many cities of *Greece*, both temples and altars dedicated unto *Diana* ſurnamed *Dictynna*, as one would ſay, affected unto fiſhers nets: like as to *Apollo Delphinius*: for certeine it is, that the place which he eſpecially choſe above all others for his abode, the poſteritie deſcended from the Cretanſians came to inhabit and people, being conducted thither by the guidance of a dolphin: and not becauſe himſelfe (as ſome fabulous writers report) being transformed into a dolphin, ſwam before their fleet: but ſurely a dolphin he ſent to direct thoſe men in their navigation, and ſo he brought them to the bay of *Cirrha*.

Alſo written it is in hiſtories, that thoſe who were ſent by king *Ptolomæus* ſurnamed *Soter*, to the city *Sinope*, for to carie the god *Serapis*, together with their captaine *Dionyſius*, were by force of winde and tempeſt driven againſt their willes beyond the cape or promontorie *Malea*, where they had *Peloponneſus* on the right hand; and when they wandered and were toſſed to and fro upon the ſeas, not knowing where they were, making account they were loſt and caſt away, there ſhewed himſelfe before the prow of their ſhip, a dolphin, which ſeemed to call unto them, and who guided them unto thoſe coaſts where there were many commodious havens and faire baies for ſhips to harbour and ride in with ſafetie; and thus he conducted and accompanied their ſhip from place to place, untill at length he brought it within the rode of *Cirrha*; where after they had ſacrificed for their ſafe arrivall and landing, they underſtood that of two images there, they were to have away that of *Pluto*, and carrie it with them, but the other of *Proſerpina* to leave behinde them, when they had taken onely the mould and patterne thereof. Probable it is therefore, that the god *Apollo* carried an affection to this dolphin, for that it loveth muſicke ſo well: whereupon the poet *Pindarus* comparing himſelfe unto the dolphin, ſaith that he was provoked and ſtirred up to muſicke by the leaping and dauncing of this fiſh,

Like as the dolphin ſwimmes apace
Directly forward to that place
Whereas the pleaſant ſhawmes do ſound,
And whence their noice doth ſoone rebound:
What time both winds and waves do lie
At ſea, and let no harmonie.

or rather we are to thinke that the god is well affected unto him, becauſe he is ſo kind and loving unto man: for the onely creature it is, that loveth man for his owne ſake, and in regard that he is a man: whereas of land-beaſts, ſome you ſhall have that love none at all; others, and thoſe that be of the tameſt kinde, make much of thoſe onely, of whom they have ſome uſe and benefit; namely, ſuch as feed them or converſe with them familiarly, as the dogge, the horſe and the elephant: and as for ſwallowes, received though they be into our houſes, where they have enterteinment, and whatſoever they need, to wit, ſhade, harbour and a neceſſary retrait for their ſafetie, yet they be afraied of man, and ſhun him as if he were ſome ſavage beaſt; whereas the dolphin alone of all other creatures in the world, by a certeine inſtinct of nature, carrieth that ſincere affection unto man, which is ſo much ſought for and deſired by our beſt philoſophers, even without any reſpect at all of commoditie: for having no need at all of mans helpe, yet is he neverthelеſſe friendly and courteous unto all, and hath ſuccoured many in their diſtreſſe; as the ſtorie of *Arion* will teſtifie, which is ſo famous, as no man is ignorant thereof: and even you *Ariſtotimus* your owne ſelfe, rehearſed to very good purpoſe the example of *Heſiodus*:

But yet by your good leave, my friend,
Of that your tale you made no end.

for when you reported unto us the fidelitie of his dogge, you ſhould have proceeded farther, and told out all, not leaving out (as you did) the narration of the dolphins: for ſurely the notice that the dogge gave, by baying, barking, and running after the murderers with open mouth, was (I may tell you) but a blinde preſumption, and no evident argument. About the citie *Nemium*, the dolphins meeting with the dead corps of a man floting up and downe upon the ſea, tooke it up and laied it on their backs, ſhifting it from one to another by turnes, as any of them were wearie with the carriage, and very willingly, yea, and as it ſhould ſeeme, with great affection, they conveied it as farre as to the port *Rhium*, where they laied it downe upon the ſhore, and ſo made it knowen that there was a man murdered. *Myrtilus* the Leſbian writeth, that *Aenalus* the Aeolian being fallen in fanſie with a daughter of *Phineus*, who according to the oracle of *Amphitrite*, was by the daughters of *Pentheus* caſt downe headlong into the ſea, threw himſelfe after her; but there was a dolphin tooke him up, and brought him ſafe unto the iſle *Leſbos*. Over and beſides, the affection and good will which a dolphin bare unto a yoong lad of the citie *Iaſos*, was ſo hot and vehement, in the higheſt degree, that if ever one creature was in love with another, it was he; for there was not a day went over his head, but he would diſport, play and ſwimme with him, yea, and ſuffer himſelfe to be handled and tickled by him upon his bare ſkinne; and if the boy were diſpoſed to mount aloft upon his backe, he would not refuſe, nor ſeeme to avoide him; nay hee was verie well content with ſuch a carriage, turning what way ſoever hee reined him, or ſeemed to encline: and thus would hee doe in the preſence of the Iaſians, who oftentimes would all runne foorth to the ſea ſide of purpoſe to behold this ſight. Well on a daie above the reſt, when this ladde was upon the dolphins backe, there fell an exceeding great ſhower of raine, together with a monſtrous ſtorme of haile; by reaſon whereof the poore boy fell into the ſea, and there died: but the dolphin tooke up his bodie dead as it was, and together with it ſhut himſelfe upon the land; neither would he depart from the corps ſo long as there was any life in him, and ſo died, judging it great reaſon to take part with him of his death, who ſeemed partly to be the cauſe thereof. In remembrance of which memorable accident, the Iaſians repreſent the hiſtorie thereof ſtamped and printed upon their coine, to wit, a boy riding upon a dolphin; which ſtorie hath cauſed that the fable or tale that goeth of *Cœranus* is beleeved for a truth: for this *Cœranus*, as they ſay, borne in *Paros*, chanced to be upon a time at *Byzantium*, where ſeeing a great draught of dolphins taken up in a caſting-net by the fiſhers, whom they meant to kill and cut into pieces, bought them all alive, and let them go againe into the ſea. Not long after, it hapned that he ſailed homeward in a foiſt of fiftie oares, which had aboord (by report) a number of pyrates and rovers; but in the ſtreights betweene *Naxos* and *Paros* the veſſel was caſt away, and ſwallowed up in a guſt: in which ſhipwracke, when all the reſt periſhed, he onely was ſaved, by meanes as they ſay of a dolphin, which comming under his bodie as he was newly plunged into the ſea, bare him up, tooke him upon his backe, and carried him as farre as to a certaine cave about *Zacynthus*, and there landed him: which place is ſhewed for a monument at this day, and after his name, is called *Cœranium*. Upon this occaſion, *Archilachus* the poet, is ſaid to have made theſe verſes:

Of fiftie men by tempeſt drown'd,
And left in ſea all dead behind:
Cœran *alone alive was found,*
God Neptune *was to him ſo kind,*

Afterwards the ſaid *Cœranus* himſelfe died: and when his kinsfolke & friends burned his corps nere to the ſea ſide in a funerall fire, many dolphins were diſcovered along the coaſt hard by the ſhore, ſhewing (as it were) themſelves how they were come to honour his obſequies; for depart they would not before the whole ſolemnitie of this laſt dutie was performed. That the ſcutchion or ſhield of *Ulyſſes* had for the badge or enſigne, a dolphin, *Steſichorus* hath teſtified, but the occaſion and cauſe thereof, the Zacynthians report in this manner, as *Criteus* the hiſtorian beareth witneſſe. *Telemachus* his ſonne being yet an infant, chanced to ſlip with his feet, as men ſay, to fall into a place of the ſea, where it was very deep; but by the means of certaine dolphins who tooke him as he fell, ſaved he was and carried out of the water: whereupon his father in a thankfull regard and honour to this creature, engraved within the collet of his ſignet, wherewith hee ſealed the portrait of a dolphin, & likewiſe carried it as his armes upon his ſhield. But foraſmuch as I proteſted in the beginning that I would relate to you no fables, and yet (I wot not how) in ſpeaking of dolphins, I am carried farther than I was aware, and fallen upon *Ulyſſes* and *Cœranus*, ſomewhat beyond the bounds of likelihood and probabilitie, I will ſet a fine upon mine owne head, and even here for amends lay a ſtraw and make an end. You therefore my maſters who are judges, may when it pleaſeth you proceed to your verdict.

SOCLARUS.

As for us, we were of mind a good while ſince to ſay according to the ſentence of *Sophocles*:

Your talke ere while which ſeem'd to diſagre,
Will ſoone accord and joint-wiſe framed be.

for if you will, both of you conferre your arguments, proofes and reaſons which you have alledged of the one ſide and the other, and lay them all together in common betweene you, it will be ſeene how mightily you ſhall confute and put downe thoſe who would deprive bruit beaſts of all underſtanding and diſcourſe of reaſon.

* * *

WHETHER THE ATHENIANS WERE MORE RENOWMED FOR MARTIALL ARMES OR GOOD LETTERS.

The Summarie.

WE have here the fragments of a pleaſant diſcourſe written in the favour of Athenian warriours and great captaines; which at this day hath neither beginning nor end, and in the middle is altogether maimed and unperfect: but that which the infortunitie of the times hath left unto us, is ſuch yet, as thereout we may gather ſome good, and the intention of Plutarch *is therein ſufficiently diſcovered unto us: for he ſheweth that the Athenians were more famous and excellent in feats of armes than in the profeſsion of learning. Which poſition may ſeeme to be a ſtrange paradox, conſidering that* Athens *was reputed the habitation of the muſes: and if there were ever any brave hiſtorians, ſingular poets, and notable oratours in the world, we are to looke for them in this citie. Yet for all this, he taketh upon him to proove that the proweſſe of Athenian captaines was without all compariſon more commendable and praiſewoorthie than all the dexteritie of others, who at their leaſure have written in the ſhade and within houſe the occurrents and accidents of the times, or exhibited pleaſures and paſtimes to the people upon the ſtage or ſcaffold. And to effect this intended purpoſe of his, he conſidereth in the firſt place, hiſtoriographers, and adjoineth thereto a briefe treatiſe of the art of painting: and by compariſon of two perſons, bringing newes of a field fought, whereof the one was onely a beholder and looker on; the other an actor himſelfe, and a ſouldier fighting in the battell, he ſheweth that noble captaines ought to be preferred before hiſtorians, who pen and ſet downe their deſſeignes and executions. From hiſtory he paſſeth on to poeſie, both comicall and tragicall, which he reproveth and debaſeth, notwithſtanding the Athenians made exceeding account thereof; giving to underſtand, that their valor conſiſted rather in martiall exploits. In the laſt place he ſpeaketh of oratours, and by conference of their orations and other reaſons, proveth that theſe great ſpeakers deſerve not that place, as to have their words weighed in ballance againſt the deeds of ſo many politike and valiant warriours.*

WHETHER THE ATHENIANS were more renowmed for martiall armes or good letters.

WEll ſaid this was (in trueth) of him unto thoſe great captaines and commanders who ſucceeded him, unto whom hee made way and gave entrance to the executions of thoſe exploits which they performed afterwards, when himſelfe had to their hands chaſed out of *Greece* the barbarous king *Xerxes*, and delivered the Greeks out of ſervitude: but aſwell may the ſame be ſaid alſo to thoſe who are proud of their learning and ſtand highly upon their erudition. For if you take away men of action, you ſhall be ſure to have no writers of them: take away the politike government of *Pericles* at home; the navall victories and trophæs atchieved by *Phormio*, neere the promontorie of *Rhium*; the noble proweſſes of *Nicias* about the iſle *Cythera*, as alſo before the cities of *Corinth* and *Megara*; take away the ſea-fight of *Demoſthenes* before *Pylos*; the foure hundred captives and priſoners of *Cleon*; the worthy deeds of *Tolmias* who ſcowred all the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*; the brave acts of *Myronides*, and the battell which he woon againſt the Bœotians in the place called *Oenophyta*; and withall, you blot out the whole hiſtorie of *Thucydides*; take away the valiant ſervice of *Alcibiades* ſhewed in *Helleſpont*; the rare manhood of *Thraſylus* neere unto the iſle *Lesbos*; the happie ſuppreſſion and abolition of the tyrannicall oligarchie of the thirty uſurpers, by *Theramenes*; take away the valourous endevours of *Thraſybulus* and *Archippus*, together with the rare deſſeignes and enterpriſes executed by thoſe ſeven hundred, who from *Phyla* roſe up in armes and were ſo hardie and reſolute as to levie a power and wage warre againſt the lordly potentates of *Sparta*; and laſt of all *Conon*, who cauſed the Athenians to go to ſea againe and maintaine the warres; and therewithall, take away *Cratippus* and all his Chronicles. For as touching *Xenophon*, he was the writer of his owne hiſtorie, keeping a booke and commentarie of thoſe occurrents and proceedings which paſſed under his happie conduct and direction: and (by report) he gave it out in writing, that *Themiſtogenes* the Syracuſian compoſed the ſaid narration of his acts, to the end that *Xenophon* might win more credit and be the better beleeved, writing as he did of himſelfe as of a ſtranger, and withall, gratifying another man by that meanes with the honour of eloquence in digeſting and penning the ſame. All other hiſtorians beſides, as theſe, *Clinodemi* and *Dylli*, *Philochorus* and *Philarchus*, may be counted as it were the actors of other mens plaies: who ſetting downe the acts of kings, princes and great captaines, ſhrowded cloſe under their memorials, to the end that themſelves might have ſome part with them of their light and ſplendor. For ſurely there is a certaine image of glorie, which by a kinde of reflexion, as in a mirrour, doth rebound from thoſe who have atchieved noble acts, even unto them that commit the ſame to writing, when as the actions of other men are repreſented by their reports and records.

Certes this city of *Athens* hath beene the fruitfull mother and kinde nourſe of many and ſundry arts, whereof ſome ſhe firſt invented and brought to light; others ſhe gave growth, ſtrength, honour and credit unto. And among the reſt, the skill of painters craft hath not beene leaſt advanced and adorned by her. For *Apollodorus* the painter, the firſt man who deviſed the mixture of colours, and the manner of darkning them by the ſhadow, was an Athenian: over whoſe works was ſet this epigram by his owne ſelfe.

Sooner will one, this carpe and twit;
Than doe the like or ſample it.

So were *Euphranor* and *Nicias*, *Aſclepiodorus* alſo, and *Pliſtanetus* the brother of *Phidias*, whereof ſome portraied victorious captaines, others painted battels, and others drew to the life the worthies and demigods: like as *Euphranor* who painted noble *Theſeus*, and ſet this picture as a paragon in compariſon with another of *Parrhaſius* making; ſaying that the *Theſeus* of *Parrhaſius* had eaten roſes, but his *Theſeus* had beene fed with good oxe beefe: for to ſay a trueth, that picture of *Parrhaſius* was daintily and delicately made, reſembling in ſome ſort that which *Euphranor* talketh of; but he that ſhould ſee this of *Euphranors* doing, might ſay (not unfitly) theſe verſes out of *Homer*:

The people of Erechtheus *ſtout,*
whom Pallas, *daughter deare*
Of Jupiter *that mighty god,*
ſometime did feed and reare.

Euphranor alſo depainted the battell of horſemen before the citie *Mantinea*, againſt *Epaminondas*, which ſeemeth not to be without ſome furious and divine inſtinct. The argument and ſubject matter whereof was this: *Epaminondas* the Theban, after the battell which he won before the towne *Leuctra*, puffed up with glory in this greatneſſe of his, determined reſolutely to inſult over *Sparta*, which now was already downe the winde, and at once to tread and trample under foot the high ſpirit and reputation of that city. Firſt therefore he invaded *Laconia* with a mightie power of threeſcore and ten thouſand fighting men, ſpoiling and harrowing the countrey as he went; whereby he withdrew all the neighbour-nations from their confederacie and alliance with the Lacedæmonians. After this, when they put themſelves in battell ray, and made head againſt him before *Mantinea*, hee challenged and provoked them to fight: which they neither would nor durſt accept, expecting aid that ſhould come unto them from *Athens*. Whereupon he brake up his campe, and diſlodging in the night ſeaſon ſecretly and contrary to all mens expectation, entred againe into *Laconia*, in which journey and expedition he went within a little of ſurpriſing the citie of *Sparta* and winning it, naked as it was and without defendants. But their allies and confederates having intelligence of his comming, came with all ſpeed to ſuccour the citie. Then *Epaminondas* made ſemblance that hee would turne and bend his forces to the waſting and ſpoiling of their territorie, as hee had done before. Thus having by this ſtratageme deluded his enemies, and lulled them aſleepe in ſecuritie, hee departed ſuddenly by night out of *Laconia*, having over-runne and deſtroied all before him with great celeritie, and preſented himſelfe with his whole armie before them of *Mantinea*, who looked for nothing leſſe than ſuch a gueſt, but were in conſultation for to ſend helpe to *Lacedæmon*: but he interrupting & breaking their counſels, immediatly commanded the Thebanes to arme, who being brave & couragious ſouldiors, inveſted the city of *Mantinea* round about, ſtroke up the alarme and gave an aſſault. The Mantineans heereat aſtonied, ran up and downe the ſtreets, howling and wailing, as being not able to ſuſtaine, and much leſſe put backe ſo great a puiſſance, which all at once in manner of a violent ſtreame, came running upon them; neither did they thinke of any aid or meanes to relieve themſelves in this diſtreſſe. But at the very point of this extremity, the Athenians were diſcovered, deſcending from the hilles downe into the plaines of *Mantinea*, who knowing nothing of this ſudden ſurpriſe and preſent danger wherein the citie ſtood, marched ſoftly, and tooke leiſure; but when they were advertiſed heereof by a vaunt courrier who made meanes to get foorth of the city; notwithſtanding they were but a handfull in compariſon of the great multitude of their enemies, and withall ſomewhat wearie with their journey, and not ſeconded with any other of their allies and aſſociates; they advaunced forward, and put themſelves in order of battell againſt their enemies, who were in number many for one: the horſ-men alſo for their parts being likewiſe arranged, ſet ſpurres to their horſes, and rode hard to the gates and walles of the city, where they charged their enemies ſo hotly with their horſes, and gave them ſo cruell a battell, that they gat the upper hand, and reſcued *Mantinea* out of the danger of *Epaminondas*. Now had *Euphranor* painted this conflict moſt lively in a table, wherein a man might have ſeene the furious encounter, the couragious charge and bloudie fight, wherein both horſe and man ſeemed to puffe and blow againe for winde.

But I ſuppoſe you will not compare the wit or judgement of a painter, with the courage and policy of a captaine, nor endure thoſe, who preferre a painted table before a glorious trophæ; or the vaine ſhadow before the reall ſubſtance and thing indeed: howſoever *Simonides* ſaid that picture was a dumbe poeſie, and poeſie a ſpeaking picture: for looke what things or actions painters doe ſhew as preſent and in manner as they were in doing, writings doe report and record as done and paſt; and if the one repreſent them in colours and figures, and the other exhibite the ſame in words and ſentences, they differ both in matter and alſo in manner of imitation, howbeit both the one and the other ſhoote at one end, and have the ſame intent and purpoſe. And hee is counted the beſt hiſtorian who hath the skill to ſet out a narration, as in a painted table with divers affections, and ſundry conditions of perſons, as with many images and pourtraictures. And verily this may appeere in *Thucydides*, who throughout his whole hiſtory contendeth to attaine unto this diluciditie of ſtile, ſtriving to make the auditour of his wordes the ſpectatour as it were of the deeds therein conteined, and deſirous to imprint in the readers the ſame paſſions of aſtoniſhment, woonder and agony, which the very things themſelves would worke when they are repreſented to the eie. For *Demoſthenes* who put the Athenians in ordinance of battell, even upon the very ſands and ſhore within the creeke of *Pylos*; and *Braſidas* who haſtening the pilot of his galley to runne with the prow a land, walking along the hatches himſelfe, and being there wounded and ready to yeeld up his vitall breath, ſunke downe among the ſeats of the rowers; alſo the Lacedæmonians who fought a battell at ſea, as if they had beene on firme land: the Athenians likewiſe who upon the land embattailed themſelves, and fought as if they had beene within their gallies at ſea againe, in the Sicilian warre: the deſcription which he maketh of the two armies arranged on the land, hard by the ſea ſide, to behold their men fighting a navall battell, wherein the victory hung a long time in equall ballance, and inclined neither to the one ſide nor the other, by occaſion of which doubtfull iſſue, they were in an intollerable agony, diſtreſſe, and perplexity, to behold the ſundry encounters and reciprocall charges and recharges, communicating their violence and heat of contention even to the very bodies of the beholders upon the ſtrond, who puffing, blowing, panting, and ſweating in as great paine and feare, as if they had beene perſonally in the very conflict: the orderly diſpoſition, the graphicall deſcription and the lively narration which he maketh of all this, what is it but an evident repreſentation of a picture? Now if it be not meet to compare painters with captaines, there is as little reaſon to ſet hiſtorians in compariſon with them.

He who brought the newes of the battell and victorie at *Marathon*, as *Heraclides* of *Pontus* writeth, was one *Therſippus* of *Eroe*, or as moſt hiſtorians report, it was one *Euclees*, who came running in a great heat from the field in his armour as he was, and knocking at the gates of the principall mens houſes of *Athens*, was able to ſay nothing elſe but this, χαίρετε, & χαίρομεν, that is to ſay, rejoice yee, all is well with us, and therewith his breath failed, and ſo he gave up the ghoſt, and yet this man came and brought tidings of that battell wherein himſelfe was an actour. But tell me I pray you; if there were ſome goat-herd or neat-herd, who from the toppe of an hill or an high banke, had beheld a farre off this great ſervice, and indeed greater than any words can expreſſe, ſhould have come into the city with newes thereof, not wounded himſelfe, nor having loſt one droppe of bloud, and for his good tidings demaund afterwards to have the ſame honors and memorials which were graunted unto *Cynægirus*, to *Callimachus*, and *Polyzebus*, onely becauſe forſooth he had made report of the doughty deeds, the wounds and death of theſe brave men; would you not thinke that he ſurpaſſed all the impudencie that can be imagined? conſidering eſpecially, that the Lacedæmonians, by report, ſent unto him who brought the firſt word of the victory at *Mantinea*, which *Thucydides* deſcribed in his ſtory, a piece of fleſh from one of their dinners, or hals, called *Phiclitia*, for a recompence of his happy newes? And (to ſay a truth) what are hiſtoriographers elſe? but certeine meſſengers to relate and declare the acts of others, having a loud and audible voice, and who by their pleaſant eloquence and ſignificant phraſes, are able to ſet foorth the matter to the beſt, which they take in hand: unto whom they owe indeed the reward due for good tidings, who firſt doe light upon their compoſitions, and have the firſt reading of them: for ſurely, praiſed they bee onely when they make mention of ſuch exploits, and read they be in regard of thoſe ſingular perſons whom they make knowen, as the authours and actours thereof. Neither are they the goodly words and fine phraſes in hiſtories that performe the deeds, or deſerve ſo greatly to be heard: for even poetry hath a grace, and is eſteemed, for that it deſcribeth and relateth things as if they had beene done, and which carie a reſemblance of truth: and according as *Homer* in one place ſaith:

Many falſe tales how for to tell,
Much like to trueths, ſhe knowes full well.

And it is reported, that one of *Menanders* familiar friends ſaid unto him upon a time: *Menander*, the Bacchanale feaſts are at hand, and haſt not thou yet done thy comœdy? who returned him this anſwer: Yes iwis have I, ſo helpe me the gods, compoſed it I ſay, I have: for the matter thereof is laid foorth, and the diſpoſition digeſted already; there remaineth no more to be done, but onely to ſet thereto the verſes that muſt go to it. So that you ſee that the poets themſelves reputed the things and deeds more neceſſary and important than words and ſpeech. The famous courtizan *Corinna* one day reprooved *Pindarus*, who then was a yoong man, and tooke a great pride in himſelfe, for his learning and knowledge: Thou haſt no skill at all *Pindarus* (quoth ſhe) in poetrie, for that thou doeſt not invent and deviſe fables, which is indeed the proper and peculiar worke of poeſie; as for thy tongue, it miniſtreth ſome rhetoricall figures, catachreſes and metaphraſes, ſongs, muſicall meaſures and numbers, unto the matter and argument onely, as pleaſant ſauces to commend the ſame. *Pindarus* pondering well theſe words and admonitions of hers, thought better of the matter, and thereupon out of his poeticall veine, powred out this canticle:

Iſmenus, *or the launce with ſtaffe of gold,*
Sir Cadmus, *or that ſacred race of old,*
Which dragons teeth they ſay ſometime did yeeld,
Of warriours brave, when ſowen they were in field:
Or Hercules *who was in ſuch account,*
And his maine force of body, to ſurmount, &c.

Which when he had ſhewed to *Corinna*, the woman laughed a good, & ſaid: That corne ſhould be ſowen out of ones hand, and not immediately from out of the full ſacke: for in trueth much after this ſort had *Pindarus* gathered and heaped up a miſcellane deale of fables, and powred them foorth all huddle together in this one canticle. But that poeſie conſiſteth much in the fine invention of fables, *Plato* himſelfe hath written: and verily a fable or tale is a falſe narration, reſembling that which is true, and therefore farre remote it is from the thing indeed, if it be ſo, that a narration is the image of an act done, & a fable the image or ſhadow of a narration. Whereupon this may be inferred, that they who deviſe and feigne fabulous deeds of armes, are ſo much inferiour to hiſtoriographers that make true reports, as hiſtoriographers who relate onely ſuch deeds come behinde the actours and authours themſelves. Certes this city of *Athens* had never any excellent or renowmed worke-men in the feat of poetrie, no not ſo much as in the Lyrick part thereof, which profeſſeth muſicall odes and ſongs: for *Cyneſias* ſeemeth to have made his dithyrambes or canticles in the honor of *Bacchus*, hardly and with much ado, and was himſelfe barren and of no grace or gift at all; beſides, he was ſo mocked and flouted by the comicall poets, that he grew to be of no reckoning and reputation, but incurred an ill and odious name: As for that part of poetrie which dealeth in repreſentation of perſonages in plaies upon a ſtage, ſo ſmall account they made at *Athens* of the Comedians and their profeſſion; nay they diſdained and ſcorned it ſo much, that a law there was enacted, forbidding expreſly, that no ſenatour of the counſell *Areopagus*, might make a comedy: contrariwiſe, the tragœdie flouriſhed, and was in much requeſt, for delivering the beſt eare-ſport, and repreſenting the moſt woonderfull ſpectacle that men in thoſe daies could heare or behold; giving both unto fictions, & affections a deceiveable power, which was of ſuch a propertie, according to the ſaying of *Gorgias*: That he who deceived thereby, was more juſt than he who deceived not; and he who was deceived became wiſer than he that was not deceived at all: the deceiver (I ſay) was more juſt, becauſe he performed that which he promiſed, and the deceived perſon wiſer; for that ſuch as are not altogether groſſe, doltiſh, and ſenſleſſe, are ſooneſt caught with the pleaſure and delight of words.

To come now to the maine point: what profit ever brought theſe excellent tragœdies unto the citie of *Athens*, comparable unto that which the prudent policie of *Themiſtocles* effected in cauſing the walles of the citie to be built? or to the vigilant care and diligence of *Pericles*, who adorned the caſtle and citadell with ſo many beautifull buildings; or to the valour of *Miltiades* who delivered the citie from the danger of ſervitude; or to the brave minde of *Cimon*, who advanced that State to the ſoveraigntie and command of all *Greece*? If the learning of *Euripides*, the eloquence of *Sophocles*, or the ſweet and pleaſant tongue of *Aeſchylus* had freed them from any perils and extremities, or purchaſed and procured them any glory more than they had before, good reaſon peradventure it were, to compare poeticall fictions and inventions with warlike triumphs and trophæs; to ſet the theater againſt the generals pavilion and palace; and to oppoſe the ſchooling and teaching of plaiers how to act comedies and tragœdies, unto prowesses and brave feats of armes. Will you that we bring in place the perſonages themſelves? carying with them the marks, badges & enſignes that teſtifie their deeds, and allow either of them entrance apart by themſelves, and paſſage along by us. Then let there march on the one ſide poets with their flutes, harps, lutes and viols, ſinging and ſaying:

εὐφημεῖν χρή.
Favete linguis.

Silence, my maſters, or all words of ſing good:
Depart he muſt, there is no remedie,
Our learning here who never underſtood,
And hath no skill in play or tragœdie:
Whoſe tongue's impure, or who in melodie
And dance unexpret is, that doth belong
To ſervice of the ſacred muſes nine,
Or who is not profeſſed by the tongue
To Bacchus *rites of belli-god* Cratine.

Let them bring with them their furniture, their veſtments and players apparel, their masks, their altars, their rolling engins and devices to be turned and removed to & fro al about the ſtage and ſcaffold, together with their trevets of gold the priſes of their victories. Let them be accompanied with their traine, of players and actors, to wit *Nicoſtrates, Callipides, Meniſcus*, and *Pollus* and ſuch as they, attending upon a tragœdie, to tricke and trim her, or to beare up her traine, and carry her litter, as if ſhe were ſome ſtately and ſumptuous dame; or rather as enamillers, guilders, and painters of immages following after. Let there be proviſion made I ſay of abilliments, of viſours, of purple mantles & royall robes of eſtate, of fabricks & pageants deviſed to ſtand and be imployed upon the ſtage, of dancers, jeſters, of ſtage keepers, wiſelars & henchmen a troubleſome ſort and rable of grooms: and in one word let there be brought all the geere and implements belonging to ſuch plaies exceeding coſtly & chargable: ſuch as when a Laconian ſaw upon a time and wiſely beheld, brake out into this ſpeech, and that to very good purpoſe: ô how farre amiſſe and out of the way are the Athenians, to diſpend ſo much mony, and imploy ſuch ſerious ſtudy in games and fooleries: ſurely they deffray in the furniture and ſetting out of a theater, as much as would ſerve to ſet aflote a royall armado at ſea, and mainteine a puiſant army upon the land. For he that would ſet downe and caſt accoumpt, how much every comædie coſt them, ſhall find that the people of *Athens* ſpent more in exhibiting the tragœdies of *Bacchæ*, *Pheniſſæ*, of both the *Oedipodes*, & of *Antigon*, or in repreſenting the calamities of *Medea* and *Electra*, than they disburſed in their warrs againſt the Barbarians, either to win the ſoveraignty and dominion over them, or to defend their owne freedome and libertie: for many times their great captaines and commanders led foorth their ſouldiers to battell, having made proclamation before, for to carrie with them ſuch victuals as * required no fire for their dreſſing. This is certeine, that the captaines of gallies and war-ſhips, for their ſailers, having provided no other cates and viands, but meale, onions and cheeſe for their mariners, aſwell rowers as ſailers, have ſo embarked them & gone to ſea: whereas the wardens and Aediles who were to ſet forth plaies and dances have (to their great coſt) fed their actors and plaiers with delicate eeles, with tender lectuces, with cloves of garlicke, and with good marrow-bones, feaſting them a long time before, moſt deintilie, and whiles they did nought els but exerciſe their voice, ſcowre their throats and cleere their breſts, they made good cheere full merrily. And what good had theſe waſtefull ſpenders of their goods (ſpent about ſuch vanities) in the end? If their plaies ſped not well, but loſt the victorie, they were well mocked, hiſſed and laughed at for all their paines and coſt: bnt ſay they went away winners and having the better hand, what got they by it? ſurely not a trevet or threefooted ſtoole nor any other marke and monument of victorie, as *Demetrius* ſaid, but to remaine a lamentable example of unthrifts, who have laied all they had upon toies and fooleries, and left behinde them their houſes like emptie ſepulchres and imaginarie tombs. This is the end that commeth of ſuch expenſes about poetrie; and no greater honour is to be looked for.

* ἄπυρα Some expoũd it, unſodden, unroſted, unbaked.

Now on the other ſide, let us beholde likewiſe their brave captaines and warriours: and while theſe paſſe along,

There ſhould indeed be ſilence or good words:
They ought to void out of this company,
Who idle live, and never drew their ſwords
In field, or ſerv'd with care and agonie
In common weale: whoſe heart would never ſtand
To ſuch exploits, whoſe minde is eke profane,
Who neither by Miltiades *his hand,*
That ſlew the Medes nor by the Perſians bane,
Themiſtocles, *was ever inſtitute,*
And ſworne to lawes of knighthood reſolute,

Yea mary, heere (me thinks) I ſee a martiall maske, and brave ſhew toward: ſet out with ſquadrons embatteled on land, with fleetes arranged for to fight at ſea, loden and heavily charged with rich ſpoiles and glorious trophæes:

Alal' Alala, *daughter deare,*
Of bloudy warre, come foorth and heare.

Behold and ſee a forreſt of pikes and launces in the fore-front, the very preamble and flouriſh before the battell: me thinks I heare one of them reſound: Embrace death moſt hardy knights, the beſt ſacrifice and moſt ſant oblations, that is, (for ſo ſaith *Epaminondas* the Thebane) fighting valiantly, and expoſing your ſelves to the moſt honorable and braveſt ſervices that be in defence of countrey, of your aunceſtors tombes and ſepulchers, and of your temples and religion: mee thinks alſo I ſee their victories, comming toward mee in ſolemne pompe and proceſſion, not drawing or leading after them for their prize and reward, an ox or a goat; neither be the ſaid victories crowned with ivie, or ſmelling ſtrong of new wine in the lees, as the Bacchanales doe; but they have in their traine, whole cities, iſlands, continents, and firme lands, as wel mediterranean as maritime ſea-coaſts, together with new colonies of ten thouſand men a piece, to be planted heere and there; and withall, crowned they be and adorned on every ſide with trophæs, with triumphes, pillage and booty of all ſorts; the enſignes, badges, and armes that theſe victorious captaines give; the images alſo that they repreſent in ſhew, be their ſtately & beautiful temples, as the Parthenon, the Hecatompedos; their city walles on the ſouth ſide; the arcenals to receive & lodge their ſhips; their beautifull porches and galleries; the province of the demy iſle *Cherſoneſus*, & the city *Amphipolis*; as for the plaine of *Marathon*, it goeth before the laureat garland and victorie of *Miltiades*; *Solanius* accompanieth that of *Themiſtocles*, trampling under his feet, and going over the broken timber and ſhipwracke of a thouſand veſſels: as for the victory of **Cimon**, it bringeth with it an hundred Phænician great gallies, from the rivers *Eurymedon*: that of *Demoſthenes* and *Cleon*, comes from *Sphacteria*, with the target of captaine *Braſidas* wonne in the field, and a number of his ſouldiers captive and bound in chaines: the victory of *Conon*, walled the city, and that of *Thraſibulus* reduced the people with victorie and liberty from *Phyle*: the ſundry victories of *Alcibiades* ſet upright the State of the city, which by the infortunate overthrow in *Sicilie*, reeled, and was ready to fall to the ground; and by the battels fought by *Neleus* and *Androclus* in *Lydia* and *Caria*: *Greece* ſaw all *Jonia* raiſed up againe and ſupported. And if a man demaund of each one of the other victories, what benefit hath accrued unto the city by them? one will name the iſle *Lesbos*, and another *Samos*: one will ſpeake of the *Euxine* ſea, and another of five hundred gallies, and he ſhall have another talke of ten thouſand talents; over and above the honour and glory of trophæes. Theſe be the cauſes why this city doeth ſolemnize and celebrate ſo many feſtivall daies, and heereupon it is that it offreth ſacrifices as it doeth to the gods; not iwis for the victory of *Aeſchylus* or *Sophocles*, nor for the prizes of poetry: no, nor when *Carcinus* lay with *Aerope* or * *Aſtidamus* with *Hector*: But upon the ſixth of May, even to this preſent day, the city holdeth feſtivall the memory of that victory, in the plaines of *Marathon*: and the ſixth day of [* another *] moneth, maketh a ſolemne offring of wine unto the gods, in remembrance of that victorie which *Chabrias* obteined neere unto the iſle *Naxos*: and upon the 12. day of the ſame moneth, there is another ſacrifice likewiſe performed in the name of a thankes-giving to the gods, for their liberty recovered, becauſe upon the ſame day thoſe citizens which were priſoners and in bondage within *Phyle*, came downe and returned into the city: upon the third day of March they wonne the famous field of *Platæa*: and the ſixteenth day of the ſaid March, they conſecrated to *Diana*; for on that day this goddeſſe ſhone bright, and it was full moone, to the victorious Greeks, before the iſle of *Salamis*. The noble victory which they atchieved before the citie of *Mantinea*, made the twelfth day of September more holy, and with greater ſolemnity obſerved, for upon that day when all other their allies and aſſociates were diſcomfited and put to flight, they onely by their valour wonne the field, and erected a trophæ over their enemies who were upon the point of victory. See what hath raiſed this city to ſuch grandence! Lo what hath exalted it to ſo high a pitch of honor! and this was the cauſe that *Pindarus* called the city of *Athens*, the pillar that ſupported *Greece*; not for that by the tragedies of *Phrynichus* or *Theſpis*, it ſet the fortune of the Greeks upright, but in regard of this, that as himſelfe writeth in another place, along the coaſt of *Artemiſium*:

* The names of two poets.

Where Athens *youth as poet* Pindar *ſaid,*
Of freedome firſt the glorious ground-worke laid.

And afterwards at *Salamis*, at *Mycale*, and *Platæes*, having ſetled it firme and ſtrong as upon a rocke of diamonds, they delivered it from hand to hand unto others.

But haply ſome man will ſay: True it is indeed, all that ever poets doe, are no better than ſports and paſtimes: But what ſay you to oratours, they ſeeme to have ſome prerogative and ought to be compared with martiall captaines: whereupon it may ſeeme, as *Aeſchynes* ſcoffing merily, and quipping at *Demoſthenes* ſaid: That there is ſome reaſon why the barre or pulpit for publicke orations, may commence action and proceſſe againſt the tribunall ſeat of generals, and their chaire of eſtate. Is it then meet and reaſonable that the oration of *Hyperides* intituled *Plataïcus*, ſhould be preferred before the victory which *Ariſtides* wonne before the city *Platea*? or the oration of *Lyſies* againſt the thirty tyrants, goe before the maſſacre and execution of them performed by *Thraſybulus* and *Archias*? or that of *Aeſchines* againſt *Timarchus*, being accuſed for keeping harlots, and a brothell houſe, before the aide that *Phocion* brought into the city of *Byzantium*, beſieged? by which ſuccour he impeached the Macedonians, and repreſſed their inſolent vilanies and outrages committed in abuſing the children of the Athenian confederates? or ſhall we compare the oration of *Demoſthenes* as touching the crowne, with thoſe publicke and honorable coronets which *Themiſtocles* received for ſetting *Greece* free? conſidering that the moſt excellent place of all the ſaid oration, and fulleſt of eloquence is that wherein the ſaid oratour conjureth the ſoules of thoſe their aunceſtors, and citeth them for witneſſes, who in the battell of *Marathon* expoſed their lives with ſuch reſolution for the ſaftie of *Greece*? or ſhall we put in balance to weigh againſt woorthy warriours, theſe that in ſchooles teach yoong men rhetoricke, namely, ſuch as *Iſocrates*, *Antiphon*, and *Iſæus*? But certeine it is, that this city honored thoſe valiant captaines with publicke funerals, and with great devotion gathered up the reliques of their bodies; yea, and the ſame oratour canonized them for gods in heaven, when he ſware by them, although he followed not their ſteps: and *Iſocrates* who extolled and highly praiſed thoſe who manfully fought & willing were to ſpend their hartbloud in the battell of *Marathon*, ſaying, that they made ſo little account of their lives, as if their owne ſoules had bene elſe-where, & other mens in their bodies, magnifying this their reſolution, and the ſmall reckoning which they made of this life; yet when himſelfe was very old, upon occaſion that one asked him how he did: anſwered: I doe even as an aged man, (having above 90. yeeres upon my backe) may do; and who thinketh death to be the greateſt miſery in the world: and how waxed he thus old: certes, not by filing and ſharpening the edge of his ſword, not by grinding and whetting the point of his ſpeares head, not with ſcouring & forbiſhing his head-piece or morion; not with bearing armes in the field; not by rowing in the gallies: but forſooth with couching, knitting, and gluing as it were together rhetoricall tropes and figures; to wit, his *antitheta*, conſiſting of contraries, his *pariſa*, ſtanding upon equall weight and meaſure of ſyllables, his *homooptata*, preciſely obſerving the like termination, and falling even of his clauſes, poliſhing, ſmoothing, and peruſing his periods and ſentences, not with the rough hammer and pickax, but with the file and plainer moſt exactly. No marvell then, if the man could not abide the ruſtling of harneis, and clattering of armour; no marvell (I ſay) if hee feared the ſhocke and encounter of two armies, who was afraid that one vowell ſhould runne upon another, and leſt he ſhould pronounce a clauſe or number of a ſentence which wanted one poore ſyllable: for the very morrow after that *Miltiades* had wonne that field upon the plaines of *Marathon*, he returned with his victorious armie into the citie of *Athens*: and *Pericles* having vanquiſhed and ſubdued the Samians within the ſpace of nine moneths, gloried more than *Agamemnon* did, who had much adoe to winne *Troie*, at the tenth yeeres end: whereas *Iſocrates* ſpent the time well neere of three, *Olympiades* in penning one oration which hee called *Panegiricus*: notwithſtanding all that long time, he never ſerved in the warres, nor went in any embaſſage: he built no city, nor was ſent out as a captaine of a galley and warre-ſhip, and yet that verie time brought foorth infinit warres: But during the ſpace that *Timotheus* delivered the iſlle *Eubæa* out of bondage; all the while that *Chabrias* warred at ſea about the iſland *Naxos*, and *Iphicrates* defeited and hewed in pieces one whole regiment of the Lacedæmonians, neere the port of *Lechæum*, and in which time the people of *Athens* having enfranchiſed all cities, endued *Greece* throughout with the ſame libertie of giving voices in the generall aſſemblie of the States, as they had themſelves, hee ſat at home in his houſe poring at his booke, ſeeking out proper phraſes and choiſe words for the ſaid oration of his; in which ſpace, *Pericles* raiſed great porches, and the goodly temple *Hecatompedes*; and yet the comicall poet *Cratinus*, ſcoffing even at this *Pericles*, for that he went but ſlowly about his works, ſpeaketh thus as touching his wal, halfe done and halfe vndone:

In words long ſince our Pericles,
hath rear'd us up a wall,
But in effect and very deed,
he doth nothing at all.

Conſider now I pray you a little, the baſe minde of this great profeſſour of rhetoricke, who ſpent the ninth part of his life, in compoſing of one onely oration: but were it meet and reaſonable to compare the orations of *Demoſthenes* as he was an oratour, with the martiall exploits of *Demoſthenes* being a captaine; namely, that which he made againſt the conſiderate folly of *Conon*, with the trophees which himſelfe erected before *Pylos*, or that which hee wrote againſt *Amathuſius* as concerning ſlaves, with his woorthy ſervice, whereby hee brought the Lacedæmonians to be ſlaves: neither in this reſpect, for that he compoſed one oration for the graunting of free bourgeſie to thoſe who were newly come to inhabit *Athens*, therefore he deſerved as much honour as *Alcibiades* did, who combined the Mantineans and Elians in one league to be aſſociates with the Athenians againſt the Lacedæmonians: and yet this muſt needs be confeſſed, that his publicke orations deſerved this praiſe, that in his *Philippiques*, he inciteth the Athenians to take armes, and commendeth the enterpriſe of *Leptiues*.

WHETHER OF THE TWAINE IS MORE PROFITABLE, FIRE OR WATER.

The Summarie.

IN *this Academicke declamation,* Plutarch *in the firſt places alledgeth the reaſons which attribute more profit unto water. Secondly, he propoſeth thoſe that are in favor of the fire: whereunto hee ſeemeth the rather to encline, although hee reſolveth not: wherein he followeth his owne maner of philoſophizing upon naturall cauſes; namely, not to diſpute either for or againſt one thing: leaving unto the reader his owne libertie, to ſettle unto that which he ſhall ſee to be more probable.*

WHETHER OF THE TWAINE is more profitable, Fire or Water.

THe water is of all things beſt,
And golde like fire is in requeſt.

Thus ſaid the poet *Pindarus:* whereby it appeareth evidently, that he gives the ſecond place unto fire. And with him accordeth *Heſiodus* when he ſaith:

Chaos *was the formoſt thing*
In all the world that had being.

For this is certeine, that the moſt part of ancient philoſophers called water by the name of *Chaos,* παρὰ τὴν χύσιν, that is to ſay, for that it followeth ſo eaſily. But if we ſhould ſtand onely upon teſtimonies about this queſtion, the proofe would be caried equally on both ſides: for that there be in maner as many who thinke fire to be the primitive element and principle of all things, and the very ſeed which as of it ſelfe it produceth all things, ſo it receiveth likewiſe all into it ſelfe, in that univerſall conflagration of the world. But leaving the teſtimonies of men, let us conſider apart the reaſons of the one and the other, and ſee to whether ſide they will rather draw us. Firſt therefore, to begin withall, may not this be laied for a ground? that a thing is to be judged more profitable, whereof we have at all times and continually need, and that in more quantitie than another? as being a toole or neceſſarie inſtrument, and as it were a friend at all ſeaſons and every houre, and ſuch as a man would ſay, preſenteth it ſelfe evermore to doe us ſervice? As for fire, certeinly, it is not alwaies commodious unto us; nay, contrariwiſe, it otherwhiles doth moleſt and trouble us; and in that regard we withdraw our ſelves farre from it: whereas water ſerveth our turnes both in Winter and Summer, when wee are ſicke, and when wee are whole, by night and by day; neither is there any time or ſeaſon, wherein a man ſtandeth in no need of it. And this is the reaſon that they call the dead, ἀλίβαντας, as one would ſay, ἀνὰλιβάδος, that is to ſay, without juice, or wanting moiſture, and ſo by conſequence deprived of life. Moreover, without fire a man hath oft continued a long time, but without water never. And withall, that which hath bene from the firſt beginning and creation of man, is more profitable than that which was invented afterwards. And there is no queſtion, but that nature hath given us the one, to wit, water, for our neceſſarie uſe; but the other (I meane fire) either fortune or induſtrie hath deviſed and found out as an appendant and acceſſarie. Neither can it be ſaid, what time of the world it was when as man had no water: nor ever read we in any records that one of the gods or demigods was the inventer therof; for it was at the very inſtant with them: nay, what and we ſay that it gave them their being? But the uſe of fire was but yeſterday or the other day, to ſpeake of, found out by *Prometheus*: ſo that the time was when as men lived without fire; but void of water, our life never was. Now that this is no deviſed poeticall fiction, this daily and preſent life of ours doth plainly teſtifie: for there be at this day in the world divers nations that are mainteined without fire, without houſe, without hearth or chimney, living abroad in the open wide aire. And *Diogenes* the Cynicke, ſeldome or never had any uſe of fire, inſomuch as having upon a time ſwallowed downe a polype fiſh raw: Loe (quoth he) my maſters, how for your ſake we put our ſelves in jeopardie: howbeit, without water there was never any man thought that either we might live honeſtly and civilly, or that our nature would poſſibly endure it. But what need is there that I ſhould particularize thus, and go ſo neere, as to ſearch farre into the nature of man? conſidering that whereas there be ſo many, or rather ſo infinit kinds of living creatures, mankinde onely in a maner knoweth the uſe of fire: whereas all the reſt have their nouriſhment and food without the benefit of fire. Thoſe that brouſe, feed, flie and creepe, get their living by eating herbes, roots, fruits and fleſh, all without fire: but without water there is not one that can live, neither going or creeping on the land nor ſwimming in the ſea, nor yet flying in the aire. True it is, I muſt needs ſay, that *Ariſtotle* writeth, how ſome beaſts there be, even of thoſe that devoure fleſh, which never drunke; but in very trueth, nouriſhed they be by ſome moiſture. Well then, that is more profitable without which no maner of life can conſiſt or endure. Proceed we farther, & paſſe from thoſe living creatures which uſe to feed upon plants & fruits, even unto the ſame that are by us & them uſed for food: Some of them there be, which have no heat at all: others ſo little, as it can not be perceived. Contrariwiſe, moiſture is that which cauſeth all kind of ſeeds to chit, to bud, to grow, and in the end to bring forth fruit: for what need I to alledge for this purpoſe either wine and oile, or other liquors which we draw, preſſe out, or milke forth out of beaſts paps, which we do ſee dayly before our eies? conſidering that even our wheat which ſeemeth to be a drie nutriment, is engendred by the tranſmutation, putrefaction and diffuſion of moiſture. Furthermore, that is to be held more profitable, which bringeth with it no hurt nor dammage: but we all know that fire, if it breake forth, get head and be at libertie, is the moſt pernicious thing in the world: wheras the nature of water of it ſelfe doth never any harme.

Againe, of two things, that is held to be more commodious which is the ſimpler, and without preparation can yeeld the profit which it hath: but fire requireth alwaies ſome ſuccour and matter, which is the reaſon that the rich have more of it than the poore, and princes than private perſons; whereas water is ſo kind and courteous, that it giveth it ſelfe indifferently to all ſorts of people: it hath no need at all of tooles or inſtruments to prepare it for uſe; compleat and perfect it is in it ſelfe, without borowing ought abroad of others. Over and beſides, that which being multiplied as it were and augmented, loſeth the utilitie and profit that it had, is by conſequence leſſe profitable: and ſuch is fire, reſembling herein a ravenous wild beaſt, which devoureth and conſumeth all that it commeth neere; in ſo much as it were by the induſtrie and artificiall meanes of him who knoweth how to uſe it with moderation, rather than of the owne nature, that it doth any good at all; whereas water is never to be feared. Againe, of two things, that which can do good being both alone, and alſo in the company of the other, is the more profitable of the twaine: but ſo it is, that fire willingly admitteth not the fellowſhip of water, nor by the participation thereof is any way commodious; whereas water is together with fire profitable, as we may ſee by the fountaines of hot water how they be medicinable, and verie ſenſibly is their helpe perceived. Never ſhall a man meet with any fire moiſt; but water as well hot as colde is ever more profitable to man. Moreover, water being one of the foure elements hath produced as one may ſay, a fift, to wit the ſea, and the ſame well neere as profitable as any one of the reſt for many other cauſes beſides, but principally in regard of commerce and trafficke. For whereas before time, mans life was ſavage, and they did not communicate one with another; this element hath conjoined and made it perfect, bringing ſocietie and working amitie among men by mutuall ſuccours and reciprocall retributions from one to the other. *Heraclitus* ſaith in one place: if there were no ſunne, there had beene no night; and even as well may it be ſaid; Were it not for the ſea, man had beene the moſt ſavage creature; the moſt penurious and needie, yea and the leaſt reſpected in all the world: whereas now this element of the ſea hath brought the vine out of the Indians as farre as *Greece*; and from *Greece* hath tranſported it unto the fartheſt provinces: likewiſe from out of *Phœnicia*, the uſe of letters for preſervation of the memorie of things: it hath brought wine: it hath conveighed fruits into theſe parts, and hath beene the cauſe that the greateſt portion of the world was not buried in ignorance. How then can it bee otherwiſe, that water ſhould not be more profitable, ſince it furniſheth us with another element?

But on the contrarie ſide, peradventure a man may begin hereupon to make inſtance oppoſitely in this manner: ſaying, that God, as a maſter-workeman having the foure elements before him, for to frame the fabricke of this world withall; which being repugnant and refuſing one another, earth and water were put beneath, as the matter to be formed and faſhioned; receiving order and diſpoſition, yea and a vegetative power to engender and breed ſuch as is imparted unto it by the other two, aire and fire, which are they that give forme and faſhion unto them, yea and excite the other twaine to generation, which otherwiſe had lien dead without any motion. But of theſe two, fire is the chiefe and hath dominion, which a man may evidently know by this induction. For the earth if it be not enchafed by ſome hot ſubſtance, is barren, & bringeth forth no fruit: but when as fire ſpreadeth it ſelfe upon it, it infuſeth into it a certaine power, which cauſeth it to ſwell (as it were) and have an appetite to engender. For other cauſe there can bee none rendred why rocks, clifts, and mountaines be barren and drie, but this, that they have either no fire at all, or elſe participate verie little the nature thereof: in ſumme, ſo farre off is water from being of it ſelfe ſufficient for the owne preſervation or generation of other things, that without the aide of fire it is the cauſe of the owne ruine and deſtruction. For heat it is that keepeth water in good eſtate, and preſerveth it in her nature and proper ſubſtance, like as it doth all things beſides: and looke where fire is away or wanteth, there water doth corrupt and putrifie; in ſuch ſort as the ruine and deſtruction of water, is the default of heat, as we may evidently ſee in pools, mariſhes, and ſtanding waters, or whereſoever water is kept within pits and holes without iſſue; for ſuch waters in the end become putrified and ſtinke againe, becauſe they have no motion, which having this propertie to ſtirre up the naturall heat which is in everie thing, keepeth thoſe waters better which have a current and runne apace, in that this motion preſerveth that kind heat which they have. And hereupon it is, that To live, in Greeke is expreſſed by ζῆν, for that ζεῖν ſigfieth to boile. How then can it otherwiſe be, that of two things it ſhould not be more profitable which giveth being and eſſence to the other, like as fire doth unto water? Furthermore, that thing, the utter departure whereof is the cauſe that a creature dieth, is the more profitable: for this is certaine and manifeſt, that the ſame without which a thing cannot bee, hath given the cauſe of being unto the ſame when it was with it. For we do ſee that in dead things there is a moiſture, neither are they dried up altogether; for otherwiſe moiſt bodies would not putrifie, conſidering that putrefaction is the turning of that which is drie to be moiſt, or rather the corruption of humours in the fleſh; and death is nothing elſe but an utter defect and extinction of heat: and therefore dead things be extreme cold, inſomuch as if a man ſhould ſet unto them the very edge of raſours, they are enough to dull the ſame through exceſſive cold. And we may ſee plainely, that in the verie bodies of living creatures, thoſe parts which participate leaſt of the nature of fire, are more ſenſeleſſe than any other, as bones and haire, and ſuch as be fartheſt remooved from the heart: and in manner all the difference that is betweene great and ſmall creatures, proceedeth from the preſence of fire, more or leſſe: for humiditie ſimply it is not, that bringeth forth plants and fruits; but warme humiditie is it that doth the deed: whereas cold waters be either barren altogether, or not verie fruitful and fertill; and yet if water were of the owne nature fructuous, it muſt needs follow, that it ſelfe alone and at all times ſhould be able to produce fruit: whereas we ſee it is cleane contrarie; namely, that it is rather hurtfull to fruits.

And now to reaſon from another head and go another way to worke, to make uſe of fire as it is fire, need wee have not of water; nay, it hurteth rather, for it quencheth and putteth it out cleane: on the other ſide many there be who cannot tell what to doe with water without fire, for being made hot it is more profitable, and otherwiſe in the owne kinde hurtfull. Of two things therefore, that which can do good of it ſelfe without need of the others helpe, is better and more profitable. Moreover water yeeldeth commodity but after one ſort onely, to wit, by touching, as when we feele it or waſh and bathe with it: whereas fire ſerveth all the five ſenſes & doth them good: for it is felt both neere at hand and alſo ſeene afarre of: ſo that among other meanes that it hath of profiting, no man may account the multiplicity of the uſes that it affoordeth: for that a man ſhould be at any time without fire it is impoſſible: nay he cannot have his firſt generation without it: and yet there is a difference in this kinde, as in all other things. The very ſea it ſelfe is made more commodious by heat, ſo as it doth heat more by the agitation and current that it hath, than any other waters: for of it ſelfe otherwiſe it differeth not. Alſo for ſuch as have no need of outward fire, we may not ſay that they ſtand in need of none at all; but the reaſon is becauſe they have plenty and ſtore of naturall heat within them; ſo that in this very point, the commodity of fire ought to be eſteemed the more. And as for water, it is never in that good ſtate, but ſome need it hath of helpe without: whereas the exellencie of fire is ſuch, as it is content with it ſelfe, and requireth not the aid of the other. Like as therefore, that captaine is to be reputed more excellent, who knowes to order and furniſh a citie ſo as it hath no need of forren allies; ſo we are to thinke that among elements, that is the woorthier, which may often times conſiſt without the ſuccour and aide of another. And even as much may be ſaid of living creatures, which have leaſt need of others helpe. And yet haply it may be replied contrariwiſe, that the thing is more profitable which we uſe alone by it ſelfe, namely, when by diſcourſe of reaſon we are able to chuſe the better. For what is more commodious and profitable to men than reaſon? and yet there is none at all in brute beaſts. And what followeth heereupon? Shall we inferre therefore that it is leſſe profitable, as invented by the providence of a better nature, which is god? But ſince we are fallen into this argument: What is more profitable to mans life than arts? but there is no art which fire deviſed not, or at leaſt wiſe doth not maintaine: And heereupon it is, that we make *Vulcan* the prince and maſter of all arts. Furthermore, whereas the time and ſpace of life is very ſhort that is given unto man, as ſhort as it is, yet ſleepe as, *Ariſton* ſaith, like unto a falſe baily or publicane, taketh the halfe thereof for it ſelfe. True it is, that a man may lie awake, and not ſleepe all night long; but I may aſwell ſay that his waking would ſerve him in ſmall ſtead, were it not that fire preſented unto him the commodities of the day, and put a difference betweene the darkeneſſe of the night and the light of the day. If then there be nothing more profitable unto man than life, why ſhould we not judge fire to be the beſt thing in the world, ſince it doth augment and multiply our life? Over and beſides, that of which the five ſenſes participate moſt, is more profitable: but evident it is, that there is not one of the ſaid ſenſes maketh uſe of the nature of water apart and by it ſelfe, unleſſe ſome aire or fire be tempered with it: whereas every ſenſe findeth benefit of fire as of a vivificant power and quickening vertue: and principally our ſight above the reſt, which is the quickeſt of all the ſenſes in the bodie, as being the very flame of fire, a thing that conformeth us in our faith and beliefe of the gods: and as *Plato* ſaith, by the meanes of our ſight we are able to conforme our ſoule to the motions of celeſtiall bodies.

OF THE PRIMITIVE OR FIRST COLD.

The Summarie.

We have heere another declaration of Plutarch, *wherein he examineth and diſcuſſeth after the maner of the Academicke philoſophers, without deciding or determining any thing, a naturall queſtion as touching Primitive colde. And in the very firſt entrie thereof, refuteth thoſe who are of opinion that this firſt colde is the privation of heat: ſhewing on the contrary ſide, that it is meere oppoſite unto heat as one ſubſtance to another, and not as privation unto habitude. Then proceedeth he to diſpute of the eſſence, nature, and fountaine of this colde: for the cleering of which point, he examineth at large three opinions: the firſt, of the Stoicks, who attribute the primitive colde unto aire: the ſecond, of* Empedocles *and* Chryſippus, *who aſcribe the cauſe thereof unto water. Unto all their reaſons and arguments he maketh anſwer, and inclineth to a third opinion; namely, that earth is that primitive colde. Which poſition he confirmeth by divers arguments, yet reſolveth he not, but leaveth it to the diſcretion of* Phavorinus, *unto whom he writeth, for to conferre all the reaſons of the one part and the other, without reſting in any particular opinion, ſuppoſing that to ſuſpend and hold his judgement in matters obſcure and uncertaine,* *is the wiſer part of a philoſopher, than to yeeld and grant his conſent either to one part or the other. Wherein we may ſee, that in regard of naturall philoſophie, our authour was of the Academicks ſect: but as touching the morall part, we have ſeene before, and ſpecially in divers treatiſes of the former tome, that he followeth of all the ancient philoſophers, thoſe who were leaſt impure and corrupt, ſuch I meane, as in all their diſcourſes had no other light to direct them, but Nature.*

OF THE PRIMITIVE OR firſt colde.

IS there then (ô *Phavorinus*) a certaine primitive power and ſubſtance of cold, like as fire is of heat, by the preſence and participation whereof, ech one of the other things is ſaid to be cold? or rather are we to hold and ſay, that cold is the privation of heat, like as darknes of light, and ſtation of mooving; and namely, conſidering that cold is ſtationarie and heat motive? and the cooling of things which were hot, is not done by the entrance of any cold power, but by the departure of heat? for as ſoone as it is once gone, that which remaineth is altogether cooled; and the verie vapour and ſteim which ſeething waters doe yeeld, paſſeth away together with the heat, which is the reaſon that refrigeration diminiſheth the quantitie therof, in as much as it chaſeth that heat which was, whithout the entrance of any other thing into the place? Or rather, may not this opinion be ſuſpected? firſt and formoſt for that it overthroweth and taketh away many powers and puiſſances, as if they were not qualities and habitudes really ſubſiſting, but onely the privations and extinctions of qualities and habitudes: as for example, heavineſſe of lightneſſe, hardneſſe of ſoftneſſe, blacke of white, bitter of ſweete, and ſo of other ſemblable things, according as ech one is in puiſſance contrarie unto an other and not as privation is oppoſite unto habit? Moreover, for as much as everie privation is idle and wholy without action, as blindneſſe, deafneſſe, ſilence and death, for that theſe bee the departures of formes, and the abolitions of ſubſtances, and not certaine natures nor reall ſubſtances apart by themſelves. We ſee that cold after it be entred and imprinted (as it were) within the bodie, breedeth no fewer nor leſſe accidents & alterations than doth heat; conſidering that many things become ſtiffe and congealed by cold, many things I ſay, are ſtaied, retained and thickened by the meanes thereof: which conſiſtence and ſtabilitie unapt to ſtirre and hard to bee moved, is not therefore idle, but it is weightie and firme, having a force and power to arreſt and to hold in. And therefore privation is a defect and departure of a contrarie power; whereas many things be cooled, although they have plentie of heat within: and ſome things there be, which cold doth conſtraine and conſtipate ſo much the more, as it findeth them hotter, like as we may obſerve in iron red hot, when by quenching it becommeth the harder. And the ſtoicke philoſophers doe hold that the naturall ſpirits encloſed within the bodies of yoong infants lying in the wombe, by the cold of the ambient aire environing them about is hardened (as it were) and refined, and ſo changing the nature becommeth a ſoule. But this is a nice point and verie diſputable; yet conſidering that we ſee cold to be the efficient cauſe of many other effects, there is no reaſon to thinke that it is a privation. Furthermore, privation is not capable of more or leſſe; for ſo of twaine that ſee not at all, the one is not more blind than the other: and of two who cannot ſpeake, one is not more dombe than another; neither of twaine who live not, is one more dead than the other: but among cold things we may well admit more & leſſe: overmuch and not overmuch, and generally, intenſions and remiſſions like as in thoſe things that are hot, and therefore ech matter according as it ſuffreth more or leſſe, by contrarie puiſſances produceth of it ſelfe ſome ſubſtances, cold and hot, more or leſſe than others, for mixture and compoſition there can be none of habitude with privation; neither is there any power which receiveth or admitteth the contrary unto it, to bring a privation, nor ever maketh it her companion, but yeeldeth and giveth place unto it. But contrariwiſe, cold continueth very well, as it is mixed with heat, unto a certeine degree; like as blacke with white colours; baſe notes with ſmall and ſhrill; ſweet ſavours, with tart & auſtere; and by this aſſociation, mixture & accord of colours, ſounds, drogues, ſavours, and taſts; there are produced many compoſitions exceeding pleaſant and delectable: for the oppoſition which is betweene habitude and privation, is alwaies a oddes and enmity, without any meanes of reconciliation, conſidering that the eſſence and be ing of the one, is the deſtruction of the other: whereas that fight which is occaſioned by contrary powers, if it meet with fit time and ſeaſon, ſerveth oftentimes in good ſtead unto arts, and to nature much more, as well in other productions and procreations, as in changes and alterations of the aire: for in the orderly governance and rule whereof, God who diſpenſeth and diſpoſeth them, is called Harmonicall and Muſicall; not in regard that he maketh a friendly accord betweene baſe and treble, or a loving medly of white and blacke, but for that by his providence he ordereth ſo well the accord and diſcord of the elementary heat & cold of the world, that in a certaine moderation, and without exceſſe they ſtrive, and yet are reconciled againe, by taking from the one and the other that which was exceſſive and reducing them both in ſuch a temperature and eſtate as apperteineth. Semblably, a man may ſenſibly feele cold as well as hee doth heat; whereas you ſhall never ſee, heare, or touch, nor by any other ſenſe perceive a privation, for it need to have ſome ſubſtance with it that doth affect the ſenſes, and where there appeareth no ſubſtance, there we muſt ſuppoſe a privation, which is as it were the deniall of ſubſtance, like as blindneſſe is the negation of ſight; ſilence, of voice; void emptineſſe, of a body: for never ſhall one perceive voidneſſe by the ſenſe of feeling; but where there is not a body to be touched, there we muſt ſuppoſe is vacuity: neither doe we heare ſilence, but when we heare no noiſe at all, then we underſtand there is ſilence: the like we are to ſay of thoſe who are blinde, of the naked and diſarmed, there is no ſenſe of ſuch privations, but rather a barre and negative of ſenſe: and even ſo, we ſhould have no feeling and perceiverance of cold, but onely where there wanted heat, there we ſhould have imagined cold to be, in caſe it were nothing elſe but a deprivation of heat; but if it be ſo, that like as heat is felt by the warmth of the skinne, and diffuſion or dilatation of the fleſh; even ſo is cold alſo by the aſtriction & condenſation thereof, therefore it appeereth evidently, that it hath a proper, principle, and particular ſource, as well as heat: over and beſides, in every kind, privation is one and ſimple, but ſubſtances have many differences, and as many powers and faculties, for ſilence is never but after one ſort, whereas the voice is divers, one while troubleſome, another while delightſome. Senſes, colours, and figures ſemblably have like differences, which diſpoſe and affect diverſly the ſubject which they approch unto, but that which is not palpable, not coloured, and generally not qualified with any quality, hath no diverſitie, but is ever alike. Now then, doth this cold reſemble theſe privatives in ſuch ſort, as it worketh no diverſitie in the accidents thereof? Or rather is it cleane otherwiſe? for as ſometimes there come unto bodies great and profitable pleaſures by cold, ſo contrariwiſe it findeth as much hurt, as great diſpleaſure, trouble, and encombrance thereby: by the offenſive qualities whereof, the naturall heat of the body is not alwaies chaced quite foorth and cleane gone, but oftentimes being pent and reſtreined within the body, it fighteth and maketh reſiſtance, which combat of two contraries, is called horrour, quaking or trembling; but when the ſaid heat is altogether vanquiſhed, there muſt needs enſue a benumming and congelation of the body, but if heat get the victorie, it bringeth a certeine warmth and dilatation with pleaſure, which *Homer* by a proper tearme calleth ἰαίνεσθαι: whereby it appeereth evidently unto every man, and as much by theſe accidents it is manifeſt, or rather more, than by any other arguments, that cold is oppoſit unto heat, as one ſubſtance to another, or as paſſion to paſſion; but not as privation to habitude, or negation to affirmation: and that it is not the corruption or utter deſtruction of heat, but a nature and puiſſance active by it ſelfe and powerfull, to corrupt and deſtroy: for if it were not ſo, wee muſt not have winter to bee one of fower ſeaſons of the yeere; nor the north winde one of the fower windes; as if the one were but a privation of the hotte ſeaſon, and the other of the ſouth winde, and we ſhall be driven to ſay, that they have no proper ſource and peculiar principle: howbeit there being in the univerſall world fower principall bodies, which in regard of their pluralitie, ſimple nature and puiſſance, moſt men call the elements, and ſuppoſe them to be the principles of all other bodies, to wit, fire, water, aire, and earth, it followeth by neceſſary conſequence, that there be alſo fower primitive and ſimple qualities: and which be they, if they be not heat, cold, moiſture, and drineſſe? by the meanes whereof, the ſaid elements, both doe and ſuffer all things interchangeably? And like as in the elements and principles of Grammar, which be the letters, there be brieves and longs; like as alſo in muſicke notes, there is high and lowe, baſe, and treble, and one of theſe is not the privation of the other; even ſo we are to thinke, that in theſe naturall bodies of the elements, there be contrarieties of moiſture againſt drineſſe, and of colde againſt heat, if we will beleeve either reaſon or outward ſenſe: or elſe we muſt ſay as old *Anaximenes* was of opinion; that there is nothing hot or colde abſolutely in ſubſtance; but wee muſt confidently thinke that theſe be common paſſions of the matter comming, and occaſioned after mutations: for he affirmeth that the thing which is pent, conſtrict, and thickned in any matter, the ſame is colde, and that which openeth & relaxeth it ſelfe, for ſo he uſeth this proper tearme χαλαρὸν, is hot; and therefore it is not without ſome reaſon, that we commonly ſay, that a man bloweth both hot and cold out of his mouth; for the breath is cooled when it is preſſed cloſe betweene the lippes, but iſſuing foorth of the mouth all open, it is hot by reaſon of the raritie and laxity thereof: howbeit, *Ariſtotle* ſaith; that it was meere ignorance in him thus to ſay: For that when we breath with our mouthes wide open, wee let foorth the hot aire that is within us, but when we make a blaſt with our lippes together, we blow not out the breath that ariſeth from our ſelves, but drive that aire from us that is before our mouth, which is cold, & felt before the other that commeth out of us. Seeing then that upon neceſſitie enforced by ſo many reaſons, we muſt admit a ſubſtance of colde and heat, proceed we and continue our firſt intent to ſearch what is the ſubſtance, nature, and fountaine of the foreſaid primitive colde? They then who ſay that ſtarkneſſe and ſtiffeneſſe for colde, trembling and quaking of the body, and the ſtaring and ſtanding of haires upright, and ſuch like accidents and paſſions, are occaſioned by certeine triangular formes with unequal ſides which are within our bodies, although they faile and miſſe the marke in particularity: yet ſo it is, that they fetch the beginning from whence they ſhould, for ſurely the foundation and original of this inquiſition ought to be drawen as it were from the goddeſſe *Veſta*, after the common proverbe, even from the univerſall nature of all things. And heerein it ſeemeth, that a philoſopher moſt of all differeth from an empiricke phyſician, a husbandman, a minſtrell, and other ſuch particular artificers, whom it ſuffiſeth to know and underſtand the laſt and conjunct cauſes. For ſo it be, that a phyſician doe comprehend the neereſt and next cauſe of his patients malady, for example, of an ague, that it is a ſhooting or falling of the bloud out of the veines into the arteries; and the husbandman conceive that the cauſe of blaſting or Maying his corne, is an hot gleame of the ſunne after a ſhower of raine: and the plaier upon the flutes compriſe the reaſon of the baſe ſound, is the bending downward of his inſtrument, or the bringing of them one neere unto another: it is ſufficient for any of theſe to proceed to their proper worke and operation: But a naturall philoſopher who ſearcheth into the trueth of things, onely for meere knowledge and ſpeculation, maketh not the knowledge of theſe laſt cauſes the end, but rather taketh from them his beginning, and ariſeth from them to the primitive and higheſt cauſes. And therefore well did *Plato* and *Democritus*, who ſearching into the cauſes of heat and of heavineſſe, ſtaied not the courſe of their inquiſition, when they came to fire and earth, but referring and reducing things ſenſible unto intelligible principles, proceeded forward, and never ſtaied untill they came unto the leaſt parcels as it were to the ſmalleſt ſeeds and principles thereof. Howbeit, better it were firſt to handle and diſcuſſe theſe ſenſible things, wherein *Empedocles*, *Straton*, and the Stoicks do repoſe the eſſences of all powers: the Stoicks attributing the primitive colde unto aire, but *Empedocles* and *Straton* unto water: and another peradventure would ſuppoſe the earth rather to be the ſubſtantiall ſubject of cold. But firſt let us examine the opinions of theſe before named. Conſidering then that fire is both hot and ſhining; it muſt needs be that the nature of that which is contrarie unto it, ſhould be colde and darke: for obſcuritie is oppoſite unto brightneſſe, like as cold to heat: and like as darkneſſe and obſcuritie doth confound and trouble the ſight; even ſo doth colde the ſenſe of feeling: whereas heat doth dilate the ſenſe of him that toucheth it, like as cleereneſſe the ſight of him that ſeeth it: and therefore we muſt needs ſay, that the thing which is principally darke and miſtie, is likewiſe colde in nature. But that the aire above all things els is dimme and darke, the very poets were not ignorant: for the aire they call darkeneſſe, as appeareth by theſe verſes of *Homer*:

For why, the aire ſtood thicke the ſhips about,
And no moone ſhine from heaven ſhewed throughout.

And in another place:

The aire anon he ſoone diſpatch't,
and miſt did drive away:
With that, the ſunne ſhone out full bright,
and battell did diſplay.

And hereupon it is, that men call the aire wanting light, κνέφας, as one would ſay, κενὸν φάους, that is to ſay, void of light: and the groſſe aire which is gathered thicke together, νέφος, by way of privation of all light. Aire alſo is called ἀχλὺς and ὁμίχλην, that is to ſay, a miſt: and looke what things ſoever hinder our ſight, that we cannot ſee thorow, be differences all of the aire: and that part of it which can not be ſeene and hath no colour, is called ἀδης, that is to ſay, ἀειδὴς, to wit, inviſible, ἀχέρων, which is as much to ſay, as ἄχρωστον, for want of colour. Like as therefore the aire remaineth darke, when the light is taken from it; even ſo when the heat is gone, that which remaineth, is nothing but colde aire. And therefore, ſuch aire by reaſon of coldneſſe, is named *Tartarus*, which *Heſiodus* ſeemeth to inſinuate by theſe words, τάρταρον ἠερόεντα, that is to ſay, the airie *Tartarus*; and to tremble and quake for cold, he expreſſeth by this verbe, ταρταρίζειν. Theſe are the reaſons alledged in this behalfe. But foraſmuch as corruption is the change of any thing into the contrary, let us conſider whether it be truely ſaid, The death of fire is the birth of aire? For fire dieth aſwell as living creatures, either quenched by force, or by languiſhing and going out of it ſelfe. As for the violent quenching and extinction thereof, it ſheweth evidently, that it turneth into aire: for ſmoake is a kinde of aire, and according as *Pindarus* writeth,

The vapour of the aire thicke,
Is wont againſt the ſmoake to kicke.

And not onely that, but we may ſee alſo that when a flame beginneth to die for want of nouriſhment, as in lamps and burning lights, the very top and head thereof doth vaniſh and reſolve into a darke and obſcure aire: and this may ſufficiently be perceived, by the vapour which after we are bathed or ſit in a ſtouph, flieth and ſteimeth up along our bodies, as alſo by that ſmoake which ariſeth by throwing cold water upon; namely, that heat when it is extinguiſhed, is converted into aire, as being naturally oppoſite unto fire: whereupon it followeth neceſſarily, that the aire was firſt darke and cold. But that which is more, the moſt violent and forcible impreſſion in bodies by cold, is congealation, which is a paſſion of water, & action of the aire: for water of it ſelfe is given to ſpread and flow, as being neither ſolide nor compact and faſt by nature; but hard it becommeth, thicke alſo and ſtiffe, when it is thruſt cloſe to by the aire, and cold together comming betweene: and therefore thus we ſay commonly:

If after South, the North-winde ſtraight do blow,
We ſhall be ſure anon to have ſome ſnow.

For the South winde prepareth the matter which is moiſture, and the aire of the North winde comming upon it, doth frize and congeale the ſame: which appeareth manifeſtly in ſnow, for no ſooner hath it evaporated and exhaled a little the thinne and colde aire in it, but immediatly it reſolveth and runneth to water. And *Ariſtotle* writeth, that plates and plummets of lead doe melt and reſolve with the cold and rigor of Winter, ſo ſoone as water only commeth unto them and be frozen upon them. And the aire (as it ſhould ſeeme) by preſſing ſuch bodies together with colde, breaketh and knappeth them aſunder. Moreover, the water that is drawen out of a well or ſpring, is ſooner frozen and turned to ice, than any other, for that the aire hath more power over a little water, than a great deale. And if a man draw up a ſmall quantitie of water in a bucket out of a pit or well, and let the ſame downe againe into the well, yet ſo, as the veſſell touch not the water, but hang in the aire, and ſo continue there but a while, that water will be much colder than that which is in the bottome of the well: whereby it appeareth manifeſtly, that the primitive cauſe of cold, is not in water, but in aire. And that ſo it is, the great rivers will teſtifie, which never are frozen to the bottome, becauſe the aire is not able to pierce and enter ſo low, but as much as it can take holde of with the colde, either in touching or approching neere unto it, ſo much it frizeth and congealeth. And this is the reaſon that Barbarians when they are to paſſe great rivers frozen over with ice, ſend out foxes before thē: for if the ice be not thicke, but ſuperficiall, the foxes hearing the noiſe of the water running underneath, returne backe againe. Some alſo that are diſpoſed to fiſh, do thaw and open the ice with caſting hot water upon it, and ſo let downe their lines at the hole; for then will the fiſhes come to the bait and bite. Thus it appeareth that the bottome of the river is not frozen, although the upper face thereof ſtand all over with an ice, and that ſo ſtrong, that the water thereby drawen and driven in ſo hard, is able to cruſh and breake the boats and veſſels within it; according as they make credible relation unto us, who now doe winter upon the river *Donow* with the emperour, And yet, without all theſe farre-fet examples, the very experiments that we finde in our owne bodies, doe teſtifie no leſſe: for after much bathing or ſweating, alwaies we are more colde and chill; for that our bodies being then open and reſolved, we receive at the pores, cold together with aire in more abundance. The ſame befalleth unto water it ſelfe, which both ſooner cooleth and groweth alſo colder, after it hath beene once made hot: for then more ſubject it is to the injurie of the aire: conſidering alſo that even they who fling and caſt up ſcalding water into the aire, do it for no other purpoſe, but to mingle it with much aire. The opinion then of him, ô *Phavorinus*, who aſſigneth the firſt cauſe of cold unto aire, is founded upon ſuch reaſons and probabilities as theſe. As for him who aſcribeth it unto water, he laieth his ground likewiſe upon ſuch principles: for in this maner writeth ***Empedocles:***

> *Beholde the Sunne how bright alwaies,*
> *and hot he is beſide,*
> *But raine is ever blacke and darke,*
> *and colde on every ſide.*

For in oppoſing cold to heat, as blackneſſe unto brightneſſe, he giveth us occaſion to collect and inferre, that as heat and brightneſſe belong to one and the ſame ſubſtance, even ſo cold and blackneſſe to another. Now that the blacke hew proceedeth not from aire, but from water, the very experience of our outward ſenſes is able to proove: for nothing waxeth blacke in the aire, but every thing in the water. Do but caſt into the water and drench therein a locke of wooll or peece of cloth be it never ſo white, you ſhal when you take it foorth againe, ſee it looke blackiſh, and ſo will it continue, untill by heat the moiſture be fully ſucked up and dried, or that by the preſſe or ſome waights it be ſqueized out. Marke the earth, when there falleth a ſhowre of raine, how every place whereupon the drops fall, ſeemes blacke, and all the reſt beſide retaineth the ſame colour that it had before. And even water it ſelfe, the deeper that it is, the blacker hew it hath, becauſe there is more quantity of it: but contrariwiſe, what part ſoever thereof is neere unto aire, the ſame by and by is lightſome and cheerefull to the eie.

Conſider among other liquid ſubſtances, how oile is moſt tranſparent, as wherein there is moſt aire: for proofe wherof, ſee how light it is; and this is it which cauſeth it to ſwim above all other liquors, as being carried aloft by the meanes of aire. And that which more is, it maketh a calme in the ſea, when it is flung and ſprinkled upon the waves, not in regard of the ſlipery ſmoothneſſe, whereby the windes do glide over it and will take no hold, according as *Ariſtotle* ſaith; but for that the waves being beaten with any humor whatſoever, will ſpred themſelves and ly even: and principally by the meanes af oile, which hath this ſpeciall and peculiar property above all other liquors, that it maketh clere, and giveth meanes to ſee in the bottome of the waters, for that humidity openeth and cleaveth when aire comes in place: and not onely yeeldeth a cleere light within the ſea to Divers, who fiſh-ebb in the night for ſpunges, and plucke them from the rocks whereto they cleave, but alſo in the deepeſt holes thereof, when they ſpurt it out of their mouths, the aire then is no blacker than the water, but leſſe colde: for triall heerof, looke but upon oile, which of all liquors having moſt aire in it, is nothing cold at all, and if it frize at all, it is but gently, by reaſon that the aire incorporate within it, will not ſuffer it to gather and congeale hard: marke worke-men alſo and artiſanes, how they doe not dippe and keepe their needles, buckles, and claſpes, or other ſuch things made of iron, in water, but in oile, for feare leſt the exceſſive colde of the water would marre and ſpoile them quite. I ſtand the more heereupon, becauſe I thinke it more meet to debate this diſputation by ſuch proofes, rather than by the colours; conſidering that ſnowe, haile, and ice, are exceeding white and cleere, and withall moſt colde; contrariwiſe, pitch is hotter than hony, and yet you ſee it is more darke and duskiſh. And heere I cannot chuſe but woonder at thoſe who would needs have the aire to be colde, becauſe forſooth it is darke; as alſo that they conſider not how others take and judge it hot, becauſe it is light: for tenebroſitie and darkneſſe be not ſo familiar and neere couſens unto colde, as ponderoſitie and unweldineſſe be proper thereto: for many things there be altogether void of heat, which notwithſtanding are bright and cleere: but there is no colde thing light and nimble, or mounting upward; for clouds the more they ſtand upon the nature of the aire, the higher they are caried and flie aloft, but no ſooner reſolve they into a liquid nature and ſubſtance, but incontinently they fall and looſe their lightneſſe and agilitie, no leſſe than their heat, when colde is engendred in them: contrariwiſe, when heat commeth in place, they change their motion againe to the contrary, and their ſubſtance mounteth upward ſo ſoone as it is converted into aire. Neither is that ſuppoſition true as touching corruption; for every thing that periſheth is not tranſmuted into the contrary: but the trueth is, all things are killed and die by their contrary: for ſo fire being quenched by fire turneth into aire. And to this purpoſe *Aeſchylus* the poet ſaid truely, although tragically, when hee called water the puniſhment of fire, for theſe be his words:

> παῖε ὕδωρ δίκην πυρός.
>
> *The water ſtay, which fire doth ſlay.*

And *Homer* in a certaine battell oppoſed *Vulcane* to the river, and with *Neptune* matched *Apollo*, not ſo much by way of fabulous fiction, as by phyſicall and naturall reaſon: and as for *Archilochus*, a wicked woman, who meant cleane contrary to that which ſhe ſaid and ſhewed, wrote elegantly in this wiſe:

The crafty queane in right hand water cold,
And in the left, hot fire did cloſely hold.

And among the Perſians the moſt effectuall maner of ſupplication and that which might in no wiſe be rejected and denied, was, if the ſuppliant with fire in his hand entred into a river, & there menaced to fling it into the water, if he might not have his requeſt granted: & then he obtained verily his petitiō, but afterwards puniſhed he was for that threatning which he uſed, as being wicked, wretched & unnatural. And what proverbe is there readier in every mans mouth than to ſay, when we would ſignify an unpoſſible thing, This is to mingle fire and water together? which teſtifieth thus much, that water is the mortall enimy unto fire, warring with it, puniſhing & quenching it, and not the aire, which receiveth & entertaineth fire, & into the ſubſtance whereof it is tranſmuted: for if that into which a thing is turned when it periſheth, were contrary unto it, then fire ſhould be more contrary to aire than water is. For aire when it doth gather and thicken is converted into water, but when it is made more ſubtil it reſolveth into fire: as alſo in like caſe, water by rarefaction is reſolved into aire and by condenſation becommeth earth, not upon any enmity or contrariety that it hath to theſe both, as I take it, but rather by reaſon of ſome amity and kindred that is betweene them. Wel, whether way of theſe two it is that theſe philoſophers will take, they overthrow ſtill their intent and purpoſe. But to ſay that it is the aire which cauſeth water to frize and become yce, it is without all ſenſe and moſt abſurd: for we ſee that the very aire it ſelfe is never conglaciate nor frozen, nor hardened, conſidering that miſts, fogs and clouds are no congealations, but onely gatherings and thickenings of a moiſt and vapourous aire: for the true aire indeed which hath no vapour at all and is altogether drie, admitteth no ſuch refrigeration as may alter it to that degree and heigth. And certeine mountaines there be which are not ſubiect either to clouds, miſts, or dewes, for that their heads reach up to that region of the aire which is pure and exempt from all humidity: wherby it is apparent, that theſe gatherings and thickenings which are ſeene in the aire beneath, proceed from cold and moiſture, which is mingled therewith & ruuneth from els where. As for the bottoms of great rivers which be never frozen to yce; great reaſon there is of it: for that the upper part being glazed over with ice, ſuffreth not the exhalation which ariſeth from beneath to paſſe thorow, but keepeth it encloſed & ſtriketh it downward, wherby is engendred a certaine heat in the water that runneth in the bottome. And heereof we may ſee a faire demonſtration in this, that when the yce is broken, the water riſeth up, and there mounteth withall a great quantity of vapours and exhalations; which is the reaſon alſo that the bellies and other concavities within the bodies of living creatures, are alwaies hotter in winter, for that they hold and containe the heat, which the coldneſſe of the circumſtant aire driveth inward. As for the drawing & flinging up of water into the aire, it taketh not onely the heat away from waters but alſo their cold, and therefore they that deſire to have their ſnow or the liquor expreſſed out of it exceeding cold, moove it as little as they can, for this ſtirring chaſeth away the colde both of the one and the other. But that it is the inward power of the water and not of the aire that doth it, a man may thus diſcourſe and begin againe: Firſt and formoſt, it is not probable that the aire being ſo neere as it is to the elementarie fire, touching alſo as it doth that ardent revolution, and being touched of it againe, hath a contrary nature and power unto it: neither is it poſſible that it ſhould be ſo, conſidering that their two extremities are contignate, yea, and continuate one to the other: neither ſoundeth it and is conformable to reaſon, that nature hath faſtened with one tenon (as they ſay) and placed ſo neere together the killer and that which is killed, the conſumer and that which is conſumed; as if ſhe were not the mediatreſſe betweene them of peace, unitie aud accord, but rather the workmiſtreſſe of warre, debate and diſcord. For ſurely her order and cuſtome is not to joine front to front, ſubſtances that be altogether contrarie, and open enemies one to the other; but to place betweene them ſuch as participate with the one and the other, which are ſo ſeated, diſpoſed and interlaced in the middle, as that they tend not to the deſtruction, but to the aſſociation of two contraries. Such a ſituation and region hath the aire in the world, being ſpred under the fire, and before the water, for to accommodate and frame it ſelfe both to the one and the other, and to conjoine and linke them both together, being of it ſelfe neither hot nor colde, but is as it were a medley and temperature of them both; not (I ſay) a pernicious mixture, but a gracious, which gently enterteineth and receiveth theſe contrarie extremities. Furthermore, the aire is alwaies equall, and yet the Winter is not evermore colde a little: but ſome parts of the world be cold and exceeding moiſt; others colde and as dry, and that not caſually and by fortune, but for that one and the ſame ſubſtance is ſuſceptable both of heat and colde. For the greater part of *Africke* is hot and dry, altogether without water. And thoſe who have travelled through *Scithia, Thracia* and *Pontus*, doe report that there be exceeding great lakes therein, and that thoſe kingdoms be watered with many mighty deepe rivers; alſo that the countries in the midſt betweene, and thoſe parts which adjoyne upon thoſe huges, meres, and fens be extreeme colde, by reaſon of the vapours that ariſe from them. As for *Poſidonius* when he ſaith that the cauſe of that moiſture is this, that the fenny and moriſh aire is ever freſh and moiſt, he hath not ſolved the queſtion which was probable, but made it more doubtfull and without probability; for the aire ſeemed not alwaies ſo much colder as it is more freſh, in caſe cold be not engendred of moiſture: and therefore *Homer* ſaid much better:

The winde from river, if that it hold,
Is alwaies bleake, and blowes full cold.

as if he pointed with his very finger to the ſource and fountaine of colde. Moreover, our ſenſe doth oftentimes beguile and deceive us, as namely, when wee touch wooll or clothes that be colde, for we thinke that they be moiſt and wet, for that there is one ſubſtance common to both theſe qualities, and both theſe natures be neighbours and familiar. Alſo in thoſe climates of the world where the winter is extreme hard and rough, the colde many times cracketh and breaketh veſſels of braſſe and of earth; not any I meane that is voide and emptie, but all full, by reaſon that the water by the coldneſſe thereof doth violence unto them: howſoever *Theophraſtus* thinketh, that it is the aire that burſteth ſuch veſſels; uſing colde as it were a ſpike or great naile to doe the feat. But take heed that this be not rather a prety & elegant ſpeech of his, than ſounding to trueth; for if aire were the cauſe, then ſhould veſſels full of pitch or milke, ſooner burſt than other. More likely it is therefore, that water is colde of it ſelfe and primitively, for contrary it is to the heat of fire, in regard of that coldneſſe, like as to the drineſſe thereof, in reſpect of humidity. To be briefe, the property of fire ingenerall, is to diſſipate, divide, and ſegregate; but contrariwiſe, of water to joine, conglutinate, unite, and binde, knitting and cloſing together by the vertue of moiſture. And this makes me thinke that *Empedocles* upon this occaſion, ever and anon calleth fire a pernicious debate, but water a faſt amity; for fewell and food of fire, is that which turneth into fire, and every thing turneth which is moſt proper and familiar; as for that which is contrary, the ſame is hardly to be turned, as water which of it ſelfe it is impoſſible to burne, cauſing both greene or wet herbs, as alſo moiſt or drenched wood hardly to take fire, and ſo in the end with much a doe, they kindle and catch fire, although the ſame be not light and cleere, but darke, dimme, and weake, becauſe the viridity or greeneneſſe by the meanes of colde, fighteth againſt the heat, as his naturall enemie.

Peiſing now and weighing theſe reaſons, conferre them with the others. But for that *Chryſippus* eſteeming the aire to be the primitive colde, in that it is dimme and darke, hath made mention of thoſe onely who ſay, that water is more diſtant and farther remote from the elementary fire, than the aire, and being deſirous to ſay ſomewhat againſt them: By the ſame reaſon (quoth he) may a man aſwel affirme that the earth is the ſaid primitive cold; for that it is fartheſt from the elementary fire, rejecting this argument and reaſon as falſe, and altogether abſurd. Me thinks that I can well ſhew that the earth it ſelfe wanteth no probable proofes, laying my foundation even upon that which *Chryſippus* hath taken for the aire: And what is that? namely, becauſe it is principally and above all things els obſcure & dark; for if he taking two contrarieties of powers, thinketh of neceſſitie the one muſt follow upon the other; certes, there be infinit oppoſitions and repugnances betweene the earth and the aire, for the earth is not oppoſit unto the aire, as heavy unto light, nor as that which bendeth downward unto that which tendeth upward onely; nor as maſſie, unto rare; or ſlow and ſtedfaſt unto quicke and mooveable; but as moſt heavy unto moſt light; moſt maſſie unto moſt rare; and finally, as immooveable in it ſelfe, unto that which mooveth of it ſelfe; or as that which holdeth ſtill the center in the mids, unto that which turneth continually round. Were it not then very abſurd to ſay; that upon ſo many, and thoſe ſo great oppoſitions, this alſo of heat and cold did not likewiſe jointly follow? Yes verily: but fire is cleere and bright, and earth darke: nay rather it is the darkeſt of all things in the world, and moſt without light; for aire is that which doth participate of the firſt light & brightneſſe, which ſooneſt of all other burneth: being alſo once full thereof, it diſtributeth that light every where, exhibiting it ſelfe as the very body of light: for as one of the Dithyrambick poets ſaid:

No ſooner doth the ſunne appeere
In our horizon faire and cleere,
But with his light the pallace great
Of aire and windes is all repleat.

And then anon it deſcendeth lower, and imparteth one portion thereof to the lakes and to the ſea; the very bottomes of the rivers doe rejoice and laugh for joy, ſo farre foorth as the aire pierceth and entreth into them: the earth onely, of all other bodies, is evermore deſtitute of light, and not penetrable with the radiant beames of ſunne and moone; well may it be warmed a little, and preſent it ſelfe to be fomented with the heat of the ſunne, which entreth a little way into it, but ſurely the ſolidity of it will not admit the reſplendent light thereof; onely it is ſuperficially illuminated by the ſunne, for all the bowels and inward parts of it be called *Orphne*, *Chaos*, and *Ades*, that is to ſay, darkeneſſe, confuſion, and hell it ſelfe: and as for *Erebus*, it is nothing elſe, to ſay a truth, but terreſtriall obſcurity, and mirke darkneſſe within the earth. The poets ſeigne the night to be the daughter of the earth; and the mathematicians by reaſon and demonſtration, proove, that it is no other thing than the ſhadow of the earth, oppoſed againſt the ſunne: for the aire as it is full of darkneſſe from the earth, ſo it is repleniſhed with light from the ſunne; and looke how much of the aire is not lightned nor illuminate, to wit, all the ſhadow that the earth caſteth, ſo long is the night, more or leſſe; and therefore both man and beaſt make much uſe of the aire without their houſes, although it be night ſeaſon: and as for beaſts, many of them goe to reliefe and paſturage in the night, becauſe the aire hath yet ſome reliques and traces left of light, and a certeine influence of brightneſſe, diſperſed heere and there: but he that is encloſed within houſe, and covered with the rouſe thereof, is as it were blinde and full of darkneſſe, as one environed round about within the earth: and verily the hides and hornes of beaſts, ſo long as they bee hole and ſound, tranſmit no light through them: let them be cut, ſawed, pared, and ſcraped, they become tranſparent, becauſe aire is admitted into them. And I thinke truely that the poets eftſoones heereupon call the earth blacke, meaning thereby darke and without light, ſo that the moſt important and principall oppoſition, between cleere and darke, is found rather in the earth than in the aire: But this is impertinent to our queſtion in hand; for we have ſhewed already that there be many cleere things which are knowen to be cold, and as many browne and darke which be hot.

But there be other qualities and puiſſances more proper unto colde, namely, ponderoſitie, ſteadineſſe, ſoliditie, & immutability, of which the aire hath not ſo much as one, but the earth in part hath them all more than the water. Furthermore, it may be ſaide, that colde is that which moſt ſenſibly is hard, as making things ſtiffe and hard: for *Theophraſtus* writeth, that thoſe fiſhes which be frozen with extreme rigour of colde, if they be let fal upon the ground, breake and knap in pieces, no leſſe than glaſſes or earthen veſſels: and your ſelfe have heard at *Delphi*, of thoſe who paſſed over the hill *Pernaſſus*, to ſuccour and relieve the women called *Bacchæ*, who were ſurprized with a ſharpe pinching winde and drifts of ſnow; that their cloakes and mantels through extremity of colde, were as ſtarke and ſtiffe as pieces of wood, inſomuch as they brake and rent into tattars, ſo ſoone as they went about to ſtretch them out. To ſay yet more, exceſſive colde cauſeth the ſinewes to be ſo ſtiffe, as hardly they will bend: the tongue likewiſe ſo ſtarke, that it will not ſtirre or utter any voice, congealing the moiſt, ſoft, and tender parts of the body; which being ſeene by daily experience, they proceed to gather this conſequence: Every power and facultie which getteth the maiſtrie, is woont to turne and convert into it ſelfe, that over which it is predominant: whatſoever is overcome by heat, becommeth fire; that which is conquered by ſpirit or winde, changeth into aire; what falleth into water, if it get not foorth againe, diſſolveth, and in the end runneth to water. Then muſt it needs follow, that ſuch things as are exceeding colde, degenerate into that primitive colde whereof we ſpeake: now exceſſive colde is firſt; and the greateſt alteration that can be deviſed by colde, is when a thing is congealed & made an ice, which congelation altereth the nature of the thing ſo much, that in the end it becommeth as hard as a ſtone; namely, when the cold is ſo predominant, as well all the moiſture of it is congealed, as the heat that it had driven out perforce. Heereupon it is that the earth toward her center, and in the bottom thereof, is frozen altogether, and in maner nothing elſe but ice, for that the exceſſive colde which never will yeeld and relent, there dwelleth and abideth continually, as being thruſt and driven into that corner, fartheſt off from the elementary fire. As touching thoſe rocks, cragges, and cliffes, which we ſee to appeere out of the earth: *Empedocles* is of opinion, that they were there ſet, driven up, ſuſteined, & ſupported by the violence of a certeine boiling and ſwelling fire within the bowels of the earth: but it ſhould ſeeme rather, that thoſe things out of which all the heat is evaporate and flowen away, be congealed and conglaciat ſo hard by the meanes of colde: and this is the cauſe that ſuch cragges be named in Greeke *πάγοι*, as one would ſay, congealed: toward the head and toppe whereof, a man ſhall ſee in them many places blacke againe, namely, whereas the heat flew out when the time was, ſo as to ſee to, one would imagine that they had heeretofore beene burnt; for the nature of colde is to congeale all things, but ſome more, others leſſe; but above all, thoſe in which it is naturally at the firſt inhærent: for like as the property of fire is to alleviate, it cannot otherwiſe be, but the hotter that a thing is, the more light alſo it is: and ſo the nature of moiſture is to ſoften; inſomuch as the moiſter any thing is, the ſofter alſo it is found to be: ſemblably, given it is to colde, to aſtringe and congeale: it followeth therefore of neceſſity, that whatſoever is moſt aſtrict and congealed, as is the earth, is likewiſe the coldeſt; and looke what is colde in the higheſt degree, the ſame muſt be principally and naturally that colde, whereof we are in queſtion. And thereupon we muſt conclude, that the earth is both by nature colde, and alſo that primitive colde; a thing apparent and evident to our very ſenſe; for dirt and clay is colder than water: and when a man would quickly ſuffocate and put out a fire, he throweth earth upon it. Blacke-ſmithes alſo, and ſuch as forge iron, when they ſee it redde hot, and at the point to melt, they ſtrew upon it ſmall powder, or grit of marble or other ſtones that have fallen from them, when they were ſquared and wrought, for to keepe it from reſolving too much, and to coole the exceſſive heat: the very duſt alſo that is uſed to bee throwen upon the bodies of wreſtlers, doth coole them and repreſſe their ſweats. Moreover, to ſpeake of the commodity that cauſeth us every yeere to remoove and change our lodgings, what is the meaning of it? winter maketh us to ſeeke for high lofts, and ſuch chambers as be farre from the earth; contrariwiſe, ſummer bringeth us downe to the halles and parlours beneath, driving us to ſeeke retiring roomes, and willingly we love to live in vaults within the boſome of the earth: doe we not thus thinke you, directed by the inſtinct of nature, to ſeeke out & acknowledge that which is naturally the primitive colde? and therefore when winter comes, we lay for houſes and habitations neere the ſea ſide, that is to ſay, we flie from the earth as much as we can, becauſe of colde, and we compaſſe our ſelves with the aire of the ſea, for that it is hot: contrariwiſe, in ſummer time, by reaſon of immoderate heat, we covet mediterranean places farther within the land, and farre remooved from the ſea, not for that the aire of it ſelfe is colde, but becauſe it ſeemeth to ſpring and budde as it were out of the primitive colde, and to have a tincture as I may ſo ſay, after the maner of iron from the power which is in the earth: and verily among running waters, thoſe that ariſe out of rocks, and deſcend from mountaines, are evermore coldeſt: but if welles and pittes, ſuch as be deepeſt yeeld the coldeſt waters: for by reaſon of their profunditie, the aire from without is not mingled with theſe; and the others paſſe thorough pure and ſincere earth, without the mixture of aire among. As for example, ſuch is the water neere the cape of *Tænarus*, which they call *Styx*, deſtilling by little and little out of the rocke, and ſo gathered unto an head: which water is ſo extreeme colde, that there is no veſſell in the world will holde it, but onely that which is made of an aſſes hoofe; for put it into any other, it cleaveth and breaketh it. Moreover, we heare phyſicians ſay, that to ſpeake generally, all kinds of earth do reſtraine and coole: and they reckon unto us a number of minerals drawen out of entrails of the earth, which in the uſe of phyſicke yeeld unto them an aſtringent and binding power: for the very element it ſelfe from whence they come, is nothing inciſive, nor hath the vertue for to ſtirre and extenuate; it is not active and quicke, not emollitive, nor apt to ſpread; but firme, ſteadfaſt and permanent, as a ſquare cube or die, and not to be removed: whereupon, being maſſie and ponderous as it is, the colde alſo thereof having a power to condenſate, conſtipate and to expreſſe forth all humors, procureth by the aſperity and inequalitie of the parts, ſhakings, horrors and quakings in our bodies: and if it prevaile more and be predominant, ſo that the heat be driven out quite and extinct, it imprinteth an habitude of congealation and dead ſtupefaction. And hereupon it is, that the earth either will not burne at all, or els hardly and by little and little: whereas the aire many times of it ſelfe ſendeth forth flaming fire, it ſhooteth and floweth, yea, and ſeemeth as inflamed, to lighten and flaſh: and the humiditie which it hath, ſerveth to feed and nouriſh the heat thereof. For it is not the ſolide part of wood that burneth, but the oleous moiſture thereof; which if it be once evaporate and ſpent, the ſolide ſubſtance remaineth drie, and is nothing els but aſhes. As for thoſe who labour and endevour to ſhew by demoſtration, that the ſame alſo is changed and conſumed, for which purpoſe they ſprinckle it eftſoones with oile, or temper it with greace, and ſo put it into the fire againe, prevaile nothing at all: for when the fattie and unctеous ſubſtance is burnt, there remaine ſtill evermore behinde, the terreſtriall parts. And therefore earth being not onely immooveable in reſpect of ſituation, but alſo immutable in regard of the very ſubſtance, the ancient called ἑϛία, that is to ſay, *veſta*, ſtanding as it were ſure and ſtedfaſt within the habitation of the gods: of which ſteadineſſe and congealation, the bond and linke is cold, as *Archilochus* the Naturalliſt ſaid: And nothing is there able to relax or mollifie it, after it hath once bene baked in the fire or hardened againſt the Sun. As touching thoſe who ſay that they feele very ſenſibly the winde and the water colde, but the earth not ſo well; ſurely theſe do conſider this earth here, which is next unto us, and is no other thing in trueth, than a mixture and compoſition of aire, water, ſunne and heat; and me thinks this is all one, as if a man ſhould ſay, that the elementarie fire is not the primitive and originall heat, but rather ſcalding water, or an iron red hot in the fire; for that in trueth there is no touching of theſe or comming neere unto them; as alſo that of the ſaid pure and celeſtiall fire, they have no ſenſible experience nor knowledge by feeling, no more than they have of the earth which is about the center, which we may imagine to be true, pure and naturall earth, as moſt remote and fartheſt ſeparate from all other: howbeit, wee may have ſome gueſſe and token thereof by theſe rockes heere with us, which from their profunditie ſend forth a vehement colde, which is in maner intolerable. And they likewiſe who deſire to drinke their water paſſing colde, uſe to throw pibble ſtones into it, which thereby commeth to be more colde, ſharpe and piercing, by occaſion of the great and freſh colde that ariſeth from the ſaid ſtones. And therefore we ought thus to thinke, that when our ancients, thoſe deepe clearks and great ſcholars I meane, thought there could be no mixture of earthly things with heavenly, they never looked to places high or low, as if they hung in the ſcales of a ballance, but unto the difference and diverſitie of their powers; attributing the qualities of heat, cleereneſſe, agilitie, celeritie and lightneſſe, unto that immortall and eternall nature: but colde, darkneſſe and tarditie, they aſſigned as the unhappie lot and wretched portion of thoſe infernall wights that are dead and periſhed. For the very bodie of a creature, all while that it doth breathe and flouriſh in verdure as the Poets ſay, hath life and heat, but ſo ſoone as it is deſtitute of theſe, and left in the onely portion and poſſeſſion of the earth, it preſently becommeth ſtiffe and colde, as if heat were in any other body naturally, rather than in that which is terreſtriall.

Compare now good ſir *Phavorinus*, theſe arguments with the reaſons of other men, and if you finde that they neither yeeld in probabilitie, nor over-way them much, bid all opinions and the ſtiffe mainteining of them farewell, and thinke that to forbeare reſolution and to holde off in matters obſcure and uncerteine, is the part of the wiſeſt philoſopher, rather than to ſettle his judgement and aſſent to one or other.

NATVRALL QVESTIONS.

The Summarie.

THis collection of divers queſtions taken out of Naturall philoſophie, and reſolved by the authour according to the doctrine of Naturaliſts, being ſo cleerely diſtinguiſhed by it ſelfe, requireth no long deduction: for that at the very firſt ſight ech queſtion may ſufficiently be underſtood.

NATVRALL QVESTIONS.

1

What is the cauſe that ſea water nouriſheth no trees?

IS it for the ſame reaſon, that it nouriſheth no land-creatures? for that a plant according to the opinions of *Plato, Anaxagoras* and *Democritus*, is a living creature of the land. For ſay that it ſerves for food to plants growing within the ſea, as alſo to fiſhes, and is to them their drinke, yet we muſt not inferre thereupon, that it feedeth trees that be without the ſea and upon the land: for neither can it pierce downe to their rootes, it is ſo groſſe, nor riſe up in the nature of ſappe, it is ſo heavy. That it is groſſe, heavy, and terreſtriall, appeereth by many other reaſons, and by this eſpecially, for that it beareth up and ſuſteineth both veſſels and ſwimmers more than any other.

Or is it principally for this, that whereas nothing is more offenſive and hurtfull to trees than drineſſe, the water of the ſea is very deſiccative? which is the reaſon that ſalt withſtandeth putrifaction ſo much as it doth, and why the bodies of thoſe who are waſhed in the ſea, have incontinently their skin exceeding dry and rugged.

Or rather may it not be, for that oile is naturally an enimy to all plants, cauſing as many of them as are rubbed or anointed therewith to die? Now the ſea water ſtandeth much upon a kinde of fattineſſe, and is very unctеous, in ſuch ſort that it will both kindle and alſo increaſe fire: and therefore we give warning and forbid to throw ſea water into flaming fire.

Or is it becauſe the water of the ſea is bitter and not potable, by reaſon (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) of the burnt earth that is mixed with it? like as lie, which is made by caſting freſh water aloft upon aſhes: for the running and paſſing through the ſaid aſhes marreth that ſweet and potable quality of the water: as alſo within our bodies, the unnaturall heats of an ague turne humors into cholar. As for thoſe plants, woods or trees, which are ſaid to grow within the red ſea, if they doe, certeinly they beare no fruit; but nouriſhed they are by the freſh rivers, which bring in with them a deale of mud; an argument heereof is this: for that ſuch grow not farre within the ſea but neere unto the land.

2

What might the reaſon be, that trees and ſeeds are nouriſhed better with raine, than any other water that they can be watered withall?

IS it for that raine as it falleth, by the dint that it maketh, openeth the ground and cauſeth litle holes, whereby it pierceth to the rootes, as *Lætus* ſaith?

Or is this untrue? and *Lætus* was ignorant heereof, namely that moriſh plants and ſuch as grow in pooles, as the reed mace, canes and ruſhes, will not thrive if they want their kinde raines in due ſeaſon? But true is that which *Ariſtotle* ſaith: That the raine water is all freſh and new made, whereas that of meeres and lakes is old and ſtale.

Or haply, this carieth more ſhew and probabilitie, with it than trueth, for certeine it is, that the water of fountaines, brookes, and rivers, come as new and freſh as they: for as *Heraclitus* ſaith: It is impoſſible for a man to enter into one and the ſame river twice, becauſe new water commeth ſtill, and runneth away continually, and yet theſe nouriſh leſſe than raine waters.

Is this therefore the reaſon, becauſe the water from heaven is light, ſubtile, aireous, and mixed with a kinde of ſpirit, which by that ſubtilitie, entreth ſoone, and is eaſily caried to the root of plants: and heereupon in the fall it raiſeth little bubbles, becauſe of the aire and ſpirit encloſed within.

Or doth raine water nouriſh more in this regard, that it is ſooner altered and overcome by that which it nouriſheth; for this is it that we call concoction properly: contrariwiſe, cruditie and indigeſtion, when things are ſo ſtrong and hard that they will not ſuffer; for ſuch as be thinne, ſimple, and unſavory, are moſt eaſily and ſooneſt altered: of which kinde is raine water, for being engendred as it is in the aire and the winde, it falleth pure and cleane; whereas ſpringing waters, are like to the earth, out of which they iſſue, or the places through which they paſſe, gathering thereby many qualities, which cauſe them unwilling to be digeſted, and more ſlow to be reduced by concoction, into the ſubſtance of that which is to be nouriſhed thereby: on the other ſide, that raine waters be eaſie to be changed and tranſmuted, it appeereth by this; that more ſubject they are to corruption and putrefaction, than thoſe either of rivers, or of pittes and welles: and concoction ſeemeth to be a kinde of putrefaction: as *Empedocles* beareth witneſſe ſaying:

When in vine-wood the water putrifies,
It turnes to wine, whiles under barke it lies.

Or rather the trueſt and readieſt reaſon that can be alledged, is the ſweetneſſe and holſomneſſe of raine waters, falling as they doe ſo preſently, ſo ſoone as the winde ſends them downe: and heereupon it is that beaſts deſire to drinke thereof before any other: yea, and the frogges and paddocks expecting a raine, for joy ſing more ſhrill and merily, ready to receive and enterteine that which will ſeaſon the dead and dormant waters of ſtanding lakes, as being the very ſeed of all their ſweetneſſe: for *Aratus* reckoneth this alſo for one of the ſignes of a ſhowre toward, writing thus:

When wretched brood,
The adders food,
from out of ſtanding lake,
(The tad-pole ſires,
I meane) deſires
*freſh raine, and loud doth * coake.*

* Coaxant. Lat. βρεκεκεκὲξ κοάξ κοάξ. Ariſtoph. in Ran.

3

What might be the cauſe that ſhepherds and other herdmen give ſalt unto their ſheepe and cattell which they feed?

IS it as moſt men doe thinke, to the end that they ſhould fall the better to their meat, and ſo conſeqnently feed fatte the ſooner? becauſe the acrimony of ſalt provoketh appetite, and opening the pores, maketh way unto the nouriſhment for to be digeſted and diſtributed more eaſily throughout the whole body? in regard whereof the phyſician *Apollonius*, the ſonne of *Herophilus*, gave counſell and preſcribed leane folke and ſuch as thrived not in their fleſh; not groſſe ſweet wine, thicke gruell, and frumentie, but ſalt fiſh out of the pickle, anchoves, powdred meats, and ſuch as were condite in brine: the ſubtile acrimonie whereof might in maner of ſetting a peruke for want of haire, ſerve to apply nutriment through the pores of the body into thoſe parts that need it.

Or rather may it not be for health-ſake? in which regard they uſe their cattell to little ſalt, thereby to take downe their ranke feeding, and reſtreine their groſſeneſſe and corpulencie? for ſuch as grow exceeding fatte, are ſubject to breed diſeaſes: but ſalt conſumeth and diſpatcheth this fatte; and by this meanes alſo when they be killed, they are ſooner and with greater expedition flaied, becauſe the fatte which knit and bound the ſkinne faſt to the fleſh, is now become more thinne, gentle, and pliable through the acrimony of the ſalt: beſides, the bloud alſo of ſuch as be ever licking of ſalt, becommeth more liquid; and nothing there is within, that will gather and grow together, in caſe there be ſalt mingled therewith.

It may be moreover, that they doe it for to make them more fruitfull and apter for generation; for we ſee that ſalt bitches which have beene fed with ſalt meats, are more hot, apter to goe proud, and ſooner with whelpe. And for this cauſe, thoſe keeles and barges that tranſport ſalt, breed greater ſtore of mice, for that they engender the oftener.

4

How commeth it to paſſe, that of raine waters, ſuch as fall with thunder and lightning, which thereupon be called ἀστραπαῖα, are better for to water ſeeds or yong plants, than any other?

MAy it not be, becauſe they be full of winde and ventoſitie, by reaſon of the trouble and confuſed agitation of the aire? And the nature of wind and ſpirit is to ſtirre the humiditie; and by that meanes doth ſend it forth and diſtribute it the better?

Or is it not rather, that heat fighting againſt colde, is the cauſe of thunder and lightning in the aire? which is the reaſon that ſeldome there is any thunder in winter: but contrariwiſe, very often in the Spring and Autumne, for the inconſtant and unequall diſtemperature of the aire: which being ſuppoſed, the heat concocting the humiditie, cauſeth it to be more pleaſant and profitable unto the plants of the earth.

Or why may it not be, becauſe it thundreth and lighteneth eſpecially and more often in the Spring, than in any other ſeaſon of the yeere, for the reaſon before alledged: now the Spring ſhowers and raines are moſt neceſſarie for ſeeds and herbs, againſt the Summer time: whereupon thoſe countries wherein there be many good ground ſhowers in the Spring, as the iſle *Sicilie*, bring forth plentie of good fruits.

5

*How is it, that there being eight kind of * ſavours, there is no more but onely one of them, to wit, ſaltiſh, that can not be found naturally in fruits? For as touching the bitter ſavour, the olive hath it at firſt; and the grape is ſoure at the beginning: but as theſe fruits begin to change and grow to their ripeneſſe, the bitterneſſe of the olive turneth into a fattie and unctuous ſavour, and the ſharpe verdure of the grape into a ſmacke of wine: ſemblably, the harſhneſſe in the unripe dates, as alſo the auſtere and unpleaſant ſharpneſſe in pomgranats, changeth into ſweetneſſe. As for pomgranats, ſome there be, as alſo other apples, which are ſimply ſoure, and never have other taſte. And as for the ſharpe and biting ſavour, it is ordinarie in many roots and ſeeds.*

IS it for that the ſalt ſavor is not primitive nor engendred originally, but is rather the corruption of other primitive ſavors; and in that regard can not ſerve to nouriſh any creature, living with graſſe or graine? but it is to ſome in ſtead of a ſauce, becauſe it is a meanes that they ſhould not upon fulneſſe either lothe or diſtaſte that which they feed upon.

Or becauſe, that like as they who boile ſea water, rid it from that ſalt, brackiſh and biting qualitie that it hath: ſo, in thoſe that are hot by nature, the ſalt ſavour is dulled and mortified by heat?

Or rather, for that a ſavour or ſmacke, according as *Plato* ſaith, is a water or juice paſſing thorow the ſtem or ſtalke of a plant: but we ſee that the ſea water rūning as thorow a ſtreiner, loſeth the ſaltneſſe, being the terreſtriall and groſſeſt part that is in it. And hereupon it is, that when as men digge along by the ſea ſide, they meet with ſprings of freſh and potable water. And many there be, who draw out of the very ſea, freſh water and good to be drunke; namely, when it hath runne thorow certeine veſſels of wax, by reaſon that the terreſtriall and ſaltiſh parts thereof be ſtreined out. In one word, * cley or marle alſo, yea, and the carrying of ſea water in long conduct pipes, cauſeth the ſame when it is ſo ſtreined, to be potable, for that there are kept ſtill in them the terreſtriall parts, and are not ſuffered to paſſe thorow. Which being ſo, very probable it is that plants neither receive from without forth any ſalt ſavour, nor if haply any ſuch qualitie breed in them, doe they transfuſe the ſame into their fruits; for that the conducts of their pores being very ſmall and ſtreight, there can not be tranſmitted thorow them any groſſe or terreſtriall ſubſtance.

Or els we muſt ſay, that ſaltneſſe is in ſome ſort a kinde of bitterneſſe, according as *Homer* ſignifieth in theſe verſes:

> *Bitter ſalt-water at mouth he caſt againe,*
> *And all therewith his head did drop amaine.*

And *Plato* affirmeth, that both the one and the other ſavour is abſterſive and liquefactive; but the ſaltiſh, leſſe of the twaine, as that which is not rough: and ſo it will ſeeme that bitter differeth from ſalt in exceſſe of drineſſe, for that the ſalt ſavour is alſo a great drier.

6

What is the cauſe, that if folke uſe ordinarily and continually to goe among yong trees or ſhrubs full of deaw, thoſe parts of their bodies which do touch the twigs of the ſaid plants, are wont to have a ſcurfe or mange riſe upon their skin?

IS it (as *Lætus* ſaith) for that the deaw by the ſubtiltie thereof doth fret and pierce the skin?

Or rather, becauſe like as the blaſt and mil-deaw is incident to thoſe ſeeds or plants that take wet and be drenched; even ſo, when the ſmoothe and tender ſuperficiall parts of the skinne be fretted, ſcarified, and diſſolved a little with the deaw, there ariſeth a certeine humour, and filleth the fretted place with a ſmart and angry ſcurfe: for lighting upon thoſe parts which have but little bloud, ſuch as be the ſmalles of the legs and the feet, it biteth & gnaweth the ſuperficies

of

* χυμῶν. *ſaporum. Latini.* I make choiſe of [*Savours*] to expreſſe the object of taſte, comming ſo neere as it doth to *Sapores*, and our ſpeech may beare it as wel, as to ſay, This meat is ſavourie or unſavourie when it affecteth the taſt: although I know, we cōmonly attribute ſavours to our ſmelling: but καταχρηστικῶς, as I thinke.

* ἀργία, haply reſt or ſetting.

of them. Now that there is in deaw a certeine inordinate qualitie, it appeareth by this, that it maketh thoſe who are groſſe and corpulent, to be leaner and more ſpare of bodie: witneſſe our women who are given to be fat, and would be fine, who gather deaw with linnen clothes, or els with locks or fleeces of wooll, thinking therewith to take downe and ſpend their fogginеſſe, and make themſelves more gant and ſlender.

7

What is the cauſe that barges and other veſſels in Winter time, go more ſlowly upon the rivers than at other ſeaſons; but they do not ſo upon the ſea?

WHat ſay you to this? May it not be, for that the aire of rivers being alwaies groſſe and heavy, in Winter is more inſpiſſate by reaſon of the circumſtant cold, and ſo is an hindrance to the courſe of ſhips?

Or haply this accident is to be imputed to the water of rivers, rather than to the aire about them; for colde driving in and reſtraining the water, maketh it more heavy and groſſe; as we may perceive in water houre-glaſſes, for the water runneth out of them more leaſurely and ſlowly in winter then in ſummer. And *Theophraſtus* writeth that in *Thracia*, neere unto the mount called *Pangæon*, there is a fountaine, the water whereof is twice as much heavie in winter than it is in ſummer, waigh it in one & the ſame veſſell full. That the thickneſſe of water maketh a veſſell to paſſe more ſluggiſhly, it may appeare by this, that the barges of the river carry greater fraights by farre, in winter than in ſummer: becauſe the water being thicke, is ſtronger and able to beare more. As for the ſea water it cannot be made more thicke in winter, by reaſon of the owne heat, which is the cauſe that it congealeth not, and if it gather any thickening, it ſeemeth to be very ſlender and little.

8

What is the reaſon that we obſerve, all other waters, if they be mooved and troubled, are the colder, but the ſea the more ſurging and waving, the hotter it is?

IS it becauſe, if there be any heat in other waters, the ſame is a ſtranger unto it, and comming from without, and ſo the motion and agitation thereof doth diſſipate and drive the ſame forth againe: but that heat of the ſea which is proper and naturall to it, the windes doe ſtirre up and augment. That the ſea is naturally hot, may evidently be proved by this, that it is ſo tranſparent and ſhining; as alſo for that it is not ordinarily frozen, heavy though it be and terreſtriall.

9

What ſhould be the cauſe that in winter the ſea water is leſſe bitter and brackiſh in taſte?

FOr ſo (by report) writeth *Dionyſius* the great convaier of conduicts, who in a treatiſe of that argument, ſaith that the bitterneſſe of the ſea water is not without ſome ſweetneſſe, ſeeing that the ſea receiveth ſo many and ſo great rivers: for admit that the ſunne doe draw up that which is freſh and potable out of it, becauſe it is light and ſubtill; that is but from the upper part onely: and withall, it doth more in Summer than in any other ſeaſon, by reaſon that in Winter his beames are not ſo ſtrong to ſtrike, for that his heat likewiſe is but faint and feeble: and ſo a good portion of the ſweetneſſe remaining behinde, doth delay that exceſſive bitterneſſe and brackiſhneſſe, like a medicine that it hath. And the ſame befalleth unto river waters, and all other that be potable: for even ſuch in Summer time become worſe and more offenſive to the taſte than in Winter, by how much the heat of the ſunne doth reſolve and diſſipate the light and ſweet parts thereof: but in Winter it runneth alwaies new and freſh; whereof the ſea cannot chuſe but have a good part, as well becauſe it is evermore in motion, as alſo for that the rivers running into it, be great and impart their freſh water unto it.

10

What is the reaſon, that men are wont to powre ſea water into their wine veſſels, among the wine? And the common report goeth that there were ſometime certeine mariners and fiſher-men who brought with them an oracle, commanding to plunge and dip Bacchus *in the ſea: And ſuch as dwell farre from the ſea, inſteed of ſea water, put in baked plaſter of* Zacynthus*?*

IS it to this end, that the heat thereof ſhould helpe to reſiſt the colde, that it take not away the heart of the wine? Or rather cleane contrary, doth it not weaken the headineſſe of wine, by extinguiſhing the power and ſtrength thereof?

Or it may be, that ſeeing wine is much ſubiect to alteration, and will quickly turne, the terreſtriall matter which is caſt into it, having a naturall property to reſtraine, to binde and to ſtoppe, doth in ſome ſort condenſate and ſtay the wateriſh and ſpirituall ſubſtance of it. Now the ſalt together with the ſea water, comming to ſubtiliate and conſume that which is ſuperfluous, and naught in the wine, and not the proper ſubſtance thereof, keepeth it ſo, as it will not ſuffer any ſtrong & evill ſmell or corruption to be ingendred therin: Beſides all the groſſe and terreſtriall parts of the wine, ſticking and cleaving to that which ſetleth to the bottom, and being drawen downward with it, maketh a reſidence of the lees and dregges, and by conſequence leaveth the reſt more cleere, pure, and neat.

11

What is the cauſe that thoſe who ſaile upon the ſea, are more ſicke in the ſtomacke, than they that ſaile upon rivers, yea, though the weather be faire and the water calme?

IS it for that of all the ſenſes, ſmelling, and of all paſſions, feare, cauſeth men moſt to be ſtomacke ſicke? for ſo ſoone as the apprehenſion of any perrill ſeiſeth upon a man, he trembleth and quaketh for feare, his haire ſtareth and ſtandeth upright, yea and his belly groweth to be looſe. Wheras there is none of all this that troubleth thoſe who ſaile or row upon the river: for why, the ſmell is aquainted with all freſh and potable water, neither is the ſailing ſo perillous: whereas upon the ſea men are offended with ſtrange and unuſuall ſmelles, yea, and be eftſoones affraid, how faire ſoever the ſeaſon be, not truſting upon that which they ſee preſent, but miſdoubting that which may fall out. And therefore little or nothing ſerveth the calme without, when the minde within is toſſed, troubled, and vexed, partly with feare, and in part with diſtruſt, drawing the body into the fellowſhip of like paſſions and perturbations.

12

What is the reaſon that if the ſea be ſprinckled aloft with oile, there is to be ſeene a cleere tranſparence, together with a calme and tranquility within?

WHether is it (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) becauſe the winde gliding and glauncing over oile which is ſmooth and even, hath no power to ſtirre it, or to make any agitation.

Or, this reaſon may well carie with it ſome probability as touching the outward part, and upmoſt ſuperficies of the ſea: but ſeeing that they alſo by report, who plunge and dive to the bottome thereof, holding oile within their mouthes, if they ſpurt the ſame foorth when they are in the bottome, have a light all about them, and are able to ſee cleerely in the deepe; a man cannot attribute the cauſe thereof unto the gliding over of the wind. See therefore if it may not rather be, for that the oile by the ſolidity and thickneſſe that it hath, doth drive before it, cut, and open the ſea water firſt, being terreſtriall and unequall; which after being returned and drawen together againe into it ſelfe, there be left ſtill in the mids betweene, certeine little holes which yeeld unto the eies a through-light and tranſparence.

Or rather is it, for that the aire mingled within the ſea, is by reaſon of heat, naturally lightſome and perſpicuous; but when it is troubled and ſtirred, becommeth unequall and ſhadowy; when as the oile therefore by meanes of ſolidity commeth to polliſh and ſmooth the ſaid inequalitie, it reſumeth againe the owne plainneſſe and perſpicuity.

13

What is the reaſon that fiſher mens nets doe rot in Winter rather than in Summer, notwithſtanding that all other things putrifie more in Summer than in Winter?

IS it becauſe (as *Theophraſtus* ſuppoſeth) the heat then beſet round about with the circumſtant colde, giveth place thereto, and therefore cauſeth the bottome of the ſea as well as of the earth, to be the hotter? which is the reaſon that ſpring waters be warmer, yea and both lakes and rivers doe reike and ſmoake more in Winter than in Summer, becauſe the heat is kept downe, and driven to the bottome by the colde, which is predominant over it?

Or rather are we to ſay, that the nets rot not at all, but whenſoever they be ſtiffe congealed with colde which drieth them up, ſoone broken afterwards they are with the violence of the waves, and ſo ſeeme as if they were rotten and putrified indeed; for in more danger they are in colde and froſty weather; and like as ſtrings and ſinewes over-ſtretched doe breake, ſeeing eſpecially that the ſea in Winter moſt commonly is troubled, which is the reaſon that they uſe to reſtreine and thicken them with certeine tinctures, for feare they ſhould be overmuch relaxed and reſolved; for otherwiſe, if it were not for that doubt, being not ſo died and beſmeared all over, they would ſooner deceive fiſhes, becauſe they could not perceive them ſo ſoone; for that the colour naturally of the lines and threds reſembling the aire, is very meet to deceive within the ſea.

14

*What is the reaſon that the * Dorians, * pray for to have ill inning of their hey?*

* Δωριεῖς, ſome tranſlate it husbandmen, reading γεωργοί.
* εὔχονται.

IS not this the cauſe, becauſe hey is not well inned wet, or having taken a ſhowre? for mowen downe it is not dry, but while it is greene and full of ſappe; and if it take wet withall, it rotteth incontinently and is marred: whereas contrariwiſe if ſtanding corne be moiſtened with raine a little before harveſt, it taketh much good againſt hot ſoutherne windes, which will not ſuffer the corne to gather and knit in the eare, but cauſe it to be looſe that it cannot eare well by meanes of heat, were it not by the drenching and watering of the ground, the moiſture did coole and mollifie the earth.

15

What is the reaſon that a fat, ſtrong, and heavy clay ground, beareth wheat beſt: but contrariwiſe a light and ſandy ſoile, is better for barley?

MAy not this be a reaſon, that of all corne, that which is more ſtrong and ſolide, requireth larger food, and the weaker leſſe, and more ſlender nouriſhment? now it is well knowen that barley is a more feeble and hollow graine than wheat is: in which regard it will not abide and beare plentifull nouriture and ſtrong. An argument and teſtimonie hereof we may have of that kinde of wheat which is called three-moneth wheat, for that in drier grounds it liketh better, and commeth up in greater plenty: the reaſon is, becauſe it is not ſo firme and ſolid as others, and therefore requireth leſſe nutriment: in regard whereof, alſo it commeth ſooner to ripeneſſe and perfection.

16

How commeth this common proverbe: Sow wheat in durt, and barley in duſt?

* τρίβειν, haply it ſhould be φυτεύειν, or σπείρειν, that is to ſay, to ſow, unleſſe you underſtand it thus, that their ricks of corne and thraſhing flowres were neere unto their corne lands.
* For piſmires breed in drie ground.

IS it not as I ſaid before, becauſe wheat is able to overcome more nouriſhment, but barley can not endure much moiſture to drench and drowne it?

Or in this reſpect, that wheat being a ſtiffe and hard kinde of graine, reſembling the nature of wood, doth ſooner come and chit within the ground, in caſe it be well ſoked and ſoftened with moiſture, and therefore liketh better of a wet ground; whereas the drier ſoile at the firſt ſowing agreeth better with barley, and is more commodious for it, being as it is, a more looſe and ſpungeous kinde of graine.

Or becauſe ſuch a temperature of the ground in regard of the heat, is more proportionable and leſſe hurtfull unto barley, being as it is the colder graine?

Or rather, husbandmen are affraid to * thraſh their wheat upon a dry and ſandy floore, becauſe of * ants; for ſoone will they take to that kind of graine in ſuch a place. As for barley, they uſe leſſe to beare it, becauſe the cornes thereof be hard to be caried and recaried from one place to another, they are ſo bigge.

17

What is the cauſe that fiſhers chuſe the haire of ſtone-horſe tailes, rather than of mares, to make their angling lines?

IS it becauſe the male, as in all other parts, ſo in haire alſo, is more ſtrong than the female?

Or rather, for that they thinke the haire of mares tailes, drenched and wet as it is ever and anon with their ſtaling, is more brittle and woorſe than the other?

18

*What is the reaſon that when the * Calamacie fiſh is ſeene in the ſea, it is a ſigne of a great tempeſt?*

* Some take it for the cuttle.

IS it becauſe all ſoft and unſcaly fiſhes are very impatient of colde and of foule-weather, they be ſo bare and naked, and have withall their fleſh exceeding tender, as being covered, neither with ſhell nor thicke ſkinne, ne yet ſcale; but contrariwiſe, having their hardy, griſtly, and bony ſubſtance within? which is the reaſon that all ſuch fiſhes be called *Malacia*, as one would ſay, Soft and tender. For which cauſe naturally they ſoone foreſee a tempeſt, and feele colde comming, for that it is offenſive unto them: and therefore likewiſe, when the Poulpe or Polyp runneth to land, and catcheth holde of ſome little rocks, it is a token that there is great winde toward. And for the Calamacie, he leapeth forth for to avoid the colde and the trouble or agitation of the water in the bottome of the ſea: for of other ſoft fiſhes, his fleſh is moſt tender and apteſt to be pierced and hurt.

19

Why doth the Polyp change his colour?

IS it according to the opinon of *Theophraſtus*, becauſe it is a fearefull and timorous creature by nature; and therefore when he is troubled or amazed as his ſpirit turneth, ſo he altereth withall his colour, even as we men do? whereupon we ſay in the common proverbe:

The coward, in view
Soone changeth hew.

Or may this be a good probable conjecture of the change, but not ſufficient, for the reſemblance? conſidering that he changeth ſo, as he reſembleth the rocks which he ſetleth upon. Unto which propertie, *Pindarus* alluded in theſe verſes:

His minde doth alter moſt mutable,
To Poulpe the ſea-fiſh skin ſemblable;
Which changeth hue to ech thing ſutable:
To live in all worlds he is pliable.

And *Theognis*:

Put on a minde like Polype fiſh,
and learne ſo to diſſemble:
Which of the rocke whereto it ſticks,
the colour doth reſemble.

Alſo, men uſually ſay, ſuch as ſurpaſſe others for cunning and cautelous dealing, ſtudie and practiſe this: that for to ſave themſelves, and not to be ſeene or knowen of thoſe about them, they alwaies will be like unto the poulpe, and change their colours, that is to ſay, their maners and behaviour.

Or do they thinke ſuch an one to make uſe of his colour readily, as of a garment, to change and put on another whenſoever he will?

Well then, the poulpe fiſh himſelfe, by his feare may haply give the occaſion and beginning of this change and paſſion; but the principall point of the cauſe conſiſteth in ſomething els. And therefore weigh and conſider what *Empedocles* writeth:

Wot well, all mortall things that be,
Defluxions have in ſome degree.

For there paſſe away continually, many defluxions, not onely from living creatures, plants, earth and ſea, but alſo from ſtones, braſſe and iron: for all things periſh and yeeld a ſmell, in that there runneth ſomething alwaies from them, and they weare continually: inſomuch as it is thought that by theſe defluxions are all attractions and inſultations: and ſome ſuppoſe their embracings and connexions; others, their ſmilings: ſome their impulſions, and I wot not what circumplexions and environments, to be attributed unto ſuch defluxions; and eſpecially from rocks and ſtones along the ſea continually, waſhed and daſhed with the waves, there be deciſions paſſe of ſome parcels and ſmall fragments, the which do cleave unto other bodies, and cling about thoſe which have their pores more ſtrict and cloſe, or els paſſe thorow ſuch as have the ſame over rare and open. As for the fleſh of the Polype, it is to ſee to, fiſtulous and ſpongeous, like unto hony-combs, apt to receive all ſuch defluxions and deciſions from other bodies, when as then he is afraid, his winde goeth and commeth, and withall, ſhutteth up his bodie, and bringeth it together, that he may receive and reteine in the ſuperficies of his skin, the defluxions that come from that which is next it: for the rivels and wrinckles of his ſoft skin, which are knit with feare, are in ſtead of crooke and bending cleies fit to enterteine the defluxions and parcels lighting upon them, which ſcatter not heere and there, but gathering upon the skin, make the ſuperficies thereof to be of ſemblable colour. And that this is a true cauſe, it may appeare by one great argument, namely, that neither the Polyp doth reſemble in colour all that which is neere unto it, nor the Chamæleon the white colour; but both the one & the other, ſuch things onely, as the defluxions whereof are proportionate unto their pores and ſmall paſſages.

20

What is the cauſe that the teares of wilde boares be ſweet, but of ſtagges and hinds, ſaltiſh and unpleaſant to the taſte?

Heat and colde are the cauſe of both; for the ſtagge is colde of nature, but the bore exceeding hot and fierie: whereupon it is, that the one fleeth away, the other maketh head, and ſtands to it when he is aſſaulted, and then is it moſt of all that he ſheddeth teares, upon a fell heart: for when plentie of heat (as I ſaid before) mounteth up unto his eies,

His briſtles ſtare and ſtand upright,
His ardent eyes like fire are bright.

and ſo the humour that diſtilleth from his eies, is ſweet. Others ſay, that theſe teares are preſſed and wrong out from the bloud being troubled, like as whey from milke: and of this opinion was *Empedocles*. And foraſmuch as the bloud of the wilde bore is blacke and thicke in regard of heat, but that of ſtags and hinds, thin and wateriſh, great reaſon there is that the teares which paſſe from the one in anger, and the other in feare, ſhould be ſuch as is aforeſaid.

21

What is the reaſon, that tame ſwine do farrow often in one yeere, ſome at one time, and ſome at another; whereas the wilde of that kinde, bring forth pigs but once in the yeere, and all of them in a maner upon the ſame daies, and thoſe are in the beginning of Summer: *whereupon we ſay in our vulgar proverbe:*

The night once paſt, of wilde ſowes farrowing:
T'will raine no more be ſure, for any thing.

Is it (thinke you) for the plentie they have of meat; as in trueth, fulneſſe brings wantonneſſe, and of full feeding comes luſt of breeding: for abundance of food cauſeth ſuperfluitie of ſeed, aſwell in living creatures as in plants. As for the wilde ſwine, they ſeeke their victuals themſelves, and that with travell and feare: whereas the tame have alwaies ſtore thereof, either naturally growing for them, or els provided by mans induſtry.

Or is the cauſe of this difference to be attributed unto the idle life of the one, and the painfull labour of the other: for the domeſticall and tame are ſluggiſh, and never wander farre from their ſwineherds: but the other range and rove abroad among the forreſts and mountaines, running to and fro, diſpatching quickly all the food they can get, and ſpending it every whit upon the ſubſtance of their bodies, leaving no ſuperfluities, expedient for geniture or ſeed.

Or may it not be, that tame ſowes doe keepe company, feed and goe in heards together with their bores, which provoketh their luſt, and kindleth the deſire to engender: according as *Empedocles* hath written of men in theſe verſes:

The ſight of eie, doth kindle luſt in breſt,
Of looking, liking, then loving and the reſt.

Whereas the wilde, becauſe they live apart, and paſture not together, have no ſuch deſire and luſt one to another; for their naturall appetite that way is dulled and quenched.

Or rather, that is true which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, namely, that *Homer* calleth a wilde bore χλούνην, as having but one genetorie, for that the moſt part of them, in rubbing themſelves againſt the trunks and ſtocks of trees, doe cruſh and breake their ſtones.

22

What is the reaſon of this uſuall ſpeech: that beares have a moſt ſweet hand, and that their fleſh is moſt pleaſant to be eaten?

Becauſe thoſe parts of the body which doe beſt concoct and digeſt nouriſhment, yeeld their fleſh moſt delicate: now that concocteth and digeſteth beſt, which ſtirreth moſt, and doth greateſt exerciſe: like as the beare mooveth moſt this part, for his forepawes he uſeth as feet to goe and runne withall, he maketh uſe alſo of them as of hands to apprehend and catch any thing.

What

23

What is the cauſe that in the ſpring time wilde beaſts are hardly hunted by the ſent, and followed by the trace?

IS it for that hounds, as *Empedocles* ſaith,

By ſent of noſthrils, when they trace
Wilde beaſt, to finde their reſting place.

doe take hold of thoſe vapours and defluxions which the ſaid beaſts leave behind them in the wood as they paſſe: but in the ſpring time theſe are confounded or utterly extinct by many other ſmels of plants and ſhrubs, which as then be in their flower, and comming upon the aire that the beaſts made, and intermingled therewith, do trouble and deceive the ſent of the hounds, whereby they are put out and at default, that they cannot truly hunt after them by their trace; which is the reaſon, (men ſay) that upon the mountaine *Aetna*, in *Sicilie*, there is never any hunting with hounds, for that all the yeere long there is ſuch abundance of flowers, both in hilles and dales, growing as it were in a medow or garden, whereof the place ſmelleth all over ſo ſweet, that it will not ſuffer the hounds to catch the ſent of the beaſts: And verily, there goeth a tale, that *Pluto* raviſhed *Proſerpina* as ſhe was gathering flowers there: in which regard the inhabitants honouring the place with great reverence and devotion, never put up or hunt the beaſts that paſture about that mountaine.

24

What is the reaſon, that when the moone is at the full, it is very hard for hounds to meet with wilde beaſts by the trace or ſent of the footing?

IS it not for the ſame cauſe before alledged, for that about the full moone there is engendred ſtore of deaw: whereupon it is that the poet *Alcman* calleth deaw the daughter of *Jupiter*, and the moone in theſe verſes:

Dame Deaw is nourſe, whom of god Jupiter
And lady Moone, men call the daughter.

For the deaw is nothing elſe but a weake and feeble raine: and why? becauſe the heat of the moone is but infirme: whereof it commeth to paſſe, that ſhe draweth up vapours indeed from the earth, as doeth the ſunne, but not able to fetch them up aloft, nor there to comprehend them, letteth them fall againe.

25

What is the cauſe that in a white or hoarie froſt, wilde beaſts are hardly traced?

WHether is it for that they being loth for very colde to range farre from their dennes, leave not many marks of their footings upon the ground: which is the reaſon that at other times they make ſpare of that prey which is neere unto them, for feare of danger if they ſhould be forced to range farre abroad in Winter, and becauſe they would have ready at hand about them at ſuch an hard ſeaſon to feed upon.

Or elſe is it requiſit that the place where men doe hunt, have not onely the tracts of the beaſt to be ſeene, but alſo of force to affect the ſent of the hounds, and to ſet their noſthrils a worke; but then doe they moove this ſenſe of theirs, when as they are gently diſſolved and dilated as it were by heat: whereas the aire if it be extreme colde, congealing as it were the ſmels, will not ſuffer them to ſpread and be diffuſed abroad, thereby to move the ſenſe: and heereupon it is (as folke ſay) that perfumes, ointments, and wines, be leſſe fragrant and odoriferous in Winter, or in cold weather, than at other times, for the aire being it ſelfe bound and ſhut cloſe, doth likewiſe ſtay within it all ſents, and will not ſuffer them to paſſe foorth.

26

What is the cauſe that brute beaſts, ſo often as they are ſicke, or feele themſelves amiſſe, ſeeke after divers medicinable meanes for remedie, and uſing the ſame, finde many times helpe? as for example: dogges when they be ſtomacke ſicke, fall to eat a kinde of quitch graſſe, becauſe they would caſt and vomit choler; hogges ſearch for craifiſhes of the river, for by feeding upon them they cure their headach; the tortois likewiſe having eaten the fleſh of a viper, eateth upon it the herbe origan; and the beare when ſhe is full in the ſtomacke and doth loath all victuals, licketh up piſmires with her tongue, which ſhe no ſooner hath ſwallowed downe, but ſhe is wariſhed, and yet none of all this were they taught, either by experience, or ſome caſuall occaſion?

IS it then the ſmel that mooveth them to ſeeke theſe remedies, and like as the hony combes by the odor ſtirre up the bee: and the fleſh of dead carions the vultures, drawing and alluring them a farre of: ſo the craifiſhes invite unto them ſwine, origan the tortoiſe, and piſmires the beare, by certaine ſents and fluxions which are accommodate and familiar unto them, without any ſenſe leading them thereto by diſcourſe of reaſon, and teaching them what is good and profitable?

Or rather be they the temperatures of the bodies diſpoſed unto ſickneſſe, that bring unto theſe creatures ſuch appetites, engendring divers ceremonies, ſweetneſſes, or other ſtrange & unuſuall qualities: as we ſee it ordinary in great bellied women, who during the time that they go with childe fall to eat grit & earth with greedineſſe? in ſo much as expert phiſitians fore-know by the ſundry appetites of their patients, whether they ſhall live or die, for ſo *Mneſitheus* the phiſitian doth report, that in the beginning of the *Pneumonie* or inflamation of the lungs, one patient of his, longing for to eate onions eſcaped that maladie; and another whoſe appetite ſtood to figgs, died for it, of the ſame diſeaſe: for that the appetites follow the temperatures, and the temperatures are proportionate to the diſeaſes.

It ſtandeth therefore to great reaſon that beaſts likewiſe, ſuch as are not ſurpriſed with mortall maladies, nor ſicke to death, have that diſpoſition and temperature, whereby their appetites doe moove and provoke each one to that which is good and holſome, yea and expedient to the cure of their ſickneſſe.

27

What is the cauſe that muſt or new wine, cotinueth ſweet a long time, in caſe the veſſell wherein it is kept be colde round about it?

IS it becauſe the alteration of this ſweet ſavour into the naturall taſte of wine, is the very concoction of the wine; and colde hindereth the ſaid concoction, which proceedeth from heat

Or contrariwiſe, becauſe the proper joice and naturall ſavour of the grape is ſweet, for we ſay that then the grape beginneth to ripen, when it waxeth ſweet. Now colde not ſuffring new wine to exhale, but keeping the kinde heat thereof within, preſerveth the ſaid ſweetneſſe ſtill. And this is the very cauſe that thoſe who make their vintage in a rainy conſtitution of the weather, doe finde that their new wine wil not worke ſo wel in the vault, becauſe that ſuch ebullition proceedeth of heat, and the colde doth reſtraine and refreſh the ſaid heat.

28

What is the cauſe that of all ſavage beaſts, the beare doth never lightly gnaw the net and toile with her teeth, whereas wolves and foxes uſe ordinarily to eate the ſame?

IS it for that her teeth grow farre within her mouth, in ſuch ſort that ſhe cannot get within the cords of the nets, having beſides ſo great and thicke lippes betweene, that they hinder her for catching hold with her ſaid fangs.

Or rather becauſe ſhe having more force in her fore-feet, which ſhe uſeth in ſtead of hands therewith ſhe doth teare and breake the cords; or elſe having uſe both of her pawes and alſo of her month: ſhe imploieth thoſe to the burſting of the nets, and with her teeth fighteth, and maketh her part good againſt the hunters. Beſides the tumbling and rolling of her body that ſhe doth practiſe, ſerveth her in as good ſtead as any thing elſe. And therefore ſeeing her ſelfe in danger to be taken within the toile many times, caſteth her ſelfe round upon her head, and indevoureth that way to eſcape, rather than either by pawes or fangs to burſt the toile.

29

What is the reaſon that we woonder not to ſee any ſources or ſprings of colde water, like as we doe of hot? notwithſtanding it is evident that as heat is the cauſe of theſe, ſo is colde of the other.

FOr we muſt not ſay as ſome holde opinion, that heat indeed is an habitude of it ſelfe, but colde nothing elſe but the privation of heat: for it were in truth more woonderfull how that which hath no ſubſiſtance, ſhould be the cauſe of that which hath a beeing. But it ſeemeth that nature would have us to woonder heereat, onely for the rare ſight heereof; and becauſe it is not often ſeene, therefore we ſhould enquire for ſome ſecret cauſe, and demand how that may be, which is but ſeldome obſerved.

But ſeeſt thou this ſtarry firmament,
So high above and infinitly vaſt,
In boſom moiſt of water element,
The earth beneath how it encloſeth faſt,

How many ſtrange and woonderfull ſights doth it repreſent unto us in the night ſeaſon, and what beauty ſheweth it unto us in the day time? and the common people woonder at the nature of theſe things * * As alſo at the rainebowes, and the divers tinctures formes and pictures of the clouds appeering by day: and how they be adorned with ſundry ſhapes, breaking out of them in maner of bubbles.

30

What is the cauſe that when vines or other yoong plants, which be ranke of leaves, and otherwiſe fruitleſſe, are ſaid τραγᾶν?

IS it becauſe that goats in Greeke τραγοὶ, which are exceeding fat, be leſſe apt to engender, and hardly for their fatneſſe can leape the females. For generative ſeed is the ſuperfluous excrement of that nouriſhment which is conglutinate to the ſubſtantiall parts of the body. Now when as any living creature or plant is in very good plight and growen groſſe, it is an evident ſigne, that the nouriture is imploied and ſpent altogether in the maintenance of it ſelfe, leaving no excrement at all, or the ſame very ſmall, and not good for generation.

31

What is the reaſon, that if a vine be ſprinkled and drenched with wine, eſpecially that which came of the owne grape, it drieth and withereth away?

IS there not the ſame reaſon heereof as of the baldneſſe in great drinkers, when as the wine by meanes of heat, cauſeth the moiſture to evaporate which ſhould feed the haire of their head?

Or is it not rather, becauſe the very liquor of wine commeth in ſome ſort of putrefaction, according to the verſes of *Empedocles*:

When in vine-wood the water putrifies,
It turnes to wine, whiles under barke it lies.

When as then a vine commeth to be wet with wine outwardly, it is as much as if fire were put into it, which doth corrupt the naturall temperature of that humour which ſhould nouriſh it?

Or rather, pure wine, being of an aſtringent nature, ſoketh and pierceth to the very root, where ſhutting up and encloſing the pores, it empeacheth the entrance of that ſap (by vertue whereof, the vine is woont to bud, burgen, and flouriſh) that it can not runne to the ſtocke?

Or may it not be, it is cleane contrary to the nature of a vine, that the liquor which once went out of it, ſhould returne againe into it? for a liquor or humour whiles it is within the plant in the nature of a ſap, may well have power to feed the ſame; but that being departed once from thence, it ſhould joine thereto againe, or become a part thereof, I cannot ſee how it is poſſible.

* * * * * * * * * * *

* I finde no more of theſe queſtiõs in the Greeke originall, or the French tranſlation, but in one Latine tranſlation it followeth on in this wiſe,

32

Why doth the date tree onely of all others ariſe archwiſe, and bend upward, when a weight is laide thereupon?

WHether may it not be that the fire and ſpiritual power which it hath and is predominant in it, being once provoked, and as it were angred, putteth foorth it ſelfe ſo much the more, and mounteth upward?

Or becauſe the poiſe or weight aforeſaid forcing the boughes ſuddenly, oppreſſeth and keepeth downe the airie ſubſtance which they have, and driveth all of it inward: but the ſame afterwards having reſumed ſtrength againe, maketh head afreſh, and more egerly withſtandeth the weight?

Or laſtly, the ſofter and more tender branches not able to ſuſteine the violence at firſt, ſo ſoone as the burden reſteth quiet, by little and little lift up themſelves, and make a ſhew as if they roſe up againſt it.

33

What is the reaſon that pit-water is leſſe nutritive than either that which ariſeth out of ſprings, or falleth downe from heaven?

IS it becauſe it is more colde, and withall hath leſſe aire in it?

Or, for that it conteineth much ſalt therein, by reaſon of ſuch ſtore of earth mingled therewith: now it is well knowen, that ſalt above all other things cauſeth leanneſſe.

Or becauſe ſtanding as it doeth ſtill, and not exerciſed with running and ſtirring, it getteth a certaine malignant quality, which is hurtfull and offenſive to all living creatures drinking thereof; for by occaſion of that hurtfull qualitie, neither is it well concocted, nor yet can it feed or nouriſh any thing. And verily the ſame is the very cauſe that all dead waters of pooles and meares be unholſome, for that they cannot digeſt and diſpatch thoſe harmefull qualities which they borrow of the evill propertie, either of aire or of earth.

34

Why is the weſt wind held commonly to be of all other the ſwifteſt, according to this verſe of Homer:

Let us likewiſe beſtir our feet,
As faſt as weſterne winds do fleet.

IS it not thinke you, becauſe this winde is woont to blow when the skie is very well clenſed, and the aire exceeding cleere and without all clouds; for the thickneſſe and impuritie of the aire, doth not (I may ſay to you) a little impeach and interrupt the courſe of the winds.

Or rather, becauſe the ſunne with his beames ſtriking through a cold winde, is the cauſe that it paſſeth the faſter away; for whatſoever is drawen in by the refrigerative force of the windes, the ſame if it be overcome by heat as his enemie, we muſt thinke is driven and ſet forward both farther, and alſo with greater celeritie.

35

What ſhould be the cauſe that bees cannot abide ſmoake?

VVHether is it becauſe the pores and paſſages of their vitall ſpirits be exceeding ſtreight, and if it chance that ſmoke be gotten into them and there kept in and intercepted, it is enough to ſtop the poore bees breath, yea and to ſtrangle them quite?

Or is it not the acrimony and bitterneſſe (thinke you) of the ſmoke in cauſe? for bees are delighted with ſweet things, and in very trueth they have no other nouriſhment; and therefore no marvell if they deteſt and abhorre ſmoke, as a thing for the bitterneſſe moſt adverſe and contrary unto them: and therefore hony maſters when they make a ſmoke for to drive away bees, are woont to burne bitter herbes, as hemlock, centaury, &c.

36

What might be the reaſon that bees will ſooner ſting thoſe who newly before have committed whoredome?

IS it not becauſe it is a creature that woonderfully delighteth in puritie, cleanlineſſe and elegancie? and withall ſhe hath a marvellous quicke ſenſe of ſmelling: becauſe therefore ſuch uncleane dealings betweene man and woman in regard of fleſhly and beaſtly luſt, immoderately performed, are wont to leave behind in the parties much filthineſſe and impurity; the bees both ſooner finde them out, and alſo conceive the greater hatred againſt them: heereupon it is that in *Theocritus* the ſhepherd after a merry and pleaſant maner, ſendeth *Venus* away into *Anchiſes* to be well ſtung with bees, for her adultery; as appeereth by theſe verſes:

Now go thy waie to Ida *mount,*
go to Anchiſes *now,*
Where mightie okes, where banks along
of ſquare Cypirus grow,
Where hives and hollow truncks of trees,
with hony ſweet abound,
Where all the place with humming noiſe
of buſie bees reſound.

And *Pindarus:*

Thou painfull bee, thou pretie creature,
Who hony-combs ſix-angled, as they be,
With feet doeſt frame, falſe Rhœcus *and impure,*
With ſting haſt prickt for his leand villanie.

37

What is the cauſe that dogges follow after a ſtone that is throwen at them, and biteth it, letting the man alone who flang it?

IS it becauſe he can apprehend nothing by imagination, nor call a thing to minde: which are gifts and vertues proper to man alone? and therefore, ſeeing he can not diſcerne nor conceive the partie indeed that offered him injurie, he ſuppoſeth that to be his enemie which ſeemeth in his eie to threaten him, and of it he goes about to be revenged?

Or thinking the ſtone whiles it runnes along the ground, to be ſome wilde beaſt, according to his nature he intendeth to catch it firſt: but afterwards, when he ſeeth himſelfe deceived and put beſides his reckoning, he ſetteth upon the man?

Or rather, doth he not hate the ſtone and man both alike; but purſueth that onely which is next unto him?

38

What is the reaſon that at a certeine time of the yeere, ſhee woolves doe all whelpe within the compaſſe of twelve daies?

A*Ntipater* in his booke conteining the hiſtorie of living creatures, affirmeth, that ſhee woolves exclude foorth their yoong ones about the time that maſt-trees doe ſhed their bloſſomes; for upon the taſte thereof their wombs open: but if there be none of ſuch blowmes to be had, then their yoong die within the bodie, and never come to light. He ſaith moreover, that thoſe countries which bring not foorth oaks and maſt, are never troubled nor ſpoiled with wolves. Some there be who attribute all this to a tale that goes of *Latona*; who being with childe, and finding no abiding place of reſt and ſafetie by reaſon of *Juno*, for the ſpace of twelve daies; during which time, ſhe went to *Delos*, being tranſmuted by *Jupiter* into a wolfe, obteined at his hands, that all wolves for ever after might within that time be delivered of their yoong,

39

How commeth it, that water ſeeming white aloft, ſheweth to be blacke in the bottome?

IS it, for that depth is the mother of darkeneſſe, as being that which doth dimme and marre the Sunne beames before they can deſcend ſo low as it: as for the uppermoſt ſuperficies of the water, becauſe it is immediatly affected by the Sunne, it muſt needs receive the white brightneſſe of the light; the which *Empedocles* verily approveth in theſe verſes:

A river in the bottome ſeemes,
  by ſhade of colour blacke;
The like is ſeene in caves and holes,
  by depth, where light they lacke.

Or many times the bottome of the ſea and great rivers being full of mud, doth by the reflexion of the Sunne-beames repreſent the like colour that the ſaid mud hath?

Or is not more probable, that the water toward the bottome is not pure and ſincere, but corrupted with an earthly qualitie, as continually carying with it ſomewhat of that, by which it runneth and wherewith it is ſtirred; and the ſame ſetling once to the bottome, cauſeth it to be more troubled and leſſe tranſparent?

* * *

PLATONIQVE QVESTIONS.

The Summarie.

I*N theſe gatherings,* Plutarch *expoundeth the ſenſe of divers hard places, which are found in the diſputations of* Socrates*, conteined in the Dialogues of* Plato *his diſciple, but eſpecially in* Timæus*; which may ſerve to allure yoong ſtudents to the reading of that great Philoſopher, who under the barke of words, hath delivered grave and pleaſant matters.*

PLATONIQUE QUESTIONS.

I

What is the reaſon, that God other-whiles commanded Socrates *to do the part of a Midwife, in helping others to be delivered of child-birth, but forbad himſelfe in any wiſe to procreate children? according as it is written in a treatiſe entituled* Theætetus. *For we ought not to thinke that if he had bene diſpoſed to cavill, to jeſt or to ſpeake ironically in this place, he would have abuſed the name of God. Beſides, in this ſelfe ſame treatiſe he attributeth many other high and magnificall ſpeeches unto* Socrates, *& namely this among many others: Certes (quoth he) there be many men (right good ſir) who cary this minde to me-ward, that they are diſpoſed plainly to carpe and bite me, in caſe at any time I ſeeme to rid them of any fooliſh opinion that they have, neither thinke they that I do it of good will and meaning well unto them; ſhewing themſelves herein far ſhort of this doctrine, That no God beareth evill will to men: no more verily do I this unto them upon any malice: but ſurely I can not otherwiſe chuſe, neither doe I thinke it lawfull for me either to ſmoother up and pardon a lie, or to diſſemble and ſuppreſſe a trueth.*

IS it for that he tearmeth his owne nature, as being more judicious and inventive, by the name of God? like as *Menander* doth, ſaying:

> *This minde, this our intelligence.*
> *In trueth is of divine eſſence.*

And *Heraclitus*:

> *Mans nature we muſt needs confeſſe,*
> *Is heavenly and a god doubtleſſe.*

Or rather in very trueth, there was ſome divine and celeſtiall cauſe, which ſuggeſted and inſpired into *Socrates* this maner of philoſophy; whereby ſifting as hee did continually, and examining others, he cured them of all ſwelling pride, of vaine errour, of preſumptuous arrogancy; likewiſe of being odious, firſt to themſelves, and afterwards to thoſe about them of their company: for it fortuned about his time, that a number of theſe ſophiſters ſwarmed over all *Greece*, unto whom yong gentlemen reſorting & paying good ſummes of money for their ſalary, were filled with a great weening and opinion of themſelves, with a vaine perſwaſion of their owne learning and zelous love to good letters, ſpending their time in idle diſputations, and frivolous contentions, without doing any thing in the world, that was either good, honeſt, or profitable. *Socrates* therefore, who had a ſpeciall gift by his maner of ſpeech and diſcourſe, as it were by ſome purgative medicine, to argue and convince, was of greater authority and credit when he confuted others, in that he never affirmed nor pronounced reſolutely any thing of his owne; yea, and he pierced deeper into the ſoules and hearts of his hearers, by how much he ſeemed to ſeeke out the trueth in common, and never to favorize and mainteine any opinion of his owne: for this begetting of a mans owne fanſies, mightily empeacheth the facultie and power to judge another, for evermore the lover is blinded in the behalfe of that which he loveth: and verily there is nothing in the world that loveth ſo much the owne, as a man doth the opinions and reaſon whereof himſelfe was the father; for ſurely that diſtribution and partition among children which is commonly ſaid to be moſt and equall, is in this caſe of opinions and reaſons moſt unjuſt; for in the former every one muſt take his owne, but in this hee ought to chuſe the better, yea, though it were another mans: and therefore once againe, he that fathereth ſomewhat of his owne, becommeth the worſe judge of other mens: And like as there was ſometime a ſophiſter or great learned man, who ſaid: That the Elians would be the better umpires and judges of the ſacred Olympick games, in caſe there were never any Elian came in place to performe his prizes; even ſo, he that would be a good preſident to ſit and determine of divers ſentences and opinions; no reaſon there is in the world that he ſhould deſire to have his owne ſentence crowned, no nor to be one of the parties contending, and who in truth are to be judged by him. The Grecian captaines after they had defaited the Barbarians, being aſſembled in counſell to give their voices unto thoſe whom they deemed woorthy of reward and honour, for their proweſſe; judged themſelves all to have done the beſt ſervice, and to be the moſt valorous warriours. And of philoſophers I aſſure you there is not one but he would doe as much, unleſſe it were *Socrates* and ſuch as he, who confeſſe that they neither have, nor know ought of their owne: for theſe in truth be they who onely ſhew themſelves to be uncorrupt, and competent judges of the truth, and ſuch as cannot be chalenged: for like as the aire within our eares if it be not firme and ſteady, nor cleere without any voice of the owne, but full of ſinging ſounds, and ringing noiſes, cannot exactly comprehend that which is ſaid unto us; even ſo, that which is to judge of reaſons in philoſophie, if it meet with any thing that reſoundeth and keepeth an hammering within, hardly will it be able to underſtand that which ſhall be delivered without foorth: for the owne particular opinion which is domeſticall and dwelleth at home, of what matter ſoever it be that is treated of, will alwaies be the philoſopher that hitteth the marke, and toucheth the truth beſt; whereas all the reſt ſhall be thought but to opine probably the trueth. Moreover, if it be true that a man is not able perfectly to compriſe or know any thing, by good right and reaſon then did God forbid him to caſt forth theſe falſe conceptions as it were of untrue and unconſtant opinions, and forced him to reproove and detect thoſe who ever had ſuch: for no ſmall profit, but right great commoditie comes by ſuch a ſpeech as is able to deliver men from the greateſt evill that is, even the ſpirit of error, of illuſion and vanitie in opinion:

So great a gift as God of ſpeciall grace,
Gave never to Aſclepius *his race,*

For the phyſicke of *Socrates* was not to heale the body, but to clenſe and purifie the ſoule, feſtered inwardly and corrupt. Contrariwiſe, if it be ſo, that the trueth may be knowen, and that there be but one truth, he who learned it of him that found it not out, hath no leſſe than the inventer himſelfe; yea, & better receiveth it he, who is not perſwaded that he hath it: nay, he receiveth that which is ſimply beſt of all: much like as hee who having no naturall children of his owne body begotten, taketh the beſt that he can chuſe, for to make his adopted childe. But conſider heere with me, whether other kinds of learning deſerve not haply to have much ſtudy imploied in them, as namely, Poetry, Mathematicks, the art of Eloquence, and the opinions of Sophiſters and great clearks: Therefore God of that divine power whatſoever, forbad *Socrates* to engender them; but as touching that which *Socrates* eſteemed to be the onely wiſedome, to wit, the knowledge of God and ſpirituall things, which hee himſelfe calleth the amorous ſcience; there be no men that beget or invent it, but call the ſame onely to remembrance: whereupon *Socrates* himſele never taught any thing, but propoſing onely unto yoong men certeine beginning of difficulties and doubts, as it were the fore-throwes of child-birth, ſtirred up, awakened, and drew foorth their owne naturall wits, and inbred intelligences: and this was it that he called the midwives art, which brought nothing into them from without, as others would make them beleeve, who conferred with them, that they infuſed reaſon and underſtanding, but ſhewed onely and taught them, that they had already within themſelves a minde and underſtanding of their owne, and the ſame ſufficient to nouriſh, though it were confuſed and unperfect.

2

What is the reaſon that in ſome places he called the ſoveraigne God, father and maker of all things?

WAs it for that he is in trueth the father of gods, ſuch as were ingendred, and alſo of men, as *Homer* calleth him, like as the maker of thoſe creatures which have neither reaſon nor ſoule? for according as *Chryſippus* ſaith, we uſe not to cal him the father of the ſecondine wherein the infant is inwrapped within the wombe, who conferred genetall ſeed, although the ſaid ſecondine be made of the ſeed.

Or uſeth he not a metaphor, as his maner is, when figuratively he tearmeth him Father of the world, who is the efficient cauſe, according to his uſuall maner of ſpeaking; as namely, in the Dialogue entituled *Sympoſium*, where he maketh *Phædrus* the father of amatorious diſcourſes, for that he it was, who propoſed and ſet abroad the ſame: like as he named *Callipedas* in a dialogue bearing his name, The father of philoſophicall diſcourſes, for that there paſſed many beautifull ſpeeches in philoſophy, whereof he miniſtred the occaſion and beginning?

Or rather was it not, becauſe there is a difference betweene father and maker, as alſo betweene generation and creation? for whatſoever is ingendred, is made, but not *è converſò*; whatſoever is made, is likewiſe ingendred: ſemblably, who hath begotten, hath alſo made; for generation is the making of a living creature: but if we conſider a workeman, to wit, either a maſon or carpenter, a weaver, a lute maker, or imager; certes, the worke is diſtinct and ſeparate from the maker: whereas the mooving principle, and the puiſſance of him who begetteth, is infuſed into that which is begotten; it conteineth his nature, being as it were a parcell diſtracted from the very ſubſtance of him who ingendred it. Foraſmuch then, as the world doth not reſemble a conjunction of many pieces, ſet, joined, faſtened and glued together; but hath in it a great portion of the animall life, yea, and of divinity, which God hath infuſed and mingled in the matter, as derived from his owne nature and ſubſtance; good reaſon it is therefore, that he ſhould be ſurnamed both the father and maker of the world, being a living creature as it is. Theſe points being very conformable and proportionate to the opinion of *Plato,* conſider withall a little, if this alſo which I ſhall deliver, be not likewiſe accordant thereunto; namely, that the world being compoſed of two parts, to wit, of body and of ſoule: the one, which is the body, God hath not ingendred; but having the matter thereof exhibited unto him, he hath formed, ſhaped and fitted it, binding and limiting it according to the infinitie thereof, with termes, bounds and figures proper thereto: but the ſoule having a portion of underſtanding diſcourſe of reaſon, order and harmonie, is not onely the worke, but alſo a part of God, not by him, but even of him, and iſſuing from his owne proper ſubſtance. In his booke therefore of Politiques or Common wealth, having divided the whole world, as it were a line into two ſegments or ſections unequall, he ſubdivideth either ſection into other twaine, after the ſame proportion: for two generall kinds he maketh of all things; the one ſenſible and viſible, the other intelligible: unto the intelligible kinde he attributeth in the firſt degree the primitive formes and *Ideæ*; in the ſecond degree, the Mathematicks: and as for the ſenſible kinde, he attributeth thereto in the firſt ranke, all ſolide bodies; and in the ſecond place, the images and figures of them. Alſo to every one of theſe foure members of his ſaid diviſion, he giveth his owne proper judge: to the firſt of *Idæes*, underſtanding; to the Mathematicks, imagination; to the ſolide bodies, faith and beleefe; to the images and figures, conjecture. To what end then, and upon what intention hath he divided the whole world into two ſections, and the ſame unequall? and of thoſe two ſections, whether is the greater, that of ſenſible objects, or that of intelligible? As for himſelfe, he hath not ſhewed and declared it: but preſently it wil appeare, that the portion of ſenſible things is the greater: for the indiviſible ſubſtance is of things intellectuall, being evermore of one ſort, and reſting upon the ſame ſubject in one ſtate, and reduced to very ſhort and narrow roome, and the ſame pure and neat: whereas the other being ſpread and wandering upon bodies, is that ſection of ſenſible things. Moreover, the propertie of that which is incorporall, is to be definite and determinate. And a bodie as touching the matter thereof, is indefinite and undeterminate; becomming ſenſible, when by participation of the intelligible it is made finite and limitable. Over and beſides, like as every ſenſible thing hath many images, many ſhadowes, and many figures, and generally, out of one onely patterne there may be drawen many copies and examples, imitated aſwell by art as by nature; ſo it can not chuſe, but the things that here be ſenſible, ſhould be more in nūber than they above, which are intelligible, according to the opinion of *Plato*, ſuppoſing this, that things ſenſible be as it were the images and examples of the originall patterns, to wit, the intelligible *Ideæ*. Furthermore, the intelligence of theſe Idæes and formes by ſubſtraction, deduction and diviſion of bodies, is ranged anſwerable to the order of the Mathematicks, ariſing frō Arithmeticke which is the ſcience of Numbers, into Geometry, to wit, the skill of meaſures; then afterwards to Aſtrologie, which is the knowledge of the ſtars, & in the higheſt place above all the reſt, ſetteth *Harmonicæ*, which is the skill of ſounds and accords: for the ſubject of Geometrie is this, when as to quantity in generall, there is adjoined magnitude in length & bredth: of Stereometrie, when to the magnitude of length and bredth, there is added depth or profunditie. Likewiſe, the proper ſubject of Aſtrology is this, when to the ſolid magnitude there cōmeth motion. The ſubject of harmony or muſick, when to a bodie moving, there is adjoined ſound or voice. If we ſubtract then and take away, from moving bodies, voice; from ſolid bodies, motion; from ſuperficies, depth and profundity; and from quantities, magnitude; we ſhall come by this time to the intelligible *Ideæ* which have no difference among them, in regard of one and ſole thing: for unitie maketh no number, unleſſe it come once to touch binarie or two, which is infinite: but in this wiſe having produced a number, it proceedeth to points and pricks, from pricks to lines, and ſo forth from lines to ſuperficies, from ſuperficies to profundities; from thence to bodies, and ſo forward to the qualities of bodies ſubject to paſſions and alterations. Moreover, of intellectuall things, there is no other judge but the underſtanding or the mind; for cogitation or intelligence, is no other thing but the underſtanding, ſo long as it is applied unto Mathematicals, wherein things intellectuall appeare as within mirrours; whereas, for the knowledge of bodies, by reaſon of their great number, nature hath given unto us five powers and faculties of ſeverall and different ſenſes for to judge withall: and yet ſufficient they are not to diſcover all objects; for many there be of them ſo * ſmall, that they can not be perceived by the ſenſes. And like as, although every one of us being compoſed of ſoule and bodie, yet that principall part, which is our ſpirit and underſtanding, is a very ſmall thing, hidden and incloſed within a great maſſe of fleſh; even ſo, very like it is, that there is the ſame proportion within the univerſall world, betweene things ſenſible and intellectuall: for the intellectuall are the beginning of corporall: now that which proceedeth from a beginning, is alwaies in number more, and in magnitude greater, than the ſaid beginning.

* μικρότητα, ſome reade μακρότητα, that is to ſay, they are ſo farre off.

But on the contrary, a man may reaſon thus and ſay: Firſt and formoſt, that in comparing ſenſible and corporall things with intellectuall, we doe in ſome ſort make mortall things equall with devine, for God is to be reckened among intellectuals. Now this is to be granted, that the content is alwaies leſſe then the continent; but the nature of the univerſall world, within the intellectuall, comprehendeth the ſenſible. For God having ſet the ſoule in the midſt, hath ſpred and ſtretched it through all within, and yet without forth hath covered all bodies with it. As for the ſoule it is inviſible, yea and inperceptible to all the naturall ſenſes, according as he hath written in his booke of lawes: and therefore every one of us is corruptible; but the world ſhall never periſh: for that in each of us that which is mortall and ſubject to diſſolution, containeth within it the power which is vitall; but in the world it is cleane contrary, for the principall puiſſance and nature, which is ever after one ſort immutable, and doth alwaies preſerve the corporall part, which it containeth and imbraceth within it ſelfe. Beſides, in a bodily nature and corporall, a thing is called individuall and importible for the ſmallneſſe therof, to wit, when it is ſo little that it cannot be devided, but in the ſpirituall and incorporall, it is ſo called for the ſimplicity, ſincerity & purity thereof, as being exempt from all multiplicity & diverſity: for otherwiſe folly it were to caſt a gueſſe at ſpirituall things by corporal. Furthermore the very preſent time which we call Now, is ſaid to be inpartible and indiviſible: howbeit, inſtant together it is every where, neither is their any part of this habitable world without it: but all paſſions, all actions, all corruptions & generations throughout the world are compriſed in this very preſent Now. Now the onely inſtrument to judge of things intellectuall is the underſtanding, like as the eie, of light; which for ſimplicity is uniforme, & every way like unto it ſelfe: but bodies having many diverſities & differences, are comprehended by divers inſtruments, & judged ſome by this, and others by that. And yet ſome there be who unwoorthily diſeſteeme and contemne the intellectuall puiſſance and ſpirituall which is in us: for in truth, being goodly and great, it ſurmounteth every ſenſible thing and reacheth up as farre as to the gods. But that which of all others is moſt, himſelfe in his booke entituled *Sympoſium*, teaching how to uſe love and love matters, in withdrawing the ſoule from the affection of beauties corporall, and applying the ſame to thoſe which are intellectuall, exhorteth us not to ſubject and inthrall our ſelves into the lovely beauty of any body, nor of one ſtudy and ſcience, but by erecting and lifting up our mindes aloft from ſuch baſe objects, to turne unto that vaſt ocean indeed of pulcritude and beauty, which is vertue.

3

How commeth it to paſſe, that conſidering he affirmeth evermore the ſoule to be more ancient than the body, as the very cauſe of the generation of it, and the beginning likewiſe thereof, yea contrariwiſe he ſaith, that the ſoule was never without the bodie, nor the underſtanding without the ſoule, and that of neceſſitie the ſoule muſt be within the bodie, and the underſtanding in the ſoule? for it ſeemeth that heere in there is ſome contradiction; namely, that the body both is, and is not, in caſe it be true, that it is together with the ſoule, and yet neverthe leſſe ingendred by the ſoule?

IS it becauſe that is true which we oftentimes doe ſay? namely, that the ſoule without underſtanding, and the body without forme have alwaies beene together, & neither the one nor the other had ever commenſment of being nor beginning of generation; but when the ſoule came to have participation of underſtanding and of harmonie, and became to be wiſe by the meanes of conſonance and accord, then cauſed ſhe mutation in matter, and being more powerfull and ſtrong in her owne motions, drew and turned into her the motions of the other? and even ſo the bodies of the world had the firſt generation from the ſoule, whereby it was ſhaped and made uniforme. For the ſoule of her ſelfe, brought not foorth the nature of a body, nor created it of nothing, but of a body without all order and forme whatſoever, he made it orderly and very obeiſant: as if one ſaid that the force of a ſeed or kernell is alwaies with the bodie, but yet nevertheleſſe the body of the fig tree or olive tree is engendred of the ſeed or kernell, he ſhould not ſpeake contrarieties: for the very body it ſelfe being mooved and altered by the ſeed, ſpringeth and groweth to be ſuch: ſemblably the matter void of forme and indeterminate, having once bene ſhapen by the ſoule, which was within, received ſuch a forme and diſpoſition.

4

What is the reaſon, that whereas there be bodies and figures ſome conſiſting of right lines and others of circular, he hath taken for the foundation and beginning of thoſe which ſtand of right lines, the triangle Iſoſceles, *with two equall ſides, and* ſcalenum, *with three ſides all unequall. Of which, the triangle with two even legs compoſed the cube or ſquare bodie, which is the element and principle of the earth: and the triangle with three unequall legs made the pyramidall body, as alſo octaedron with eight faces, and coſaedron with twenty faces whereof the firſt is the element and ſeed of fire, the ſecond of aire, and the third of water: and yet he hath overpaſſed quite all bodies and figures circular: notwithſtanding that he made mention of the ſphæricall figure or round body when he ſaid, that every one of thoſe figures above named is apt to divide a globe or ſphæricall body into equall parts?*

IS it as ſome doe imagine and ſuppoſe, becauſe he attributed the *Dodecaedron,* that is to ſay, the body with twelve faces unto the globe or round ſphære, in ſaying that God made uſe of this forme and figure, in the framing of the world? for in regard of the multitude of elements, and bluntneſſe of angles, it is fartheſt off from direct and right lines, whereby it is flexible, and by ſtretching foorth round in maner of a ball made of twelve pieces of leather, it approcheth neereſt unto roundneſſe, and in that regard is of greateſt capacitie; for it conteined twenty angles ſolid, and every one of them is comprized and environed within three flatte obtuſe or blunt angles, conſidering that every of them is compoſed of one right and fift part: moreover compact it is and compoſed of twelve *pentagones,* that is to ſay, bodies with five angles, having their angles and ſides equall; of which every one of thirty principall triangles, with three unequall legges: by reaſon whereof, it ſeemeth that he followed the degrees of the Zodiacke, and the daies of the yeere together, in that diviſion of their parts ſo equal and juſt in number.

Or may not this be the reaſon, that by nature the right goeth before the round? or rather, to ſpeake more truely, that a circular line ſeemeth to be ſome vicious paſſion or faulty qualitie of the right, for we uſe ordinarily to ſay, that the right line doth bow or bend; and a circle is drawen and deſcribed by the center, and the diſtance from it to the circumference, which is the verie place of the right line, by which it is meaſured out; for the circumference is on every ſide equally diſtant from the center. Moreover, the *Conus*, which is a round pyramys; and the *Cylindre*, which is as it were a round columne or pillar of equall compaſſe, are both made of figures with direct lines, the one, to wit, the *Conus*, by a triangle, whereof one ſide remaineth firme, and the other with the baſe goeth round about it: the *Cylindre*, when the ſame befalleth to a parallell. Moreover, that which is leſſe, commeth neereſt unto the beginning, and reſembleth it moſt: but the leaſt and ſimpleſt of all lines is the right; for of the round line that part which is within, doth crooke and curbe hollow, the other without doth bumpe and bunch. Over and beſides, numbers are before figures, for unity is before a pricke; ſeeing that a pricke is in poſition and ſituation an unity, but an unity is triangular, for that every number triangular, eight times repeated or multiplied, by addition of an unity becommeth quadrangular, and the ſame alſo befalleth to unity; and therefore a triangle is before a circle, which being ſo, the right line goeth before the circular. Moreover, an element is never divided into that which is compoſed of it: but contrariwiſe, every thing elſe is divided and reſolved into the owne elements whereof it doth conſiſt. If then the triangle is not reſolved into any thing circular; but contrariwiſe, two diametres croſſing one another, part a circle juſt into fower parts; then we muſt needs inferre the figure conſiſting of right lines, went before thoſe which are circular: now that the right line goeth firſt, and the circular doth ſucceed and follow after, *Plato* himſelfe hath ſhewed by demonſtration, namely when hee ſaith, that the earth is compoſed of many cubes or ſquare ſolid bodies, whereof every one is encloſed, and conteined with right lined ſuperfices, in ſuch maner diſpoſed, as yet the whole body and maſſe of the earth ſeemeth round like a globe, ſo that we need not to make any proper element thereof round; if it be ſo that bodies with right lines, conjoined and ſet in ſome ſort one to another, bringeth forth this forme: Over and beſides the direct line, be it little or be it great, keepeth alwaies the ſame rectitude: whereas contrariwiſe we ſee the circumferences of circles if they be ſmall, are more coping, bending, and contracted in their outward curvature: conrrariwiſe, if they be great, they are more extent, lax, and ſpred, inſomuch as they that ſtand by the outward circumference of circles, lying upon a flat ſuperfices, touch the ſame underneath, partly by a pricke if they be ſmal, and in part by a line if they be large; ſo as a man may very well conjecture, that many right lines joined one to another taile to taile by piece-meale, produce the circumference of a circle. But conſider whether there be none of theſe our circular or ſphæricall figures, exquiſitely and exactly perfect; but in regard of the extentions and circumtentions of right lines, or by reaſon of the exilitie and ſmalneſſe of the parts, there can be perceived no difference, and thereupon there ſheweth a circular and round figure: And therefore it is, that there is not a bodie heere, that by by nature doth moove circularly, but all according to the right line; ſo that the round and ſphericall figure is not the element of a ſenſible body, but of the ſoule and underſtanding, unto which he attributeth likewiſe the circular motion as belonging unto them naturally.

5

In what ſenſe and meaning delivered he this ſpeech in his booke entituled Phædrus, *that the nature of a wing, where by that which is heavy and ponderous, is caried up aloft, of all other things that belong unto a body, hath a certeine communion and participation with God?*

IS it becauſe he diſcourſeth there of love; and love is occupied about the beauty of the body, and this beauty for the reſemblance that it hath to divinity, doth moove the minde, and excite the reminiſcence thereof?

Or rather are we to take it ſimply without curious ſearching farther into any myſtery thereof? namely, that the ſoule being within the body, hath many faculties & powers, whereof that which is the diſcourſe of reaſon and underſtanding, doth participate with the deitie, which hee not unproperly and impertinently tearmeth a wing, becauſe it lifteth up the ſoule from things baſe and mortall, unto the conſideration of heavenly and celeſtiall matters.

6

How is it that Plato *in ſome places ſaith, the* Anteperiſtaſis *of motion, that is to ſay, the circumſtant contrariety debarring a body to moove, in regard that there is no voidneſſe or vacuity in nature, is the cauſe of thoſe effects which we ſee in phyſicians ventoſes and cupping glaſſes of ſwallowing downe our viands, of throwing of maſſy waights, of the courſe and conveiance of wa-*

ters of the fall of lightenings, of the attraction that amber maketh, of the drawing of the lode-ſtone, and of the accord and conſonance of voices? For it ſeemeth againſt all reaſon to yeeld one onely cauſe, for ſo many effects ſo divers and ſo different in kinde. Firſt, as touching the reſpiration in living creatures, by the anteperiſtaſis *of the aire, he hath elſewhere ſufficiently declared, but of the other effects, which ſeeme as he ſaith to be miracles, and woonders in nature, and are nothing, for that they be nought elſe but bodies reciprocally and by alternative courſe, driving one another out of place round about, and mutually ſucceeding in their roomes, he hath left for to be diſcuſſed by us, how each of them particularly is done?*

FIrſt and formoſt for ventoſes and cupping glaſſes thus it is. The aire that is contained within the ventoſe, ſtricking as it doth into the fleſh, being inflamed with heat, and being now more fine and ſubtil than the holes of the braſſe (box or glaſſe) whereof the ventoſe is made, getteth forth, not into a void place, for that is impoſſible, but into that other aire which is round about the ſaid ventoſe without forth, and driveth the ſame from it; and that forceth other before it, and thus as it were from hand to hand, whiles the one giveth place, and the other driveth continually, and ſo entreth into the vacant place which the firſt left, it commeth at length to fall upon the fleſh which the ventoſe ſticketh faſt unto, and by heating and inchafing, it expreſſeth the humor that is within, into the ventoſe or cupping veſſell.

The ſwallowing of our victuals is after the ſame maner, for the cavities as well of the mouth as of the ſtomacke, be alwaies full of aire: when as then, the meat is driven within the paſſage or gullet of the throat, partly by the tongue and partly by the glandulous parts or kernelles called tonſells, and the muſcles which now are ſtretched, the aire being preſſed and ſtrained by the ſaid meat, followeth it hard as it giveth place, and ſticking cloſe, it is a meanes to helpe for to drive it downeward.

Semblably the waighty things that be flung, as bigge ſtones and ſuch like, cut the aire and divide it, by reaſon that they were ſent out and levelled with a violent force; then the aire all about behind, according to the nature thereof, which is to follow where a place is left vacant and to fill it up, purſueth the maſſe or waight aforeſaid that is lanced or diſcharged forcibly, and ſetteth forward the motion thereof.

The ſhooting and ejaculation of lightening is much what after the maner of theſe waights throwen in maner aforeſaid, for being enflamed and ſet on a light fire, it flaſheth out of a cloud by the violence of a ſtroke, into the aire, which being once open and broken, givith place unto it, and then cloſing up together above it, driveth it downe forcibly againſt the owne nature.

As for amber, we muſt not thinke that it draweth any thing to it of that which is preſented before it, no more than doth the lode ſtone; neither that any thing comming nere to the one or the other, leapeth thereupon. But firſt, as touching the ſaid ſtone; it ſendeth from it I wot not what ſtrong and flatuous fluxions, by which the aire next adjoining giving backe, driveth that which is before it; and the ſame turning round and reentring againe into the void place, doth thruſt from it and withall carry with it the yron to the ſtone. And for amber it hath likewiſe a certeine flagrant and flatulent ſpirit, which when the out-ſide thereof is rubbed, it putteth forth by reaſon that the pores thereof are by that meanes opened. And verily that which iſſueth out of it, worketh in ſome meaſure the like effect that the Magnet or lode-ſtone did: and drawen there are unto it ſuch matters neere at hand as be moſt light and dry, by reaſon that the ſubſtance comming thereof is but ſlender and weake: neither is it ſelfe ſtrong nor hath ſufficient waight and force, for to chaſe and drive before it a great deale of aire, by means whereof it might overcome greater things, as the lode-ſtone doth. But how is it that this aire driveth and ſendeth before it neither wood nor ſtone, but yron onely, and ſo bringeth it to the Magnet? This is a doubt and dificulty that much troubleth all thoſe who ſuppoſe that this meeting and cleaving of two bodies together, is either by the attraction of the ſtone, or by the naturall motion of the yron. Yron is neither ſo hollow and ſpungeous as is wood, nor ſo faſt and cloſe, as is gold or ſtone, but it hath ſmall holes, paſſages and rough aſpecties, which in regard of the unequality are well proportionate and ſortable to the aire, in ſuch wiſe, as it runneth not eaſily through, but hath certaine ſtaies by the way to catch hold of, ſo as it may ſtand ſteady and take ſuch ſure footing, as to be able to force and drive before it the yron untill it have brought it to kiſſe the lode-ſtone. And thus much for the cauſes and reaſons that may be rendred of theſe effects.

As conſidering the running of water above ground, by what maner of compreſſion and coarctation roũd about, it ſhould be performed it is not ſo eaſy either to be perceived or declared.

But thus much we are to learne, that for waters of lakes, which ſtirre not but continue alwaies in one place, it is becauſe the aire, ſpred all about, and keeping them in on every ſide, mooveth not nor leaveth unto them any vacant place. For even ſo the upper face of the water, as well in lakes as in the ſea, riſeth up into waves and billowes, according to the agitation of the aire; for the water ſtill followeth the motion of the aire, and floweth or is troubled with it, by reaſon of the inequalities. For the ſtroke of the aire downeward maketh the hollow dent of the wave: but as the ſame is driven upward it cauſeth the ſwelling and ſurging tumor of the wave untill ſuch time as all the place above containing the water be ſetled and laied, for then the waves alſo doe ceaſe, and the water likewiſe is ſtill and quiet. But now for the courſe of waters which glide and run continually above the face of the ground: the cauſe thereof is becauſe they alwaies follow hard after the aire that giveth way and yet are chaſed by thoſe behinde by compreſſion and driving forward, and ſo by that meanes maintaine a continuall ſtreame that never reſteth: which is the reaſon alſo that great rivers when they are full and doe overflow the banks, run with a more ſwift and violent ſtreame: and contrariwiſe when there is but a little water in the chanell, they glide more ſlowly, becauſe the aire before doth nothing ſo much give place, for that they are more feeble: neither is there ſo great an antiperiſtaſis to urge and preſſe them forward; and even ſo the ſpring waters muſt of neceſſity boile and riſe upward, for that the outward aire entering cloſely into the void hollow places within the ground ſendeth up againe the water forth.

The paved floore of a darke cloſe houſe, conteining in it a great deale of ſtill aire, without any winde from without entring into it, if a man doe caſt water upon it, engendreth preſently a winde and colde vapour; by reaſon that the aire is diſplaced and removed out of his ſeat, by the water which fell, and is thereby beaten, and receiveth the ſtroake and dint thereof. For this is the nature of them, to drive one another, and likewiſe to give place one to the other interchangeably, admitting in no wiſe any emptineſſe, wherein the one of them ſhould be ſo ſetled, as that it did not reciprocally feele the change and alteration of the other.

To come now unto the above named ſymphonie and conſonance, himſelfe hath declared how it is that that ſounds and voices do accord: for the ſmall and treble is quicke and ſwift; whereas the bigge and baſe is heavie and ſlow. And thereupon it is, that ſmall and ſhrill ſounds do move the ſenſe of hearing before others: but if when theſe begin to fall and decay, the ſlow and baſe begin to ſucceed and receive then the mixture and temperature of them both, by a kind of conformitie yeeldeth a delight and pleaſure to the eare, which they call a ſymphonie or accord. And that hereof the aire is the inſtrument, it may evidently appeare by that which we have ſaid already: for voice is a ſtroake or percuſſion by the aire of that which the eare doth heare; for as the aire is ſmitten by motion, ſo it ſtriketh againe the auditorie organ forcibly, if the motion be quicke; and gently, if the ſame be ſlow: and that which is ſtricken forcibly with a violence, commeth firſt into the ſenſe of hearing, but afterwards, turning about and meeting with that which is more ſlow, it followeth and accompanieth the ſenſe.

7

What is the meaning of Timæus, *when he ſaith: That the ſoules are diſperſed and ſowen (as it were) upon the ground, the moone and all other inſtruments of time whatſoever.*

IS it becauſe he was of opinion, that the earth did move like unto the ſunne, moone and other five planets, which he calleth the inſtruments of time, becauſe of their converſions? and held beſides, that we ought not to imagine the earth ſo framed, as if it were firme and immoveable, faſt fixed and perpetually to the axletree or pole that paſſeth thorow the world; but that it turneth round in maner of a wheele: like as afterwards *Ariſtarchus* and *Seleucus* have ſhewed; the one ſuppoſing it onely, the other affirming ſo much flatly. To ſay nothing of that which *Theophraſtus* wrote; namely, how *Plato* toward the latter end of his daies, repented that he had aſſigned unto the earth the center and middle of the world, a place iwis unfit and unmeet for it?

Or rather, becauſe this is directly repugnant unto many ſentences which this philoſopher undoubtedly held, we ought therefore to change the writing of this place of *Timæus*, by putting the dative caſe in ſtead of the genetive, to wit, χρόνῳ for χρόνου: yea, and to underſtand by the inſtruments of time, not the planets or ſtarres, but the bodies of living creatures; according as *Ariſtotle* hath defined the ſoule, to be a continuall act of a bodie, Naturall, Organicall, having life potentially: ſo that the ſentence in the foreſaid place ſhould be read thus; The ſoules have bene diſſeminated and ſowen by time in organicall bodies, meet and agreeable for them. And yet even this alſo is contrary unto his owne opinion : for that not in one onely place, but in many, he hath called the ſtarres, inſtruments of time, conſidering that he affirmeth that the very ſunne was made to diſtinguiſh and keepe the number of time with other planets. The beſt way is therefore to underſtand, That the earth is the inſtrument of time, not becauſe it moveth as doe the ſtarres; but for that ſo continuing as it doeth, alwaies firme and ſteady in it ſelfe, it giveth meanes unto the ſtarres moving round about it, to riſe and to fall; whereby are limited the day and the night, which are the firſt meaſures of time : and therefore himſelfe hath called it the Guardien, yea, the Artizan in deed and right truely of night and day : for the Gnomons in Sun dials, not moving with the ſhadowes, but ſtanding ſtill and keeping their place, are the inſtruments and meaſures of time, repreſenting the obſtacle of the earth oppoſite unto the Sun mooving round about it; like as *Empedocles* ſaith:

The earth ſet juſt twixt Sun beames and our ſight,
Shuts up the day and bringeth in the night.

And thus much for the enodation of this knot.

But haply this a man may doubt to be a ſtrange and abſurd ſpeech, to ſay that the Sun, together with the Moone & the planets, were made for diſtinction of times: for otherwiſe by it ſelfe, great is the dignitie of the Sun; and *Plato* himſelfe in his books of Common-wealth, calleth him the king and lord of all the ſenſible world, like as Good he pronounceth to be the ſovereign of the intelligible world. And the Sun (ſaith he) is the very iſſue extract from that Good, giving unto things viſible, together with their apparance, being alſo, & ſubſiſtance; like as Good giveth unto intelligible things this gift, both to have a being, and alſo to be knowen. Now, that God having ſuch puiſſance and ſo great, ſhould be the inſtrument of time, and an evident rule and meaſure of the difference that is of ſwiftneſſe or of ſlowneſſe among the eight heavenly ſphæres, ſeemeth not very decent; no nor any conſonant to reaſon. It remaineth therefore thus much to ſay, thoſe who trouble themſelves about theſe points, for very ignorance are deceived, ſuppoſing that time according to the definition of *Ariſtotle*, is the meaſure of motion, and the number in regard of prioritie and poſteriority : or the quantity in motion after the opinion of *Speuſippus* : or elſe the diſtance of motion, and no other thing, as the Stoicks deſcribe it, defining forſooth one accident, but never comming neere unto the ſubſtance and power thereof, which as it ſhould ſeeme, the poet *Pindarus* imagined and conceived not amiſſe when he ſaid:

In right of age, time hath thus ods,
That it ſurpaſſeth all the gods.

Pythagoras alſo, who being asked what time was? anſwered: The ſoule of the heaven : for time be it what it will be, is not ſome accident or paſſion of any motion, but it is the cauſe, the puiſſance and the principle of that proportion, and order that conteineth and holdeth together all things, according to which, the nature of the world, and this whole univerſality, which alſo is animate, doth move, or rather the very ſame proportion it ſelfe and order which doth moove, is the thing that we call time:

For walke it doth with ſilent pace,
In way whereas no noiſe is made:
Conducting juſtly to their place,
All mortall things that paſſe and fade.

And verily according to the minde of auncient philoſophers, the ſubſtance of the ſoule was defined to be a number mooving it ſelfe; which is the reaſon why *Plato* ſaid: That time and heaven were made together; but motion was before heaven, at what time as there was no heaven at all; for why, there was no order nor meaſure whatſoever, no nor any diſtinction, but an undeterminate motion, like as the matter was rude without forme & figure: but after that nature once had caſt this matter into a colour, and had ſhaped it with forme and figure, and then determined motion with periodicall revolutions, ſhe made withall, both the world and time both at once; which two are the very images of God: to wit, the world of his ſubſtance, and time of his eternitie; for God in that he mooveth, is time, and in that he hath being, is the world. This is the reaſon why he ſaith: That both of them comming together, ſhall likewiſe both be diſſolved together, in caſe that ever there will be any diſſolution of them. For that which had a beginning and generation, cannot be without time, no more than that which is intelligible without eternity; in caſe the one is to continue for ever, and the other being once made, ſhall never periſh and be diſſolved. Time then being ſo neceſſarily linked and interlaced with the heaven, is not ſimply a motion, but as we have ſaid already, a motion ordeined by order, which hath a juſt meaſure, ſet limits and bonds, yea and certeine revolutions; of all which, the ſunne being ſuperintendent, governour and directour, for to diſpoſe, limit, and digeſt all; for to diſcover, ſet out and ſhew, the alterations and ſeaſons the which bring foorth all things, as *Heraclitus* ſaith: confeſſed it muſt be, that he is a workeman cooperant with that chiefe and ſoveraigne God, the prince of all, not in petie, baſe, and frivolous things, but in the greateſt and moſt principall works that be.

8

Plato in his books of common-wealth, having excellently well compared the ſymphony of the three faculties & powers of the ſoule, to wit, the reaſonable, the iraſcible & concupiſcible, unto the muſicall harmony of the notes, Meſe, Hypate, and Nete, hath given occaſion for a man to doubt, whether hee ſet the iraſcible or reaſonable part, correſpondent to the meane? ſeeing that he ſhewed not his meaning in this preſent place; for according to the ſituation of the parts of the body, wherein theſe faculties are ſeated, ſurely the couragious and iraſcible is placed in the middes, and anſwered to the region of Meſe the meane: but the reaſonable is ranged into the place of Hypate: for that which is aloft, firſt and principall our aunceſtours uſed to call Hypaton: according to which ſenſe *Xenocrates* calleth *Jupiter* or the aire (that I meane which converſeth above where all things continue the ſame, and after one ſort) Hypatos; like as that which is under the moone, Neatos. And before him *Homer* ſpeaking of the ſoveraigne God and prince of princes, ſaith thus ὕπατε κρειόντων, that is to ſay, our ſoveraigne and ſupreme of all rulers. And in trueth, nature hath by very good right given unto the beſt part of the ſoule, the higheſt place in lodging the diſcourſe of reaſon, as the governour of the reſt within the head; but hath remooved farre from thence to the baſe and inferior members, the concupiſcible: for the low ſituation is called Neate, according as appeereth by the denomination of the dead, who are tearmed Νερτεροι and Ενεροι, that is to ſay, inferior or infernall: and for this cauſe, ſome there be who ſay, that the winde which bloweth from beneath, and out of places unſeene, that is to ſay, from the pole Antarticke, is called Νοτος, that is to ſay, the ſouth. Since then it is ſo, that there is the ſame proportion of contrariety betweene concupiſcible and reaſonable parts of the ſoule, as there is betweene loweſt and higheſt, laſt and firſt; it is not poſſible, that reaſon ſhould be the higheſt and principall, and not withall, correſpondent to Hypate, but to ſome other note in muſicke: for they who attribute unto her as unto the principall faculty and power Meſe, that is to ſay, the meane, ſee not (ignorant as they be) how they take from her that which is more principall, to wit, Hypate, which cannot fit well either with ire or luſt, for both theſe, the one and the other are made for to follow, and be commanded by reaſon, and not to command or goe before reaſon. Moreover, it ſhould ſeeme by nature, that anger ought to have the meane and middle place, conſidering that naturally reaſon is to command; and anger both to command and be commanded, as being on the one ſide ſubject to the diſcourſe of reaſon, and on the other ſide, commanding luſt, yea, and puniſhing it, when ſhe is diſobedient to reaſon. And like as in grammar, thoſe letters which wee call ſemivowels, be of a middle nature, betweene mute conſonants and vowels: for that as they ſound more than the one, ſo they ſound leſſe than the other: even ſo in the ſoule of man, wrath is not ſimply a meere paſſion, but hath many times an apparence of duty and honeſty mixed with deſire of revenge. And *Plato* himſelfe comparing the ſubſtance of the ſoule unto a couple of horſes drawing a chariot, and guided by a chariot man, who driveth them, and underſtandeth by the driver & guide, as every man well knowes the diſcourſe of reaſon: now of the two ſteeds, that of luſts and pleaſures is frampold, skittiſh, flinging, winſing, unruly altogether, and unbroken, ſtiffenecked, deafe, hardly caring either for whip or ſpurre; where as the other of ire, is for the moſt part tractable, and obeiſant to the bridle of reaſon, yea, and ready to joine with it in execution of good things. And like as in a chariot with two horſes, the driver or chariot-man is not in vertue and puiſſance the middle, but rather one of the horſes, which is woorſe than the chariot man, and better than his fellow that draweth with him: even ſo likewiſe hath not he given the middle place unto that part which doth rule and governe in the ſoule, but unto that wherein there is leſſe paſſion than in the firſt, and more reaſon than in the third: for this order and diſpoſition obſerveth the proportion of the iraſcible to the reaſonable part, as is of Diateſſaron to Hypate; and to the concupiſcible, as Dapente to Nete: alſo of the reaſonable part to the concupiſcible, as Hypate to Nete, which is Dia-paſon: But if we draw reaſon and the diſcourſe thereof to the meane, anger ſhall be farther off from luſt and concupiſcence, which ſome of the philoſophers held to be one and the ſelfe-ſame thing, for the great ſimilitude and reſemblance betweene them.

Or rather, it is but a ridiculous thing to attribute unto the places, firſt, middeſt, and laſt, ſeeing (as we do) how in a harpe, lute, or ſtringed inſtrument, Hypate hath the firſt and higheſt place; but in flutes and pipes the loweſt & the laſt: furthermore, the meane in what place ſoever of the harpe or lute you ſet it, you ſhal find it ſoundeth alwaies the ſame note ſtill, to wit, ſmaller than Hypate, & bigger than Nete: for the very eie it ſelfe hath not the ſame ſituation in al creatures, but in any creature, and in what place ſoever it is ſet according to nature, alwaies it is ordeined and made for to ſee. Like as therefore the pædagogue or governour of youth, who ordinarily commeth behinde, and goeth not before his children, is notwithſtanding ſaid to lead and guide them: And the captaine of the Trojanes in *Homer:*

Who with the formoſt in the front,
ſometimes appeer'd in ſight,
And in the reereward otherwhiles,
his men ſtrr'd up to fight.

As well in the one part as the other, was alwaies the chiefe, and had the principall power: even ſo we ought not to force the parts of the ſoule to any places or names, but to examine and ſearch the power and proportion of them; for that the diſcourſe of reaſon in ſituation ſhould be ſet in the firſt and principall place of mans body, falleth out accidentally: but the firſt and principall power it hath, as being Meſe or the meane, in regard of Hypate, the concupiſcible part; and Nete the iraſcible, by letting downe and ſetting up, by making conſonance and accord, by taking from the one and the other that which is exceſſive; and againe, by not ſuffring them either to be let looſe and ſlacke altogether, or to lie aſleepe: for mediocrity and a competent temperature, is limited by a meane; or rather to ſpeake more properly, a principall piece of worke this is, and a ſingular gift and puiſſance of reaſon, to make and imprint in paſſions, meanes and mediocrities, if we may ſo ſay, which are called holy and ſacred, conſiſting in a temperature of two extremities with reaſon, yea and betweene them both by the meanes of reaſon: for the teeme of two ſteeds hath not for the meane & in the middeſt, that of two which is better: neither are we to imagine, that the government of them is one of the extremities; but rather we ought to thinke, that it is the middes and mediocritie betwixt the immoderate celeritie or ſlowneſſe of the two ſteeds; like as the power of reaſon which holdeth in the paſſions when they ſtirre without meaſure and reaſon, and by compoſing and framing them unto her in meaſurable proportion, ſetteth downe a mediocritie and meane betweene too much, and over little, betweene exceſſe (I ſay) and defect.

9

What is the reaſon that Plato *ſaith: Our ſpeech is tempered and compoſed of nownes and of verbes? for he ſeemeth to make no account of all other parts of ſpeech beſide theſe two: and to thinke that* Homer *in a gallant youthfull humour to ſhew his freſh wit affected to thruſt them all eight into this one verſe:*

*αὐτις ἰων κλισίωδε, τὸ σὸν γέρας, ὄφρ ἐῢ εἰδῇς,

* The ſenſe of this is altogether unperfect, depending of the precedent and ſubſequent verſes, but ſerving the turne as it ſtands, it requireth not to be done into Engliſh.

For heere you have a Pronoune, a Participle, a Nowne, a Verbe, a Prepoſition, an Article, a Conjunction, and an Adverbe for the Participle, δὲ, *is put in ſtead of the Prepoſition* εἰς, *that is to ſay, to: and* κλισίωδε, *that is to ſay, to thy tent, is after the maner of* ἀθήναζε, *that is to ſay, to* Athens: *But what ſhall we anſwer in the behalfe of* Plato.

IS it for that in olde time they called that πρῶτον λόγον, that is to ſay, the firſt ſpeech, which then was named πρότασις, that is to ſay, a propoſition, and now they tearme ἀξίωμα, that is to ſay, dignitie: which when they utter firſt, they either lie or ſpeake trueth. And this propoſition is compounded of a Nowne and a verbe, whereof the one is called by the Logicians, πτῶσις, that is to ſay, the caſe; the other, κατηγόρημα, that is to ſay, the predicable or *prædicatum*. For when we heare one ſay, *Socrates* teacheth; and againe, *Socrates* is turned; we ſay the one is true, and the other is falſe: and we require no more words. For it is probable that men at the firſt had need of ſpeech and voice articulate, when they were deſirous to explaine and ſignifie one unto another the actions and the perſons and the doers thereof: like as the paſſions and the perſons who ſuffer the ſame. Foraſmuch then, as by the Verbe we expreſſe ſufficiently the actions and paſſions;

and by the Nowne, the perſons doing or ſuffering according as he himſelfe ſaith; it ſeemeth that theſe be the two parts of ſpeech that he meaneth: as for the reſt, a man may well and truely ſay, that they ſignifie nothing, no more than doe the groanes, ſighes and lamentations of plaiers in a tragœdie, yea, and many times iwis, a ſmile, a reticence or keeping ſilence, which otherwhiles may well expreſſe a ſpeech, and make it more emphaticall; but ſurely, no neceſſarie and ſignificative power have they to declare ought, like as the Verbe & the Nowne hath: onely they ſerve as acceſſary adjuncts, to vary, illuſtrate & beautifie the ſpeech; like as they alſo diverſifie the very letters, who put to their ſpirits and aſpirations, their accents alſo to ſome, whereby they make them long & ſhort, and reckon them for elements & letters indeed, whereas they be paſſions, accidents, & diverſifications of elements, rather than diſtinct elements by themſelves; as it appeareth manifeſtly by this, that our ancients contented themſelves ſufficiently to ſpeake and write with ſixteene letters and no more. Moreover, conſider and ſee whether we doe not take the words of *Plato* otherwiſe than he delivered them; when he ſaith that the ſpeech is tempered of theſe two parts, and not by them. Take heed (I ſay) we commit not the ſame errour as he doth, who ſhould cavill and finde fault with one for ſaying, that ſuch an ointment or ſalve was made of wax and *galbanum*, alledging againſt him for ſo ſaying, that he left out fire and the veſſell, without which a man knoweth not how to temper the ſaid ſimples or drogues: for even ſo, if we ſhould reproove him becauſe he omitted the naming of Conjunctions, Prepoſitions and other parts of ſpeech, we were likewiſe to be blamed: for in trueth, a ſpeech or ſentence is not compounded of theſe parts, but by them and not without them. For like as he, who ſhould pronounce ſimply theſe Verbs, To beat, or To be beaten; or otherwiſe theſe bare Nownes, *Socrates* or *Pythagoras*; giveth ſome light (ſuch as it is) of a thing to be conceived & underſtood: but he that ſhould come out with theſe odde words, For, or Of, and ſay no more, a man can not μὲν, γὰρ, περὶ. imagine what he meaneth thereby, nor gather any conception either of action or of body; for if there be not ſome other words pronounced with them or about them, they reſemble naked ſounds and vaine noiſes without any ſignifications at all: for that neither by themſelves alone, nor one with another, it is poſſible that they ſhould betoken any thing. Nay, admit that we ſhould conjoine, mingle and interlace together Conjunctions, Articles and Prepoſitions all in one, minding to make one entire bodie of them all, we ſhall ſeeme rather to creake than ſpeake: but ſo ſoone as a Verbe is joined to a Nowne, that which reſulteth thereupon is immediatly a ſentence and ſignificant ſpeech. And therefore not without good reaſon ſome doe thinke that theſe two (to ſpeake properly) be the onely parts of ſpeech. And peradventure *Homer* had ſome ſuch meaning, and gave us ſo much to underſtand, by ſaying in ſo many places,

ἔπος τ' ἔφατ', ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν.

He ſpake the word, and with the ſame,
Immediatly out came the name.

For by ἔπος, that is to ſay, the word; his maner is to ſignifie a Verbe: as namely in this other verſe,

ὦ γύναι ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες.

Now ſurely woman, much to blame thou art,
This word to ſpeake, it ſtrikes ſo to my hart.

As alſo elſewhere:

χαῖρε πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε, ἔπος δ' εἴπερ τι λέλεκται
δεινὸν, ἄφαρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι.

Adieu good Father; gueſt and friend
Farewell: And if ſome word unkind
Hath bene let fall, I wiſh it may
By winds and ſtormes be caught away.

For ſurely it is neither Conjunction, Article, nor Prepoſition, that can be ſaid either unkinde or to touch the heart, but ſome Verbe ſignifying a ſhamefull deed, proceeding from an undecent and diſhoneſt paſſion. And therefore you ſee how we are woont to praiſe poets and hiſtoriographers, or otherwiſe to blame and diſpraiſe them, ſaying in this wiſe: Such a poet hath uſed Atticke Nownes and elegant Verbs: and contrariwiſe, Such an hiſtoriographer hath uſed triviall and baſe Nownes and Verbs. And no man will ſay that either *Euripides* or *Thucydides* wrote a ſtile conſiſting of Articles that were homely and baſe, or otherwiſe elegant and Atticke.

How then (may ſome one ſay) ſerve theſe parts to no purpoſe in our ſpeech? Yes iwis ſay I, even as much as ſalt in our meats, or water for our bread and gruell. *Euenus* was wont to ſay that fire alſo was an excellent kinde of ſauce: and even ſo be theſe parts of ſpeech the ſeaſoning of our language,like as fire and ſalt of our broths and viands,without the which we can not well do: and yet our ſpeech doth not alwaies of neceſſitie ſtand in need of them : for ſo me thinks I may very well affirme of the Romane language,that all the world I ſee in maner uſeth at this day: for the Romans take away all Prepoſitions , except a very few ; and as for thoſe that be called Articles,they admit not ſo much as one,but uſe their Nownes plaine, and as one would ſay,without ſkirts and borders. Whereat we may wonder the leſſe,conſidering that *Homer*,who for trimme and beautifull verſes ſurpaſſed all other poets,ſet to very few Nownes any Articles as eares unto cups and other veſſels,for to take hold by, or as pennaches and creſts upon morions : and therefore looke in what verſes he uſeth ſo to doe, be ſure they were of ſpeciall marke, or els ſuppoſititions and ſuſpected to be none of his making. As for example:

αἴαντι δὲ μάλιστα δαΐφρονι θυμὸν ὄρινε
τῷ τελαμωνιάδῃ.

This ſpeech the courage moſt of all
excited then anon,
Of Ajaz, *him I meane, who was*
the ſonne of Telamon.

Againe:

ποίεεν, ὄφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφυγὼν ἀλέοιτο.

This did he that, by flying thus apace,
He might eſcape the whale that was in chace.

And a few others beſides theſe. But in the reſt which are innumerable, although there be no Article, yet the phraſe of ſpeech is thereby nothing diminiſhed or hurt either in beautie or perſpicuitie. And thus we ſee, that neither living creature, if it be maimed or diſmembred, nor inſtrument, nor armour, nor any thing in the world whatſoever, by the want and defect of any proper part belonging thereto, is the more beautifull or active thereby , neither more pleaſant than it was therefore: whereas a ſpeech or ſentence, when all the Conjunctions be taken quite away, is many times more emphaticall, yea, and carieth a power and efficacie more patheticall and apter to move and affect, as this :

One ſound, unhurt ſhe catching faſt,
another wounded new,
Alive ſhe held, another dead,
in ſight by heeles ſhe drew.

,, Alſo this place of *Demoſthenes* his oration againſt *Midias* : For many things may he doe who
,, ſtriketh, whereof,ſome the party who ſuffereth, can not declare unto another, by jeſture, his
,, port,by regard, his eie, in his voice,when he wrongeth inſolently in a bravery,when he offereth
,, injurie as an enemie, when with the clutched fiſt, when upon the cheeke , when upon the eare:
,, this mooveth, this is that remooveth, that tranſporteth men beſide themſelves, who are not ac-
,, quainted with outrages , who have not beene uſed to beare ſuch abuſes. And againe another
,, place afterwards. But it is not *Midias*. He from this day is a ſpeaker,he maketh orations,he rai-
,, leth, exclameth, he paſſeth ſomewhat by his voice : Is there any election ? *Midias* the Anagyr-
,, rhaſian is propounded, he is nominated. *Midias* interteineth *Plutarch* in the name of the ci-
,, ty,he knoweth all ſecrets ; the city is not ſufficient to hold him. This is the reaſon that they
,, who write of rhetoricall figures, ſo highly praiſe *Aſyndeton* : whereas thoſe who are ſo preciſe,
,, ſo religious, and too obſervant of Grammar, that they dare not leave out one Conjunction
,, otherwiſe than they were accuſtomed to doe : The ſaid rhetoricians thinke blamewoorthy and
to be reprooved , as making the ſtile dull, enervate, without affection, tedious and irkſome, by
reaſon that it runnes alwaies after one ſort, without change and variety.

Now whereas logicians have more need than any other profeſſours in learning of Conjunctions copulatives, for to knit and connex their propoſitions or disjunctives , to disjoine and diſtinguiſh them ; like as waine-men or carters have need of yokes or geeres ; or as *Ulyſſes* had of oſiers in *Cyclops* his cave to binde his ſheepe together : This doth not argue, nor proove that the Conjunction is a ſubſtantiall member or part of ſpeech ; but a prety inſtrument and meanes to binde and conjoine according as the very name of it doth import , and to keepe and hold together not all words or ſentences indifferently , but ſuch alone as are not ſimply ſpoken : unleſſe men will ſay, that the coard or girt wherewith a packe or fardell is bound, is a part of the ſaid packe , or the paſte and glue a part of the booke; or donatives and largeſſes , a part of politike government; like as *Demades* was woont to ſay : That the dole of mony diſtributed by the poll to the citizens in the theaters for to ſee the plaies, was the very glew of the popular State. And tell me what conjunction is that which will make of many propoſitions one, by couching and knitting them together, as the marble doth unite the iron that is caſt and melted with it by the fire; and yet I trow no man will ſay, that the marble for all that is part of the iron, or ſo to be called. Howbeit, ſuch things verily as enter into a compoſition, and which be liquefied together with the drogues mingled therewith, are wont after a ſort to doe and ſuffer reciprocally from the ingredients. But as for theſe conjunctions, there be who deny that they doe unite any one thing, ſaying: That this maner of ſpeaking with conjunctions is no other but a certeine enumeration, as if a man ſhould reckon in order all our magiſtrates, or count the daies of a moneth.

Moreover, of all other parts of ſpeech, it is very evident, that the Pronoune is a kinde of Noune, not onely in this reſpect, that it is declined with caſes, as the Noune is; but alſo for that ſome of them being pronounced and uttered of things and perſons determinate, doe make a moſt proper demonſtration of them accordant to their nature: neither can I ſee, how he who hath expreſly named *Socrates*, hath declared his perſon more, than hee who ſaid: This man heere.

To come now unto that which they tearme a Participle, ſurely it is a very medly and mixture of a Noune and a Verbe, and not a part of ſpeech ſubſiſting alone of it ſelfe, no more than thoſe Nounes or names which are common to Maſculine and Feminine: and theſe Participles are raunged with them both; with Nounes in reſpect of their caſes, and with Verbes in regard of tenſes: and verily the logicians call ſuch, tearmes reflected, as for example, φρονῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονίμου, that is to ſay, wiiſely foreſeeing; is a reflexion of a wiſe foreſeer: and σωφρονῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος, that is to ſay, minding ſobriety, is a reflexion of a ſober minded perſon, that is to ſay, as if they had the nature and power of Nounes and appellations.

As touching Prepoſitions, a man may liken them very well to pennaches, creſts, or ſuch like ornaments above morions or head attires, or elſe to baſes, predſtals, and footſteps under ſtatues and pillers: foraſmuch as they are not ſo much parts of ſpeech, as buſie and converſant about them: but ſee I pray you whether they may not be compared to truncheons, pieces, and fragments of words, like as thoſe who when they write a running hand in haſte, doe not alwaies make out the letters full, but uſe pricks, minims and daſhes. For theſe two Verbes ἐμβῆναι, and ἐκβῆναι, be both of them manifeſt clippings of the full and compleat words ἐντὸς βῆναι, and ἐκτὸς βῆναι, whereof the one ſignifieth to enter in, the other to goe foorth. Likewiſe προγενέσθαι, is a plaine abbreviation of πρότερον γενέσθαι, that is to ſay, to be borne, or have being before. Alſo καθίζειν, of κάτω ἵζειν, that is to ſay, to ſit downe, or cauſe one to ſit downe. Semblable λιθοβολεῖν, and τοιχωρυχεῖν, men are diſpoſed to ſay for λίθους βάλλειν, and τοίχους ὀρύσσειν, that is to ſay to fling ſtones, and to digge through walles, when they are diſpoſed to make haſte to ſpeake ſhort. And therefore a man may well ſay, that every one of theſe, excepting Noune and Verbe, doe ſome good in our ſpeech, and helpe well in a ſentence, but for all that, they cannot be called either elements of ſpeech: for there is none but the Noune and the Verbe, as it hath beene ſaid before, that maketh this compoſition, conteining verity and falſity, which ſome tearme propoſition, others axiome, and *Plato* nameth ſpeech or oration.

A COMMENTARIE OF THE CREATION OF THE SOULE, WHICH *PLATO* DESCRIBETH IN HIS BOOKE TIMAEUS.

The Summarie.

AMong thoſe diſcourſes which may exerciſe the wittes, and buſie the braines of moſt curious ſpirits, thoſe of Plato *may be raunged, which in divers places of his dialogues, but eſpecially in his Timæus he hath delivered, and namely, where he treateth of nature metaphyſically, intermingling with a certeine deepe and profound maner of doctrine (as a man may perceive by his writings) his reſolutions as I may ſay irreſolute, proceeding all from the ignorance of the ſacred ſtory and the true ſenſe of* Moyſes. *As for example, that which he ſaith as touching the ſoule of the world: an abſurd and fantaſticall opinion, if it be not handled and expounded aright. Our authour being minded in this treatiſe to diſpute philoſophically upon the creation of the ſaid ſoule, runneth thorow numbers, tones, tunes and harmonies, aſwell terreſtriall as celeſtiall, for to declare the meaning of* Plato: *but with ſuch brevitie in many places, that a man had need to reade with both his eies, and to have his minde wholly intentive and amuſed upon his words, for the underſtanding of him. Meane while, this would be conſidered, ſeeing that in ſuch matters we have (God be thanked) ſufficient to reſolve us in the word of God, and the good books of the doctours of the church, all this preſent diſcourſe ſhould be read, as comming out of the hands of a man walking in darkeneſſe; and to ſpeake in one word, of one blinde himſelfe and following a blinde guide: to the end that in ſtead of highly admiring theſe ſubtilties of* Plato, *as ſome in theſe daies doe, whoſe heads are not ſtaied and well ſetled, we might know that the higher that man in his wiſdome mounteth with his pen, farre from Gods ſchoole, the leſſe he is to be received and accepted of.*

A COMMENTARIE OF THE creation of the ſoule, which *Plato* deſcribeth in his booke *Timæus.*

The father to his two ſonnes AUTOBULUS *and* PLUTARCH, *Greeting.*

FOraſmuch as ye are of this minde, that whatſoever I have heere and there ſaid and written in divers places by way of expoſition touching that which I ſuppoſed in mine opinion *Plato* held, thought and underſtood concerning the ſoule, ought to be reduced & brought together into one; and that I ſhould doe well to declare the ſame at large in a ſpeciall treatiſe apart by it ſelfe, becauſe it is not a matter which otherwiſe is eaſie to be handled and managed; as alſo for that ſeeming as it doth, ſomewhat contrary to moſt of the Platonique philoſophers themſelves: in which regard it had need to be well mollified. I will therefore in the firſt place ſet downe the very text of *Plato* in his owne proper tearmes, word for word, as I finde them written in his booke entituled *Timæus.*

Of that indiviſible ſubſtance which alwaies continueth about the ſame things; as alſo of that which is diviſible by many bodies, he compoſed a third kinde of ſubſtance in the mids of them both, holding partly of the nature of *The ſame*, and in part of *The other*: and this he ordeined and ſet in the mids betweene the indiviſible ſubſtance converſant about the ſame things, and the other which is diviſible by bodies. Then taking theſe three natures or ſubſtances, he mixed them altogether into one forme or *idea*, and fitted perforce the nature of *The other*, which was untoward to be mixed, to that nature of *The ſame*. Having thus mingled them with *Subſtance*, and of three made one, he divided this whole againe into ſuch portions, as were fit and convenient: ech one of them being mingled with *The ſame*, with *The other*, and with *Subſtance*. And this diviſion of his he began in this maner, &c.

To begin withall if I ſhould diſcourſe unto you at this preſent what a number of diſputations and contentious debates, theſe words have miniſtred unto thoſe who tooke upon them to expound the ſame, it were for my ſelfe a peece of worke endleſſe, and for you who have read the moſt part of them together with me, a labour needleſſe. But ſeeing that of the moſt principall and excellent profeſſours, *Xenocrates* hath drawen ſome unto his opinion, in defining the ſubſtance of the ſoule to be a number mooving it ſelfe: and others have ranged them ſelves to *Crantor* of *Soli*, who affirmed the ſoule to be tempered of the nature intellectuall & of the other which is opinionative about objects ſenſible; I ſuppoſe that theſe two ſentences being well diſplaied and opened will make the way and give you an eaſie entrance to the underſtanding and finding of that which we ſeeke for and is in queſtion. And verily there need not many words for the expoſition of them both. For * the one ſort of them thinke that *Plato* meaneth nothing elſe but the generation of number, by the ſaid mixture of indiviſible with diviſible: for that unity is indiviſible, and plurality diviſible: of which twaine is engendred and produced number, whiles unity doth determine plurality, and limit out an end to that which is infinit, to wit, the binary or two indeterminate: which is the reaſon that *Zaratas* the maſter of *Pythagoras* called two the mother, and one the father of numbers: as alſo for that the better numbers be thoſe which reſembled unity: and yet for all that this number is not the ſoule, becauſe that both the motor and the moovable is wanting: but when *The ſame* and *the other* were mingled together, of which the one is the beginning of motion and mutation, the other of reſt and ſtation, then commeth the ſoule to have a being, which is as well the principall, to ſtaie and to be ſtaied, as it is to moove and to be mooved.

* *Xenocrates* and his ſectaries.

But *Crantor* and his followers ſuppoſing that the proper and principall operation of the ſoule was to judge things intelligible and ſenſible, together with the ſimilitudes and diſſimilitudes which they have, as well them ſelves, as one in reſpect of another, affirme, that the ſoule is compoſed of All, to the end that ſhe may judge of all. The which All aforeſaid ſtandeth upon fower principall kindes; the firſt is a nature intelligible, which is alwaies one and evermore after the ſame ſort: the ſecond a nature paſſible and mutable concerning bodies: the third the nature of *the ſame*: and the forth the nature *of the other*: for the two firſt, participate in ſome ſort both of *the ſame* and alſo of *the other*. But all theſe doe jointly and equally holde, that the ſoule was never after a certaine time, nor ever engendred, but hath many powers and faculties, into which *Plato* reſolving for ſpeculative diſputation ſake, the ſubſtance of her, ſuppoſeth in word onely, that ſhe was engendred mixed and tempered, ſaying moreover that he thought as much of the world: for full well he knew, that eternal it was and ingenerable, but ſeeing it was not eaſie to comprehend how, and in what order it was found, compoſed, governed and adminiſtred, for thoſe who at the firſt preſuppoſed not the creation and generation neither of it ſelfe, or of ſuch things as concurred thereto, he therefore tooke the courſe to ſpeake in ſuch ſort.

This much you ſee in ſum what they both doe ſay: which when *Eudorus* well conſidered, he thought there was good probability both in the one and the other of their opinions, but for mine owne part, perſwaded verily I am, that neither of them twaine hath touched the point, or come neere unto the minde and meaning of *Plato*.

If we wil uſe the rule of probability & veriſimilitude indeed, not fully building our owne proper opinions, but be willing for to ſay ſomething agreeable & accordant thereto; for that mixture of the ſubſtance intelligible and ſenſible which they ſpeake of, giveth not us to underſtand thereby, that it is the generation of the ſoule, more than of any other thing whatſoever that a man may name. For the very world and every part thereof is compounded of a ſubſtance intelligible or ſpirituall, and of a ſubſtance ſenſible or corporall: whereof the one hath furniſhed the thing that is made and engendred with forme and ſhape, the other with ſubject matter. And as much of the matter as is forme by participation or reſemblance of the intelligible, becommeth incontinently palpable and viſible: but the ſoule is not perceptible by any ſenſe. Neither was it ever found that *Plato* called the ſoule number, but alwaies a motion mooving of it ſelfe, yea the very fountain & beginning of motion. True it is, I confeſſe that embeliſhed he hath & adorned the ſubſtance therof with number, proportion, accord & harmony, which he hath beſtowed therein as in a ſubject capable & ſuſceptible of the moſt beautifull forme that can be imprinted therein, by thoſe qualities before ſaid. And I ſuppoſe it is not all one to ſay that the ſoule is compoſed by number, and that the ſubſtance thereof is number: for certaine it is that it hath the ſubſiſtence and compoſition by harmony, but harmonie it is none, according as himſelfe hath ſhewed in his treatiſe of the ſoule. Moreover altogether ignorant they are, what *Plato* meaneth, by *the ſame* and *the other*: for they ſay, that *the ſame* conferreth to the generation of the ſoule, the power or faculty of ſtation and reſt: *the other*, of motion: whereas *Plato* himſelfe in his booke entituled, *The Sophiſter*, putteth downe, *that which is, the ſame, the other, motion* and *ſtation*, as five diſtinct things differing the one from the other, ſevering them a part, as having nothing to doe in common one with another; which they all with one accord, yea and many more even of thoſe who lived and converſed with *Plato*, fearing and being mightily troubled with, doe deviſe and immagin all that they can, beſtir themſelves wreſting forcibly, heaving and ſhooving and turning every waie, as in caſe of ſome abominable thing and not to be named, ſuppoſing that they ought either altogether, for his honour and credit to denie, or at leaſt wiſe to cover and conceale that which he had delivered, as touching the generation or creation of the world, and of the ſoule thereof, as if the ſame had not bene from all eternity, nor had time out of minde their eſſence: whereof we have particularly ſpoken a part elſe where; and for this preſent ſuffice it ſhall to ſay by the way, that the arguing and conteſtation, which *Plato* confeſſeth himſelfe to have uſed with more vehemencie than his age would well beare, againſt Atheiſts: the ſame I ſay they confound and ſhuffle up, or to ſpeake more truely aboliſh altogether. For if it be ſo, that the world be eternall and was never created, the reaſon of *Plato* falleth to the ground, namely that the ſoule being more ancient than the bodie, and the cauſe and principall author of all motion and mutation, the chiefe governour alſo and head Architect, as he himſelfe hath ſaid, is placed and beſtowed therein. But what, and whereof the ſoule is, and how it is ſaid and to be underſtood, that it is more ancient than the body and before it in time, the progreſſe of our diſcourſe hereafter ſhall declare: for this point being either unknowen or not well underſtood, brings great difficulty as I thinke in the well conceiving, and hinderance in beleeving the opinion of the trueth?

In the firſt place therefore I will ſhew what mine owne conceit is, proving and fortifying my ſentence, and withall, mollifying the ſame (becauſe at the firſt ſight it ſeemeth a ſtrange paradox) with as probable reaſons as I can deviſe: which done, both this interpretation and proofe alſo of mine, I will lay unto the words of the text out of *Plato*, and reconcile the one unto the other. For thus (in mine opinion) ſtands the caſe.

This world (quoth *Heraclitus*) there was never any god or man that made: as if in ſo ſaying he feared, that if we diſavow God for creatour, we muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe that man was the architect and maker thereof. But much better it were therefore, that we ſubſcribe unto *Plato*, and both ſay and ſing aloud, that the world was created by God: for as the one is the goodlieſt piece of worke that ever was made, ſo the other the moſt excellent workman and greateſt cauſe that is. Now the ſubſtance and matter whereof it was created, was never made or engendred, but was for ever, time out of minde and from all eternitie, ſubject unto the workman for to diſpoſe and order it, yea and to make as like as poſſible was to himſelfe. For of nothing and that which had no being, there could not poſſibly be made ought: but of that which was not well made nor as it ought to bee, there may be made ſomewhat that is good; to wit, an houſe, a garment, or an image and ſtatue. But before the creation of the world, there was nothing but a *chaos*, that is to ſay, all things in confuſion and diſorder: and yet was not the ſame without a bodie, without motion, or without ſoule: howbeit, that bodie which it had, was without forme and conſiſtence; and that mooving that it had, was altogether raſh, without reaſon and underſtanding: which was no other but a diſorder of the ſoule not guided by reaſon. For God created not that bodie which was incorporall, nor a ſoule which was inanimate; like as we ſay that the muſician maketh not a voice, nor the dancer motion; but the one maketh the voice ſweet, accordant and harmonious; and the other, the motion to keepe meaſure, time, and compaſſe with a good grace. And even ſo, God created not that palpable ſoliditie of a bodie, nor that moving and imaginative puiſſance of the ſoule; but finding theſe two principles, the one darke and obſcure, the other turbulent, fooliſh and ſenſeleſſe: both imperfect, diſordered and indeterminate, he ſo digeſted and diſpoſed them, that he compoſed of them the moſt goodly, beautifull and abſolute living creature that is. The ſubſtance then of the bodie, which is a certeine nature that he calleth ſuſceptible of all things, the very ſeat, the nourſe alſo of all things engendred, is no other thing than this. But as touching the ſubſtance of the ſoule, he tearmeth it in his booke entituled *Philebus*, Infinitie, that is to ſay, the privation of all number and proportion, having in it neither end, limit, nor meaſure, neither exceſſe nor defect, neither ſimilitude nor diſſimilitude. And that which hee delivereth in *Timæus*, namely, that it is mingled with the indiviſible nature, & is become diviſible in bodies, we muſt not underſtand this to be either multitude in unities, or length and breadth in points or pricks, which things agree unto bodies, and belong rather to bodies than to ſoules: but that mooving principle, diſordinate, indefinite, and mooving of it ſelfe, which hee calleth in manie places Neceſſitie, the ſame in his books of lawes hee tearmeth directly, a diſorderly ſoule, wicked and evill doing. This is the ſoule ſimply, and of it ſelfe it is ſo called; which afterwards was made to participate underſtanding, and diſcourſe of reaſon, yea, & wiſe proportion, to the end that it might become the ſoule of the world. Semblably, this materiall principle, capable of all, had in it a certeine magnitude, diſtance, and place: beauty, forme, proportionate figure, and meaſure it had none; but all theſe it gat afterwards, to the end that being thus digeſted and brought into decent order, it might affoord the bodies and organs of the earth, the ſea, the heavens, the ſtarres, the plants and living creatures, of all ſorts. But as for them who attribute & give that which he calleth in *Timæus*, neceſſitie; and in his treatiſe *Philebus*, infinity and immenſity of exceſſe & defect of too much and too little; unto matter, and not unto the ſoule: how are they able to maintaine that it is the cauſe of evill, conſidering that he ſuppoſeth alwaies that the ſaid matter is without forme or figure whatſoever, deſtitute of all qualities and faculties proper unto it, comparing it unto thoſe oiles, which having no ſmell of their owne, perfumers uſe in the compoſition of their odors and precious ointments: for impoſſible it is that *Plato* ſhould ſuppoſe the thing which of it ſelfe is idle, without active qualitie, without mooving and inclination to any thing, to be the cauſe and beginning of evill, or name it an infinity, wicked & evill doing; nor likewiſe a neceſſitie, which in many things repugneth againſt God, as being rebellious, and refuſing to obey him: for as touching that neceſſitie, which overthroweth heaven, as he ſaith in his Politiques, and turneth it cleane contrary; that inbred concupiſcence and confuſion of the firſt and auncient nature, wherein there was no order at all, before it was ranged to that beautifull diſpoſition of the world as now it is; how came it among things, if the ſubject, which is matter, was without all qualities, and void of that efficacie which is in cauſes? and conſidering that the Creatour himſelfe being of his owne nature all good, deſired as much as might be, to make all things like unto himſelfe? for a third, beſides theſe two principles, there is none. And if we will bring evill into the world, without a precedent cauſe & principle to beget it, we ſhall run and fall into the difficult perplexities of the Stoicks; for of thoſe two principles which are, it cannot be that either the good, or that which is altogether without forme and quality whatſoever, ſhould give being or beginning to that which is naught. Neither hath *Plato* done as ſome that came after him, who for want of ſeeing and underſtanding a third principle and cauſe, betweene God and matter, have runne on end, and tumbled into the moſt abſurd and falſeſt reaſons that is, deviſing forſooth I wot not how, that the nature of evill ſhould come without forth caſually and by accident, or rather of the owne accord: foraſmuch as they will not graunt unto *Epicurus* that the leaſt atome that is, ſhould turne never ſo little or decline a ſide, ſaying, that he bringeth in a raſh and inconſiderate motion, without any cauſe precedent; whereas they themſelves the meane-while affirme that ſin, vice, wickedneſſe and ten thouſand other deformities and imperfections of the body, come by conſequence without any cauſe efficient in the principles. But *Plato* ſaith not ſo, for he ridding matter from al different quality, and remooving farre from God all cauſe of evill, thus hath hee written as touching the world in his Politiques: The world (quoth he) received al good things from the firſt author who created it; but what evill thing ſoever there is, what wickedneſſe, what injuſtice in heaven, the ſame it ſelfe hath from the exterior habitude, which was before, and the ſame it doth tranſmit, & give to the creatures beneath. And a little after he proceedeth thus: In tract of time (quoth he) as oblivion tooke holde and ſet ſure footing, the paſſion and imperfection of the old diſorder came in place and got the upper hand more and more; and great danger there is, leaſt growing to diſſolution, it be plunged againe into the vaſt gulfe, and bottomleſſe pit of confuſed diſſimilitude.

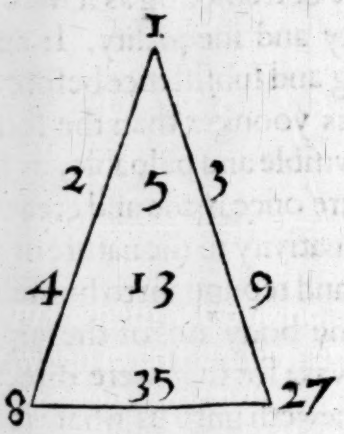
But diſſimilitude there can be none in matter, by reaſon that it is without qualitie, and void of all difference: whereof *Eudemus* among others being ignorant, mocked *Plato* for not putting that to be the cauſe, ſource, and firſt originall of evill things, which in many places he calleth mother and nurſe: for *Plato* indeed tearmeth matter, mother and nurſe: but he ſaith likewiſe: That the cauſe of evill is the motive puiſſance reſiant in the ſaid matter, which is in bodies become diviſible, to wit, a reaſonleſſe and diſorderly motion; howbeit, for all that, not without ſoule, which plainly and expreſly in his books of lawes, he tearmeth a ſoule, contrary and repugnant to that which is the cauſe of all good; for that the ſoule may well be the cauſe and principle of motion; but underſtanding is the cauſe of order and harmony in motion: for God made not the matter idle, but hath kept it from being any any more diſquieted & troubled with a fooliſh and raſh cauſe: neither hath he given unto nature the beginnings and principles of mutations and paſſions, but being as it was enwrapped and enfolded with all ſorts of paſſions and inordinate mutations, hee cleered it of all enormities, diſorders, and errors whatſoever, uſing as proper inſtruments to bring about all this, numbers, meaſures, and proportions; the effect whereof, is not to give unto things, by mooving and mutation the paſſions and differences of the other and of diverſitie, but rather to make them infallible, firme, and ſtable, yea, and like unto thoſe things which are alwaies of one ſort, and evermore reſemble themſelves.

This is in my judgement the minde and ſentence of *Plato*, whereof my principall proofe and argument is this: that by this interpretation is ſalved that contrariety which men ſay, and ſeemeth indeed to be in his writings: for a man would not attribute unto a drunken ſophiſter, much leſſe than unto *Plato*, ſo great unconſtance and repugnance of words, as to affirme one and the ſame nature to be created, and uncreated; and namely in his booke entituled *Phædrus*, that the ſoule is eternall, and uncreated: but in *Timæus*, that it was created and engendred. Now as touching thoſe words of his in the treatiſe *Phædrus*, they are well neere in every mans mouth verie riſe; whereby he prooveth that the ſoule can not periſh, becauſe it was never engendred: and ſemblably he prooveth, that generation it had none, becauſe it mooveth it ſelfe. Againe, in the booke entituled *Timæus*, God (quoth he) hath not made the ſoule to be yoonger than the body, according as now in this place we purpoſe to ſay, that it commeth after it, for never would he have permitted that the elder being coupled and linked with the yoonger ſhould be commaunded by it. But we ſtanding much (I wot not how) upon inconſiderate raſhneſſe and vanity, uſe to ſpeake in ſome ſort accordingly: for certaine it is, that God hath with the bodie joined the ſoule, as precedent both in creation and alſo in power and vertue, like as the dame or miſtreſſe with her ſubject, for to rule and commaund. Againe, when he had ſaid that the ſoule being turned upon her ſelfe, began to live a wiſe and eternall life, The body of the heaven (quoth he) was made viſible, bnt the ſoule inviſible, participating the diſcourſe of reaſon and of harmony, engendred by the beſt of things intellectuall and eternall, being likewiſe it ſelfe the beſt of things engendred and temporall. Where it is to be noted that in this place expreſly calling God the beſt of all eternall things, and the ſoule the beſt of things created and temporall, by this moſt evident antitheſis and contrariety, he taketh from the ſoule that eternity which is without beginning and procreation.

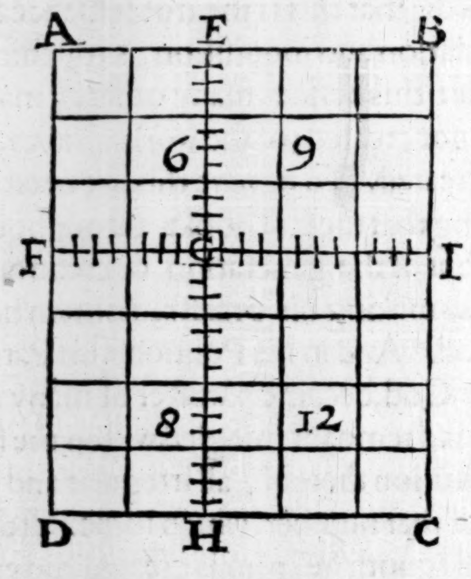
And what other ſolution or reconciliation is there, of theſe contradictions, but that which himſelf giveth to thoſe who are willing to receive it; for he pronounceth that ſoule to be ingenerable and not procreated, which mooved all things raſhly and diſorderly before the conſtitution of the world: but contrariwiſe he calleth that, procreated and engendred, which God framed and compoſed of the firſt, and of a parmanent, eternall, and perfect good ſubſtance, namely by creating it wiſe and well ordered, and by putting and conferring even from himſelfe unto ſenſe, underſtanding; and order unto motion: which when he had thus made, he ordained and appointed it to be the governor and regent of the whole world. And even after the ſame maner he pronounceth; that the body of the world is in one ſort eternall, to wit, not created, nor engendred; and after a nother ſort both created and engendred. For when he ſaith that whatſoever is viſible, was never at reſt, but mooved raſhly and without all order: and that God tooke the ſame, diſpoſed and ranged it in good order: as alſo when he ſaith that the fowre generall elements, fire, water, earth, and aire, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered decently made a woonderfull trouble & trembling as it were in the matter, and were mightily ſhaken by it, ſuch was their deformity and inequality. It appeareth plainly that he maketh theſe bodies in ſome ſort to have a being and ſubſiſtence before the creation of the world. Contrariwiſe when he ſaith that the body is yoonger than the ſoule, and that the world was made and created in as much as the ſame is viſible and palpable, as having a body, and that all things appeare ſo as they are, when they were once made and created, manifeſt it is, and every man may ſee, that he attributeth a kinde of nativity to the nature of the body; and yet for all that farre is he off, from being contradictory and repugnant to himſelfe ſo notoriouſly, and that in the moſt maine points. For it is not the ſame body nor of the ſame ſort, which he ſaith was created by God, and to have bene before it was; for that were directly the caſe of ſome mount-banke or jugling enchanter; but himſelfe ſheweth unto us, what we are to underſtand by this, generation or creation: For before time (quoth he) all that is in the world, was without order, meaſure and proportion: but after that the univerſall world began to be faſhioned, and brought into ſome decent forme, whereas he found the fire firſt, the water, the earth and the aire pell-mell in the ſame places, and yet having ſome ſhew and token what they were, but confuſedly hudled every where, (as a man may well thinke that every thing muſt needs be ſo, where God is abſent) in this caſe as they were then, God I ſay finding them, firſt brought the ſame into frame and faſhion, by the meanes of formes and numbers. Furthermore, having ſaid before that it was the worke not of one onely proportion, but of twaine, to joine and frame together the fabricke of the world, a ſolid maſſe as it was and carying a depth and thickneſſe with it: and declared moreover, that God after he had beſtowed water and aire, betweene fire and earth, conjoined withall and framed the heaven, together with them. Of theſe things (quoth he) ſuch as they were, and fower in number, the body of the world was in engendred, agreeable in proportion and entertaining amity by that meanes: Inſomuch as being once thus united and compact, there is nothing that can make diſunion or diſſolution, but he alone who firſt limited and brought all together; teaching us hereby moſt plainely that God was the father and author, not of the body ſimply, nor of the frame, fabricke and matter onely of the world, but alſo of that proportion, meaſure, beauty and ſimilitude which is in the body thereof: ſemblably thus much we are to thinke of the ſoule, as if one were not created by God, nor the ſoule of the world, but a certaine power of motion, fantaſticall, turbulent, ſubject unto opinion, ſtirring and moving of it ſelfe, and alwaies, but without any order, meaſure, or reaſon whatſoever. The other, when God had adorned it with numbers & proportions convenient, he ordained to be the regent & governeſſe of the world created like as it ſelfe was alſo created. Now that this is the true ſentence & meaning of *Plato*, and not by a fantaſticall manner of ſpeculation and inquiſition, as touching the creation or generation, as well of the world as of the ſoule: this beſides many others, may be an argument, that of the ſoule, he ſaith it was created and not created; of the world alwaies, that it was engendred and created, but never eternall and not created. To proove this, we need not for to cite teſtimonies out of the booke *Timæus*, conſidering that the ſaid booke throughout, from the one end to the other, treateth of nothing elſe, but of the generation or creation of the world. And of other bookes, in his Atlanticke *Timæus* making his praiers, nameth him who beforetime was by his worke, and now by his word, God. And in his Politique, his Parmenidian gueſt ſaith, that the world being framed and made by God, became partaker of many good things: and in caſe there be any evill thing in it, the ſame is a remnant mingled within the firſt habitude and eſtate wherein it was at firſt, before the conſtitution thereof, all irregular and diſorderly. And in his bookes of Common-wealth, ſpeaking of that number, which ſome call the Mariage, *Socrates* began to diſcourſe and ſay thus: The God (quoth he) who is created and engendred, hath his period and converſation, which the perfect number doth compriſe. In which place, what can he call the God created and engendred, but the world. * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The firſt copulation is of one and two, the ſecond of three and foure, the third of five and ſix; of which there is not one that maketh a quadrate number either by it ſelfe or by others: the fourth is of ſeven and eight, which being joined to the firſt, make in all the ſquare quadrat number ſix and thirtie.



But of thoſe numbers which *Plato* hath ſet downe the quaternarie, hath a more perfect and abſolute generation; namely, when even numbers are multiplied by even intervals, and uneven numbers likewiſe by odde intervals: for firſt it conteineth unitie as the very common ſtocke of all numbers as well even as odde and of thoſe under it; two and three be the firſt flat and plaine numbers, and after them foure and nine are the firſt ſquares, then follow eight and ſeven and twentie, the firſt cubique numbers, putting the unitie out of this account. By which it appeareth that his will was not, that theſe numbers ſhould be all ſet one above another directly in a right line; but apart, one after another alternatively, the even of the one ſide and the odde of the other, according to the deſcription above made. Thus ſhall the files or conjugations alſo be of like with like, and make the notable numbers, aſwel by compoſition or addition as by multiplication of one with another: by compoſition, thus, Two and three make five; foure & nine make thirteene; eight and ſeven and twentie ariſe to five and thirtie. For of theſe numbers the Pythagoreans call five, τεοφὸν, as much to ſay, as a ſound, ſuppoſing that of the ſpaces and intervals of Tone, the fift, was the firſt that ſpake or ſounded: thirteene they tearmed λεῖμμα, that is to ſay, the Remanent or Defect, like as *Plato* did; deſpairing to divide a Tone in two equall portions: and five and thirtie they tearme Harmonie, for that it is compoſed of the firſt numbers cubique, proceeding from even and od of the foure numbers, to wit, ſix, eight, nine and twelve, conteining an Arithmeticall and Harmonicall proportion. But this will appeare more evidently by this figure here deſcribed and repreſented to the eies. Suppoſe then there be a figure ſet downe in forme of a tile, called *Parallelogrammon*, with right angles, A. B. C. D.



whereof the one ſide (to wit, the leſſe) A. B. is of five; the other, and namely, the longer, A. D. is of ſeven parts: let the leſſe ſide be divided into unequall ſections, to wit, into three and three, unto E. and the greater into other two unequall ſections, three and foure to F. Then draw lines from the ſections, croſſing directly one another, by E. G. H. and F. G. I. So A. E. G. F. ſhall be ſix, A. B. I G. nine, G. H. D. F. eight, and G. I. C. H. twelve. This tile-forme figure called *Parallelogrammon*, being more long than broad, compoſed of five and thirtie parts, conteineth in it all the proportions of the firſt accords and conſonances of Muſicke in the numbers of the ſpaces into which it is divided. For ſix and eight have the proportion Epitritos, to wit, the whole and one third part; wherein conſiſteth the ſymphonie Diateſſaron, that is to ſay, a fourth. Six and nine cary the proportion Hemiolion, to wit, the whole and halfe; and therein conſiſteth Diapente, that is to ſay, a fifth. Betweene ſix and twelve there is the double proportion, & therin conſiſteth Diapaſon, that is to ſay, an eighth. There is alſo the proportion of Tone ſeſquioctave, in nine and eight, which is the reaſon that the number five and thirtie conteining the proportions of tones, the conſonances alſo and accords, they call Harmonie, which being multiplied by ſix, ariſeth to two hundred and tenne, the very juſt number of daies wherein ſeven moneth children have their perfection in the wombe, and are ready to be borne. *Item,* goe to worke another way, and begin by multiplication in this wiſe: Twice three make ſix, and foure times nine come to ſix and thirtie, and ſeven and twentie mnltiplied by eight, ariſeth to two hundred and ſixteene. Now the perfect number is ſix, for that it ſtandeth of equall parts, and in regard of the copulation of even and odde it is called the Mariage. Againe, that which is more, it conſiſteth of the beginning and foundation of number, to wit, Unitie or One, of the firſt even number which is two, and of the firſt and odde number that is three. Moreover, ſix and thirtie is the firſt number both foure-ſquare and alſo triangular. Foure-ſquare, if it ariſe from the baſis, ſix, and triangular, from eight: for it ariſeth by multiplication of two quadrate numbers, to wit, of foure, multiplying nine; and by addition of three cubes, one, eight, and ſeven and twentie, which being put together, make up ſixe and thirtie, the number before deſcribed. Furthermore, it may be drawen out in forme of a tile, more one way than another from the two ſides, and ariſeth by multiplying twelve by three, or nine by foure. Now if a man take the numbers of the ſides in thoſe figures before deſcribed, to wit, ſix of the foure-ſquare, and eight of the triangle; nine of one of Parallelograms, and twelve of the other; he ſhall finde that they will make the proportions of all the ſymphonies or accords in Muſicke. For twelve compared with nine, will be Diateſſaron or the fourth, which is the proportion that Nete hath to Meſe; but compared with eight, it is Diapente or a fifth, the proportion of Meſe or the Meane to Hypate; with twelve, it will be Diapaſon or a juſt eighth, which is the proportion betweene Nete and Hypate. As for the number of two hundred and ſixteene, it is a cubique, ariſing from ſix, as the baſis, and is equall to the owne compaſſe or circuit. Theſe numbers propoſed, having ſuch vertues and properties, yet the laſt ſeven and twentie hath this peculiar qualitie by it ſelfe, that it is equall unto all the other before it, being put together; namely, one, two, three, fonre, eight, and nine. Moreover, it conteineth the juſt number of the daies of the moones revolution. The Pythagoreans alſo doe place the Tone of diſtances & intervals of ſounds in this very nũber, which is the reaſon that they call 13 λεῖμμα; as one would ſay, the default, for that it wanteth one of being the halfe of twenty ſeven. Moreover, that theſe numbers conteine the proportions of all the conſonances & accords in muſicke, it is eaſie to be underſtood; for there is the proportion double of two to one, & therein conſiſteth Diapaſon; the Hemiolion or one and halfe of three & two, wherein is Diapente: likewiſe Epitritos, of fower to three, and therein conſiſteth Diateſſaron: alſo the triple of nine and three, wherein you ſhall finde Diapaſon and Diapente, to wit, a fift above a duple. *Item,* the quadruple of eight and two wherein is Dis diapaſon. There is beſides, the ſeſquioctave, of eight to nine, wherein is Toniæon. If then a man count the unitie which is common unto the numbers as well even as odde unto foure, the whole yeeldeth ten: and the even numbers betweene it and ten, with the unity being put together make fifteene, a number triangular, ariſing from the baſis five: as for the odde numbers, to wit, one, three, nine, and twenty ſeaven, ariſe to forty, if they be ſummed together, and this number of forty is compoſed of thirteene and twenty ſeven, by which the mathematicians doe preciſely meaſure the intervals of muſicke and melody in ſong, calling the one Dieſis, and the other Tonos: and the ſaid number of forty ariſeth by way of multiplication, by the vertue of quaternity; for if you multiply foure times every one of the foure; firſt, whereas by themſelves to wit, one, two, three, foure, there will ariſe foure, eight, twelve, and ſixteene, which being all ſummed together, make forty; which number conteineth beſides, all the proportions of conſonances and accords: for compare ſixteene with twelve, you ſhall have the proportion Epitritos, that is to ſay, one and the third part, with eight duple, with foure quadruple: alſo twelve compared to eight, hath the proportion Hemiolion, that is to ſay, one and a halfe, to foure triple, which comprehend the proportions juſt of Diateſſaron, Diapente, Diapaſon, and Dis-diapaſon: Over and beſides, the foreſaid number of forty, is equall to the firſt two quadrats, and the two firſt cubicke numbers taken together, for the two firſt ſquares or quadrats be one and foure, the cubicks eight and twenty ſeaven, which if they be put together, amount to forty: So that the quaternity of *Plato* is in the diſpoſition thereof more ample, of greater varietie and perfection than that quaternity of *Pythagoras.*

But

But foraſmuch as the numbers propoſed, affoord not places for the medieties which are inferred; neceſſary it was to extend the numbers to larger tearmes and bondes, reteining ſtill the ſame proportions: in regard whereof, we muſt ſay ſomewhat what they be, and treat firſt of theſe medieties. The former then, is that which both ſurmounting, & being alſo ſurmounted in equall number, is called in theſe daies Arithmeticall: the other which ſurmounteth, and is ſurmounted by the ſame part of their extremities, is named *Hypenantia*, that is to ſay, ſubcontrary; as for example: The two limits or extremities and the mids of the arithmetical, be ſix, nine and twelve: for nine which is in the middes, ſurmounteth ſixe juſt as much in number as it is ſurmounted of twelve, that is to ſay, by three: but of the ſubcontrary, theſe be the extremities and the mids, ſix, eight, and twelve, for eight which is the mids, ſurmounteth ſix by two, and is ſurmounted of twelve by foure, which foure is the third part of twelve, like as two is the third part of ſixe. Thus it falleth out in the medietie Arithmaticall, the middes ſurmounteth the one of theſe extremities, and is ſurmounted of the other, equally by the ſame part of the owne, but in the ſubcontrary by the ſame part, not of the owne, but of the extremities out gone of the one, and outgoing the other: and heereupon it is called ſubcontrary, and the ſame they likewiſe call harmonicall, becauſe it affourdeth to the extremities the firſt reſonances, to wit, betweene the greateſt and the leaſt Diapaſon, that is to ſay, an eight; betweene the greateſt and the mids, Diapente, that is to ſay, a five; & betweene the mids and the leaſt, Diateſſeron, that is to ſay, a fourth: for the greateſt tearme or extremity being ſet upon the note or ſtring Nete, and the leaſt upon Hypate, the middes will be found juſt upon Meſe, that is to ſay, the meane, which maketh in regard of the greateſt Diapente, and of the leaſt Diateſſaron: ſo that by this reaſon, eight ſhall be upon the meane, twelve upon Nete, and ſix upon Hypate: but how to know eaſily and readily theſe medieties aforeſaid, ***Eudorus*** hath ſhewed the maner plainly and ſimply: And firſt and formoſt in the Arithmeticall, conſider thus much: for if you take the two extremities, and put them together, and then the moity of the entire ſum, the ſame will fall out to be the medietie Arithmeticall: or take the moitie of ech one of the extremities, & adde them one to the other, that which ariſeth thereof ſhall be mediatie arithmeticall, in duples & triples alike: but in the ſubcontrary, or harmonicall, if the two extremities be one to the other in proportion duple, take the halfe of the greater, and the third part of the leſſe, and the number ariſing of thoſe two ſhall be the medietie Harmonicall: but in caſe the two extremities be in proportion triple, then contrariwiſe a man ought to take the moitie of the leſſe, and the third part of the greater, for then the ſumme will be the medietie that he looketh for: as for example, let the leſſe extremity be in triple proportion ſix, and the greater eighteene, if you take the halfe of ſix which is three, and the third part of eighteene which is ſix, you ſhall come to nine, for the medietie which doth ſurmount, and is ſurmounted by the ſame part of the two extremities, that is to ſay, the one halfe. Thus you ſee how the medieties are taken: now the ſame muſt be interjected and placed betweene, for to fill and make up the places or intervals double and triple; but of the number propoſed, ſome have no place of the middle, others, not ſufficient; and therefore the maner is to augment and ſet them out, in reteining alwaies ſtill the ſame proportions, and ſo by that meanes make places and receptacles ſufficient for to receive the ſaid medieties or mediocrities: Firſt therefore, for the leſſe end or extremity, in ſtead of one they put ſix, becauſe of all numbers it is the firſt that hath a halfe and a third part, and multiply all the numbers under by ſix, as it is written underneath, for to receive both the medieties in duple intervals:

12. 2. 1. 3. 18.
24. 4. 9. 54.
48. 8. 27. 162.

And for that *Plato* hath ſaid, the intervals being made ſeſquialterall, ſeſquitertia, and ſeſquioctaves, out of theſe links in the precedent diſtances, he filled all the epitrites, with the intervall of ſeſquioctave, leaving one part of ech, and this diſtance of this part being left number to number, having for the tearmes & extremities, two hundred fifty ſix, and two hundred forty three, &c. upon theſe words of the text, forced they were to reduce theſe numbers, and make them greater, for by order two ought to have ſeſquioctave proportion, ſeeing that ſix of it ſelfe could not have proportion ſeſquioctave, & if it were divided by cutting the units peece-meale, the intelligence and doctrine thereof would be very intricate and hard to be conceived, therefore he called this operation in ſome ſort multiplication, like as in the harmonicall mutation, where if you extend and augment the firſt number, neceſſarily the diſcription of all the other notes muſt be ſtretched out and enlarged likewiſe. And therefore *Eudorus* following herein *Crantor*, taketh for the firſt number three hundred fowre-ſcore and fowre, which ariſeth by multiplying three-ſcore and fowre, by ſix: and theſe were induced ſo to doe by the number three-ſcore and fowre, having for the ſeſquioctave, eight, which is the proportion betweene three-ſcore and fowre and threeſcore and twelve. But it agreeth better with the text, and the wordes of *Plato*, to ſuppoſe a moity. For the default which they call λεῖμμα, will have the ſeſquioctave proportion in the numbers which *Plato* hath ſet downe, two hundred ſix and fiftie, and two hundred three and fortie, having put for the firſt one hundred foureſcore and twelve: and if the double of it be ſuppoſed for the firſt, the λεῖμμα ſhall be of the ſame proportion, but in number double, which five hundred and twelve hath to foure hundred eighty foure: for two hundred fiftie & ſix are in epitrite or ſeſquitertiall proportion to one hundred foureſcore and twelve; and five hundred and twelve to foure hundred foureſcore and foure. And verily, the reduction to this number was not without reaſon and proportion, but yeelded a probable reaſon to *Crantor*: for the number of threeſcore and foure is a cube, proceeding from the firſt quadrate, and a quadrate likewiſe, ariſing from the firſt cube, and being multiplied by three, the firſt odde number: the firſt triangular number, the firſt perfect number and ſeſquialter, make one hundred foureſcore and twelve, which number alſo (as we will ſhew) hath his ſeſquioctave. But firſt of all you ſhall underſtand better what is λεῖμμα, as alſo what is the meaning of *Plato*, if you call to minde a little, that which is uſually taught and delivered in the Pythagoreans ſchooles: for Diaſtema, that is to ſay, intervals or ſpace in matter of ſong, is whatſoever is betweene two ſounds different in Tenour or Tenſion. Of theſe intervals, one is called *Tonus*, to wit, that whereof the harmonie Diapente ſurmounteth Diateſſaron. Of this entier Tone, as Muſicians do holde, cut in twaine, by the moitie are made two intervals, and both of them, the one aſwell as the other, goe under the name *Hæmitonium*. But the Pythagoreans do not thinke that it can be equally divided: whereas therefore the two ſections be unequall, they call the leſſe λεῖμμα, that is to ſay, the default, becauſe it is ſomewhat leſſe than the one halfe. And therefore ſome maſters of Muſicke there be, who make the accord Diateſſeron, of two Tones and a Demi-tone or Hæmitonion: others againe of two Tones and a λεῖμμα. So as it ſeemeth that the teſtimonie of hearing accordeth with the harmonicall Muſicians; and of demonſtration with the Mathematicians: and their proofe of demonſtration goeth in this maner. This is put downe by them for certeine, and approoved by their inſtruments, that Diapaſon hath a double proportion, Diapente a ſeſquialterall, Diateſſaron a ſeſquitertiall, and a Tone a ſeſquioctave. And the trueth heereof, a man may trie preſently by an experiment, namely, by hanging two weights double, unto two ſtrings that be equall, or by making two concavities in pipes, the one twice as long as the other, otherwiſe equall: for the ſhawme or hautboies, which is the longer, will ſound more baſe and loud, as Hypate in regard of Nete: and of the two ſtrings, that which was ſtretched by the heavier weight will ſound higher & ſmaller as Nete in compariſon of Hypate: and this is the very conſonance Diapaſon. Semblably, three compared unto twaine, be it in length or in weight, will make Diapente; and foure to three, Diateſſaron: for the one hath the proportion epitrite, and the other hemiolion. And if the unequalitie of the foreſaid lengths or weights be in proportion hemioctave, that is to ſay, of ſeven to eight, it will make the intervall *Toniaon*, not altogether an harmonicall accord, howbeit (as one would ſay) ſomewhat muſicall and melodious; for that theſe ſounds, if one ſtrike, touch or ſound one after another, make a pleaſant noiſe and delectable to the eares; but if altogether, the noiſe will be troubleſome and offenſive: whereas contrariwiſe, in conſonances and accords, howſoever one touch them, either together, or one after another, the eare receiveth the conſent and accord with great delight. And yet this may moreover be ſhewed by reaſon, for the harmonie Diapaſon is compoſed of Diapente and of Diateſſaron, like as in number the double is compoſed of Hemiolion and Epitritos; for twelve is in proportion of Epitritos to nine, aud Hemiolion to eight, and double to ſix: ſo that the double proportion is compounded of the ſeſquialterall and the ſeſquitertion, like as Diapaſon of Diapente and Diateſſaron: but as there Diapente is greater than Diateſſaron by a Tone, ſo heere in numbers, Hemiolion is greater than Epitritos by a ſeſquioctave. This being thus prooved by demonſtration, let us ſee now, whether our ſeſquioctave may be divided into two equall ſections; for if it can not, no more then, can the Tone: and for that eight and nine make the firſt proportion ſeſquioctave, and have no intervall betweene; both the one and the other being doubled, the number falling out betweene, maketh two intervals; ſo that it appeareth, that if the two intervals be equall, the ſeſquioctave may bee equally divided in twaine. Now the double of nine is eighteene, and of eight, ſixteene, which admit betweene them, ſeventeene. So it falleth out that one of the intervals is greater, and the other leſſe; for the former is of eighteene to ſeventeene, and the other of ſeventeene to ſixteene. Then the ſeſquioctave proportion is divided into portions and ſections unequall, and ſo conſequently the tone alſo: and therefore this diviſion being made, none of the ſections is properly a Demytone, but one of them by good right hath beene tearmed by the mathematicians λεῖμμα: and this is it that *Plato* ſaid: God when he filled the epitrites with ſeſquioctaves, left a portion of ech: whereof there is the ſame reaſon and proportion, that two hundred fiftie ſix have unto two hundred forty three; for take a Diateſſaron in two numbers, which have betweene them a proportion Epitritos, as two hundred fifty and ſix, to one hundred nintie two; of which let, the leſſe number, one hundred nintie two be ſet upon the baſe note of a tetracord, and the greater, to wit, two hundred fiftie and ſix upon the higheſt note: It muſt be ſhewed, that if this be filled with two ſeſquioctaves, there remaineth an intervall as great as is betweene two hundred fiftie ſix and two hundred forty three. For if the baſer ſound be ſtretched one tone; which is the proportion ſeſquioctave it maketh two hundred and ſixteene: and againe if it be ſtretched another tone, it becommeth two hundred forty three, which ſurmounteth two hundred & ſixteene, by twenty & ſeven, and two hundred and ſixteene ſurmounteth one hundred foureſcore & twelve by foure and twenty, of which, the ſeven and twenty is the ſeſquioctave of two hundred and ſixteene, and foure and twentie, of one hundred foureſcore and twelve: and therefore of theſe three numbers, the greateſt ſeſquioctave is of the middeſt, and the middle of the leaſt; and the diſtance or intervall, from the leaſt to the greateſt, to wit, from one hundred foureſcore and twelve unto two hundred fortie and three, two tones filled with two ſeſquioctaves: which intervall being taken away, there remaineth the intervall of the whole, which is betweene two hundred fortie and three, and two hundred fiftie and ſixe, and that is thirteene: and that is the reaſon why they called that number λεῖμμα, that is to ſay, a default or reſidue.

For mine owne part, I thinke verily, that the ſenſe of *Plato* is moſt cleerely expounded and declared in theſe numbers. Others having put downe the ends and tearmes of Diateſſeron, for the treble two hundred eighty eight, and for the baſe, two hundred ſixteene; goe through with the reſt proportionably, ſave onely that they take the two defaults or remnants, betweene the two extremities: for the baſe being ſet up one tone or note, maketh two hundred fortie three: and the treble being let downe another note, becommeth two hundred fiftie ſix: for theſe be ſeſquioctaves, two hundred forty three, and two hundred ſixteene; likewiſe two hundred eighty eight, and two hundred fifty ſix; ſo that either of the intervals is Toniæon: and there remaineth that which is betweene two hundred forty three, and two hundred fifty ſix, which is not a Demytone, but leſſe: for two hundred eighty eight, is more than two hundred fifty ſix, by thirty two; and two hundred forty three, more than two hundred ſixteene, by twenty ſeven; and two hundred fifty ſixe more than two hundred forty three, by 13: and both theſe are leſſer than the advantages or ſurpluſſages by halfe: and therefore Diateſſaron is found to be of two tones and a λεῖμμα, and not of two and a halfe. And thus you ſee the demonſtration of this: and ſo it is no hard matter to underſtand by that which we have delivered: what is the reaſon why *Plato* having ſaid, that intervals ſeſquialterall, ſeſquitertian and ſeſquioctaves are made by filling the ſeſquitertians with ſeſquioctaves; made no mention of the ſeqſuialterons, but hath left them behind, namely, for that the ſeſquialter is filled, when one putteth a ſeſquioctave to a ſeſquitertiall, or rather a ſeſquitence to a ſeſquioctave.

Theſe things thus ſhewed in ſome ſort by way of demonſtration: now to fill the intervals, and to interject the Medieties if none before had ſhewed the meanes and maner how, I would leave you to do it for your exerciſe: but the ſame having beene done already by many worthy perſonages, and principally by *Crantor, Clearchus,* and *Theodorus,* all borne in the city *Soli:* It will not be impertinent to deliver ſomewhat as touching the difference betweene them; for *Theodorus* maketh not two files of nnmbers as the other doe, but rangeth them all in the ſame line directly one after another, to wit, the duple and the triple: and principally he groundeth and fortifieth himſelfe by this poſition (which they ſo call) of the ſubſtance drawen out in length, making two branches as it were from one trunke, and not foure of twaine: then he ſaith, that the interpoſitions of the Medieties ought ſo to take place; for otherwiſe there would be a trouble and confuſion: and anon paſſeth immediately from the firſt duple to the firſt triple, when they ſhould be that which ought to fulfill the one and the other. On the other ſide, there maketh for *Crantor,* the poſition and ſituation of plaine numbers with plaine, ſquares with

Heere is a great breach in the originall.

ſquares, and cubes with cubes, which are ſet one againſt another in oppoſite files, not according to their range, but alternatively, * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * *
which is of one ſort as Idea or forme: but that which is divided by bodies, is the ſubject and the matter; and the mixture of them both in common, is that which is complet and perfect.

As touching then the ſubſtance indiviſible, which is alwaies one and of the ſame ſort; wee are not thus to thinke, that it admitteth no diviſion for the ſmalneſſe thereof, like to thoſe little bodies called *Atomi*: but that of it which is ſimple, pure, and moſt ſubject to any paſſion or alteration whatſoever, alwaies like it ſelfe, and after one maner, is ſaid to be indiviſible, and to have no parts; by which ſimplicity, when it commeth to touch in ſome ſort, ſuch things as be compounded, diviſible, and caried to and fro, it cauſeth that diverſitie to ceaſe, reſtreineth that multitude, and by meanes of ſimilitude, reduceth them to one and the ſame habitude. And if a man be diſpoſed to call that which is diviſible by bodies, matter, as ſubject unto it, and participating the nature thereof, uſing a certeine homonymie or equivocation, it mattereth not much, neither ſkilleth it as touching the thing in queſtion: but thoſe who would have the corporall matter to be mixed with the indiviſible ſubſtance, be in a great errour: firſt, becauſe *Plato* hath not now uſed any names thereof, for that he hath evermore uſed to call it a receptacle to receive all, and a nurſe, not diviſible by bodies, but rather a body divided into individuall particulars. Againe, what difference would there be, betweene the generation of the world, and of the ſoule, if the conſtitution of the one and the other, did conſiſt of matter and things intelligible?

Certes, *Plato* himſelfe as one who would in no wiſe admit the ſoule to be engendred of the body, ſaith: That God put all that which was corporall within her; and then, that without forth the ſame was encloſed round about with it: In ſum, when he had framed and finiſhed the ſoule according to proportion, he inferreth and annexeth afterwards a treatiſe of matter, which before when he handled the creation of the ſoule, he never required nor called for, becauſe created it was without the helpe of matter.

The like to this may be ſaid by way of confutation againſt *Poſidonius* and his ſectaries; for very farre they went not from matter; but imagining that the ſubſtance of tearmes and extremities, was that which he called diviſible by bodies, and joining with the intelligible, they affirmed and pronounced, that the ſoule is the Idea of that which is diſtant every way, and in all the dimenſions, according to the number which conteineth harmony, which is very erronious: For the Mathematicks (quoth he) are ſituate betweene the firſt intelligible and ſenſible things: but the ſoule having of intelligible things an eternall eſſence, and of ſenſible objects, a paſſible nature: therfore meet it is that it ſhould have a middle ſubſtance between both. But he was not ware, that God after he had made and finiſhed the ſoule, uſed the bounds & termes of the body, for to give a forme to the matter, determining the ſubſtance thereof diſperſed, and not linked or conteined within any limits, by environing it with ſuperficies, compoſed of triangles, all joined together. And yet more abſurd than that it is, to make the ſoule an Idea, for that the ſoule is alwaies in motion; but the Idea is immooveable, neither can the Idea be mixed with that which is ſenſible, but the ſoule is alwaies linked faſt with the body: beſides, God did imitate Idea as one who followed his patterne; but he wrought the ſoule as his piece of worke: And that *Plato* held the ſoule not to be a number, but rather a thing ordeined by number, we have already ſhewed and declared before.

But againſt both theſe opinions and their patrons, this may be oppoſed in common: That neither in numbers nor in tearmes and limits of bodies, is there any apparence or ſhew of that puiſſance, whereby the ſoule judgeth of that which is ſenſible; for the intelligence and facultie that it hath, was drawen from the participation and ſocietie of the intelligible principle: But opinions, beliefs, aſſents, imaginations, alſo to be paſſive and ſenſitive of qualities inherent in bodies, there is no man will thinke that they can proceed from unities, pricks, lines, or ſuperficies: and yet not onely the ſoules of mortall men have the power to judge of all the exterior qualities perceptible by the ſenſes; but alſo the very ſoule of the world, as *Plato* ſaith, when it returneth circularly into her-ſelfe, and toucheth any thing that hath a ſubſtance diſſipable and apt to be diſperſed; as alſo when it meeteth with ought that is indiviſible, by mooving herſelfe totally, ſhe telleth in what reſpect any thing is the ſame, and in what regard divers and different; whereto principally ech thing is meet, either to doe or to ſuffer, where, when, and how it is affected, alwel in ſuch as are engendred, as in thoſe that are alwais the ſame. Moreover, making a certeine deſcription with all of the ten predicaments , hee declareth the ſame more cleerely afterwards: True reaſon (quoth he) when it meeteth with that which is ſenſible, and if therewith the circle of the other goeth directly to report the ſame, throughout the whole ſoule thereof, then there be engendred opinions and beliefes that be firme and true: but when it is converſant about that which is intelligible and diſcourſing by reaſon , and the circle likewiſe of the ſame, turning roundly with facility, doth ſhew the ſame, then of neceſſity there is bred perfect and accompliſht ſcience; and in whatſoever theſe two things be infuſed , if a man call it otherwiſe than ſoule, he ſaith any thing rather than the truth : whence commeth it then that the ſoule had this motion opinative, which comprehendeth that which is ſenſible, divers and different from the other intellective that endeth in ſcience? Hard it were to ſet this downe, unleſſe a man firmly preſuppoſe that in this place, and at this preſent, he compoſeth not the ſoule ſimply, but the ſoule of the world , with the parts above mentioned , of a better ſubſtance, which is indiviſible; and of a woorſe that he calleth diviſible by bodies; which is nothing elſe, but an imaginative & opinionative motion, affected & accordant to that which is ſenſible, not engendred, but as the other of an eternall ſubſiſtance: for nature having the intellectuall vertue, had alſo the facultie opinionative : but the intellective power is unmoveable, impaſſible, founded & ſet upon that ſubſtance , which abideth alwaies in one ſort : whereas the other is diviſible and wandering, in as much as it toucheth a matter that is alwaies floting, carried to and fro and diſſipable. For the matter ſenſible had before time no order at all , but was without all forme, bound or limitation whatſoever , and the faculty therein had neither expreſſe opinions articulate and diſtinct, nor her motions all certaine and compoſed in order : but for the moſt part reſembling turbulent and vaine dreames, troubling that which was corporall, unleſſe haply they fell upon any thing that was better. For betweene two it was, having a nature conformable, and accordant to the one ond the other : chalenging matter by that which is ſenſitive, and by the judiciall part thoſe things which are intelligible. And this declareth he himſelfe in theſe proper termes: By my reckoning (quoth he) let this be the ſumme of the whole account that theſe three things had their being three waies before the heaven was, to wit, eſſence, ſpace, and generation. As for ſpace or place, he calleth matter by that name, as it were the ſeat, and otherwhiles a receptacle: the eſſence , that which is intelligible; and the generation of the world as yet not made , can be no other thing but a ſubſtance ſubject to motions and alterations , ſituate betweene that which imprinteth a forme and which is imprinted, diſpenſing and diſtributing the images from thence hither : which is the reaſon it was called diviſible, for that of neceſſitie both the ſenſitive muſt be divided and goe with the ſenſible , and alſo the imaginative with the imaginable. For the ſenſitive motion being proper unto the ſoule mooveth toward the ſenſible without: but the intelligence & underſtanding was of it ſelfe, ſtable, firme and immovable: howbeit being infuſed once into the ſoule and become maſter and lord thereof, it rolleth and turneth upon it ſelfe, and accompliſheth a round & circular motion, about that which is alwaies permanent , and touching that principally which is, and hath being. And therefore hard was the mixtion and aſſociation which mingled the diviſible with the indiviſible , that which is every way moovable , with that which never mooveth , and forcing in one word *the other* to meet and joine with *the ſame.* So *the other* was not motion, no more than *the ſame* was ſtation; but the beginning both of Diverſity and alſo of Identity or The ſameneſſe : for the one and the other deſcend from divers principles, to wit, *the ſame* from unity, and *the other*, from binary, and were at the firſt mingled confuſedly here in the ſoule; as tied by numbers, proportions and medieties harmonicall : and *the other* being imprinted into *the ſame*, maketh difference : but *the ſame* infuſed into *the other*, cauſeth order; as it appeareth manifeſtly in the firſt powers of the ſoule, to wit, the faculties of moving and of judging. As for motion, it ſheweth incontinently about the heaven, diverſity in identity by the revolution of the planets, and identity in diverſity by the ſetled order & ſituation of the fixed ſtarres : for in theſe, *the ſame* beareth ſway and is more predominant; but contrariwiſe, *the other*, in thoſe that be neerer to the earth. But judgement hath two principles, to wit, underſtanding, from *the ſame*, for judging of things univerſall; and ſenſe, from *the other*, to judge of particulars. Now reaſon is mingled of them both, being intelligence in things generall and intelligible; but opinion onely in matters ſenſible , uſing for inſtruments, both the fanſies and imaginations betweene , and alſo the memories; whereof the former make *the other* in *the ſame*; but the latter , *the ſame* in *the other*. For intelligence is the motion of the intelligent about that which is ſtable and permanent; but opinion is the manſion of the ſentient about that which mooveth. As for imagination or fanſie, being a connexion of opinion to the ſenſe , *the* *ſame*, placeth it in memorie; and contrariwiſe, *the other* ſtirreth it in the difference and diſtinction of that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, touching both identity and diverſitie together.

Now the better to underſtand the proportion wherewith he made the ſoule, we muſt take a patterne and example, from the conſtitution of the bodie of the world: for whereas the two extremes, to wit, pure fire and earth, were by nature hard to be tempered one with another; or, to ſay more truely, impoſſible to be mixed and incorporate together: he placed in the middes betweene, aire before fire, and water before earth: and ſo contempered firſt theſe two meane elements, and afterwards by their helpe, the other extremes alſo, which he fitted and framed together, both with the ſaid meanes, and alſo with themſelves one with another. And heere againe, *the ſame and the other*, being contrary puiſſances and extremities, fighting one againſt the other as meere enemies, he brought together, not immediatly by themſelves, but by putting betweene other ſubſtances, to wit, the indiviſible, before *the ſame*, and the diviſible before *the other*, according as in ſome ſort the one had affinitie and congruency with the other: afterwards when theſe were mixed together, he contempered likewiſe the extreames, and ſo warped and wove, as one would ſay, the whole forme of the ſoule, making as farre as it was poſſible, of things unlike, ſemblable, and of many one. But ſome there bee who give out, that it was not well ſaid of *Plato*: That the nature of *the other*, was hard to bee mixed and tempered; conſidering (ſay they) that it is not altogether inſuſceptible of mutation, but a friend to it, and rather the nature of *the ſame*, being firme and hard to be turned and remooved, admitteth not eaſily any mixture, but flieth and rejecteth it, to the end that it may remaine ſimple, pure, and without alteration: but they who reproove this, are ignorant that *the ſame*, is the Idea of ſuch things as be alwaies of one ſort; and *the other*, the Idea of thoſe that change. Alſo that the effect of this, is evermore to divide, ſeparate, and alter that which it toucheth; and in a word, to make many of one: but the effect of that is, to conjoine and unite by ſimilitude, many things thereby into one forme and puiſſance. Thus you ſee what be the powers and faculties of the ſoule of this univerſality, which entring into the fraile, mortall, and paſſible inſtruments of bodies, how ever they be in themſelves incorruptible, impatible and the ſame; yet in them now appeereth more the forme of an indeterminate duality: but that forme of the ſimple unitie, ſheweth it ſelfe more obſcurely, as deepely ſetled within: howbeit for all that, hardly ſhall one ſee and perceive in a man, either paſſion altogether void of reaſon, or motion without underſtanding, wherein there is no luſt, no ambition, no joy or griefe: and therefore ſome philoſophers there be, who would have the perturbations of the mind to be reaſons; as if forſooth, all diſire, ſorow, and anger, were judgements. Others alſo doe hold, that all vertues be paſſions: for in valour (ſay they) there is foure, intemperance, pleaſure, injuſtice, lucre. Howbeit, the ſoule being both contemplative, and alſo active at once, as it doth contemplate univerſal thing; ſo it practiſeth particulars, ſeeming to conceive the one by intelligence, and to perceive the other by ſenſe: common reaſon meeting alwaies *the ſame, in the other*, and likewiſe, *the other, in the ſame*, endevoureth verily to ſever by divers bonds and partitions, one from many; and the indiviſible from the diviſible, but it can not bring it ſo about, as to be purely in the one or the other, for that the principles be ſo enterlaced one within another, and hudled pell-mell together.

In which regard, God hath appointed a certeine receptacle for *the ſame*, and *the other*, of a diviſible, and indiviſible ſubſtance, to the end, that in diverſity there ſhould be order; for this was as much as to be engendred. Seeing that without this, *the ſame* ſhould have had no diverſitie, and conſequently no motion nor generation; neither ſhould *the other* have had order, and ſo by conſequence alſo, neither conſiſtence nor generation: for if it ſhould happen to *the ſame*, to be divers from *the other*, and againe, to *the other*, to be all one with *the ſame*; ſuch a communion and participation, would bring foorth of it ſelfe nothing generative, but require ſome third matter to receive them, and to be digeſted and diſpoſed by them. And this is that which God ordeined and compoſed firſt, in defining and limiting the infinity of nature, mooving about bodies, by the firme ſteadineſſe of things intellectuall. And like as there is one kinde of brutiſh voice, not articulate nor diſtinct, and therefore not ſignificant; whereas ſpeech conſiſteth in voice, that giveth to underſtand what is in the minde: and as harmony doeth conſiſt of many ſounds and intervals; the ſound being ſimple and the ſame, but the intervall a difference and diverſitie of ſounds, which when they be mixed and tempered together, make ſong and melody: Even ſo the paſſible part of the ſoule, was infinit, unſtable, and diſordinate; but afterwards became determinate, when tearmes and limits were ſet to it, and a certeine forme expelled to that diviſible and variable diverſity of motion. Thus having conceived and compriſed *the ſame*, and *the other*, by the ſimilitudes and diſſimilitudes of numbers, making accord of difference: thereof the life of the univerſall world became wiſe and prudent, the harmony conſonant, and reaſon drawing with her neceſſitie, tempered with grace and perſwaſion, which the common ſort call fatall deſtiny; *Empedocles* named concord and diſcord together: *Heraclitus* the oppoſite tenſion and harmony of the world, as of a bow or harpe, wherein both ends bend one againſt an other: *Parmenides*, light and darkneſſe: *Anaxagoras*, underſtanding and infinitie: *Zoroaſtes*, God, and the devill; tearming the one *Oromaſdes*, and the other *Arimanius*: But *Euripides* did not well to uſe the disjunctive for the copulative, in this verſe,

> Jupiter, *natures neceſſity,*
> *Or humane minde, whether he be?*

For in truth, that puiſſance which pierceth and reacheth through all things, is both neceſſitie, and alſo a minde. And this is it which the Aegyptians would covertly give us to underſtand, under the vaile of their myſticall fables, that when *Horus* was condemned and diſmembred, his ſpirit and bloud was given and awarded to his father, but his fleſh and greaſe to his mother: But of the ſoule there is nothing that remaineth pure and ſincere, nothing unmixt and apart from others; for as *Heraclitus* was woont to ſay: Hidden harmony, is better than the apparant: for that therein, God who tempered it, hath beſtowed ſecretly and concealed, differences and diverſities: and yet there appeereth in the unreaſonable part, turbulent perturbations, in the reaſonable ſetled order: in ſenſes neceſſitie and conſtreint; in the underſtanding full power and entier libertie: but the terminant and defining power, loveth the univerſall and indiviſible, by reaſon of their conjunctions and conſanguinity. Contrariwiſe, the dividing puiſſance, enclineth and cleaveth to particulars by the diviſible. The totall univerſalitie joieth in a ſetled order, by the meanes of the ſame, and againe, ſo farre foorth as need is, in a mutation by the meanes of *the other*: but the difference of inclinations to honeſty or diſhoneſty, to pleaſure, or diſpleaſure; the raviſhments and tranſportations of the ſpirit in amorous perſons, the combats in them, of honour againſt voluptuous wantonneſſe; doe evidently ſhew, and nothing ſo much, the commixion of the nature divine and impaſſible with the mortall and paſſible part in bodily things; of which himſelfe calleth the one the concupiſcence of pleaſure ingenerate and inbred in us, the other an opinion induced from without, deſirous of the ſoveraigne good: for the ſoule of it ſelfe produceth and yeeldeth paſſibility; but the participation of underſtanding commeth to it without foorth, infuſed by the beſt principle and cauſe, which is God: ſo the very nature of heaven is not exempt from this double ſocietie and communion; but that a man may ſee how otherwhiles it doth encline and bend another way, by the revolution of the the ſame which is more predominant, and ſo doth governe the world: and a portion of time will come, like as it hath beene often heeretofore, when as the wiſedome thereof ſhall be dulled and dazeled, yea and laid aſleepe, being filled with the oblivion of that which is meet and decent for it: and that which from the beginnings is familiar and conformable to the body, ſhall draw, weigh downe, and turne backe the way and courſe of the whole univerſality on the right hand: but breake and undoe the forme thereof quite it ſhall not be able, but reduce it againe to the better, and have a regard unto the firſt pattern of God, who helpeth the endevours thereof, and is ready to reforme and direct the ſame.

Thus it is ſhewed unto us in many places, that the ſoule is not altogether the worke of God; but having a portion of evill inbred in her, ſhe hath bene brought into order and good diſpoſe by him who hath limited infinity by unity; to the end that it ſhould becom a ſubſtance bounded within the owne tearmes: and hath ſet by the meanes of *the ſame* and *the other*, order, change, difference, and ſimilitude: and hath contracted and wrought a ſociety, alliance and amity of all things one with another, as farre as poſſible it was, by the meanes of numbers and proportions. Of which point, albeit you have heard much ſpeech, and read many books and writings; yet I ſhall not doe amiſſe, but greatly to the purpoſe, if briefely I diſcourſe thereof. Firſt ſetting
„ downe the words of *Plato*. God (quoth he) deducted firſt from the univerſall world, one part:
„ and then double ſo much: afterwards a third portion, to wit, the one, and halfe of the ſecond, and
„ the triple of the firſt: Soone after a fourth, to wit, the double of the ſecond: & anon a fift, namely
„ the triple of the third: After that a ſixt, to wit, the octuple of the firſt, and a ſeventh, which was
„ the firſt ſeven twenty fold. This done he filled the double and triple intervals; cutting from
„ them alſo certaine parcels from thence, which he interjected berweene theſe: in ſuch ſort as in
„ every intervall there were two medieties: the one ſurmounting, and ſurmounted by the ſame

portion of the extremites : the other, ſurmounting by equall number, one of the extremities “
and ſurmounted of another by the like. But ſeeing the intervals carry the proportions ſeſquial- “
terall, ſeſquitercian and ſeſquioctave : of theſe ligaments in the firſt precedent diſtances, he fil- “
led up all the ſeſquiterces with the intervall of the ſeſquioctave, leaving of each of them one “
part : And this diſtance of the part or number being left of number to number, it had for the “
tearmes and bonds thereof in proportion to that which is betweene, two hundred fiftie ſix, and “
two hundred forty three. Here firſt and formoſt a queſtionis mooved as touching the quantity “
of theſe numbers : and ſecondly, concerning the order : and thirdly, of their power. For the quantity and ſum : what they be which he taketh in the duple intervals? For the order, to wit, whether they ought to be ſet and diſpoſed all in one range, as *Theodorus* did? or rather as *Crantor*, in the figure of the letter *lamda*. Λ. ſetting upon the point or top thereof unity or the firſt, & then in one file apart, the duples, and the triples in another, for the uſe and power, namely what they conferre to the conſtitution and compoſition of the ſoule. As concerning the firſt, we will reject thoſe who ſay, that it ſufficeth in theſe proportions to cõſider of what nature be the intervals, and of what the midieties which fill them up, in what numbers ſoever a man may ſuppoſe that they have places capable betweene of the proportions aforeſaid : for that the doctrine goeth after the ſame maner. And albeit that which they ſay, were true, yet the proofe and demonſtration thereof is but ſlender without examples, and hindreth another ſpeculation, wherein there is contained a pleaſant kinde of learning and philoſophy. If then, beginning at unity, we put apart by them ſelves the numbers duple and the triple as he himſelfe teacheth us, there will be of the one ſide two, foure, and eight, on the other, three, nine, and twenty ſeven; which are in all ſeven, taking the unity as common, and proceeding forward in multiplication unto fowre. For it is not in this place onely, but alſo in many others, where the conſent and agreement is very evident, that is betweene the quarternary and the ſeptenary. And as for that quaternity of the Pythagoreans ſo much voiced and ſo highly by them celebrated, it is of thirty ſix, which hath this admirable matter in it above all others, that it is compounded of the fowre firſt even numbers, & of the fowre firſt od numbers : and it ariſeth by the fourth couple or conjugation of number, ranged in order one after the other. * * * * * * * * * * * *

* *

For the firſt is of one and two : the ſecond of one and three which be od. For ſetting one in the firſt place, as indifferent and common to both; then taketh he eight, and twenty ſeven, ſhewing and as it were pointing with the finger, what place he giveth to the one and the other kinde.

But to treat hereof after a more exact and exquiſit maner, appertaineth unto others : But that which remaineth is proper to the ſubject matter in hand. For it was not upon any oſtentation of skill and ſufficiencie in the Mathematicall arts that *Plato* hath inſerted within a treatiſe of naturall philoſophy, this Arethmeticall and harmonicall medieties, but as a diſcourſe verie meet and fit to ſerve for the compoſition and conſtitution of the ſoule; howſoever there bee ſome who ſeeke for theſe proportions in the ſwiftneſſe more or leſſe of the wandring ſphæres; others rather in their diſtances; ſome in the magnitudes of the ſtarres; and others again, after a more curious maner, in the Diamiters of the Epicycles, as if that creatour had in regard thereof, and for this cauſe applied and fitted the ſoule diſtributed into ſeven parts, unto the celeſtiall bodies. Many there be moreover who bring hither and accomodate to this matter the Pythagoreans inventions, tripling the diſtances of bodies from the midſt: which they doe after this maner, ſetting upon fire unity; and upon the earth oppoſit unto ours, three; upon the earth nine; upon the Moone twenty ſeven; upon *Mercurie* fowre-ſcore and one; upon *Venus* two hundred forty three; and upon the Sun himſelfe *729.* for that it is both quadrat and cube : which is the reaſon that they call the ſun alſo one while quadrat and another while cube: and after the ſame ſort they reduce the other ſtarres by way of triplation. But theſe philoſophers doe miſcount greatly, and ſtray farre from reaſon and proportion indeed, if ſo be that Geometricall demonſtrations do availe ought: yet in compariſon of them, well fare they who goe to worke another way; and albeit they prove not their poſitions exactly, yet (I ſay) they come neerer to the marke, who give out, that the Diameter of the ſunne, compared to the Diameter of the earth, is in the ſame proportion that twelve is to one: that the Diameter or Dimetient line of the earth is triple to that of the moone : and the leaſt fixed ſtarre that is to be ſeene, hath no leſſe a Diameter, than the third part of the Diameter of the earth : alſo that the totall globe of the earth, compared with the ſphære of the moone, carieth the proportion of twentie ſeven to one: The Diameters of *Venus* and the earth,are in double proportion,but their globes or ſphæres beare octuple proportion, to wit, eight for one. Semblably, the intervall of the ecleptory, and the ſhadow which cauſeth the eclipſe, is triple to the Diameter of the moone. Alſo the latitude of the moones declination from the Zodiaque on either ſide, is one twelfth part: likewiſe that the habitudes and aſpects of her to the ſunne, in diſtances triqueter, or quadrangular, take the formes and figurations either of the halfe moone, at the firſt quarter,or elſe when ſhe ſwelleth and beareth out on both ſides: but after ſhe hath paſſed ſixe ſignes of the Zodiaque, ſhe maketh a full compaſſe, and reſembleth a certeine harmonicall ſymphonie of Diapaſon in Hexatonos. And foraſmuch as the ſunne about the ſolſtices or tropicks, as well of ſummer as winter mooveth leaſt, & moſt ſlowly; but contrariwiſe, about the two equinoxes in Spring and Autumne, moſt ſwiftly, and exceeding much: the proportion of that which he taketh from the day, and putteth to the night, or contrariwiſe, is after this maner in the firſt thirty daies; for in that ſpace after the ſolſtice in winter, hee addeth to the day the ſixt part of that exuperance, whereby the longeſt night ſurmounteth the ſhorteſt day: and in another thirtie daies following after that,a third part, and ſo forward in the reſt of the daies one halfe, until you come to the æquinox, in ſextuple and triple intervals, to make even the inequality of the times. But the Chaldeans ſay,that Spring in regard of Autumne carieth proportion Diateſſaron, in reſpect of winter Diapente, and in compariſon of ſummer Diapaſon: But if *Euripides* hath well limited the foure quarters of the yeere when he ſaid:

For ſummer hot, foure moneths ordeined be,
For winter colde likewiſe are other foure:
Shorter is rich Autumne by one mottie,
And pleaſant Spring whiles it remaines in floure.

then the ſeaſons doe change after the proportion Diapaſon. Some attribute to the earth, the place of the muſicall note Proſlambanomenos: unto the moone Hypate: unto *Mercurie* and *Lucifer* Diatonos and Lichanos: the ſunne they ſet upon Meſe(they ſay)containing Diapaſon in the middes, diſtant from the earth one fifth or Diapente, and from the ſphære of the fixed ſtarres a fourth, or Diateſſeron. But neither the prety conceited imagination of theſe toucheth the trueth any way, nor the reckoning and account of thoſe other, commeth preciſely to the point. Well, thoſe who affirme that theſe devices agree not to the minde of *Plato*, are yet of opinion, that thoſe other agree very well to the propoſitions deſcribed in the Tablature of muſicians, which conſiſteth of five tetrachords, to wit, the firſt Hypaton, as one would ſay,of baſe notes; the ſecond,Meſon,that is to ſay,of meanes; the third, Synemmenon that is to ſay, of conjuncts; the fourth,Diezeugmernon, that is to ſay,of disjuncts;& the fift,Hyperbolæon, to wit, of the high and excellent notes: ſemblably, ſay they: The planets be ſet in five diſtances, whereof the one is from the moone unto the ſunne, and thoſe which have the ſame revolution with him, as *Mercurie* and *Venus*; a ſecond, from theſe three unto the firie planet *Mars*; the third, from thence to *Jupiter*; the fouth, from him to *Saturne*; and the fift reacheth unto the ſtarry skie: ſo that the ſounds and notes which determine the five tetrachords, anſwere to the proportion of the planets or wandring ſtarres. Moreover, we know very well, that the ancient muſicians,did ſet downe no more notes but two Hypates,three Netes,one Meſe, and one Parame: ſo as their muſicall notes were equall in number to the planets: but our moderne maſters of muſicke, have added that which is called Proſlambanomenos, namely, lower by one note than Hypate, and enclining to the baſe: and ſo the whole compoſition they made Diſdiapaſon; not keeping and obſerving the order of the conſonances according to nature, for Diapente is before Diateſſeron,by adding one note or tone to Hypate toward the baſe; whereas it is certeine that *Plato* tooke one note to it toward the treble; for hee ſaith in his books of Common-wealth: That every one of the eight ſphæres hath a ſirene ſitting upon it, cauſing the ſame to turne about, and that ech one of them hath a ſeverall and proper voice of their owne: but of altogether there is contempered a certeine harmonie: theſe ſirenes being diſpoſed to ſolace themſelves, ſing for their pleaſure divine and heavenly tunes, dauncing withall a ſacred daunce, under the melodious conſent of eight ſtrings: as alſo there were eight principall tearmes at firſt of proportions double and triple; counting for one of theſe tearmes or limits unitie to either part: but the more auncient ſort have given unto us nine muſes, to wit, eight as *Plato* himſelfe ſaith,about the celeſtiall bodies, and the ninth about the terreſtriall, called foorth from the reſt to dulce and ſet them in repoſe, in ſtead of errour, trouble, and inequality. Conſider now I pray you,whether the ſoule being become moſt juſt and moſt wiſe, doth not manage the heaven and celeſtiall things by the accords and motions therein? And thus endued ſhe is by proportions harmonicall; the images whereof are imprinted upon the bodies and viſible parts of the world which are ſeene: but the firſt and principall power is viſibly inſerted in the ſoule which ſheweth herſelfe accordant & obeiſant to the better & more divine part, all the reſt conſenting likewiſe thereto. For the ſoveraigne creatour, finding a diſorder and confuſion in the motions of this diſordinate and fooliſh ſoule, being evermore at diſcord with her ſelfe, divided and ſeparated ſome; reconciled and reunited others; uſing thereto numbers and proportions; by meanes whereof, the moſt deafe bodies, as blocks and ſtones, wood, barks of trees, and the very rennets and mawes of beaſts, their guts, their galles and ſinewes, being framed, contempered, and mixed together in proportion, exhibite into us the figures of ſtatues woonderfull to ſee to, and drogues and medicines moſt effectuall, yea and ſounds of muſicall inſtruments right admirable. And therefore *Zeno* the Citiean, called foorth yong men to ſee and beholde minſtrels playing upon flutes and hautboies: That they might heare (quoth he) and learne, what ſweet ſounds and melodious noiſes, hornes, pieces of wood, canes and reeds do yeeld, yea and whatſoever matters els muſicall inſtruments be made of, when they meet with proportions and accords. As for that which the Pythagoreans were woont to ſay and affirme, namely, that all things reſembled number, it would aske a long diſcourſe for to declare it. But that all the gods who were before at diſcord and debate, by reaſon of their diſſimilitude, and whatſoever els jarred, grew to accord and conſonance one with another, whereof the cauſe was the contemperature, moderation and order of number and harmonie, the very Poets were not ignorant of, who uſe to call ſuch things as be friendly, amiable and pleaſing, ἄρθμια: but adverſaries and enemies they terme ἀναρσίους, as if diſcord and enmitie were nothing els but diſproportion: and verily that Poet whoever he was, that made a funerall dittie for *Pindarus*, when he ſaid thus of him,

ἄρμενος ἦν ξείνοισιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε, καὶ φίλος ἀστοῖς.

To ſtrangers kinde he was and affable,
To citizens friendly and pliable.

ſhewed very well, that he held it for a ſingular vertue to be ſociable, and to know how to ſort and agree with others: like as the ſame *Pindarus* himſelfe,

When God did call, he gave attendance,
And never bragd of all his valiance,

meaning and ſignifying *Cadmus*. The olde Theologians and Divines, who of all Philoſophers are moſt ancient, have put into the hands of of the images of the gods, muſicall inſtruments, minding nothing leſſe thereby, than to make this god or that a minſtrell, either to play on lute or to ſound the flute, but becauſe they thought there was no greater piece of worke than accord and harmonicall ſymphonie could beſeeme the gods. Like as therefore, hee that would ſeeke for ſeſquitertian, ſeſquialterall or double proportions of Muſicke, in the necke or bridge, in the belly or backe of a lute, or in the pegs and pinnes thereof, were a ridiculous foole (for howſoever theſe parts ought to have a ſymmetrie and proportion one to another in regard of length and thickneſſe; yet the harmonie whereof we ſpeake, is to be conſidered in the ſounds onely.) Even ſo, probable it is, and ſtandeth with great reaſon, that the bodies of the ſtarres, the diſtances and intervals of ſphæres, the celeritie alſo of their courſes and revolutions, ſhould be proportionate one unto the other, yea and unto the whole world, as inſtruments of muſicke well ſet and tuned, albeit the juſt quantitie of the meaſure be unknowen unto. But this we are to thinke, that the principall effect and efficacie of theſe numbers and proportions, which that great and ſovereigne Creatour uſed, is the conſonance, accord, and agreement of the ſoule in it ſelfe; with which ſhe being endowed, ſhe hath repleniſhed both the heaven it ſelfe, when ſhe was ſetled thereupon, with an infinite number of good things; and alſo diſpoſed and ordeined all things upon the earth, by ſeaſons, by changes and mutations, tempered and meaſured moſt excellently well and with ſurpaſſing wiſdome, aſwell for the production and generation of all things, as for the preſervation and ſafety of them, when they were created and made.

AN EPITOME OR BREVIARIE of a Treatiſe as touching the creation of the Soule, according to *Plato* in *Timæus*.

This Treatiſe, entituled, *Of the creation of the ſoule*, as it is deſcribed in the booke of of *Plato* named *Timæus*, declareth all that *Plato*, and the Platoniques have written of that argument; and inferreth certeine proportions and ſimilitudes Geometricall, which he ſuppoſeth pertinent to the ſpeculation and intelligence of the nature of the ſoule: as alſo certeine Muſical and Arithmeticall Theoremes. His meaning and ſaying is, that the firſt matter was brought into forme and ſhape by the ſoule. Hee attributeth to the univerſall world a ſoule; and likewiſe to every living creature a ſoule of the owne by it ſelfe, which ruleth and governeth it. He bringeth in the ſaid ſoule in ſome ſort not engendred, and yet after a ſort ſubject to generation. But hee affirmeth that eternall matter to have bene formed by God; that evill and vice is an impe ſpringing from the ſaid matter, To the end (quoth he) that it might never come into mans thought, That God was the authour or cauſe of evill.

All the reſt of this Breviarie, is word for word in the Treatiſe it ſelfe,
therefore may be well ſpared in this place, and
not rehearſed a ſecond time.

OF FATALL NECESSITY.

This little Treatiſe is ſo pitiouſly torne, maimed, and diſmembred thorowout, that a man may ſooner divine and gueſſe thereat (as I have done) than tranſlate it. I beſeech the readers therefore, to holde me excuſed, in caſe I neither pleaſe my ſelfe, nor content them, in that which I have written.

Endevour I will, and addreſſe my ſelfe to write unto you (moſt deere and loving friend *Piſo*, as plainly and compendiouſly as poſſible I can) mine opinion as touching Fatall deſtinie, for to ſatisfie your requeſt: albeit you know full well how wary and preciſe I am in my writing. Firſt and formoſt therefore, thus much you muſt underſtand, That this terme of Fatall deſtinie is ſpoken and underſtood two maner of waies: the one, as it is an action, and the other, as it is a ſubſtance. In the firſt place, *Plato* hath figuratively drawen it forth, & under a type deſcribed it as an action, both in his diologue entituled *Phædrus*, in theſe words: It is an Adraſtian law or inevitable ordinance, which alwaies followeth and accompanieth God. And alſo in his treatiſe called *Timæus*, after this maner: The lawes which God hath pronounced and publiſhed to the immortall ſoules, in the procreation of the univerſall world. Likewiſe, in his books of Commonwealth, he ſaith, That Fatall neceſſitie is the reaſon and ſpeech of *Lacheſis* the daughter of Neceſſitie. By which places he giveth us to underſtand, not tragically, but after a theologicall maner, what his minde and opinion is. Now if a man (taking the ſaid places already cited & quoted) would expound the ſame more familiarly in other words, he may declare the former deſcriptiō in *Phædrus* after this ſort,namely,that Fatall deſtinie is a divine reaſon or ſentence intranſgreſſible and inevitable , proceeding from a cauſe that cannot be diverted nor impeached. And according to that which he delivereth in *Timæus*,it is a law conſequently enſuing upon the nature and creation of the world , by the rule whereof all things paſſe and are diſpenced, that be done. For this is it that *Lacheſis* worketh & effecteth, who is in trueth the daughter of Neceſſity, as we have both alreadie ſaid,& alſo ſhall better underſtand by that which we are to deliver hereafter in this and other treatiſes at our leaſure. Thus you ſee what Deſtinie is, as it goeth for an action; but being taken for a ſubſtance , it ſeemeth to be the univerſall ſoule of the whole world,and admitteth a tripartite diviſion. The firſt Deſtiny is that which erreth not; the ſecond ſeemeth to erre; and the third is under heaven & converſant about the earth: of which three, the higheſt is called *Clotho*; that next under it is named *Atropos*; and the loweſt, *Lacheſis*: and ſhe receiveth the influences of her two celeſtiall ſiſters, tranſmitting and faſtening the ſame upon terreſtriall things,which are under her governmēt. Thus have we ſhewed ſummarily,what is to be thought & ſaid as touching Deſtiny, being taken as a ſubſtance; namely,What it is; what parts it hath; after what ſort it is; how it is ordeined; and in what maner it ſtandeth,both in reſpect of it ſelfe, and alſo in regard of us: but as concerning the particularities of all theſe points , there is another fable in the Politiques of *Plato*, which covertly in ſome ſort giveth us intelligence thereof; and the ſame have we aſſaied to explane & unfolde unto you, as wel as poſſibly we can. But to returne unto our Deſtiny as it is an action, let us diſcourſe thereof, foraſmuch as many queſtions,naturall, morall and rationall depend thereupon. Now for that we have in ſome ſort ſufficiently defined already, what it is, we are to conſider conſequently in order, the qualitie and maner thereof; howſoever there be many that thinke it very ſtrange and abſurd to ſearch thereinto. I ſay therefore, that Deſtiny is not infinite, but finite and determinate, however it comprehend as it were within a circle the infinitie of all things that are , and have beene time out of minde, yea and ſhall be worlds without end : for, neither law, nor reaſon, nor any divine thing whatſoever,can be infinite. And this ſhall you the better learne and underſtand, if you conſider the totall revolution and the univerſall time, when as the eight ſphæres,as *Timæus* ſaith, having performed their ſwift courſes, ſhall returne to the ſame head and point againe, being meaſured by the circle of *The ſame*,which goeth alwaies after one maner: for in this definite and determinate reaſon, all things aſwell in heaven as in earth,the which doe conſiſt by the neceſſitie of that above, be reduced to the ſame ſituation, and brought againe to their firſt head and beginning. The onely habitude therefore of heaven, which ſtandeth ordeined in all points, aſwell in regard of it ſelfe, as of the earth, and all terreſtriall matters, after certeine long revolutions, ſhall one day returne, yea and that which conſequently followeth after, and thoſe which are linked in a continuity together, bring ech one by conſequence that which it hath by neceſſity. For to make this matter more plaine, let us ſuppoſe that all thoſe things which are in and about us, be wrought and brought to paſſe by the courſe of the heavens and celeſtiall influences , all being the very efficient cauſe both of that which I write now, and alſo of that which you are doing at this preſent, yea and in that ſort as you do the ſame: ſo that hereafter,when the ſame cauſe ſhall turne about and come againe, we ſhall do the very ſame that now we do, yea and after the ſame maner; yea we ſhall become againe the very ſame men. And even ſo it ſhall be with all other men: and looke whatſoever ſhall follow in a courſe or traine , ſhall likewiſe happen by a conſequent and dependant cauſe: and in one word,whatſoever ſhall befall in any of the univerſall revolutions, ſhall become the ſame againe. Thus apparent it is, as hath already beene ſaid, That Deſtiny being in ſome ſort infinite, is neverthele ſſe determinate and not infinite; as alſo, that according as we have ſhewed before , it is evident that it is in maner of a circle : for like as the motion of a circle in a circle , and the time that meaſureth it is alſo a circle ; even ſo the reaſon of thoſe things which are done and happen in a circle, by good right may be eſteemed and ſaid to be a circle.

This therefore,if nought els there were, ſheweth unto us, in a maner ſufficiently,what is deſtiny in generality, but not in particular, nor in ech ſeverall reſpect: What then is it? It is the generall, in the ſame kinde of reaſon, ſo as a man may compare it with civill law: For firſt and formoſt, it commaundeth the moſt part of things,if not all, at leaſtwiſe by way of ſuppoſition, and then it compriſeth as much as is poſſible all matters apperteining to a city or publike ſtate, generally: and that we may better underſtand both the one and the other, let us exemplifie and conſider the ſame in ſpecialty: The civill or politique law ſpeaketh and ordeineth generally of a valiant man, as alſo of a run-away coward, and ſo conſequently of others: howbeit,this is not to make a law of this or that particular perſon; but to provide in generall principally, and then of particulars by conſequence, as compriſed under the ſaid generall; for we may very well ſay, that to remunerate and recompenſe this or that man for his valour is lawfull; as alſo to puniſh a particular perſon for his cowardiſe, and forſaking his colours; for that the law potentially and in effect, hath comprized as much, although not in expreſſe words: like as the law (if I may ſo ſay) of Phyſicians, and of maſters of bodily exerciſes, comprehendeth ſpeciall and particular points within the generall: and even ſo doth the law of nature, which firſt and principally doth determine generall matters; and then particulars ſecondarily & by conſequence. Semblably, may particular and individuall things in ſome ſort be ſaid to be deſtined, for that they be ſo by conſequence with the generals. But haply ſome one of thoſe who ſearch and enquire more curiouſly and exactly into theſe matters will hold the contrary, and ſay; that of particular & individuall things, proceed the compoſition of the generals, and that the generall is ordeined and gathered for the particular. Now that for which another thing is, goeth alwaies before that which is for it; but this is not the proper place to ſpeake of theſe quiddities; for wee are to referre them to ſome other: howbeit, that deſtiny doth not comprehend all things purely and expreſly, but onely ſuch as be univerſall and generall, is reſolved upon for this preſent, and ſerveth for that which we have to ſay heereafter, yea, and agreeth alſo to that which hath beene delivered ſomewhat before; for that which is finite and determinate, properly agreeable to divine providence, is more ſeene in univerſall and generall things, than in particular; of this nature is the law of God, and ſuch is likewiſe the civill law, whereas infinity conſiſteth in particulars.

After this we are to declare, what meaneth this tearme, By ſuppoſition: for ſurely deſtiny is to be thought ſuch a thing. We have then called, By ſuppoſition, that which is not ſet downe of it ſelfe, nor by it ſelfe, but ſuppoſed and joined after another; and this ſignifieth a ſute and conſequence: This is the law or ordinance of *Adraſtia*, that is to ſay, a decree inevitable; unto which, if any ſoule can aſſociate it ſelfe, the ſame ſhall be able to ſee by conſequence, all that will enſue, even unto another generall revolution, and be exempt from all evill; which if it may be able alwaies to doe, it ſhall neither ſuſteine any damage nor doe harme. Thus you ſee what it is that we call, By ſuppoſition & in generall. Now that Fatall deſtiny is of this kind evidently appeereth, as well by the ſubſtance as the name thereof; for it is called in Greek εἱμαρμένη, as if one would ſay εἰρομένη, that is as much as dependant and linked, and a law it is and ordinance, for that things therein be ordeined and diſpoſed conſequently, and in maner of thoſe which are done civilly.

Heereunto is to be annexed a treatiſe of relation, that is to ſay, what reference and reſpect hath Fatall deſtiny unto divine providence, as alſo unto fortune: likewiſe, what is that which is in us; what is contingent; and ſuch like things. Moreover, we are to decide, wherein and how it is falſe; wherein alſo, and how it is true; that all things happen and come to paſſe by Fatall deſtiny: for if it import and imply thus much, That all things are compriſed and conteined in Fatall deſtiny, we muſt grant this propoſition to be true: and ſay one put thereto all things done among men; upon the earth, and in the very heaven, and place them within Fatall deſtiny, let us grant as much for the preſent. But if we underſtand that this word Fatall (as it rather ſeemeth) doth import not all things, but that onely which followeth and is dependant, then wee may not grant and ſay, that all things be comprehended in Fatall deſtiny; conſidering all that which the law doeth comprehend, and whereof it ſpeaketh, is not lawfull, nor according to law: for why? it compriſeth treaſon; it treateth of cowardiſe; of running away from ones colours and place in battell; of adultery and many things ſemblable: of which we cannot ſay, any one is lawfull: foraſmuch as, even to performe valorous ſervice in the wars, to kill tyrants, or to exploit any vertuous deed, I would not tearme lawfull, becauſe properly that is lawfull, which is commanded by the law; and if the law did command thoſe things, how can they avoid to be rebellious and tranſgreſſors of the law, who have not done valiant exploits in armes, have not killed tyrants, nor performed any other notable acts of vertue? and in caſe they be offenders of the law, why are they not puniſhed accordingly? But if to puniſh ſuch, be neither juſt nor reaſonable, then confeſſe we muſt, that theſe matters be not legall, nor according to law; for legall and according to law is that, which is namely preſcribed, ſet downe, and expreſly commanded by the law, in any action whatſoever. Semblably, thoſe things onely be Fatall and according to deſtiny, which are done by a divine diſpoſition proceeding, ſo that Fatall deſtiny may well cōpriſe all things: howbeit many of thoſe which be compriſed therein, and in maner all that went before, to ſpeake properly, cannot be pronounced Fatall, nor according to Fatall deſtiny, which being ſo, we ought to declare now in order conſequently, how that which is in our owne power, to wit, free will, how fortune, poſſible, contingent, and other ſuch like things, which be ranged and placed among the premiſſes, may ſubſiſt ſafely with fatall diſtiny; and how fatall diſtiny may ſtand with them: for fatall diſtiny comprehendeth all, as it ſeemeth: and yet theſe things happen not by any neceſſity, but every of them according to there owne nature. The nature of poſſible is to have a preſubſiſtence as the gender, and to goe before the contingent, and the cōtingent as the ſubject matter ought to be preſuppoſed before the things which are in our power: for that which is in us, as a lord and maſter uſeth the contingent. And fortune is of this nature, to intercurre betweene our free will and what is in us, by the property of contingencie enclining to the one ſide and to the other, which you may more eaſily apprehend and underſtand, if you conſider, how every thing that is produced forth, yea and the production it ſelfe and generation, is not without a certaine puiſſance: and no puiſſance or power there is without a ſubſtance: as for example the generation of man, and that which is produced and engendred, is not without a power, and the ſame is about the man, but man himſelfe is the ſubſtance. Of the puiſſance or power being betweene, commeth the ſubſtance which is the puiſſant: but the production and that which is produced, be both things poſſible. There being therefore theſe three, puiſſance, puiſſant, and poſſible: before puiſſance can be, of neceſſitie there muſt be preſuppoſed a puiſſant, as the ſubject thereof: and even ſo it muſt needs be that puiſſance alſo ſubſiſt before that which is poſſible. By this deduction then, in ſome ſort is declared, what is that which we call poſſible; ſo as we may after a groſſe maner define it to be, that which puiſſance is able to produce: and to ſpeake more properly of the ſame, by adjoining thereto thus much, provided alwaies that nothing without-forth doe impeach or hinder it. But among poſſible things, ſome there be that never can be hindred, as namely in heaven, the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and ſuch like: others may be impeached, as the moſt part of humane affaires, yea and many meteors in the aire. As for the former, as things hapning by neceſſitie, they be called neceſſarie; the other for that they fall out ſometime contrariwiſe, we tearme contingent; and in this ſort may they be deſcribed. Neceſſary is that poſſible thing, which is oppoſit to impoſſible: contingent is that poſſible, whereof poſſible alſo is the contrary. For that the ſun ſhould go downe, is a thing both neceſſary & poſſible, as being contrary unto this impoſſibility, namely, that the ſun ſhould not ſet at all: but that when the ſun is ſet, there ſhould come raine or not raine, are both of them poſſible and contingent. Againe of things contingent, ſome there be which happen oftentimes and for the moſt part; others rare and ſeldome; ſome fall out indifferently, as well one waie as another, even as it hapneth. And plaine it is, that theſe be oppoſit and repugnant to themſelves: as for thoſe which happen uſually and very often, contrary they be to ſuch things as chance but ſeldome: and theſe indeed for the moſt part are ſubject to nature: but that which chanceth equally, one way as well as another, lieth in us and our will: for examples ſake, that under the Dog ſtarre it ſhould be hot and colde; the one commonly and for the moſt part, the other very ſeldome, are things both, ſubmitted to nature: but to walke or not to walke and ſuch things whereof the one and the other be ſubject to the free will of man, are ſaid to be in us and in our choiſe and election: but rather and more generally, they be ſaid to be in us. For as touching this tearme, To be in us, it is to be underſtood two maner of waies, and thereof are two kindes, the one proceedeth from paſſion as namely from anger or concupiſcence; the other from diſcourſe of reaſon or judgement and underſtanding, which a man may properly ſay, to be in our election. And ſome reaſon there is that this poſſible contingent which is named to be in us, and to proceed from our appetite and will, ſhould be called ſo, not in the ſame regard, but for divers: for in reſpect of future time it is called poſſible and contingent; but in regard of the preſent it is named, In us and in our free will: ſo as a man may thus define and diſtinguiſh of theſe things: Contingent is that which both it ſelfe and the contrary whereof is poſſible: that which in us, is the one part of contingent, to wit, that which preſently is in doing according to our appetite. Thus have we in maner declared, that by nature poſſible goeth before contingent, and contingent ſubſiſteth before that which in us; alſo, what ech of them is, and whereupon they are ſo called, yea and what be the qualities adjoining thereto: it remaineth now, that we ſhould treat of Fortune and caſuall adventure, and of whatſoever beſides, that requireth diſcourſe and conſideration. Firſt, this is certeine, that Fortune is a kinde of cauſe: but among cauſes, ſome are of themſelves, others by accident: as for example, of an houſe or ſhip, the proper cauſes and of themſelves, be the Maſon, Carpenter or Shipwright; but by accident, the

Muſician and Geometrician, yea, and whatſoever incident to the maſon, carpenter, or ſhipwright, either in regard of body or minde, or outward things: whereby it appeereth, that the eſſentiall cauſe which is by it ſelfe, muſt needs be determinate, certeine in one; whereas the accidentall cauſes are not alwaies one and the ſame, but infinit, and indeterminate; for many accidents in number infinit, and in nature different one from another, may be together in one and the ſame ſubject. This cauſe then by accident, when it is found not onely in ſuch things which are done for ſome end, but alſo in thoſe wherein our election and will taketh place, is called fortune: as namely, to find treaſure when a man diggeth a hole or grave to plant a tree in, or to do and ſuffer any extraordinary thing, in flying, purſuing, or otherwiſe going and marching, or onely in retiring: provided alwaies, that he doeth it not to that end which enſueth thereupon, but upon ſome other intention. And heereupon it is, that ſome of the auncient philoſophers have defined fortune, to be a cauſe unknowen, and not foreſeene by mans reaſon: But according to the Platoniques, who come neerer unto it in reaſon, it is defined thus: Fortune is an accidentall cauſe in thoſe things that are done for ſome end, and which are in our election; and afterwards they adjoine moreover, not foreſeene nor knowen by the diſcourſe of humane reaſon; although that which is rare and ſtrange, by the ſame meanes, appeareth alſo in this kinde of cauſe by accident. But what this is, if it appeere not manifeſtly by the oppoſitions and contradictory diſputations, yet at leaſtwiſe it will be declared moſt evidently, by that which is writtē in a treatiſe of *Plato*, entituled *Phædon*, where theſe words are found. What? Have you not heard how & in what maner the judgement paſſed? Yes iwis: For one there was, who came and told us of it: whereat we marvelled very much, that ſeeing the ſentence of judgement was pronounced long before, he died a good while after. And what might be the cauſe thereof, ô *Phædon?* Surely, there hapned unto him, ô *Echecrates*, a certeine fortune: For it chanced that the day before the judgement, the prow of the galley which the Athenians ſent to iſle *Delos* was crowned: In which words it is to be noted, that by this tearme; There hapned, you muſt not underſtand, There was; but rather, it ſo befell, upon a concourſe and meeting of many cauſes together, one after another. For the prieſt adorned the ſhip with coronets for another end and intention, and not for the love of *Socrates*; yea, and the judges had condemned him alſo for ſome other cauſe: but the event it ſelfe was ſo ſtrange & admirable, as if it had hapned by ſome providence, or by an humane creature, or rather indeed by ſome ſuperior nature. And thus much may ſuffice as touching fortune, and the definition thereof: as alſo, that neceſſarily it ought to ſubſiſt together with ſome one contingent thing of thoſe which are meant to ſome end; whereupon it tooke the * name: yea, and there muſt be ſome ſubject before of ſuch things which are in us and in our election.

* τυχὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ τύχειν.

But caſuall adventure reacheth and extendeth farther than fortune: for it compriſeth both it, and alſo many other things which may chance aſwell one way as another: and according as the very etymologie and derivation of the word αὐτόματον, ſheweth it is that which hapneth for and in ſtead of another, namely, when that which was ordinary fell not out, but another thing in lieu thereof: as namely, when it chanceth to be colde weather in the Dog-daies; for ſometimes it falleth out to be then colde: and not without cauſe. In ſumme, like as that which is in us and arbitrary, is part of contingent; even ſo is fortune a part of caſuall or accidental adventure: and both theſe events are conjunct and dependant one of another; to wit, caſual adventure hangeth upon contingent, and fortune upon that which is in us and arbitrarie; and yet not ſimply and in generall, but of that onely which is in our election, according as hath beene before ſaid. And hereupon it is, that this caſuall adventure is common aſwell to things which have no life, as to thoſe which are animate; whereas fortune is proper to man onely, who is able to performe voluntarie actions. An argument whereof is this, that to be fortunate, happie and bleſſed, are thought to be all one; for bleſſed happineſſe is a kinde of well doing; and to doe well, properly belongeth to a man and him that is perfect. Thus you ſee what things are compriſed within fatall deſtiny, namely, contingent, poſſible, election, that which is within us, fortune, caſuall accident or chance & adventure, together with their circumſtant adjuncts, ſignified by theſe words, haply, peradventure or perchance: howbeit, we are not to inferre, that becauſe they be conteined within deſtinie, therefore they be fatall.

It remaineth now to diſcourſe of divine providence, conſidering that it ſelfe comprehendeth fatall deſtinie. This ſupreame and firſt providence therefore, is the intelligence and will of the ſovereigne god, doing good unto all that is in the world; whereby all divine things univerſally and thorowout, have bene moſt excellently and wiſely ordeined and diſpoſed. The ſecond providence, is the intelligence and will of the ſecond gods who have their courſe thorow the heaven; by which, temporall and mortall things are ingendred regularly and in order; as alſo whatſoever perteineth to the preſervation and continuance of every kinde of thing. The third, by all probabilitie and likelihood may well be called the providence and proſpicience of the Dæmonds or angels, as many as be placed and ordeined about the earth as ſuperintendents, for to obſerve, marke and governe mens actions. Now albeit there be ſeene this threefolde providence, yet properly and principally that firſt and ſupreame is named Providence: ſo as we may be bolde, and never doubt to ſay, howſoever herein we ſeeme to contradict ſome Philoſophers, That all things are done by fatall deſtinie, and by providence, but not likewiſe by nature: howbeit, ſome by providence; and that after divers ſorts, theſe by one, and thoſe by another: yea and ſome alſo by fatall deſtinie. As for fatall deſtinie, it is altogether by providence; but providence in no wiſe by fatall deſtinie: where, by the way, this is to be noted, that in this preſent place I underſtand the principall and ſovereigne providence. Now whatſoever is done by another (be it what it will) is evermore after that which cauſeth or maketh it; even as that which is erected by law is after the law; like as what is done by nature, muſt needs ſucceed and come after nature. Semblably, what is done by fatall deſtiny, is after fatall deſtiny, & of neceſſity muſt be more new & moderne: and therfore the ſupreme providence is the ancienteſt of all, excepting him alone, whoſe intelligence it is or wil, or both twaine together, to wit, the ſovereigne authour, creatour, maker and father of all things.

And for what cauſe is it, ſaith *Timæus*, that he hath made & framed this fabricke of the world? for that he is all good, and in him being all good, there can not be imprinted or engendred any envie: but ſeeing he is altogether void and free from it, his will was, that as much as poſſibly might be, all things ſhould reſemble himſelfe. He then who ſhall receive and admit this for the moſt principall and and proper originall of the generation and creation of the world, ſuch as wiſe men have delivered unto us by writing, is in the right way, and doeth very well. For God willing that all things ſhould be good, and nothing at all (to his power) evill, tooke all that was viſible, reſtleſſe as it was, and mooving ſtill raſhly, confuſedly, irregularly and without order, which he brought out of confuſion, and ranged into order, judging this to be every way farre better than the other: for neither it was, nor is convenient and meet, for him who is himſelfe right good, to make any thing that ſhould not be moſt excellent and beautifull. Thus therefore we are to eſteeme that providence (I meane that which is principall and ſoveraigne) hath conſtituted and ordeined theſe things firſt, and then in order ſuch as enſue and depend thereof, even as farre as to the ſoules of men. Afterwards having thus created the univerſall world, hee ordeined eight ſphæres, anſwering in number to ſo many principall ſtarres; and diſtributed to every one of them a ſeverall ſoule; all which he ſet, ech one (as it were) within a chariot over the nature of the whole, ſhewing unto them the lawes and ordinances of Fatall deſtiny * * * What is he then who will not beleeve, that by theſe words he plainly ſheweth and declareth Fatall deſtiny, and the ſame to be (as one would ſay) a tribunall, yea, & a politicke conſtitution of civill lawes, meet and agreeable to the ſoules of men? whereof afterwards he rendreth a reaſon.

And as touching the ſecond providence, he doeth after a ſort expreſly ſignifie the ſame in theſe words, ſaying: Having therefore preſcribed all theſe lawes unto them, to the end that if afterwards there ſhould be any default, he might be exempted from all cauſe of evill: he ſpred and ſowed ſome upon the earth, others about the moone, and ſome againe upon other organs and inſtruments of time: after which diſtribution, he gave commandement and charge to the yoong gods for to frame and create mortall bodies, as alſo to make up and finiſh that which remained and was wanting in mans ſoule; and when they had made perfect all that was adhærent and conſequent thereto, then to rule and governe after the beſt and wiſeſt maner poſſible, this mortall creature, to the end that it ſelfe ſhould not be the cauſe of the owne evils and miſeries: for in theſe words where it is ſaid: That he might be exempt, and not the cauſe of any evill enſuing afterwards, he ſheweth cleerely and evidently to every one the cauſe of Fatall deſtiny. The order alſo and office of theſe petie-gods declareth unto us the ſecond providence, yea, and it ſeemeth that in ſome ſort it toucheth by the way, the third providence, in caſe it be ſo, that for this purpoſe theſe lawes and ordinances were eſtabliſhed, becauſe he might not be blamed or accuſed as the author of any evill in any one afterwards: for God himſelfe being cleere & exempt from all evill, neither hath need of lawes, nor requireth any Fatall deſtiny: but ech one of theſe petie-gods, led and haled by the providence of him who hath engendred them, doth their owne devoir and office, belonging unto them. That this is true, and the very minde and opinion of *Plato,* appeereth manifeſtly in my conceit, by the teſtimonie of thoſe words which are reported by the law-giver in his books of lawes in this maner: If there were any man(quoth he)ſo by nature ſufficient, or by divine fortune ſo happily borne, that he could be able to comprehend this, he ſhould require no lawes to command him: for no law there is, nor ordinance of more woorth and puiſſance, than is knowledge and ſcience: neither can he poſſibly be a ſervile ſlave or ſubject to any, who is truely and indeed free by nature, but he ought to command all. For mine owne part thus I underſtand and interpret the ſentence of *Plato*: For whereas there is a triple providence: the firſt, as that which hath engendred Fatall deſtiny, in ſome ſort comprehendeth it: the ſecond being engendred with it, is likewiſe wholly compriſed in it: the third engendred after Fatal deſtiny, is compriſed under it, in that maner, as, That which is in us, and fortune, as we have already ſaid: for thoſe whom the aſſiſtance of the power of our Dæmon doth aid(according as *Socrates* ſaith) expoũding unto *Theages* what is the inevitable ordinance of *Adraſtia,* theſe (I ſay) are thoſe whom you underſtand well enough; for they grow and come forward quickly with ſpeed, ſo as, where it is ſaid, that a Dæmon or angell doth favour any, it muſt be referred to the third providence; but that ſuddenly they grow and come to proofe, it is by the power of Fatall deſtiny: And to be ſhort, it is very plaine and evident, that even this alſo is a kinde of deſtiny. And peradventure it may ſeeme much more probable, that even the ſecond providence is comprehended under deſtiny; yea, and in ſumme, all things whatſoever be made or done, conſidering that deſtiny according to the ſubſtance thereof, hath bene rightly divided by us into three parts. And verily that ſpeech as touching the chaine and concatenation, comprehendeth the revolutions of the heavens, in the number and raunge of thoſe things which happen by ſuppoſition: but verily of theſe points I will not debate much, to wit, whether we are to call them, Hapning by ſuppoſition, or rather conjunct unto deſtiny; conſidering that the precedent cauſe and commander of deſtiny it ſelfe, is alſo fatall. And thus to ſpeake ſummarily, and by way of abridgement, is our opinion: but the contrary ſentence unto this, ordeineth all things to be not onely under deſtiny, but alſo according to deſtiny, and by it. Now all things accord unto *the other,* and that which accordeth to another, the ſame muſt be granto be *the other*: according then to this opinion, contingent is ſaid to be the firſt; that which is in us the ſecond; fortune the third; accident or caſuall chance and adventure the fourth, together with all that dependeth thereupon, to wit, praiſe, blame, and thoſe of the ſame kinde; the fifth and laſt of all, may bee ſaid to be the praiers unto the gods, together with their ſervices and ceremonies. Moreover, as touching thoſe which are called idle, and harveſt arguments, as alſo that which is named beſide or againſt deſtiny, they are no better than cavils and ſophiſtries according to this opinion; but according to the contrary ſentence, the firſt and principall concluſion is, that nothing is done without cauſe, but all thing depend upon precedent cauſes: the ſecond, that the world is governed by nature, which conſpireth and is compatible with it ſelfe; the third may ſeeme rather to be teſtimonies unto theſe; whereof the firſt is divination, approved by all nations, as being really and truely in God; the ſecond the æquanimitie and patience of wiſe men, taking and bearing well all accidents and occurrents whatſoever, as comming by divine ordinance; the third, which is ſo common a ſpeech, and divulged in every mans mouth, namely, that every propoſition is either true or falſe. Thus have we drawen this diſcourſe into a ſmall number of ſhort articles, to the end that we might remember and compriſe in few words, the whole matter and argument of Deſtinie. All which points, both of the one and the other opinion, are to be diſcuſſed and examined with more diligent inquiſition, whereof particularly we will treat afterwards.

* * * * * *

* * *

A COMPENDIOVS REVIEW AND DISCOURSE, THAT THE STOICKS DELIVER MORE STRANGE OPINIONS, THAN DO THE POETS.

The Summarie.

A Petie declaration this is againſt the ſect of the Stoicks, which briefly and in a word it maketh odious; giving out in plaine tearmes, that ſuch perſons be the loudeſt liers in the world; and that their opinion as touching the change and alteration of that party who rangeth himſelfe unto them, is ſo monſtrous and ridiculous, that the diſcovery only thereof is a ſufficient refutation.

A COMPENDIOUS REVIEW and diſcourſe, That the Stoicks deliver more ſtrange opinions, than do the Poets.

P*Indarus* was reprooved, for that after a ſtrange maner, and without all ſenſe and probabilitie hee fained *Cæneus* one of the *Lapithæ*, to have had a bodie ſo hard, as it could not be pierced by any weapon of iron and ſteele, but that he remained unhurt, and ſo afterwards

Went under earth withouten wound,
When with ſtiffe foot he cleft the ground.

But this Lapith of the Stoicks, to wit, their imagined wiſe man, being forged by them of impaſſibilitie, as of a mettall harder than the diamond, is not ſuch an one as is not otherwhiles woũded, diſeaſed and aſſailed with paine: howbeit, as they ſay, he abideth ſtill fearelesſe and without ſorrow and heavineſſe; he continueth invincible, he ſuſteineth no force nor violence, howſoever he be wounded, what paine ſoever he ſuffereth, be he put to all tortures, or ſee his native countrey ſacked and deſtroied before his face, or what calamities els beſide be preſented to his eies. And verily, that *Cæneus* whom *Pindarus* deſcribeth, notwithſtanding hee were ſmitten, and bare many ſtroakes, yet was unwounded for all that: but the wiſe man whom the Stoicks imagine, although he be kept encloſed in priſon, yet is not reſtreined of libertie; ſay he be pitched downe from the top of a rocke, yet ſuſteineth no violence; is he put to the ſtrappado, to the racke or wheele, yet for all that is he not tormented; and albeit he frie in the fire, yet he hath no harm; nay, if in wreſtling he be foiled and take a fall, yet he perſiſteth unconquered; when he is environed within a wall, yet is he not beſieged; and being ſolde in port ſale by the enemies, yet is he no captive, but remaineth impregnable; reſembling moſt properly for all the world, thoſe ſhips which have theſe goodly inſcriptions in their poups, *Happie voyage, Luckie navigation, Saving providence*, and *Remedie againſt all dangers*: and yet the ſame neverthelesſe be toſſed in the ſeas, ſplit upon the rocks, caſt away and drowned. *Iolaus*, as the Poet *Euripides* hath fained, by a certeine praier that he made unto the gods, of a feeble and decrepit olde man, became all of a ſudden a yong and luſtie gallant, ready for to fight a battell: but the Stoicks wiſe man, who longer agoe than yeſterday, was moſt hatefull, wretched and wicked, all at once to day is changed into a good and vertuous perſon; he is of a rivelled, pale, leane and poore ſillie aged man, and as the Poet *Aeſchylus* ſaith,

Who ſuffereth pangs in flanke, in reines and backe,
With painfull cramps, ſtretcht as upon a racke.

become, a lovely, faire, beautifull, and perſonable youth, pleaſant both to God and man. *Minerva* in *Homer* rid *Uliſſes* from his wrinkles, his baldneſſe, and ill fovoured deformity, that he might appeare full of favour and amiable: but this wiſe man of there making, albeit withered olde age leave not his body, but contrariwiſe increaſe ſtill and grow more and more with all the diſcommodities that follow it, continuing ſtill for example ſake bunch backt, if he were ſo before, one eied, and toothleſſe, yet forſooth is not for all this, foule, deformed and ill favoured. For like as by report the bettils fly from good and ſweet odors, ſeeking after ſtinking ſents, even ſo the Stoicks love (converſing with the moſt foule ilfavoured and deformed, after that by their ſapience and wiſdome they be turned into all beauty and favor) departeth and goeth from them. With theſe Stoicks he who in the morning haply was moſt wicked, will proove in the evening a right honeſt man: & who went to bed fooliſh, ignorant, injurious, outragious, intemperat, yea a very ſlave, a poore & needy begger, will riſe the morrow morning, a king, rich, happie, chaſte, juſt, firme and conſtant, nothing at all ſubject to variety of opinions: not for that he hath all on a ſuddaine put forth a beard, or become under growen, as in a yoong and tender body: but rather engendred in a weake, ſoft, effeminate and inconſtant ſoule, a perfect minde, perfect underſtanding, ſoveraine prudence, a divine diſpoſition, comparable to the gods, a ſettled and aſſured ſcience, not wandring in opinions and an immutable and ſtedfaſt habitude: neither went that leawd wickedneſſe of his away by little & little, but all at once (I may well neere ſay) he was tranſmuted from a moſt vile beaſt into a demy god, a dæmon, or a very god indeed. For ſo ſoone once as a man hath learned vertue in the Stoicks ſchoole, he may ſay thus unto himſelfe:

Wiſh what thou wilt, and what thou liſt to crave,
All ſhall be done; doe thou but aske and have.

This vertue brings riches, this carieth with it roialty, this giveth good fortune, this makes men happie, ſtanding in need of nothing, contented in themſelves, although they have not in all the world ſo much as a ſingle drachme of ſilver, or one grey groat. Yet are the fables of Poets deviſed with more probability and likelihood of reaſon: for never doe they leave *Hercules* altogether deſtitute of neceſſaries: but it ſeemeth that he hath with him alwaies one living ſource or other, out of which there runneth evermore foiſon and plenty for himſelfe and the company about him. But he who hath once gotten the goat *Amalthea* by the head, and that plentifull horne of abundance which the Stoicks talke of, he is rich incontinently, and yet beggeth his bread and victuals of others; he is a king, although for a peece of mony he teacheth how to reſolve ſyllogiſmes: he onely poſſeſſeth al things, albeit he pay rent for his houſe, buieth his meale and meat with the ſilver that many times he taketh up of the uſurer, or elſe craveth at their hands who have juſt nothing of their owne to give. True it is indeed, that *Uliſſes* the king of *Ithaca* begged almes, but it was becauſe he would not be knowen; counterfaiting all that he could

To make himſelfe a begger poore,
Like one that went from doore to doore.

whereas he that is come out of the Stoicks ſchoole, crying aloud with open mouth, I onely am a king, I am rich and none but I, is ſeene oftentimes at other mens doores ſtanding with this note,

Give Hipponax *a cloke, his naked corps to folde,*
For that I quake and ſhiver much for colde.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF STOICK PHILOSOPHERS.

The Summarie.

PLutarch *being of the Academique ſect, directly contrary to the Stoicks, examineth in this treatiſe the opinons of thoſe his adverſaries, and ſheweth by proper teſtimonies out of their owne writings, and namely of* Chryſippus *their principall doctor, that there is nothing firme and certeine in all their doctrine: peruſing and ſifting to this end the chiefe points of all the parts of philoſophie, not binding himſelfe preciſely to any ſpeciall order, but propoſing matters according as they come into his remembrance, or were preſented to his eies. Moreover, in the recitall of their repugnancies and contradictions, he intermingleth certeine expoſitions, to aggravate the abſurdity of this ſect of his adverſaries, and to withdraw the reader from them: which is a very proper and ſingular maner of declaming and diſputing againſt inveterate errors, and ſuch as have a great name in the world: for in ſhewing that thoſe who are reputed moſt able and ſufficient to teach and mainteine them, know not what they ſay, and do confound themſelves, is as much as to reproch every man who doth adhære unto them, with this imputation, that his is deprived of common ſenſe, in receiving that for a certeine verity, wherein their very maſters are not well reſolved, or admitting that which they practiſe, otherwiſe than they ſay.*

THE CONTRADICTIONS
of Stoicke philoſophers.

FIrſt above all things, I would have to be ſeene a conformitie and accord betweene the opinions of men and their lives: for it is not ſo neceſſary, that the oratour, according as *Lyſias* ſaith, and the law, ſhould ſound the ſame note, as requiſite that the life of a philoſopher ſhould be conformable and conſonant to his words and doctrine: for the ſpeech of a philoſopher is a voluntary and particular law which hee impoſeth upon himſelfe, if it be ſo as men eſteeme, that philoſophie is (as no doubt it is) the profeſſion of that which is ſerious, grave, and of weighty importance, and not a gameſome ſport, or vaine and toyiſh pratling, deviſed onely for to gaine glory. Now we ſee, that *Zeno* himſelfe hath written much by way of diſputation and diſcourſe; *Cleanthes* likewiſe, and *Chryſippus* moſt of all, concerning the politique government of common-wealth, touching rule and obedience, of judgement alſo and pleading at the barre: and yet looke into all their lives throughout, you ſhall not finde that ever any of them were captains and commanders, neither law-givers, nor ſenatours, & counſellers of State, ne yet orators or advocates pleading judicially in court before the judges; nay, they were not ſo much as emploied in any warre, bearing armes, and performing martiall ſervice for the defence of their countries: you ſhal not find (I ſay) that any of them was ever ſent in embaſſage, or beſtowed any publicke largeſſe or donative to the people; but remained all the time of their life (and that was not ſhort, but very long) in a ſtrange and forren countrey, feeding upon reſt and repoſe, as if they had taſted of the herbe Lotus in *Homer*, and forgotten their native ſoile, where they ſpent their time in writing books, in holding diſcourſes, and in walking up and downe. Heereby it manifeſtly appeereth, that they lived rather according to the ſayings and writings of other, than anſwerable to that which themſelves judge and confeſſe to be their duty, having paſſed the whole courſe of their life in that quiet repoſe, which *Epicurus* and *Hieronymus* ſo highly praiſe and recommend. And verily to proove this to be a trueth, *Chryſippus* himſelfe in his fourth booke entituled, Of Lives, is of opinion, and ſo hath put downe in writing, that a ſcholaſticall life, to wit, that of idle ſtudents, differeth not from the life of voluptuous perſons. And to this purpoſe I thinke it not amiſſe to alledge the mans ſpeech word for word: They (quoth he) who thinke that this ſcholaſtical and idle life of ſtudents even from the firſt beginning, is moſt of all beſeeming and agreeable to philoſophers, in my conceit, ſeeme much deceived weening as they do, that they are to philoſophize for their paſtime or recreation, and ſo to draw out in length the whole courſe of their life at their booke in their ſtudies, which is as much to ſay in plaine tearmes, as to live at eaſe and in pleaſure. Neither is this opinion of theirs to be hidden and diſſembled; for many of them give out as much openly, howſoever others, and thoſe not a few deliver the ſame more obſcurely; and yet where is he who grew old and aged more in this idle ſcholaſticall life, than *Chryſippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno* and *Antipater*? who forſooke and abandoned even their native countries, having no cauſe or occaſion in the world to complaine of or to be diſcontent; onely to this end, that they might lead their lives more ſweetly at their pleaſure, ſtudying and diſputing with eaſe, and letting out their girdle ſlacke as they liſt themſelves. To approove this that I ſay, *Ariſtocreon* the diſciple of *Chryſippus*, and one of his familiar friends, having cauſed a ſtatue of braſſe to be erected for him, ſet over it theſe elegant verſes in maner of an epigram:

This image, Ariſtocreon
erected freſh and new
For Chryſip, *Academicke knots*
who like an ax did hew

Lo, what maner of perſon was *Chryſippus*, an aged man, a philoſopher, one who praiſed the life of kings, and of thoſe who are converſant in weale publike, and he who thought there was no difference betweene the idle ſcholaſticall life, and the voluptuous. And yet others among them as many I meane as deale in ſtate affaires, are found to be more repugnant and contradictory to the reſolutions of there owne ſect: for they beare rule as chiefe magiſtrates, they are judges, they be Senatours and ſet in counſell, they ordaine and publiſh lawes, they puniſh malefactours, they honour and reward thoſe that doe well; as if they were cities indeed wherein they governe and manage the ſtate; as if thoſe were ſenatours, counſellers and judges, who yeerely alwaies are by lot created or otherwiſe to ſuch places; captaines and commanders who are elected by the ſuffrages and voices of citizens; and as if thoſe were to be held good lawes which *Cliſthenes*, *Lycurgus* & *Solon* made: and yet the ſame men they avow and maintaine to have bene witleſſe fooles, and leawd perſons. Thus you ſee how albeit they adminiſter the common weale, yet they be repugnant to their owne doctrine.

In like maner *Antipater*, in his booke of the diſſention, betweene *Cleanthes*, and *Chryſippus* reporteth, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would never be made citizens of *Athens*, for feare forſooth leſt they might be thought to offer injurie to their owne country. Now if they herein did well, let *Chryſippus* goe, and ſay wee nothing of him that he did amiſſe, in cauſing himſelfe to be enrolled and immatriculated in the number of Athenian citizens; for I will not ſtand much upon this point: onely this I holde, that there is a ſtrange and woonderfull repugnance in their deeds and actions, who reſerve ſtill the bare names of their native countries, and yet bereave the ſame of their very perſons and their lives, converſing ſo farre off in forraine lands: much like as if a man who hath caſt off and put a way his lawfull wedded wife, ſhould dwell, live and lie ordinary with another as his concubin, yea and beget children of her body, and yet will in no wiſe eſpouſe her and contract marriage with her, leſt forſooth he might ſeeme to doe wrong and injurie to the former. Furthermore *Chryſippus* in his treatiſe that he made of Rhetoricke writing thus, that a wiſe man will in ſuch ſort plead, make orations to the people, and deale in ſtate matters, as if riches reputation and health were ſimply good things, teſtifieth hereby and confeſſeth that his precepts and reſolutions induce men not to goe forth of doores nor to intermedle in politicke and civill affaires, and ſo by conſequence that their doctrines and precepts cannot ſort well with practiſe, nor be agreeable unto the actions of this life.

Moreover, this is one of *Zenoes* quodlibets or poſitions: that we ought not to build temples to the honour of the gods: for that a temple is no ſuch holy thing, nor ſo highly to be eſteemed conſidering it is the workemanſhip of maſons,carpenters and other artificers: neither can any worke of ſuch artiſans be priſed at any woorth. And yet even they who avow and approve this as a wiſe ſpeech of his,are themſelves profeſſed in the religious myſteries of thoſe churches; they mount up to the caſtle and frequent there the ſacred temple of *Minerva*; they adore the ſhrines and images of the gods; they adorne the temples with chaplets and guarlands, notwithſtanding they be the workes of maſons,carpenters and ſuch like mechanicall perſons. And will theſe men ſeeme indeed to reproove the Epicureans as contrary to themſelves, who denying that the gods be occupied or imploied in the government of the world, yet offer ſacrifice unto them, when as they checke and refute themſelves much more in ſacrificing unto the gods within their temples and upon their altars,which they maintaine that they ought not to ſtand at all, nor once to have bene built?

Zeno putteth downe & admitteth many vertues according to their ſeveral differences,like as *Plato* doth,to wit,prudence,fortitude,temperance & juſtice; ſaying that they be all in very deed and in nature inſeparable nor diſtinct a ſunder: howbeit in reaſon divers and different one from another. And againe when he would ſeeme to define them ſeverally one after a nother,he ſaith That fortitude is prudence in the execution of matters: juſtice is prudence in the diſtribution of things,&c. as if there were no more but one ſole vertue, which according to divers relations, unto affaires and actions, ſeemeth to differ and admit diſtinction. So you ſee, that not *Zeno* alone ſeemeth to be repugnant unto himſelfe in theſe matters, but *Chryſippus* alſo, who reprooveth *Ariſton* for ſaying, that all vertues are nothing elſe but the divers habitudes and relations of one and the ſame, and yet defendeth *Zeno* when he defineth ech vertue in this wiſe by it ſelfe.

As for *Clearches* in his commentaries of nature, having ſet this downe, that the vigour and firmitude of things, is the illiſion and ſmiting of fire, which if it be in the ſoule ſo ſufficient, that it is able to performe the duties preſented unto it, is called ſtrength and power, he annexeth afterward theſe words: And this very power and ſtrength (quoth he) when as it is emploied in ſuch objects wherein a man is to perſiſt, and which he ought to conteine, is called Continency; if in things to be endured and ſupported, then it is named Fortitude; if in eſtimation of worthineſſe and deſert, beareth the denomination of Juſtice; if in choiſes or refuſals, it carieth the name of Temperance. Againſt him who was the authour of this ſentence,

> *Forbeare thy ſentence for to paſſe,*
> *and judgement ſee thou ſtay,*
> *Untill ſuch time as thou haſt heard*
> *what parties both can ſay.*

Zeno alledged ſuch a reaſon as this on the contrary ſide. Whether the plaintiſe who ſpake in the firſt place hath plainly proved his cauſe or no, there is no need at all to heare the ſecond, for the matter is at an end already, and the queſtion determined: or whether he hath not proved it, all is one; for it is even the ſame caſe, whether he that is cited be ſo ſtubburne as not to appeare for to be heard, or if he appeare, doe nothing els but cavill and wrangle: ſo that proove he or proove he not his cauſe, needleſſe it is to heare the ſecond plead. And yet even he who made this Dilemma, and wrote againſt the books of Policie and common wealth that *Plato* compoſed, taught his ſcholars how to aſſoile and avoid ſuch Sophiſticall arguments, yea and exhorted them to learne Logicke with all diligence,as being the art which ſheweth them how to performe the ſame. Howbeit a man might come upon him by way of objection in this maner: Certes, *Plato* hath either proved or els not proved thoſe points which he handled in his Politicks: but whether he did or no,there was no neceſſitie at all to write againſt him as you did; for it was altogether vaine, needleſſe and ſuperfluous. And even the ſame may be ſaid of Sophiſticall arguments and cavillations.

Chryſippus is of opinion, that yong ſcholars and ſtudents ſhould firſt learne thoſe arts which concerne ſpeech, as Grammar, Logicke and Rhetoricke; in the ſecond place,morall ſciences; in the third, naturall philoſophie; and after all theſe, in the laſt place, to heare the doctrine as touching religion and the gods: which being delivered by him in many paſſages of his writings, it ſhall be ſufficient to alledge that onely which he hath written thus word for word in the third booke of his Lives. Firſt and formoſt (quoth he) it ſeemeth unto mee, according to the doctrine of our ancients, that of Philoſophicall ſpeculations there be three kinds; Logicall, as touching ſpeech; Ethicall, concerning maners; and Phyſicall, belonging to the nature of things: of which,that which is reſpective unto ſpeech ought to precede and be ranged firſt; ſecondly,

condly, that which treateth of maners; thirdly, that which handleth naturall cauſes. Now of theſe Phyſicks and naturall arguments, the laſt is that which treateth of God: and this is the reaſon that the precepts and traditions of divine matters and of religion, they called τελετὰς, as one would ſay, the very laſt and comming in the end. Howbeit, this treatiſe of the gods, which by his ſaying ought to be ſet laſt, himſelfe in the very ſame booke, rangeth above maners, and ſetteth before all other morall queſtions. For neither ſeemeth he to ſpeake of the ends, nor of juſtice, nor of good and evill things, nor of marriage, nor of the nouriture and education of children, ne yet of law nor of the government of the Common-wealth in any ſort; but as they who propoſe and publiſh decrees unto cities and States, make ſome preamble before of good lucke or happie fortune; ſo he uſeth the preface of *Jupiter*, of Fatall deſtinie, of Divine providence: alſo, that there being but one world, the ſame doth conſiſt and is mainteined by one mightie power. Which points, no man doth firmly beleeve nor can be reſolutely perſwaded in, unleſſe he wade deeply into the profoundeſt ſecrets and diſcourſes of naturall Philoſophie. But hearken I beſeech you, a little, to that which he ſaith of theſe matters, in his third booke of the gods: It is not poſſible (quoth he) to finde out any other fountaine and original beginning of juſtice, than from *Jupiter* and common nature: for from hence it muſt needs be, that every ſuch thing is derived, if that we meane to diſcourſe of good things and evill. Againe, in his Treatiſe of naturall poſitions, there is no other way, or at leaſtwiſe not a better, of proceeding to the diſcourſe of good things and bad, nor of of vertues, nor of ſovereigne felicitie, than from common nature, and the adminiſtration of the world. Moreover, as he goeth forward in another place, We are to annex and adjoine hereunto (quoth he) a treatiſe of good and evill things, conſidering there is not a better beginning thereof, nor yet a reference and relation more proper: neither is the ſpeculation and ſcience of nature in any other reſpect requiſit or neceſſarie to be learned, but onely for to know the difference of good and evill. And therefore according to *Chryſippus*, this naturall ſcience both goeth before and alſo followeth after morall things; or to ſay a trueth at once in more expreſſe termes, it were a ſtrange and difficult inverſion of order, to holde, that it is to be placed after them, conſidering that without it it were impoſſible to comprehend any of the other: and a very manifeſt repugnance it were to affirme, that ſcience naturall is the beginning of morall, which treateth of good and evill, and yet ordeine nevertheleſſe, that it ſhould be taught not before, but after it. Now if any man ſay unto me, that *Chryſippus* in his booke entituled, *The uſe of ſpeech*, hath written, that he who firſt learneth Logicke, I meane the knowledge and philoſophie concerning words, ought not altogether for to forbeare the learning of other parts, but that he ought to take a taſte of them, according as he hath meanes thereto, well may he ſpeake a trueth, but withall, confirme he ſhall my accuſation ſtill of his fault: for he fighteth with himſelfe, in ordering one while that a man ſhould learne in the laſt place and after all, the ſcience that treateth of God, as if that were the reaſon why it was called τελετὴ, which is as much as τελευταῖος, that is to ſay, Finall; and another while teaching cleane contrarie, that the ſame is to be learned even with the very firſt, and at the beginning: for then farewell all order for ever, and welcome confuſion, if we muſt learne all things hudled together at all times. But yet this is not the woorſt, for having ſet this downe for a reaſolution: That the doctrine as touching good things and evill, ought to begin and proceed from the knowledge of God; yet, he will not have them who ſettle themſelves and enter into the ſtudie of morall philoſophie, to take their beginning there: but that in learning this, to catch ſomewhat of that by the way, even as much as they have eaſie meanes to come by; and afterwards to repaſſe from morall philoſophy unto Theologie, without which (he ſaith) there can bee neither entrance nor progreſſe in the knowledge of maners.

Moreover (he ſaith) that, To diſpute of one and the ſame queſtion, *pro & contra*, to and fro, he diſalloweth not ſimply and in generality: but his adviſe is, to uſe the ſame ſo warily and with ſuch diſcretion, as otherwhiles oratours doe in pleading, when they alledge the reaſons of their adverſaries, not to uphold and mainteine the ſame, but onely for to refute and diſproove that likelihood and probabilitie which they pretend: For otherwiſe (quoth he) thus to doe, is the maner of thoſe Skepticks, who be alwaies doubtfull, and withhold their conſent in every thing: a meere ſhift that ſerveth their turne, for whatſoever they hold: but as for thoſe who would worke and eſtabliſh in mens hearts, a certeine ſcience, according to which they might undoubtedly guide and conduct themſelves, they ought to ſound and ſearch the contrary, and from point to point by ſtepmeale, to direct their novices newly entred, even from the beginning to the very end: wherein there falleth out otherwhiles fit opportunity to make mention of contrary ſentences and opinions, for to refute and reſolve that which might ſeeme to have apparence of trueth; as the maner is in pleading before judges: for theſe be the very words and proper tearmes that he uſeth. Now what an abſurd and impertinent a thing it is, that philoſophers ſhould thinke they were to put downe the contrary opinions of other philoſophers, and not withall, their reaſons and arguments, but onely as advocates pleading at the barre to diſable and weaken their proofes, and ſo to weary their adverſaries; as if diſputation were onely to win the honour of victory, and not to finde out a trueth: we have elſewhere diſcourſed againſt him ſufficiently. But that himſelfe not heere and there in his diſputations, but oftentimes and in many places hath confirmed with might and maine, yea, and with ſo great aſſeveration and contention, contrary reſolutions, unto his owne opinions, that it were a right hard matter for any man to diſcerne, which of them he approoveth moſt, they themſelves in ſome ſort doe ſay, who admire the ſubtilty of the man, and the vivacity of his ſpirit, who alſo both thinke and ſticke not to affirme, that *Carneades* ſpake nothing of his owne invention, but by the helpe and meanes of which arguments *Chryſippus* uſed to proove his owne aſſertions, hee returned the ſame contrariwiſe upon himſelfe to confute his precepts, inſomuch as eſtſoones in diſputation he would, alluding to a verſe in *Homer*, cry out aloud in this maner:

Unhappy man, thus for to doe,
Thine owne pure ſtrength will worke thy woe.

as if he lay open and miniſtred great advantages and meanes againſt himſelfe, to thoſe who went about for to infringe and calumniate his opinions. But as touching thoſe treatiſes and diſcourſes which he hath put foorth and ſet out againſt ordinary cuſtome, his followers do ſo gloriouſly boaſt and joy, that they give out, if all the books of the Academiques that ever lived, were laid together, they deſerved not to be compared with that which *Chryſippus* wrote in calumniation of the ſenſes: an evident ſigne either of their ignorance who ſay ſo, or els of their owne blinde ſelfe-love. Howbeit, certeine it is, that afterwards being deſirous to defend cuſtome and the ſenſes, he was found much inferior to himſelfe, and the latter treatiſe came farre ſhort of the former, and was nothing at all ſo pithy; in ſuch ſort as he is contradictorie and repugnant to himſelfe: whiles he alwaies preſcribeth and willeth to conferre and oppoſe contrary ſentences, not as one patronizing any, but making an oſtentation that they be falſe: and afterwards ſheweth himſelfe to be a more vehement accuſer, than a defender of his owne proper ſentences; and counſelling others to take heed of repugnant and contrary diſputations, as thoſe which diſtract and impeach their perception, himſelfe is more ſtudious and diligent to addreſſe ſuch proofes as overthrow perception, than thoſe which are to eſtabliſh and confirme the ſame: and yet that he feared no leſſe, hee declareth plainly in the fourth booke of his lives, where he writeth thus: We are not raſhly nor without good reſpect and adviſement to admit and allow repugnant diſputations and contrary opinions to be propoſed, nor to anſwere thoſe probable arguments which are brought againſt true ſentences: but heerein we muſt warily goe to worke, and cary our ſelves ſo, as fearing alwaies leſt the hearers being thereby diſtracted and diverted, let goe this apprehenſion and conception, and be not of ſufficient capacity to comprehend their ſolutions, but after ſuch a feeble ſort, as that their comprehenſions be ready to falter and ſhake, conſidering that even they who cuſtomably comprehend ſenſible objects and other things which depend of ſenſes, quickly forgo the ſame, being diſtracted as well by Megarian interrogatories, as by others more forcible, and in greater number. Now would I gladly demand of theſe Stoicks whether they thinke theſe Megarian interrogatories more puiſſant than thoſe which *Chryſippus* hath written in ſixe bookes; or rather *Chryſippus* himſelfe would be asked the queſtion. For marke I pray you, what he hath written of the Megarian diſputation in his booke entituled; The uſe of ſpeech, after this maner: Such a thing as befell in the diſputation betweene *Stilpo* and *Menedemus*, both renowmed perſonages for their learning and wiſedome; and yet the whole maner of their arguing is now turned to their reproch and plain mockery, as if their arguments were either very groſſe, or elſe too captious & ſophiſtical: and yet good ſir theſe arguments which it pleaſeth you to ſcorne and tearme the reproach of thoſe who make ſuch interrogatories, as containing in them notorious leawdneſſe, you feare leſt they ſhould divert any from perception: And even your owne ſelfe writing ſo many books as you doe againſt cuſtome whereunto you have adjoined whatſoever you could deviſe and invent, labouring to ſurmount and ſurpaſſe *Arceſilaus*; did you never expect and looke to ſcare and terrifie any of the readers that ſhould light upon them? For *Chryſippus* verily uſeth not onely ſlender and naked arguments in diſputing againſt cuſtome, but as if he were an advocate pleading at the barre, mooveth affections being paſſionate and affectionate himſelfe, breaking out eſtſoones into theſe tearmes of giving the foole, and imputing vanity and ſottiſhneſſe; and to the end that he might leave no place for contradiction at all, but that he delivereth repugnances and ſpeaketh contraries, thus hath he writen in his Poſitions naturall. A man may very well, when he hath once perfectly compriſed a thing, argue a little on the contrary ſide, and apply that defence which the matter it ſelfe doth affoord: yea and otherwhiles, when he doth comprehend neither the one nor the other, diſcourſe of either of them *pro & contra*, as much as the cauſe will yeeld. Alſo in that treatiſe of his concerning the uſe of ſpeech, after he had ſaid, we ought not to uſe the power and faculty of diſputation, no more than armes or weapons, in things that tend to no purpoſe, and when the caſe requireth it not, he addeth ſoone after theſe words: For we ought to imploy the gift of reaſon and ſpeech to the finding out of trueth, and ſuch things as reſemble it: and not contrariwiſe; howſoever many there be that are wont ſo to doe. And peradventer by theſe Many, he meaneth thoſe Academicks, who ever doubt and give no aſſent to any thing: and they verily, for that they comprehend neither the one nor the other, doe argue on both parts to and fro, that it is perceptible: as if by this onely or eſpeciall meanes the trueth yeelded a certeine comprehenſion of it ſelfe, if there were nothing in the world comprehenſible. But you who accuſe and blame them, writing the contrary to that which you conceive as touching cuſtome, and exhorting others to doe the ſame, and that with an affectionate defence, doe plainly confeſſe, that you uſe the force of ſpeech and eloquence, in things not onely unprofitable, but alſo hurtfull, upon a vaine ambtious humor of ſhewing your ready wit, like to ſome yoong ſcholar.

Theſe Stoicks affirme, that a good deed, is the commandement of the law, and ſin the prohibition of the law: and therefore it is that the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd folke to doe many things, but preſcribeth them nothing; for that indeed they are not able to doe ought well. And who ſeeth not that impoſſible it is for him who can doe no vertuous act, to keepe himſelfe from ſin and tranſgreſſion? Therefore they make the law repugnant to it ſelfe, if it command that which to performe is impoſſible, and forbid that which men are not able to avoid. For he that is not able to live honeſtly, cannot chuſe but beare himſelfe diſhoneſtly; and whoſoever he be, that cannot be wiſe, muſt of neceſſity become a foole: and even them ſelves doe holde that thoſe lawes which are prohibitive, ſay the ſame thing, when they forbid one, and command likewiſe another. For that which ſaith thou ſhalt dot ſteale, ſaith verily the ſame, to wit, Steale not, but it forbiddeth withall to ſteale; and therefore the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd perſons nothing, for otherwiſe it ſhould command them ſomewhat. And thus they ſay that the Phyſician biddeth his apprentiſe or Chyrurgian to cut or to cauterize, without adding thereto theſe words, handſomly, moderatly, and in good time. The Muſician likewiſe commandeth his ſcholar to ſing or play upon the harpe a leſſon, without putting thereto, in tune, accord and good meaſure. Howbeit they punniſh and chaſtice thoſe that doe amiſſe and contrary to the rules of art, for that they were willed and enjoined to doe the thing well, but they did it ill. And even ſo a wiſe man commanding his ſervant to ſay or doe a thing, if he punniſh him for doing it untowardly, out of ſeaſon, and not as he ought, certeine it is that he commanded him to performe a good duty, and not a meane and indifferent action. Now if wiſe men command fooles and lewd perſons to doe things indifferent, what ſhould hinder them but that the commandements of the lawes may be ſemblable?

Moreover, that inſtinct or naturall motion which is called ὁρμὴ, according to him, is nothing els but the reaſon of man, inciting him to do a thing, as himſelf hath written in his treatiſe of the law, *ergo*, that diverſion, contrariwiſe called Ἀφορμὴ, can be nothing els but reaſon withdrawing a man from the doing of a thing: and therefore that inclination is a reaſonable inclination: and this warry caution, is as much as the reaſon of a wiſe man, forbidding him to doe a thing: for to beware, and to take heed, is the part and property of wiſe men and not of fooles. If then the reaſon of a wiſe man be one thing, and the law another, wiſe men have this warie caution repugnant unto the law: but in caſe law, and the reaſon of a wiſe man be both one, it will be found that the law forbiddeth wiſe men to doe thoſe things, which they doubt and be affraid of. To fooliſh and wicked perſons (quoth *Chryſippus*) there is nothing profitable, neither hath ſuch an one, uſe or need of ought. Having delivered this ſentence in his firſt booke of perfect duties or offices, he commeth afterwardes and ſaith, that utility or commodiouſneſſe and grace perteine and reach unto meane and indifferent things, whereof according to the Stoicks doctrine there is not one profitable: and more than that, he ſaith there is nothing proper, nothing meet and convenient for a fooliſh leawd man: and ſo by conſequence it followeth upon theſe words; there is nothing ſtrange, nothing unfitting for a wiſe and honeſt man, like as nothing fit and familiar for a leawd foole: for as goodneſſe is proper to the one, ſo is leawdneſſe to the other. How commeth it then to paſſe that he maketh our heads to ake againe, with telling us ſo often in all his bookes as well of naturall philoſophy as morall, that preſently from our nativity and birth, we be affectionate to our ſelves, to our proper members, and to the iſſue deſcending from us? and in the firſt booke of Juſtice he ſaith, that even wilde beaſts are propenſe and affected unto their yoong according as their need and neceſſity requires, all ſave fiſhes: for their yoong fry are nouriſhed by themſelves. But there is no ſenſe, where is no ſenſible object, nor appropriation, where nothing is proper and familiar: for ſurely this appropriation ſeemeth to be the ſenſe and perception of that which is familiar. And this opinion is conformable to their principles.

Moreover, *Chryſippus*, albeit in divers places he write many things contrarily, yet he accordeth to this ſentence manifeſtly, that there is no one vice greater, nor ſinne more grievous than another; as alſo reciprocally, there is not one vertue more excellent, nor one vertuous deed (which they call perfect duetie) better than another, conſidering that he hath this in the firſt booke of Nature: that like as it beſeemeth *Jupiter* well, to magnifie and glorifie himſelfe and his life, as alſo if we may ſo ſay, to beare his head aloft, highly to eſteeme his owne greatneſſe, and to ſpeake big, conſidering he leadeth a life woorthy of grandeloquence and hautie ſpeech: even ſo it befitteth and becommeth all honeſt men to do the like, conſidering that in no reſpect they be inferior to *Jupiter*. And yet himſelfe againe in the third booke of Juſtice ſaith, that thoſe who affirme Pleaſure to be the end and ſovereigne good of man, overthrow Juſtice; but whoſoever ſay it is ſimply good, do not deſtroy Juſtice. And the very words which he uſeth, be theſe: Peradventure (quoth he) it may be, that if we leave unto Pleaſure this attribute, To be ſimply and onely good, although it be not the end of all good things, and that honeſty and vertue is of the kinde of thoſe things which be eligible for themſelves: haply, by this meanes we may ſave Juſtice, in eſteeming Honeſty and Juſtice to be a more perfect and abſolute good thing than is Pleaſure: but in caſe it be ſo, that the thing onely which is honeſt is good, he erreth much who affirmeth that pleaſure is good; howbeit, leſſe than he who ſhould ſay that it is the end of all good things; for that as the one doth aboliſh and deſtroy utterly all Juſtice, the other doth ſo preſerve and mainteine it: for according to the latter of the twaine, all humane ſocietie periſheth, whereas the former reſerveth yet ſome place for bountie and civill humanitie. I let paſſe to relate what he ſaith in the booke entituled, Of *Jupiter*, namely, that vertues grow, that they alſo paſſe; becauſe I would not be thought to lie at vantage, and to catch at words; howſoever *Chryſippus* himſelfe in this kind of reprehenſion dealeth bitterly with *Plato* and other Philoſophers, for taking holde of words: but whereas he forbiddeth to praiſe all that is done vertuouſly, he giveth us to underſtand, that there is ſome difference in dueties and offices. Now this is the verie text in his treatiſe of *Jupiter*. For albeit vertuous acts be commendable, yet we are not to infer thereupon and ſay, that we ought to commend all that ſeemeth to proceed from vertue, as namely, to praiſe for a valiant act, the ſtiffe ſtretching out of the finger; or for temperance and continenencie, the abſtinence from an old trot, who hath one foot already in her grave; or for prudence, to underſtand aright and without errour, that three will not make foure: for he that went in hand to praiſe and commend a man for ſuch things as theſe, ſhould ſhew himſelfe to be very bold and abſurd even in the higheſt degree. And as much as this in a maner writeth he in the third booke of the gods: For I thinke verily (quoth he) that the praiſes of ſuch matters be impertinent and abſurd, although they ſeeme to depend of vertue, as namely, to forbeare an old trot now at the pits brincke, or to abide a flie-biting. What other accuſer ſhould he looke for then of his opinions, but himſelfe: for if it be ſo, that hee is abſurd who commendeth theſe things, then muſt he be thought much more abſurd, who ſuppoſeth ech one of theſe vertuous deeds to be not onely great, but alſo moſt magnificent. For if it be a valiant act to endure the biting of a flie; and likewiſe the part of a chaſte and continent perſon, to abſtaine from carnall dealing with an olde woman ready to drop into her grave; then it makes no matter, but it is all one, to praiſe an honeſt man aſwell for one thing as another. Moreover, in his ſecond booke of Friendſhip, whenas he giveth a precept, that we ought not to diſſolve amities for every fault or defect, he uſeth theſe very tearmes: For there be faults (quoth he) which we muſt overpaſſe quite, and make no ſtay at them; others there be againe, whereat we ſhould a little ſtand, and take offence; and others beſides, which require more chaſtiſement; but ſome there are, which we muſt thinke ſufficient to breake friendſhip for ever. And more than all this, in the ſame booke he ſaith, that we ought to converſe and be acquainted with ſome more, and with others leſſe, according as they be our friends more or leſſe: which difference and diverſitie extendeth very far, inſomuch as ſome are worthy of ſuch an amitie, others of a greater; ſome deſerve thus much truſt and confidence, others more than it: and ſo it is in other matters ſemblable. And what other is his drift in all theſe places, but to put a great difference betweene thoſe things, for which friendſhips are engendred? And yet in his booke of Honeſtie, to ſhew that there is nothing good but that which is honeſt, he delivereth theſe words: A good thing is eligible and to be deſired: that which is eligible and deſirable, is alſo acceptable: that which is acceptable, is likewiſe commendable: and that which is commendable, is honeſt withall. Againe, a good thing is joious and acceptable: joious is venerable, and venerable is honeſt. But theſe ſpeeches are repugnant to himſelfe: for be it, that all that is good were laudable (and then chaſtly to forbeare for to touch an olde riveled woman, were a commendable thing) or ſay that every good thing were neither venerable nor joious and acceptable; yet his reaſon falleth to the ground: for how can it be that others ſhould be thought frivolous and abſurd in praiſing any for ſuch things, and himſelfe not worthy to be mocked and laughed at, for taking joy and pleaſing himſelfe in ſuch ridiculous toies as theſe?

Thus you ſee how he ſheweth himſelfe in moſt part of his writings; and yet in his diſputations which he holdeth againſt others, he is much more careleſſe to be contrary and repugnant to himſelfe: for in his treatiſe which he made as touching exhortation, reproving *Plato* for ſaying, that it was not expedient for him to live at all, who is not taught, nor knoweth not how to live, he writeth in theſe very tearmes: This ſpeech of his (quoth he) is both contradictory & repugnant to it ſelfe, and beſides, hath no force nor efficacy at all to exhort: for firſt and formoſt in ſhewing us that it were expedient for us, not to live at all, and giving us at it were counſell to die, he exhorteth us to any thing rather than to the practiſe or ſtudie of philoſophie, becauſe it is not poſſible for a man to philoſophize, unleſſe he live: nether can he become wiſe, ſurvive he never ſo long, if he lead an evill and ignorant life. And a little after hee ſaith farther: That it is as meet and convenient alſo even for leawd and wicked perſons to remaine alive. But I care not much to ſet downe his very words: Firſt of all, like as vertue barely in it ſelfe conſidered, hath nothing in it, for which we ſhould deſire to live: even ſo vice hath as little, for which we ought to leave this life. What need we now turne over other books of *Chryſippus* and drip leafe by leafe, to proove how contrary and repugnant he is to himſelfe: for even in theſe which now we cite and alledge, he commeth out otherwhiles with this ſaying of *Antiſthenes*, for which he commendeth him, namely, that a man is to be provided either of wit to underſtand, or elſe of a with to under-hang himſelfe: as alſo this other verſe of *Tyrtæus*:

The bounds of vertue firſt come nie,
Or elſe make choiſe before to die.

And what other meaning is there of theſe words but this, that it is more expedient for fooliſh and lewd perſons to be out of the world, than to live: and in one paſſage, ſeeming to correct *Theognis*: He ſhould not (quoth he) have ſaid χρὴ πενίην φεύγοντα &c.

A man from poverty to flie,
(O Cyrnus) *ought himſelfe to caſt*
Headlong, from rocks moſt ſteepe and hie,
Or into ſea as deepe and vaſt.

But rather thus, χρὴ κακίαν φεύγοντα, &c.

A man from ſinne and vice to flie, &c.

What other things elſe ſeemeth he to doe, than to condemne and ſcrape out of other mens writings, the ſame things, propoſitions and ſentences, which himſelfe hath inſerted in his own books? For he reprooveth *Plato* when he prooveth and ſheweth, that it is better not to live at all, than to lead a life in wickedneſſe or ignorance: and in one breath hee giveth counſell to *Theognis* to ſet downe in his poeſie; That a man ought to fling himſelfe downe headlong into the deepe ſea, or to breake his necke from ſome high rocke for to avoid ſinne and wickedneſſe. And praiſing as hee did *Antiſthenes* for ſending fooles and witleſſe folke, to an halter wherewith to hang themſelves; he blamed him neverthelesse who ſaid, that vice was not a ſufficient cauſe, wherefore we ſhould ſhorten our lives. Moreover, in thoſe books againſt *Plato* himſelfe, concerning juſtice, he leapeth directly at the very firſt into a diſcourſe as touching the gods, and ſaith: That *Cephalus* did not divert men well from evill dooing, by the feare of the gods: affirming moreover, that the diſcourſe which he made as touching divine vengeance, might eaſily be infringed and refuted, for that of it ſelfe it miniſtreth many arguments and probable reaſons on the contrary ſide; as if the ſame reſembled for all the world the fabulous tales of *Acco* and *Alphito*, wherewith women are woont to ſcarre their little children, and to keepe them from doing ſhrewd turnes. Thus deriding, traducing, and backbiting *Plato*, hee praiſeth elſewhere, and in many places elſe alledgeth theſe verſes out of *Euripides*:

Well, well, though ſome this doctrine doe deride,
Be ſure, in heaven with other gods beſide,
Sits Jupiter, *the deeds of men who ſee,*
And will in time revenged ſurely bee.

Semblably, in the firſt booke of Juſtice, when he had alledged theſe verſes heere out of *Heſiodus*,

Then Saturnes *ſonne, god* Jupiter,
great plagues from heaven did ſend,
Even dearth and death, both which, of all
the people made an end.

he ſaith, that the gods proceed in this wiſe, to the end that when the wicked be thus puniſhed, others alſo advertiſed and taught by their example, might beware how they commit the like, or at leaſtwiſe ſinne leſſe.

What ſhould I ſay moreover, how in this treatiſe of Juſtice, having affirmed, that thoſe who hold pleaſure to be good, but not the ſoveraigne end of good, may in ſome ſort withall preſerve & mainteine juſtice, for, ſo much he hath put downe in theſe very termes: For haply, admitting pleaſure to be good although not the ſupreme good or the end: and honeſty to be of the kind of thoſe things, which are eligible and to be deſired for their owne ſake, wee may by that meanes ſave juſtice, while we permit and allow that which is honeſt and juſt to be a greater good than pleaſure. Having (I ſay) delivered the ſame alſo in his books of pleaſure: yet in his treatiſe againſt *Plato*, reprooving him for raunging health in the number of good things, he affirmeth, that not onely juſtice, but alſo magnanimity, temperance, and all other vertues are aboliſhed and periſh, in caſe we hold that either pleaſure, or health, or any other thing whatſoever, can be numbred and reputed among good things, unleſſe the ſame be honeſt. Now as touching the apologie or anſwer that may be made in defence of *Plato*, I have elſewhere written againſt *Chryſippus*: but even in this very place there is manifeſtly to be ſeene a repugnancy and contradiction againſt himſelfe: conſidering that one while hee ſaith, that juſtice may ſtand well enough, if a man ſuppoſe pleaſure joined with honeſty to be good; and another while contrariwiſe, he findeth fault with all thoſe, who repute any thing elſe to be good, but onely that which is honeſt; as if thereby they aboliſhed and overthrew all vertues. And becauſe he would leave no meanes at all to ſalve and ſave his contradictions, writing of juſtice againſt *Ariſtotle*, he challengeth him for untrueth, in that hee affirmeth, that if pleaſure were granted to bee the ſoveraigne good, both Juſtice were overthrowen, and therewith alſo every vertue beſides: For this is certaine (quoth he) that thoſe who are of this opinion, doe indeed aboliſh Juſtice; howbeit I ſee no let why other vertues may not ſtand, if not thoſe which be of them ſelves expetible, yet ſuch at leaſtwiſe as be good and vertuous really. And thereupon he proceedeth preſently to name them every one ſeverally. But it were not a miſſe to recite his owne words as he delivered them: For ſuppoſe (quoth he) that by this diſcourſe and reaſon, Pleaſure ſeeme the very end of all good things, yet we are not to inferre hereupon, that all is compriſed under it: and therefore we muſt ſay, that neither any vertue is to be deſired, nor vice to be eſchued for it ſelfe, but all theſe things are to be referred unto a ſcope and marke propoſed: and yet in the meane time what ſhould hinder, but that fortitude, prudence, continence, patience, and other ſuch vertues, may be good and expetible, like as their contraries bad and to be avoided. What man therfore was there ever in his ſpeeches and diſputations more raſh and audacious than he? conſidering that he charged the two princes of Phyloſophers with imputations: the one for aboliſhing all vertue, in that he confeſſed not that onely to be good which is honeſt: and the other, in that if pleaſure were ſuppoſed and ſet downe to be the end of good things, he thought not that all vertues except onely Juſtice might ſubſiſt and be maintained? what a woonderfull liberty, and monſtrous licentiouſneſſe rather is this, in diſcourſing of one and the ſame ſubject matter, to tax and reproove that in *Ariſtotle*, which he ſetteth downe himſelfe: and afterwards in accuſing *Plato*, to ſubvert and undo the very ſame? And yet in his demonſtrations, as touching Juſtice, he affirmeth expreſly that every perfect duety, is a lawfull deed and a juſt action.

Now, whatſoever is performed by continence, by patience, by prudence, or by fortitude is a perfect duty, *ergo,* it followeth, that it is likewiſe a lawfull action. How chanceth it then that he leaveth not juſtice for them, in whom he admitteth prudence, continence, and valour, conſidering that all the acts which they performe according to theſe vertues, be perfect duties, and by conſequence juſt and lawfull operations?

Whereas *Plato,* in a certeine place hath written, that injuſtice being a certaine inteſtine ſedition and corruption of the ſoule, never caſteth off and loſeth her power even in thoſe who have it within them: for ſhe cauſeth a wicked man to fight with himſelfe, ſhe troubleth, vexeth, and tormenteth him. *Chryſippus* reproving this aſſertion of his, ſaith, that it was falſely and abſurdly ſpoken, that any one could doe wrong or injurie to himſelfe: For (quoth he) all injurie and outrage muſt needs be to another: but afterwards forgetting himſelfe and what he had ſaid, in that treatiſe of his entituled, The demõſtrations of juſtice, he affirmeth, that whoſoever doth injuſtice, wrongeth himſelfe, and in offering injurie to another, doth himſelfe wrong, in that he is the very cauſe why himſelfe tranſgreſſeth the lawes: wherein unworthily he hurteth and woundeth his owne perſon. Lo what he ſaid againſt *Plato*, diſcourſing that injuſtice could not be againſt a mans ſelfe, but againſt another: For to be perticularly and privately unjuſt, there muſt (quoth he) be many ſuch as ſpeake contrary one unto another: and otherwiſe this word injuſtice is taken as if it were amongſt many that are in ſuch ſort injuriouſly affected one to another: wheras no ſuch matter can properly and fitly argree to one alone, but in as much as he is ſo diſpoſed and affected to another. But contrary to all this, in his demonſtrations he argueth and reaſoneth thus, to prove that the injuſt man doth wrong and injury to himſelfe: The law (quoth he) followeth expreſly, to be the author or cauſe of tranſgreſſion; but to commit injuſtice is a tranſgreſſion: he therefore who cauſeth himſelfe to doe injury, tranſgreſſeth the law of himſelfe. Now he that treſpaſſeth againſt any one, doth him wrong and injurie: he therefore who wrongeth any other whomſoever, doth injure to himſelfe. Againe, ſinne is of the kinde of hurts and dammages that are done; but every man that ſinneth, offendeth and ſinneth againſt himſelfe: and therefore, whoſoever ſinneth, hurteth alſo and endamageth himſelfe unwoorthily; and if he doe ſo, then by conſequence he muſt needs wrong himſelfe. Furthermore, thus alſo hee reaſoneth: Hee that ſuffereth hurt and dammage by another, woundeth and offendeth himſelfe withall unworthily: and what is that elſe but to doe wrong and injury? he therefore that receiveth injury of any other whatſoever, wrongeth his owne ſelfe. That the doctrine of good things and evill (which himſelfe bringeth in and approoveth) he ſaith, is moſt accordant unto mans life, yea and connexed as much as any thing elſe with thoſe prenotions and anticipations which by nature are inbred and ingenerate in us: for, ſo much hath he delivered in his third booke of Exhortations: but in the firſt booke he affirmeth quite contrary, that this doctrine doth divert and withdraw a man from all things elſe, as if they were of no moment nor helpefull and effectuall any jot to the atteining of happineſſe & ſoveraigne felicity. See how he accordeth herein with himſelfe, when he affirmeth that doctrine of his which plucketh us away from life, from health, from indolence and integrity of ſenſes; and teacheth beſides that whatſoever we crave in our praiers at gods hands, concerne us not at all nor appertaine unto us, to be moſt accordant unto humane life, and the common prenotions & inbred anticipations of knowledge aboveſaid. But to the end that no man might denie that he is repugnant and contrary to himſelfe, loe what he ſaith in his third booke of juſtice. This is it (quoth he) that by reaſon of the ſurpaſſing grandure & beawty of our ſentences, thoſe matters which we deliver, ſeeme feined tales and deviſed fables exceeding mans power and farre beyond humane nature. How can it be that any man ſhould more plainly confeſſe, that he is at war with himſelfe, than he doth who ſaith that his propoſitions and opinions, are ſo extravagant and tranſcendent, that they reſemble counterfeit tales, and for their exelency ſurmount the condition and nature of man: and yet forſooth for all this, that they accord and agree paſſing well with humane life, yea and come neereſt unto the ſaid inbred prenotions and anticipations that are in us.

Hee affirmeth that the very eſſence and ſubſtance of infelicitie, is vice; writing and firmly mainteining in all his books of morall and naturall philoſophy, that to live in vice, is as much as to live in miſery and wretchedneſſe: but in the third booke of Nature, having ſaid before that it were better and more expedient to live a ſenſeleſſe foole, yea though there were no hope that ever he ſhould become wiſe, than not to live at all, he addeth afterwards thus much: For there be ſuch good things in men, that in ſome ſort the very evill things goe before, and are better than the indifferent in the middes betweene. As for this, how he hath written elſwhere, that there is nothing expedient and profitable in fooles, and yet in this place ſetteth downe in plaine termes, that it is expedient to live fooliſh and ſenſeleſſe, I am content to overpaſſe; but ſeeing hee ſaith now that evill things goe before, and one better than the indifferent or meane (which with them of his ſect are neither good nor ill) ſurely it is as much as if hee affirmed that evill things are better than things not evill: and all are, as to ſay that to be wretched is more expedient than not to be wretched: and ſo by that meanes, he is of opinion, that not to be miſerable is more unprofitable than to be miſerable; and if it be more unprofitable, than alſo it muſt be more hurtfull and dammageable. But being deſirous in ſome ſort to mollifie this abſurditie, and to ſalve this ſore, he ſubnexeth as touching evill things, theſe words: My meaning is not (quoth he) that they ſhould go before and be preferred, but reaſon is the thing wherewith it is better to live, although a man ſhould ever be a foole, than not to live at all. Firſt and formoſt then, hee calleth vice an evill thing, as alſo whatſoever doth participate of vice and nothing els: now is vice reaſonable, or rather to ſpeake more properly, reaſon delinquent: ſo that to live with reaſon, if we be fooles and void of wiſdome, what is it els, but to live with vice? now to live as fooles, is all one as to live wretched. Wherein is it then, and how commeth it about, that this ſhould go before meane and indifferent things? for it was not admitted that happie life ſhould go before miſerie: neither was it ever any part (ſay they) of *Chryſippus* his meaning to range and count among good things, To remaine alive; no more than among bad, To depart this life: but he thought that theſe things were of themſelves indifferent and of a middle nature; in which regard otherwhiles it is meet for happy men to leave this life, and for wretches to continue alive. And what greater contrariety can there be, as touching things eligible or refuſable, than to ſay that for them who are happy in the higheſt degree, it is fit and beſeeming to forgoe and forſake the good things that be preſent, for want of ſome one thing that is indifferent? And yet *Chryſippus* is of this minde, that no indifferent thing is of the owne nature to be deſired or rejected; but that we ought to chuſe that onely which is good, and to ſhun that alone which is bad: ſo as according to their opinion, it comes to paſſe, that they never divert their deſſignments or actions to the purſute after things deſirable, nor the avoidance of things refuſable; but another marke it is that they ſhoot & aime at, namely, at thoſe things which they neither eſchue nor chuſe, & according thereto, they live & die. *Chryſippus* avoweth & confeſſeth that there is as great a difference betweene good things & bad, as poſſibly may be; as needs there muſt, in caſe it be true, that as the one ſort of them cauſe thoſe in whom they are, to be exceeding happy, ſo the other, extreme wretched & miſerable. Now in the firſt booke of the end of good things, he ſaith that aſwell good things as bad, be ſenſible; for theſe be his very words: That good and evill things be perceptible by ſenſe, we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge upon theſe arguments: for not onely the very paſſions indeed of the minde, together with their parts and ſeverall kinds, to wit, ſadneſſe, feare and ſuch like, be ſenſible; but alſo a man may have a ſenſe of theft, adultery, and ſemblable ſinnes; yea and of follie, of cowardiſe, and in one word, of all other vices, which are in number not a few: and not onely joy, beneficence, and other dependances of vertuous offices, but alſo prudence, valour and the reſt of the vertues, are object to the ſenſe. But to let paſſe all other abſurdities conteined in theſe words, who will not confeſſe, but that there is a meere contradiction in that which they delivered, as touching one that becomes a wiſe man, and knowes not thereof? for, conſidering that the preſent good is ſenſible, and much different from that which is evill, that one poſſibly ſhould of a wicked perſon proove to be vertuous, and not know thereof, & not have ſenſe of vertue being preſent, but to thinke that vice is ſtill within him; how can this otherwiſe be, but moſt abſurd? for either no man can be ignorant and out of doubt, whether he hath all vertues together; or els he muſt confeſſe, that there is ſmall difference and the ſame hard to be diſcerned, betweene vice and vertue, felicity and infelicity, a right honeſt life, and a moſt diſhoneſt, in caſe a man ſhould paſſe from the one to the other, and poſſeſſe one for the other, without ever knowing it.

One worke he wrote, entituled, *Of lives*, and the ſame divided into foure books: in the fourth whereof, he ſaith, That a wiſe man medleth not with great affaires, but is occupied in his owne buſineſſe onely, without being curious to looke into other mens occaſions: his very words to this purpoſe, be theſe; For mine owne part, of this opinion I am, that a prudent man gladly avoideth a ſtirring life, intermedleth little, and in his owne matters onely: for to deale ſimply in a mans owne affaires, and to enter into little buſineſſe in the world, be both alike commendable parts, and the properties of civill and laudable perſons. And in maner the ſame ſpeeches or very like thereto, he hath delivered in the third booke of ſuch things as be expetible and to be choſen for themſelves, in theſe termes: For in truth (quoth he) it ſeemeth, that the quiet life ſhould be without danger, and in perfect ſecurity, which few or none of the vulgar ſort are able to comprehend and underſtand. Wherein firſt and formoſt, it is evident, that he commeth very neere to the errour of *Epicurus*, who in the government of the world diſavoweth divine providence: for that he would have God to reſt in repoſe, idle, and not emploied in any thing. And yet *Chryſippus* himſelfe, in his firſt booke of Lives ſaith: That a wiſe man willingly will take a kingdome upon him, yea, and thinke to make his gaine and profit thereby: and if he be not able to reigne himſelfe, yet he will at leaſtwiſe converſe and live with a king, yea, goe foorth with him to warre, like as *Hydanthyrſus* the Scythian did, and *Leucon* of *Pontus*. But I will ſet downe his owne words, that we may ſee whether, like as of the treble and baſe ſtrings, there ariſeth a conſonance of an eight; ſo there be an accord in the life of a man, who hath choſen to live quietly without doing ought, or at leaſtwiſe to intermeddle in few affaires, yea, and yet afterwards accompanieth the Scythians riding on horſebacke, and manageth the affaires of the kings of *Boſphorus* upon any occaſion of need that may be preſented? For as touching this point (quoth he) that a wiſe man will go into warlike expeditions with princes, live, and converſe with them, we will conſider againe thereof heereafter; being as it is, a thing that as ſome upon the like arguments imagine not, ſo we for the ſemblable reaſons admit and allow. And a little after: Not onely with thoſe who have proceeded well in the knowledge of vertue, and beene ſufficiently inſtituted and trained up in good maners, as were *Hydanthyrſus* and *Leucon* aboveſaid. Some there be who blame *Caliſthenes* for that he paſſed over the ſeas to king *Alexander* into his campe, in hope to reedifie the city *Olynthus*, as *Ariſtotle* cauſed the city *Stagyra* to be repaired, who highly commend *Ephorus*, *Xenocrates* and *Menedemus*, who rejected *Alexander*: But *Chryſippus* driveth his wiſe man by the head forward, for his gaine and profit, as farre as to the city *Panticapæum*, and the deſerts of *Scythia*. And that this is (I ſay) for his gaine & profit he ſhewed before, by ſetting downe three principall meanes, beſeeming a wiſe man for to practiſe and ſeeke his gaine by: the firſt by a kingdome, and the beneficence of kings; the ſecond by his friends; and the third beſides theſe, by teaching literature: and yet in many places he wearieth us with citing this verſe of *Euripides*:

* See a little after.

For what need mortall men take paine?
*Onely for things in number * twaine.*

But in his books of Nature he ſaith: That a wiſe man if he have loſt the greateſt riches that may be, eſteemeth the loſſe no more than if it were but a ſingle denier of ſilver, or one grey groat. Howbeit, him whom he hath there ſo highly extolled and puffed up with glory, heere hee taketh downe and abaſeth as much, even to make him a meere mercenary pedante, and one that is faine to teach a ſchoole: for he would have him to demaund and exact his ſalary ſometime before hand of his ſcholar, when he enters into his ſchoole; and otherwhile after a certeine prefixed time of his ſchooling is come and gone: And this (quoth hee) is the honeſter and more civill way of the twaine; but the other is the ſurer, namely, to make him pay his mony aforehand; for that delay and giving attendance is ſubject to receive wrong and ſuſteine loſſe: and thus much he uttereth in theſe very termes: Thoſe teachers that be of the wiſer ſort, cal for their ſchoolage and minervals of their ſcholars, not all after one maner, but diverſly: a number of them, according as the preſent occaſion requireth, who promiſe not to make them wiſe men, and that within a yeere; but undertake to doe what lies in them, within a ſet time agreed upon betweene them. And ſoone after, ſpeaking of his wiſe man: He will (quoth he) know the beſt time, when to demaund his penſion, to wit, whether incontinently upon the entrance of his ſcholar, as the moſt part do; or to give day, and ſet downe a certeine time; which maner of dealing is more ſubject to receive injurie, howſoever it may ſeeme more honeſt and civill. And how can a wiſe man, tell me now, be a deſpiſer of money, in caſe hee make a contract and bargaine at a price to receive money, for delivering vertue; or if he doe not deliver it, yet require his ſalary neverthele ſſe, as if he he had performed his part fully? Either how can he be greater than to ſuſteine a loſſe and damage, if it be ſo that he ſtand ſo ſtrictly upon this point, and be ſo warie, that he receive no wrong by the paiment of his wages? For ſurely no man is ſaid to bee injuried, who is not hurt nor endamaged: and therefore how ever otherwiſe he hath flatly denied, that a wiſe man could receive warning; yet in this booke he ſaith, that this maner of dealing, is expoſed to loſſe and damage.

In his booke of Common-wealth,he affirmeth,that his citizens will never doe any thing for pleaſure, no nor addreſſe and prepare themſelves therefore, praiſing highly *Euripides* for theſe verſes :

What need men, but for two things,onely ſwinke?
Bread for to eat, and water ſheere to drinke.

And ſoone after, he proceedeth forward, and praiſeth *Diogenes*,for abuſing himſelfe,by forcing his nature to paſſe from him in the open ſtreet, and ſaying withall to thoſe that ſtood by : Oh, that I could chaſe hunger as well from my belly. What reaſon then is there, in the ſelfeſame bookes to commend him for rejecting pleaſure, and withall for defiling his owne body as hee did,ſo beaſtly in the ſight of the whole world, and that for a little filthy pleaſure? In his books of Nature, having written that nature had produced and brought foorth many living creatures for beauty onely, as delighting and taking pleaſure in ſuch lovely varietie, and therewith having adjoined moreover a moſt ſtrange and abſurd ſpeech, namely,that the peacocke was made for his tailes ſake,and in regard of the beauty thereof: cleane contrary to himſelfe, in his books of Common-wealth, he reprooveth very ſharpely thoſe who keepe peacocks and nightingals, as if he would make lawes quite contrary to that ſoveraigne law-giver of the world,deriding nature for taking delight, and employing as it were her ſtudy in bringing foorth ſuch creatures; unto which a wiſe man wil give no place in his city and common-wealth. For how can it otherwiſe be but monſtrous and abſurd for to finde fault with thoſe who nouriſh ſuch creatures, as if it were wantonneſſe ſo to doe, in caſe he praiſe the divine providence for creating them? In his fift booke of Nature, after he had ſhewed that wal-lice or punaiſes ſerve in good ſtead to awaken us out of ſleepe, as alſo that mice advertiſe us to beware and take heed where we lay up and beſtow every thing; and that it is probable that nature taketh pleaſure in producing faire creatures, and joieth in diverſitie, he commeth out with this ſentence word for word: This appeereth moſt evidently in the peacocks taile : for heere he ſignifieth that this bird was made for the tailes ſake, and not contrariwiſe; and ſo when the cocke was once created, the hen followed after.

In his booke of common-wealth when he had ſaid,that we are come almoſt to the painting of dung-hils,a little after: There be ſome(quoth he)who adorne & embeliſh their corn-fields,with vines climbing and growing upon trees, ranged directly in order, as alſo with myrtle rowes; who nouriſh alſo peacocks and doves, yea and partridges,for to heare them cal and record unto them, as alſo nightingales for their pleaſant ſong. But I would gladly know of him, what hee thinketh, and what his conceit is of bees and of hony; for it would by good conſequence follow, that he who had ſaid, that punaiſes and wal-lice were profitably created; ſhould alſo inferre that bees were made for no profit. Now if he allowed theſe a place in his Common-wealth, how is it that he forbiddeth his citizens to enterteine thoſe things which delight the eare. To be briefe, like as he were very abſurd who ſhould find fault with thoſe gueſts at a feaſt, who fell to eat comfits, and ſweet banketting conceits, to drinke wine alſo, and to feed of delicate viands; and in the meane while commend the man who invited them to ſuch dainties, and provided the ſame for them: even ſo, he who praiſing the divine providence for creating delicate fiſhes,deinty birds, ſweet hony, and pleaſant wine, ſhould reproove thoſe who reject not theſe gifts,nor be content to eat bare bread, and drinke ſheere water, things that be ever at hand, and which are ſufficient for our food,were as farre out of reaſon,and makes no reckoning at all how he doth contradict himſelfe,and what contrary opinions he holdeth.

Moreover, having in his treatiſe of Exhortations ſaid,that it was no reaſon,that folke ſhould be defamed or blamed, for having to doe carnally with their owne mothers, daughters, or ſiſters; for eating any kinde of meats whatſoever, for going directly out of the bed from a woman,or from a dead body and mortuarie, unto a temple or ſacrifice: And heerein (quoth he) we ought to have a regard and eie unto brute beaſts, and taking example by them, to collect and conclude, that in all this, there is no abſurdity at all, nor any thing againſt nature; for fitly and to the purpoſe very well a man may alledge this,and compare the uſage of other creatures, to ſhew that they neither being coupled together nor engendring, no nor dying in temples,do pollute and defile the divinitie. Contrary to all this, in the fift booke of nature he ſaith: That the poet *Heſiodus* did very well to admoniſh and forbid us, not to piſſe into fountaines, nor running rivers; yea, and much rather to forbeare to make water againſt an altar, or any image and ſtatue of the gods: neither mattereth, or ſkilleth it all, if dogs, aſſes, and yoong children, doe ſo, ſeeing they have no diſcretion nor conſideration in ſuch things: and therefore it is very abſurd to ſay in one place: That it is meet to conſider the ſavage example of wilde beaſts; and in another, as abſurde to alledge the ſame.

Some philoſophers there be, who imagine a certeine acceſſary motion from without in the principall part of our ſoule; for that a man ſeemeth to give the head and liberty unto divers inclinations, when he is forced to a thing by outward cauſes: which motion appeereth principally in doubtfull and variable things; for when of two objects equall in power, and every way ſemblable, we are of neceſſity to chuſe one, and there is no cauſe at all to incline us more to the one than to the other, this foreſaid acceſſary and adventitious puiſſance, comming in otherwiſe, and ſeazing upon the inclination of the ſoule, decideth all the doubt. Againſt theſe philoſophers, *Chryſippus* diſputing, as if they did violence to nature by the contrary, and by deviſing an effect without a cauſe; among ſundry other examples, alledgeth the cockall bone, the balance, and many ſuch like things which cannot fall, incline and bend now on one ſide, and then on another, without ſome cauſe & difference which is entirely in them, or elſe commeth from without forth: for this is generally held; that whatſoever is without cauſe can have no ſubſiſtence, no more than meere hazard and chance: but in theſe adventitions and acceſſarie motions which they ſuppoſe, there be certeine hidden irreptitious cauſes, which ſecretly moove and induce our appetite and inclination, even without our knowledge to one part or other: and this is that which he often repeateth in the moſt notable works that he hath put forth; but that which himſelfe afterward delivereth cleane contrary, becauſe it is not expoſed ſo openly to the view of the whole world, I will alledge *verbatim* as he hath delivered it: For in his treatiſe concerning the office of a Judge, ſuppoſing for example ſake, that two curriers who ranne a courſe, were come both together unto the goale, he demandeth what the Judge ſhould doe in this caſe; namely, whether it were lawfull for him, to give unto whether of them hee pleaſed, the victorious branch of the date tree? this being ſuppoſed withall, that they were both ſo inward & familiar with him, that he ſhould rather gratifie them both, even out of his owne in ſome ſort, than ſeeme to defraud either of them of the victorious garland, which ſeemeth to be common to them both: Whether (I ſay) it be lawfull for him to encline unto one or to the other, and ſo award the victory as if they had drawen lots therefore: To encline (I ſay) caſually & without any reaſon; like as when two groates are preſented unto us, every way ſemblable one to the other, we incline rather to that which we take. And in the ſixt booke of Duties, having ſaid, that there be certeine things that require no great adoo, nor intentive conſideration, hee is of opinion, that in ſuch caſes we are to yeeld the choiſe into the caſuall propenſion of the minde, even as to the adventerous hazard of a lot: as for example; if the queſtion be to make triall of the ſaid two groates, one ſaith, this is the better, and another that: but for that we are to take one of the twaine, without more adoo and farther triall of their betterneſſe, we take that which comes firſt; and in another place he ſaith: in putting this to the aventure of a lot, it falleth out otherwhiles, that wee hit upon the woorſe: in theſe places the caſuall inclination of the minde, to the firſt object, and the putting of the matter to the hazard of a lot, is nothing elſe but to bring in a choiſe of things indifferent without any cauſe.

In the third booke of Logique, having premiſed thus much, that *Plato*, *Ariſtotle* and their ſucceſſours and diſciples even as farre as to *Polemon* and *Straton*, had beſtowed great ſtudy and travelled much therein: but above all others, *Socrates*, with this addition, that a man would wiſh with ſo many and ſuch noble perſonages to erre for company: he commeth in afterwards with theſe words: If they had (quoth he) treated and diſcourſed hereof curſarily or by the way, a man haply might laugh at this place well enough: but ſince that they have ſo ſeriouſly and exactly diſputed of Logique, as if it were one of the greateſt faculties and moſt neceſſarie ſciences, it is not like that they were ſo groſly deceived, being men throughout all the parts of philoſophy, ſo ſingular as we repute them to be. How is it then, may a man reply and ſay, that you never reſt baying and barking at theſe ſo woorthy and excellent perſonages, and convincing them as you ſuppoſe to have erred? For there is no likelihood that they writing ſo diligently and exactly as they have done of Logique, ſhould of the principles and elements, of the end of good things, of Juſtice and the gods, write careleſſely and after a looſe maner, howſoever you are diſpoſed to tearme their treatiſes and diſcourſes, blinde, repugnant to themſelves, and ſtuffed with an infinit ſort of faults and errors. In one place he denieth that the vice ἐπιχαιρεκακία, that is to ſay a joy to ſee evill happen unto another, hath any being or reall ſubſiſtence: For that (quoth he) no good man was ever knowen to rejoice at the harme of another: but in his ſecond booke as touching Good, having declared what Envie is, namely a griefe for another mans well-fare: becauſe men are deſirous to detract and debaſe their neighbours, to the end they might be ſuperiours themſelves: he addeth afterwards, the joy for another mans harme, and that in theſe words: Annexed thereunto (quoth he) is the joy for another mans harme, becauſe men are deſirous that their neighbours about them, ſhould be brought low for the like cauſes: but when they decline and turne to other naturall affections, there is engendred Pity and Mercie: In which words it appeareth that he ordaineth ἐπιχαιρεκακία to be a thing really ſubſiſtent as well as envie and pittie, which notwithſtanding elſewhere he ſaid had no being at all in the world no more than the hatred of wickedneſſe or the deſire of filthy lucre.

Having in many places affirmed, that men are never a whit more happie, for long continuance of felicity, but that they be ſtill as happy who enjoy felicity but one minute of an houre: in as many other places againe he avoucheth the contrary, ſaying that a man ſhould not ſo much as put forth his finger for a tranſitory and momentany prudence, which endureth but a while, & paſſeth away like unto the flaſh and leame of a lightening. But it ſhal ſuffice to relate the very words, which he hath written in his ſixth booke of morall queſtions as touching this matter: for when he had premiſed thus much, that every good thing doth not cauſe equall joy, nor all vertuous duties like vantery, he commeth after with theſe words: For if a man is to have prudence one moment of time, or the laſt daie onely of his life, he ſhould not ſo much as hold up or ſtretch out his finger for a prudence that laſteth ſo ſmall a while: although no man is ſaid to be the more bleſſed for long continuance of happineſſe, neither is eternall beatitude more expetible or deſirable, than that which paſſeth away within a minute of an houre. Now if he had thought that prudence were a good thing bringing forth bleſſedneſſe, as *Epicurus* did, a man could have found fault with nothing elſe but the abſurdity onely of ſo ſtrange an opinion and paradox. But ſeeing that prudence is no other thing than beatitude, of it ſelfe, and even very felicity, how can it be avoided that herein there ſhould not be a contradiction and repugnancy of ſpeech, namely, to ſay that tranſitory happineſſe is as eligible and as much to be deſired, as that which is perpetuall: and to hold, that the felicity of one moment is worth naught

He affirmeth that vertues doe follow and accompany one another not onely in this reſpect, that he who hath one, hath likewiſe all the reſt, but alſo in this that he who worketh by one, worketh with all according to the other: neither (ſaith he) is any man perfect, unleſſe he be poſſeſſed of all vertues. Howbeit in the ſixt booke of morall queſtions, *Chryſippus* ſaith that neither a good and honeſt man doth alwaies beare himſelfe valiantly, nor a naughty man behave himſelfe cowardly, for that as certeine objects be preſented into mens fantaſies, it behooveth one man to perſevere and perſiſt in his judgements, and another to forſake and relinquiſh the ſame: for probable he ſaith it is that even the wicked man is not alwaies laſcivious. Now in caſe it be ſo, that to be a valiant man, is as much as to ſhew valour, and to be a coward, the ſame that to uſe cowardiſe, they ſpeake contraries who affirme, that a naughty perſon practiſing one vice, worketh by all together: and that a valiant man uſeth not alwaies valour, nor a daſtard cowardiſe.

He denieth Rhetorique to be an art, as touching the ornament, diſpoſe and order of an oration pronounced: and beſides in the firſt booke he hath thus written: And in mine opinion requiſit it is to have not onely a regard of an honeſt, decent & ſimple adorning of words, but alſo a care of proper geſtures, actions, pauſes and ſtaies of the voice, as alſo a meet conformation of the countenance and the hands. Being as you ſee thus exquiſit and curious in this paſſage: yet in the ſame booke cleare contrary, having ſpoken of the colliſion of vowels, and hitting one of them upon another: We are not only (quoth he) to neglect this, and to thinke of that which is of greater moment and importance but alſo to let paſſe certeine obſcurities and defects, ſolæciſmes alſo and incongruities, of which many others would be aſhamed. Now one while to permit and allow ſuch exquiſit curioſity in the orderly diſpoſe of a mans tongue, even as far as to the decent ſetting of the countenance and geſture of the hands: and another while not to baſh at the committing of groſſe incongruities, defects and obſcurities, is the property of a man who cares not what he ſaith, but ſpeakes whatſoever comes in his head.

Over and beſides in his naturall poſitions, treating of thoſe things which require the view of the eie and experience, after he had given warning that we ſhould go warily to worke, and not raſhly yeeld our aſſent thereto, he ſaith, Let us not therefore be of *Platoes* opinion, to thinke that our liquid food, to wit, our drinke, paſſeth directly to the lungs, and our dry nouriſhment, that is, our meat, into the ſtomacke; neither let us fall into ſuch like errours as theſe. For mine owne part, thus I thinke, That for a man to reprehend others, and afterwards to incurre the ſame faults and errours which he reproved, is the greateſt repugnancy and contrariety that may

be,

be, and the fouleſt and moſt ſhamefull fault of all others. And verily himſelfe ſaith, that the connexions which are made by the ten principall Axiomes, that is to ſay, Propoſitions, exceed in number ten hundred thouſand; when as neither he had by himſelfe diligently enough enquired and ſearched into the thing, nor by other men well exerciſed in that art of Arethmeticke, attained to the trueth. And yet *Plato* had to teſtifie on his ſide, the moſt renowmed Phyſicians that were, namely, *Hippocrates*, *Philiſtion* and *Dioxippus* the diſciple of *Hippocrates*: alſo of Poets, *Euripides*, *Alcæus*, *Eupolis* and *Eratoſthenes*, who all with one voice affirme, that the drinke paſſeth by the lungs. And as for all the Arithmeticians well practiſed in the knowledge of numbers, they reprove *Chryſippus*: and *Hipparchus* among the reſt, proving and ſhewing that in the foreſaid ſpeech of his, he erred moſt groſly in his computation, if it be true that the affirmative maketh of the ſaid ten Axiomes to the number of 103049 connexions, and the negative 952, over and above three hundred and ten thouſands. Some of the ancients ſaid of *Zeno* that it befel unto him as unto one who had ſowre wine of his owne, which he could not ſell and, make away either for vineger or wine: for, that precedent of his which they call προηγμένον, hee could not put off neither for a thing that is good, nor ſo much as indifferent. But *Chryſippus* hath made the matter farre more intricate and different: for in ſome paſſages of his, he ſaith, that they are ſtarke mad, who make no account of riches, health, voidneſſe of paine and integrity of the body, nor care how to attaine thereto; and having alledged this verſe out of *Heſiodus*,

O Perſes, *borne of noble race,*
Thy buſineſſe plie, and worke apace.

he addeth thereto and ſaith, it were meere madneſſe to adviſe the contrarie, and ſay,

O Perſes, *borne of noble race,*
Plie not thy worke in any caſe.

And in his treatiſe of Lives he writeth, that a wiſe man will court it with kings and princes, if he may raiſe his commoditie and gaine thereby; yea, he will keepe a ſchoole and teach for money, taking of ſome ſcholars his minervals aforehand, and bargaining with others for a certeine time. Alſo in the ſeventh booke of his offices, he ſaith, that he will not ſticke to tumble downe upon his head, and that three times, ſo he may be ſure to have a talent for his labour. In his firſt booke of Good things, he permitteth and granteth unto whoſoever will, to call thoſe προηγμένα or precedents aforeſaid, Good, and the contrary thereto, Bad, in theſe very tearmes: If a man liſt (quoth he) according to ſuch premutations as theſe, he may call one thing good unto himſelfe, and another thing ill; ſo as he have an eie and regard unto the things, and wander not inconſiderately, nor faile in the underſtanding of things ſignified, but otherwiſe accommodate himſelfe to the uſe and cuſtome of the denomination. Having thus in this place ſet his Precedent ſo neere and linked it with Good; in other paſſages he ſaith cleane contrary, that none of all this concerneth us at all, but reaſon doth divert and plucke us quite away from all ſuch things: for, ſo much hath he ſet downe in his firſt booke of Exhortations. But in the third booke of Nature, he ſaith, that ſome kings and rich perſons are reputed bleſſed and happie; which is as much as if they were to be accounted happy, who made water in golden chamber pots, or ſwept the floure with the golden traines of their coſtly robes. But a good man, if he loſe his whole patrimonie and all his eſtate, weigheth it no more than the loſſe of a grote or ſingle denier, and maketh no greater matter of ſickneſſe, than of ſtumbling or tripping alittle with his foot. And therefore, filled he hath with ſuch contrarieties, not vertue onely, but alſo providence. For vertue will appeare exceeding baſe, mechanicall and fooliſh, if it be emploied in things ſo vile and contemptible, commanding a man to ſaile for them as farre as to *Boſporus*, yea and to throw himſelfe upon his head. And *Jupiter* is very ridiculous, delighting to be called either *Cteſius*, that is to ſay, The enricher and donor of poſſeſſions, or *Epicarpius*, that is to ſay, The giver of fruits, or *Charidotes*, that is to ſay, The gratifier and authour of favours: for that unto leawd and wicked perſons he affoordeth golden chamber pots, and robes garded and bordered round about the skirts with golde; but vouchſafeth unto good men, traſh hardly woorth a grote, when they are become rich through the providence of *Jupiter*. And yet *Apollo* is much more ridiculous, if it be ſo, that he ſits giving anſweres and oracles as touching golden chamber pots, gards and fringes of gold, yea and the tripping and ſtumbling of the foot. This repugnance and contrarietie they make more evident and apparent ſtill by their demonſtration: For that (quoth they) which may be well or ill uſed, is neither good nor bad. Now, certeine it is, that all evill and fooliſh perſons uſe riches, health and ſtrength of the body, amiſſe; and therefore none of theſe may be called Good. If then, God give not vertue unto men, but Honeſty commeth of it ſelfe, and yet beſtoweth riches and health without vertue, ſurely it is upon them who will not uſe the ſame well but ill, that is to ſay, unprofitably, ſhamefully and miſchievouſly. And verily if the gods can give vertue, they are not good if they doe not: and againe, if they can not make good men, neither are they able to helpe them any way, conſidering, that without it, there is nothing good nor profitable. For, to ſay that the gods judge thoſe to be good by vertue and by ſtrength, who are otherwiſe good than by them, is to no purpoſe, but a vaine conceit: for even ſo good men do judge the evill by vertue and by ſtrength: ſo that by this reckoning, they profit men no more, than they be profited by men. And verily *Chryſippus* judgeth neither himſelfe to be a good man, nor any either of his ſcholars or teachers. What is their opinion then, think you, of others, if it be not that which themſelves ſay, namely, that they are mad and ſenſeleſſe fooles, that they be miſcreants and infidels, lawleſſe, and in one word, come to the very heighth and pitch of all infelicitie and miſerie? And yet forſooth they hold, that men ſo wretched and unhappie as they be, are notwithſtanding governed and ruled by divine providence. Now, if the gods, changing their minde, ſhould determine to hurt, afflict, plague, deſtroy and cruſh us quite, they could not bring us to a woorſe ſtate and condition, than wherein we are already; according as *Chryſippus* ſaith, That mans life can not be brought to a lower ebbe, nor be in woorſe plight and caſe than now it is, inſomuch as if it had a tongue and voice to ſpeake, it would pronounce theſe words of *Hercules*:

Of miſeries (to ſay I dare be bold)
So full I am, that more I can not hold.

And what aſſertions or ſentences may a man poſſibly finde more contrary and repugnant one againſt another, than thoſe of *Chryſippus*, as touching both gods and men, when he ſaith, That the gods are moſt provident over men, and carefull for their beſt; and men notwithſtanding are in as wofull ſtate as they may be?

Certeine Pythagoreans there are, who blame him much, for that in his booke of Juſtice he hath written of dunghill cocks, that they were made and created profitable for mans uſe: For (quoth he) they awaken us out of our ſleepe, and raiſe us to our worke; they hunt, kill and devoure ſcorpions; with their fighting they animate us to battell, imprinting in our hearts an ardent deſire to ſhew valour: and yet eat them we muſt, for feare that there grow upon us more pullaine, than we know what otherwiſe to do withall. And ſo farre foorth mocketh he and ſcorneth thoſe who finde fault with him for delivering ſuch ſentences, that he writeth thus in his third booke of the Gods, as touching *Jupiter* the Saviour, Creatour and Father of juſtice, law, equity and peace: And like as cities (quoth he) and great townes, when they be over full of people, deduct and ſend from thence certeine colonies, and begin to make warre upon ſome other nations; even ſo God ſendeth the cauſes that breed plague and mortalitie: to which purpoſe he citeth the teſtimony of *Euripides* and other authours, who write that the Trojan warre was raiſed by the gods, for to diſcharge and diſburden the world of ſo great a multitude of men wherewith it was repleniſhed. As for all other evident abſurdities delivered in theſe ſpeeches, I let paſſe, for my purpoſe is not to ſearch into all that which they have ſaid or written amiſſe, but onely into their contradictions and contrarieties to themſelves. But conſider, I pray you, how *Chryſippus* hath alwaies attributed unto the gods the goodlieſt names and moſt plauſible termes that can be deviſed; but contrariwiſe, moſt ſavage, cruell, inhumane, barbarous and Galatian deeds. For ſuch generall mortalities and carnages of men, as the Trojan warre firſt brought, and afterwards the Median and Peloponneſiacke warres, are nothing like unto colonies that cities ſend forth to people and inhabit other places; unleſſe haply one would ſay, That ſuch multitudes of men that die by warre and peſtilence, know of ſome cities founded for them in hell and under the ground to be inhabited. But *Chryſippus* maketh God like unto *Deiotarus* the king of *Galatia*, who having many ſonnes, and minding to leave his realme and roiall eſtate unto one of them and no more, made away & killed all the reſt beſides him, to the end that he being left alone, might be great and mightie: like as if one ſhould prune and cut away all the branches of a vine, that the maine ſtocke might thrive and proſper the better: and yet the cutter of the vine diſbrancheth it when the ſhoots be yoong, ſmall and tender: and we alſo take away from a bitch many of her whelps when they be ſo yoong as that they can not yet ſee, for to ſpare the damme: whereas *Jupiter* who hath not onely ſuffered and permitted men to grow unto their perfect age, but alſo given them himſelfe their nativitie and growth, puniſheth them and plagueth them afterwards, deviſing ſundry meanes, and preparing many occaſions of their death and deſtruction, when as indeed he ſhould rather have not given unto them the cauſes and principles of their generation and birth. Howbeit, this is but a ſmall matter in compariſon; and more grievous is that which I will now ſay: for there are no warres bred among men, but by occaſion of ſome notable vice; ſeeing the cauſe of one is fleſhly pleaſure; of another, avarice; and of a third, ambition and deſire of rule. And therefore, if God be the authour of warres, he is by conſequence, the cauſe of wickedneſſe, and doth provoke, excite and pervert men: and yet himſelfe in his treatiſe of judgement, yea and his ſecond booke of the Gods, writeth that it ſtands to no ſenſe and reaſon that God ſhould be the cauſe of any wicked and diſhoneſt things. For like as the lawes are never the cauſe of breaking and violating the lawes, no more are gods of impietie: ſo that there is no likelihood at all that they ſhould move and cauſe men to commit any foule and diſhoneſt fact. Now what can there be more diſhoneſt, than to procure and raiſe ſome to worke the ruine and perdition of others, and yet *Chryſippus* ſaith, that God miniſtreth the occaſions and beginnings thereof. Yea, but he contrariwiſe (will one ſay) commendeth *Euripides*, for ſaying thus:

If Gods do ought that lewd and filthy is,
They are no more accounted Gods, iwis.

And againe,

Soone ſaid that is: Mens faults t'excuſe,
Nothing more ready than Gods t'accuſe.

as if forſooth we did any thing els now, but compare his words and ſentences together that be oppoſit and meere contrary one unto another. And yet this ſentence which now is heere commended, to wit,

Soone ſaid that is, &c.

we may alledge againſt *Chryſippus*, not once, nor twice nor thrice, but ten thouſand times. For firſt, in his treatiſe of Nature, having likened the eternity of motion to a drench or potion made confuſedly of many herbs and ſpices, troubling and turning all things that be engendred, ſome after one ſort and ſome after another, thus he ſaith, Seeing it is ſo, that the government and adminiſtration of the univerſall world proceedeth in this ſort, neceſſary it is that according to it we be diſpoſed in that maner as we are; whether it be that we are diſeaſed againſt our owne nature, maimed or diſmembred, Grammarians or Muſicians. And againe, ſoone after, according to this reaſon, we may ſay the like of our vertue or vice, and generally of the knowledge or ignorance of arts, as I have already ſaid. Alſo within a little after, cutting off all doubt and ambiguity: There is no particular thing, not the very leaſt that is, which can otherwiſe happen than according to common nature, and the reaſon thereof: now that common nature, and the reaſon of it is fatall deſtinie, divine providence and *Jupiter*, there is not one, ſearch even as farre as to the Antipodes, but he knoweth: for this ſentence is very rife in their mouthes: And as for this verſe of *Homer*,

And as ech thing thus came to paſſe,
The will of Jove *fulfilled was.*

he ſaith that well and rightly he referred all to deſtiny, and the univerſall nature of the world, whereby all things are governed. How is it poſſible then, that theſe two poſitions ſhould ſubſiſt together, namely, that God is in no wiſe the cauſe of any diſhoneſt thing: and, that there is nothing in the world be it never ſo little that is done, but by common nature, and according to the reaſon thereof? For ſurely, among all thoſe things that are done, neceſſarily there muſt be things diſhoneſt: and yet *Epicurus* turneth and windeth himſelfe on every ſide, imagining and deviſing all the ſubtill ſhifts that he can to unlooſe, ſet free, and deliver our voluntary free will from this motion eternall, becauſe he would not leave vice excuſeable & without juſt reprehenſion; whereas in the meane while he openeth a wide window unto it, and giveth it libertie to plead: That committed it is not onely by the neceſſitie of deſtiny, but alſo by the reaſon of God, and according to the beſt nature that is. And thus much alſo moreover is to be ſeene written word for word: For conſidering that common nature reacheth unto al cauſes; it cannot otherwiſe be, but all that is done, howſoever, and in what part ſoever of the world, muſt be according to this common nature, and the reaſon thereof, by a certeine ſtint of conſequence without impeachment; for that there is nothing without, that can impeach the adminiſtration thereof, neither mooveth any part, or is diſpoſed in habitude otherwiſe, than according to that common nature. But what habitudes and motions of the parts are theſe? Certeine it is that the habitudes be the vices and maladies of the minds, as covetouſneſſe, lecherie, ambition, cowardiſe, and injuſtice: as for the motions, they be the acts proceeding from thence, as adulteries, thefts, treaſons, manſlaughters, murders, and parricides, *Chryſippus* now is of opinion, That none of all theſe, be they little or great, is done without the reaſon of *Jupiter*, or againſt law, juſtice, and providence: inſomuch as to breake law, is not againſt law; to wrong another, is not againſt juſtice; nor to commit ſinne againſt providence. And yet he affirmeth, that God puniſheth vice, and doth many things for the puniſhment of the wicked. As for example, in the ſecond booke of the gods: Otherwhiles there happen (quoth he) unto good men grievous calamities, not by way of puniſhment, as to the wicked, but by another kinde of œconomy and diſpoſition, like as it falleth out uſually unto cities. Againe, in theſe words: Firſt, we are to underſtand, evill things and calamities as we have ſaid heeretofore; then to thinke, that diſtributed they are according to the reaſon and diſpoſe of *Jupiter*, either by way of puniſhment, or elſe by ſome other œconomie of the whole world. Now ſurely, this is a doctrine hard to bee digeſted, namely, that vice being wrought by the diſpoſition and reaſon of God, is alſo puniſhed thereby: howbeit, this contradiction he doeth ſtill aggravate and extend in the ſecond booke of Nature, writing thus: But vice in regard of grievous accidents, hath a certeine peculiar reaſon by it ſelfe: for after a ſort it is committed by the common reaſon of nature, and as I may ſo ſay, not unprofitably in reſpect of the univerſall world: for otherwiſe than ſo, there were no good things at all: and then proceeding to reproove thoſe who diſpute *pro & contra*, and diſcourſe indifferently on both parts, he (I meane) who upon an ardent deſire to broch alwaies and in every matter ſome novelties & exquiſite ſingularities above all other, ſaith, It is not unprofitable, to cut purſes, to play the ſycophants, or commit looſe, diſſolute, and mad parts: no more than it is incommodious, that there ſhould be unprofitable members, hurtfull and wretched perſons: which if it be ſo, what maner of god is *Jupiter*, I meane him, of whom *Chryſippus* ſpeaketh, in caſe (I ſay) he puniſh a thing, which neither commeth of it ſelfe, nor unprofitably: for vice according to the reaſon of *Chryſippus* were altogether irreprehenſible, and *Jupiter* to be blamed, if either he cauſed vice, as a thing unprofitable, or puniſhed it when he had made it not unprofitably. Moreover, in the firſt booke of Juſtice, ſpeaking of the gods, that they oppoſe themſelves againſt the iniquities of ſome: But wholly (quoth he) to cut off all vice, is neither poſſible nor expedient, is it if it were poſſible, to take away all injuſtice, all tranſgreſſion of lawes, and all folly. But how true this is, it perteineth not to this preſent treatiſe for to enquire and diſcourſe. But himſelfe taking away and rooting up all vice as much as lay in him, by the meanes of philoſophy, which to extirpe, was neither good nor expedient, doeth heerein that which is repugnant both to reaſon and alſo to God. Furthermore, in ſaying that there be certeine ſinnes and iniquities, againſt which the gods doe oppoſe themſelves, he giveth covertly to underſtand, that there is ſome oddes and inequality in ſinnes. Over and beſides, having written in many places, that there is nothing in the world to be blamed, nor that can be complained of, for that all things are made and finiſhed by a moſt ſingular and excellent nature: there be contrariwiſe, ſundry places, wherein hee leaveth and alloweth unto us certeine negligences reprooveable, and thoſe not in ſmall and trifling matters. That this is true, it may appeere in his third book of Subſtance; where having made mention, that ſuch like negligences might befal unto good & honeſt men: Commeth this to paſſe (quoth he) becauſe there be ſome things whereof there is no reckoning made, like as in great houſes, there muſt needs be ſcattered and loſt by the way ſome bran, yea and ſome few graines of wheat, although in generality the whole beſides, is well enough ruled and governed? or is it becauſe there be ſome evill and malignant ſpirits, as ſuperintendents over ſuch things, wherein certeinly ſuch negligences are committed, & the ſame reprehenſible? and he ſaith moreover, that there is much neceſſitie intermingled among. But I meane not hereupon to ſtand, nor to diſcourſe at large, but to let paſſe what vanity there was in him, to compare the accidents which befell to ſome good and vertuous perſons, as for example, the condemnation of *Socrates*, the burning of *Pythagoras* quicke by the Cylonians, the dolorous torments that *Zeno* endured under the tyrant *Demylus*, or thoſe which *Antiphon* ſuffred at the hands of *Dionyſius*, when they were by them put to death, unto the brans that be ſpilt and loſt in great mens houſes. But that there ſhould bee ſuch wicked ſpirits deputed by the divine providence, to have the charge of ſuch things, muſt needs redound to the great reproach of God, as if he were ſome unwiſe king who committed the government of his provinces unto evill captaines and raſh headed lieutenants, ſuffering them to abuſe and wrong his beſt affected ſubjects, and winking at their rechleſſe negligence, having no care or regard at all of them. Againe, if it be ſo, that there is much neceſſity and conſtraint mingled among the affaires of this world, then is not God the ſoveraigne lord and omnipotent maſter of all, neither be all things abſolutely governed and ruled by his reaſon and counſell.

Moreover he mightily oppoſeth himſelfe againſt *Epicurus* and thoſe who take from the adminiſtration of the world divine providence, confuting them, principally by the common notions and conceptions inbred in us as touching the gods, by which perſwaded we are that they be gracious benefactours unto men. And for that this is ſo vulgar and common a thing with them, needleſſe it is to cite any expreſſe places to proove the ſame: And yet by his leave, all nations doe not beleeve that the gods be bountifull and good unto us. For doe but conſider what opinion the Jewes and Syrians have of the gods: looke into the writings of Poets, with how many ſuperſtitions they be ſtuffed. There is no man in maner to ſpeake of who imagineth or conceiveth in his minde, that god is either mortall and corruptable, or hath bene begotten: And *Antipater* of *Tarſis* (to paſſe others over in ſilence) in his booke of Gods, hath written thus much word for word. But to the end (quoth he) that this diſcourſe may be more perſpicuous and cleare, we will reduce into few words the opinion which we have of God. We underſtand therefore by God a living nature or ſubſtance happie, incorruptible, and a benefactor unto men: and afterwards in expounding each of theſe tearmes and attributes, thus he ſaith: And verily all men doe acknowledge the gods to be immortall. It muſt needs be then, that by *Antipaters* ſaying, *Chryſippus* of all thoſe, is none. For he doth not thinke any of all the gods to be incorruptible ſave *Jupiter* onely: but ſuppoſeth that they were all engendred a like, and that one day they ſhall all likewiſe periſh. This generally throughout all his bookes doth he deliver: howbeit one expreſſe paſſage will I alledge out of his third booke of the gods. After a divers ſort (quoth he) for ſome of them are engendred and mortall: others not engendred at all. But the proofe and demonſtration hereof, if it ſhould be fetched from the head indeed, apperteineth more properly unto the ſcience of Naturall Philoſophy. For the Sunne and Moone and other gods of like nature, were begotten: but *Jupiter* is ſempiternall. And againe ſomewhat after: The like ſhall be ſaid of *Jupiter* and other gods, as touching their corruption and generation: for ſome of them do periſh: but as for his parts they be incorruptible. With this I would have you to compare, a little of that which *Antipater* hath written: Thoſe (quoth he) who deprive the gods of beneficence and well doing, touch but in ſome part the prenotion and anticipation in the knowledge of them: and by the ſame reaſon they alſo who thinke they participate of generation and corruption. If then he be as much deceived and as abſurd, who thinketh that the gods be mortall and corruptible, as he who is of opinion that they beare no bountifull and loving affection toward men, *Chryſippus* is as farre from the trueth as *Epicurus*, for that as the one bereaveth God of immortallity and incorruption, ſo the other taketh from him bounty and liberality.

Moreover *Chryſippus* in his third booke of the gods ſpeaking of this point, and namely how other gods are nouriſhed, ſaith thus: Other gods (quoth he) uſe a certaine nouriſhment, whereby they are maintained equally: but *Jupiter* and the world after a nother ſort, than thoſe who are engendred, and be conſumed by the fire. In which place, he holdeth, that all other gods be nouriſhed, except *Jupiter* and the world. And in the firſt booke of Providence, he ſaith that *Jupiter* groweth continually untill ſuch a time, as all things be conſumed in him. For death being the ſeparation of the body and ſoule, ſeeing that the ſoule of the world never departeth at all but augmenteth continually, untill it have conſumed all the matter within it, we cannot ſay that the world dieth. Who could ſpeake more contrary to himſelfe, than he who ſaith that one and the ſame god is nouriſhed and not nouriſhed? And this we need not to inferre and conclude by neceſſary conſequence, conſidering that himſelfe in the ſame place hath written it plainly. The world onely (quoth he) is ſaid to be of it ſelfe ſufficient: becauſe it alone hath all in it ſelfe whereof it ſtandeth in no need, of it ſelfe it is nouriſhed and augmented, whereas other parts are tranſmuted and converted one into another. Not onely then is he contradictorie and rupugnant to himſelfe in that he ſaith, other gods be nouriſhed, all except the world and *Jupiter*, but alſo here in much more, when he ſaith that the world groweth by nouriſhing it ſelfe: whereas contrariwiſe there had bene more reaſon to ſay, the world onely is not augmented, having for foode the diſtruction thereof: but on the contrary ſide, other gods doe grow and increaſe, in as much as they have their nouriſhment from without: and rather ſhould the world be conſumed into them, if it be true that the world taketh alwaies from it ſelfe, and other gods from it. The ſecond point conteined in that common notion and opinion imprinted in us as touching the gods, is that they be bleſſed, happie and perfect. And therefore men highly praiſe *Euripides* for ſaying thus.

If God be God indeed and really,
He needs none of this poets verily;
His praiſe in hymnes and verſes for to write:
Such ditties wretched are which they endite.

Howbeit our *Chryſippus* here, in thoſe places by me alledged ſaith, that the world alone is of it ſelfe ſufficient, as comprehending within it all that it hath need of. What then ariſeth upon this propoſition, that the world is ſole-ſufficient in it ſelfe, but this, that neither the Sun nor the Moone, nor any other of the gods whatſoever is ſufficient of it ſelfe, and being thus inſufficient, they cannot be bleſſed and happie.

Chryſippus is of opinion, that the infant in the mothers wombe, is nouriſhed naturally, no otherwiſe than a plant within the earth; but when it is borne, and by the aire cooled and hardned (as it were) like ſteele, it mooveth the ſpirit, and becommeth an animall or living creature; and therefore it is not without good reaſon, that the ſoule was called ψυχὴ, in regard of ψύξις, that is to ſay, refrigeration. But not forgetetting to be contrary unto himſelfe, he ſuppoſeth that the ſoule is the more ſubtile, rare, and fine ſpirit of nature: For how is it poſſible that a ſubtile thing ſhould be made of that which is groſſe, and that a ſpirit ſhould be rarefied by refrigeration and aſtriction or condenſation? Nay, that which more is, how commeth it about, that affirming as he doth the ſoule of an infant to be engendred by the means of refrigeration, he ſhould thinke the ſun to become animat, being as it is of a firy nature, & engendred of an exhalation tranſmuted into fire? For thus he ſaith in his third booke of Nature: The mutation (quoth he) of fire is in this maner; by the aire it is turned into water, and out of water having earth under it, there exhaleth aire, which aire comming to be ſubtilized, the fire is produced and environeth it round about; & as for the ſtars, they are ſet on fire out of theſe, together with the ſunne; what is more contrary, than to be ſet on fire and to be cooled? what more oppoſite to ſubtilization and rarefaction, than inſpiſſation and condenſation? the one maketh water and earth, of fire and aire; the other turneth that which is moiſt and terreſtriall, into fire and aire. And yet in one place he maketh kindling of fire, and in another refrigeration, to bee the cauſe of quickning and giving ſoule unto a thing: for when the ſaid firing and inflammation comes generall throughout, then it liveth and is become an annimall creature; but after it commeth to be quenched and thickned, it turneth into water and earth, and ſo into a corporall ſubſtance. In the firſt booke of Providence, he writeth thus: For the world being throughout on fire, preſently it is with all, the ſoule and governour of it ſelfe; but when it is turned into moiſture and the ſoule left within it, and is after a ſort converted into a ſoule and body, ſo as it ſeemeth compounded of them both, then the caſe is altered: In which text he affirmeth plainly, that the very inanimat parts of the world by exuſtion and inflammation, turne and change into the ſoule thereof; and contrariwiſe by extinction, the ſoule is relaxed and moiſtned againe, and ſo returneth into a corporall nature. Heereupon I inferre that he is very abſurd, one while to make of ſenſeleſſe things, animat and living, by way of refrigeration; and another while to tranſmute the moſt part of the ſoule of the world into inſenſible and inanimat things.

But over and above all this, the diſcourſe which he maketh as touching the generation of the ſoule, conteineth a proofe & demonſtration contrary to his owne opinion; for he ſaith: That the ſoule is engendred after that the infant is gone out of the mothers wombe; for that the ſpirit then is transformed by refrigeration; even as the temper is gotten of ſteele. Now to prove that the ſoule is engendred, and that after the birth of the infant, hee bringeth this for a principall argument; Becauſe children become like unto their parents in behaviour and naturall inclination; wherein the contrariety that he delivereth is ſo evident, as that a man may ſee it by the very eie; for it is not poſſible that the ſoule which is engendred after birth, ſhould be framed to the maners and diſpoſition of the parents before nativity; or elſe we muſt ſay (and fall out it will) that the ſoule before it was in *eſſe*, was already like unto a ſoule; which is all one, as that it was by ſimilitude and reſemblance, and yet was not, becauſe as yet it had not a reall ſubſtance: Now if any one doe ſay, that it ariſeth from the temperature and complexion of the bodies, that this ſimilitude is imprinted in them, howbeit when the ſoules are once engendred, they become changed, he ſhall overthrow the argument and proofe, whereby it is ſhewed that the ſoule was engendred; for heereupon it would follow, that the ſoule although it were ingenerable, when it entreth from without into the body, is changed by the temperature of the like.

Chryſippus ſometime ſaith, that the aire is light, that it mounteth upward on high; and otherwhiles

whiles for it againe: that it is neither heavy nor light. To prove this, ſee what he ſaith in his ſecond booke of Motion, namely, that fire having in it no ponderoſity at all, aſcendeth aloſt: ſemblably the aire; and as the water is more conformable to the earth, ſo the aire doth rather reſemble the fire. But in his booke entituled Naturall arts, he bendeth to the contrary opinion, to wit, that the aire hath neither ponderoſity nor lightneſſe of it ſelfe: He affirmeth that the aire by nature is darke, and for that cauſe by conſequence it is alſo the primitive cold; and that tenebroſity or darkneſſe is directly oppoſite unto light and cleereneſſe, and the coldneſſe thereof to the heat of fire. Mooving this diſcourſe in the firſt booke of his Naturall queſtions, contrary to all this in his treatiſe of Habitudes, he ſaith: That theſe habitudes be nothing elſe but aires: For that bodies (quoth he) be conteined by them, and the cauſe why every body conteined by any habitude is ſuch as it is, is the continent aire; which in iron is called hardneſſe, in ſtone, ſpiſſitude or thickneſſe; in ſilver whiteneſſe; in which words there is great contrariety, and as much falſe abſurditie: for if this aire remaine the ſame ſtill as it is in the owne nature, how commeth blacke in that which is not white, to be called whiteneſſe; ſoftneſſe in that which is not hard, to be named hardneſſe; or rare in that which is not ſolide and maſſie, to be called ſolidity? But in caſe it be ſaid, that by mixture therein it is altered, and ſo becommeth ſemblable, how then can it be an habitude, a faculty, power, or cauſe of theſe effects, whereby it ſelfe is brought under and ſubdued? for that were to ſuffer rather than to doe; and this alteration is not of a nature conteining, but of a languiſhing impotencie, whereby it loſeth all the properties and qualities of the owne: and yet in every place they hold, that matter of it ſelfe idle and without motion, is ſubject and expoſed to the receit of qualities, which qualities are ſpirits, and thoſe powers of the aire, which into what parts ſoever of the matter they get and inſinuate themſelves, doe give a forme and imprint a figure into them. But how can they mainteine this, ſuppoſing as they do, the aire to be ſuch as they ſay it is; for if it be an habitude and power, it will conforme and ſhape unto it ſelfe, every body, ſo as it will make the ſame both blacke and ſoft: but if by being mixed and contempered with them, it take formes contrary unto thoſe which it hath by nature, it followeth then, that it is the matter of matter, and neither the habitude, cauſe, nor power thereof.

Chryſippus hath written often times, that without the world there is an infinit voidneſſe; and that this infinitie hath neither beginning, middle, nor end. And this is the principall reaſon whereby they refute that motion downward of the *Atomi* by themſelves, which *Epicurus* hath brought in: for in that which is infinit, there are no locall differences, whereby a man may underſtand or ſpecifie either high or low. But in the fourth booke of Things poſſible, he ſuppoſeth a certeine middle ſpace and meane place betweene: wherein he ſaith the world is founded. The very text where he affirmeth this, runneth in theſe words. And therefore we muſt ſay of the world that it is corruptible: and although it be very hard to proove it, yet me thinks rather it ſhould be ſo, than otherwiſe. Nevertheleſſe, this maketh much to the inducing of us to beleeve that it hath a certeine incorruptibility, if I may ſo ſay, namely the occupation or taking up of the middle place, wherein it ſtandeth, becauſe it is in the mids: for if it were thought otherwiſe to be founded, it were altogether neceſſarie that ſome corruption ſhould take holde of it. And againe, a little after: for even ſo in ſome ſort hath that eſſence bene ordeined from all eternity, to occupie the middle region, being preſently at the very firſt ſuch as if not by another maner, yet by attaining this place, it is eternall and ſubject to no corruption. Theſe words conteine one manifeſt repugnance and viſible contrariety, conſidering that in them he admitteth and alloweth in that which is infinit a middle place. But there is a ſecond alſo, which as it is more darke and obſcure, ſo it implieth alſo a more monſtrous abſurditie than the other: for ſuppoſing that the world can not continue incorruptible, if it were ſeated and founded in any other place of the infinitie, than in the mids; it appeareth manifeſtly that he feared, if the parts of the ſubſtance did not moove and tend toward the mids, there would enſue a diſſolution & corruption of the world. But this would he never have feared, if he had not thought that bodies naturally from all ſides tend to the middes not of the ſubſtance but of the place that conteineth the ſubſtance; whereof he had ſpoken in many places, that it was a thing impoſſible and againſt nature, for that within voidneſſe there is no difference, by which bodies can be ſaid to move more one way than another: and that the conſtruction of the world is cauſe of the motion to the center, as alſo that all things from every ſide do bend to the mids. But to ſee this more plainly, it may ſuffice to alledge the very text in his ſecond booke of Motion: for when he had delivered thus much, That the world is a perfect body, and the parts of the world not perfect, becauſe they are reſpective to the whole,and not of themſelves. Having alſo diſcourſed as touching the motion thereof: for that it was apt and fitted by nature to moove it ſelfe in all parts, for to conteine and preſerve, and not to breake, diſſolve and burne it ſelfe, he ſaith afterwards, But the univerſall world tending and mooving to the ſame point, and the parts thereof having the ſame motion from the nature of the body; like it is, that this firſt motion is naturally proper to all bodies, namely, to encline toward the mids of the world, conſidering that the world mooveth ſo in regard of it ſelfe; and the parts likewiſe, in that they be the parts of the whole. How now my good friend, may ſome one ſay, what accident is befallen unto you, that you ſhould forget to pronounce theſe words withall, That the world, in caſe it had not fortuned for to ſettle in the mids, muſt needs have bene ſubject to corruption and diſſolution? For if it be proper and naturall to the world to tend alwaies to the ſame middle, as alſo to addreſſe the parts thereof from all ſides thereto, into what place ſoever of the voidneſſe it be carried and tranſported, certes thus conteining and embracing (as it were) it ſelfe, as it doth, it muſt needs continue incorruptible, immortall, and paſt all danger of fracture or diſſolution: for to ſuch things as be broken, bruiſed,diſſipated and diſſolved, this is incident, by the diviſion and diſſolution of their parts, when ech one runneth and retireth into their proper and naturall place, out of that which is againſt their owne nature. But you ſir, ſuppoſing that if the world were ſeated in any other place of voidneſſe but in the mids, there would follow a totall ruine and corruption thereof; giving out alſo as much, and therefore imagining a middle in that where naturally there can be none, to wit,in that which is infinit,have verily quit cleane and fled from theſe tenſions,cohærences and inclinations, as having in them no aſſured meanes for to mainteine and holde the world together, and attributed all the cauſe of the eternall maintenance and preſervation thereof, unto the occupation of a place. And yet, as if you tooke pleaſure to argue and convince your ſelfe, you adjoine to the premiſſes, thus much: In what ſort every ſeverall part moveth, as it is cohærent to the reſt of the body,it ſtands with good reaſon, that after the ſame maner it ſhould moove by it ſelfe alone; yea, if for diſputation ſake we imagine and ſuppoſe it to be in ſome void part of this world: and like as being kept in and encloſed on every ſide,it would move toward the mids, ſo it would continue in this ſame motion,although by way of diſputation we ſhould admit,that all on a ſudden there ſhould appeare ſome vacuity and void place round about it. And is it ſo indeed, that every part what ever it be, compaſſed about with voidneſſe, forgoeth not her naturall inclination to move & tend to the mids; and ſhould the world it ſelfe,unleſſe ſome fortune & blind chance had not prepared for it a place in the mids, have loſt that vigor & power which conteineth and holdeth all together, & ſo ſome parts of the ſubſtance of it moove one way,and ſome another? Now ſurely heerein there be many other maine contrarieties repugnant even to natural reaſon; but this particularly among the reſt, encountreth the doctrine of God & divine providence, to wit, that in attributing unto them the leaſt and ſmalleſt cauſes that be, he taketh from them the moſt principall and greateſt of all other. For what greater power can there be, than the maintenance and preſervation of this univerſall world, or to cauſe the ſubſtance united together in all parts to cohære unto it ſelfe? But this according to the opinion of *Chryſippus*, hapneth by meere hazzard and chance: for if the occupation of a place, is the cauſe of worlds incorruption and eternity,and the ſame chanced by fortune,we muſt inferre thereupon, that the ſafety of all things dependeth upon hazzard and adventure, and not upon fatall deſtiny and divine providence. As for his doctrine & diſputation περὶ τῶν δυνάτων,that is to ſay of things poſſible,which *Chryſippus* hath delivered directly againſt that of fatall deſtiny, how can it chuſe but be repugnant to it ſelfe: for if that be not poſſible,according to the opiniõ of *Diodorus*,which either is or ſhall be true, but whatſoever is ſuſceptible naturally of a power to be, although the ſame never come into act or *eſſe*,is to be counted poſſible; there will be a number of things poſſible which never ſhal have being,by deſtiny invincible,inexpugnable, & ſurmoũting al things. And therefore either this doctrine overthroweth al the force and puiſſance of deſtiny: or if it be admitted as *Chryſippus* would have it,that which potentially may be, wil fal out oftentimes to be impoſſible; & whatſoever is true,ſhall be alſo neceſſary,as being compriſed & contained by the greateſt and moſt powerfull neceſſity of all others; and whatſoever is falſe, impoſſible,as having the greateſt and moſt puiſſant cauſe withſtanding and impeaching it ever for being true. For looke whoſe deſtiny it is to die in the ſea, how can it poſſible be, that he ſhould be ſuſceptible of death upon the land? And how is it poſſible, that he who is at *Megara* ſhould come to *Athens*, being hindred and prohibited by fatall deſtiny?

Moreover his reſolutions as touching fantaſies and imaginations repugne mainely againſt fatall deſtiny: For intending to proove that fantaſie is not an entire and abſolute cauſe of aſſent he ſaith, that Sages and wiſe men will prejudice and hurt us much, by imprinting in our mindes falſe imaginations, if it be ſo that ſuch fantaſies doe abſolutely cauſe aſſent. For many times wiſe men uſe that which is falſe, unto leawd and wicked perſons, repreſenting unto them a fantaſie that is but onely probable, and yet the ſame is not the cauſe of aſſent: for ſo alſo ſhould it be the cauſe of falſe opinion and of deception. If then a man would transferre this reaſon and argument from the ſaid wiſe men unto fatall deſtiny, ſaying that deſtiny is not the cauſe of aſſents (for ſo he ſhould confeſſe that by deſtiny were occaſioned falſe aſſents, opinions and deceptions, yea and men ſhould be endamaged by deſtiny) certes the ſame doctrine and reaſon which exempteth a wiſe man from doing hurt at any time, ſheweth withall that deſtiny is not the cauſe of all things. For if they neither opine nor receive detriment by deſtiny: certeinly they doe no good, they are not wiſe, they be not firme and conſtant in opinion, neither receive they any good and profit by deſtiny: ſo that this concluſion which they hold for moſt aſſured, falleth to the ground and commeth to nothing, namely, that fatall deſtiny is the cauſe of all things. Now if paradventure one ſay unto me, that *Chryſippus* doth not make deſtiny the entire and abſolute cauſe of all things, but only a procatarcticall and antecedent occaſion, here againe will he diſcover how he is contradictorie to himſelfe, whereas he praiſeth *Homer* exceſſively for ſaying thus of *Jupiter:*

Take well in worth therefore what he
to each of you ſhall ſend;
And whether good or bad it be,
doe not with him contend.

As alſo where he highly extolleth *Euripides* for theſe verſes:

O Jupiter *what cauſe have I to ſay,*
That mortall wretches we ſhould prudent be?
Depend we doe of thee, and nothing may
Bring to effect, but that which pleaſeth thee.

Himſelfe alſo writeth many ſentences accordant hereunto, and finally concludeth, that nothing doth reſt and ſtay, nothing ſtirre and moove, be it never ſo little, otherwiſe than by the counſell and minde of *Jupiter*, whome he ſaith to be all one with fatall deſtiny. Moreover the antecedent cauſe is more feeble and weake than that which is perfit and abſolute, neither attaineth it to any effect, as being ſubdued & kept down, by others mightier than it ſelfe, riſing up & making head againſt it. And as for fatall deſtiny *Chryſippus* himſelfe pronouncing it to be a cauſe invincible, inflexible, and that which cannot be impeached, calleth it *Atropos* & *Adraſtia*, as one would ſay, a cauſe that cannot be averted, avoided or undone. Likewiſe neceſſity and Pepromene, which is as much to ſay as ſetting downe πέρας, that is to ſay, an end and limit unto all things. How then? whether doe we not ſay, that neither aſſents, vertues, vices, nor well or ill doing, lie in our free will and power: if we affirme fatall deſtiny is to be maimed or unperfect and πεπρωμένην, that is to ſay, a fatality determining all things, to be ἀπερωτατος, that is to ſay, without power to finiſh and effect ought: and ſo the motions and habitudes of *Jupiters* will to remaine imperfect and unaccompliſhed? for of theſe concluſions the one will follow, if we ſay that deſtiny is an abſolute and perfect cauſe: and the other, in caſe we hold that it is onely a procatarcticall or antecedent occaſion. For being an abſolute and all ſufficient cauſe, it overthroweth that which is in us, to wit, our free will: and againe, if we admit it to be only antecedent it is marred for being effectuall and without the danger of impeachment. For not in one or two places onely but every where in maner throughout all his commentaries of naturall philoſophy he hath written, that in particular natures and motions there be many obſtacles and impediments, but in the motion of the univerſall world there is none at all. And how is it poſſible that the motion of the univerſall world ſhould not be hindred and diſturbed, reaching as it doth unto particulars, in caſe it be ſo, that they likewiſe be ſtopped and impeached. For ſurely the nature in generall of the whole man is not at liberty and without impediment, if neither that of the foot nor of the hand, be void of obſtacles: no more can the motion or courſe of a ſhip be void of let and hinderance, if there be ſome ſtay about the ſailes, & oares, or their works. Over & beſides all this, if the fantaſies and imaginations, are not imprinted in us by fatall deſtiny, how be they the cauſe of aſſents? Or if becauſe it imprinteth fantaſies that lead unto aſſent, thereupon all aſſents are ſaid to be by fatall deſtiny, how is it poſſible that deſtiny ſhould not be repugnant to it ſelfe? conſidering that in matters of greateſt importance, it miniſtreth many times different fantaſies; and thoſe which diſtract the minde into contrary opinions? whereas they affirme that thoſe who ſettle unto one of the ſaid fantaſies, and hold not of their aſſent and approbation doe erre and ſinne: For if they yeeld (ſay they) unto uncertaine fantaſies they ſtumble and fall: if unto falſe, they are deceived: if to ſuch as commonly are not conceived and underſtood, they opine. For of neceſſity it muſt be one of theſe three: either that every fantaſie is not the worke nor effect of deſtiny; or that every receit & aſſenſion of fantaſie is not void of error; or elſe that deſtiny it ſelfe is not irreprehenſible. Neither can I ſee how it ſhould be blameleſſe, objecting ſuch fanſies & imaginations as it doth: which to withſtand and reſiſt, were not blameable, but rather to give place and follow them: and verily in the diſputations of the Stoicks againſt the Academicks, the maine point about which both *Chryſippus* himſelfe, and *Antipater* alſo contended and ſtood upon, was this: That we doe nothing at all, nor be enclined to any action, without a precedent conſent: but that theſe be but vaine fictions and deviſed fables, and ſuppoſitions, that when any proper fantaſie is preſented, incontinently we are diſpoſed, yea, and incited thereto, without yeelding or giving conſent. Againe, *Chryſippus* ſaith: That both God and the wiſe man doe imprint falſe imaginations, not becauſe they would have us to yeeld or give our conſent unto them, but that we ſhould doe the thing onely, and incite our ſelves to that which appeereth: As for us, if wee be evill by reaſon of our infirmity, we condeſcend to ſuch fanſies and imaginations. Now the repugnance and contrarietie in theſe words is eaſily ſeene; for hee who would not have us to conſent unto the fantaſies which he preſenteth unto us, but onely to worke and doe them, be he God or wiſe man, knoweth well enough that ſuch fantaſies are ſufficient to cauſe us to fall to operation, and that thoſe aſſents are altogether ſuperfluous: and ſo if he knowing that the fantaſie imprinteth no inſtinct into operation without conſent, miniſtreth unto us falſe or probable fantaſies: wilfull and voluntary is the cauſe that we ſtumble, erre, and offend, in giving our aſſent to ſuch things as are not perfectly underſtood and comprehended.

OF COMMON CONCEPTIONS AGAINST THE STOICKS.

The Summarie.

HAving ſhewed in my former diſcourſe, that the Stoicks are contradictory to themſelves in all the principall articles of their doctrine, and ſo conſequently that he needed no more but their owne words to condemne them: In this dialogue he joineth more cloſely to them, diſputing againſt their rules and precepts, which he examineth and refuteth; whereas before he was content to oppugne them by their owne ſelves. For to make an entrance into this dialogue, he bringeth in Lamprias, *requeſting* Diadumenus *to rid him of thoſe ſcruples that certeine Stoicks had put into his head: Whereunto the other accordeth, and ſo they enter into the matter. The ſumme of whoſe whole diſcourſe throughout is this: That the Stoicks would by their principles aboliſh mans ſenſes, and the common conceptions proceeding from thence, thereby more eaſily to eſtabliſh their owne paradoxes: whom he refuteth, dividing his dialogue into three principall parts: in the firſt whereof is conſidered, the morall; in the ſecond, the naturall; in the third, the metaphyſicall or ſupernaturall philoſophy of the Stoicks: Howbeit, he obſerveth no exact order nor method, in the diſpoſition of his matters, but entreth out of one diſcourſe into another, according as things were preſented unto him, and came firſt into his minde, yet in ſuch ſort, as there is ſufficient to content the reader, who is deſirous to know what was the ſect and doctrine of the Stoicks, and the maner of the auncient Academicks in their diſputations: which being referred to the true* *marke and ſcope indeed, of all that which we may learne in the world, teacheth every man to humble himſelfe before the majeſtie of him who is onely wiſe, and out of whoſe ſacred word we ought to fetch the reſolution of the queſtions debated heere in this dialogue, but of thoſe above the reſt, which treat of maners, religion, and divinity.*

OF COMMON CONCEPTIONS againſt the Stoicks.

LAMPRIAS.

It ſhould ſeeme verily that you *Diadumenus* paſſe not much what any man either thinks or ſaies of you & other Academicks, ſuch as your ſelfe, in that you do philoſophize cleane contrary to the common notions and conceptions, confeſſing as you doe, that you make no great account of the five naturall ſenſes, from whence proceed the moſt part of the ſaid common conceptions, having for their foundation and ſeat, the beliefe and aſſurance of the imaginations which appeere unto us. But I pray you for to aſſay and goe in hand to cure me, either by ſome words, or charmes and enchantments, or by what other meanes and kinds of phyſicke that you know, comming as I doe unto you, full in mine owne conceit of great trouble and ſtrong perturbation, ſo exceedingly troubled I have beene, and held in perplexed ſuſpenſe, I may tell you, by certeine Stoicks; men otherwiſe the beſt in the world, and I may ſay to you, my inward and familiar friends: howbeit, over bitterly bent, and in hoſtile maner ſet againſt the Academie, who for very ſmall matters uttered by me, modeſtly and in good ſort, withall reſpect and reverence, have (I will not lie unto you) reprooved, checked, and taken me up very unkindly, with ſome hard words, and breaking foorth in heat of choler, called our auncient Philoſophers, Sophiſters, corrupters, and perverters of good ſentences in Philoſophy, yea, and ſeducers of thoſe who otherwiſe walked in the true path and traine of doctrine ſurely eſtabliſhed; with many other more ſtrange termes, both ſpeaking and thinking of them very baſely; untill in the end as if they had beene driven with a tempeſt, they fell upon the Common conceptions, reproching thoſe of the Academie, as if they brought in ſome great confuſion and perturbation in the ſaid notions: and one among them there was, who ſtucke not to ſay; That it was not by fortune, but by ſome divine providence that *Chryſippus* was borne and came into the world, after *Arceſilaus*, and before *Carneades*: of which twaine, the one was the great authour and promoter of the injury and outrage done unto cuſtome; and the other flouriſhed in name and renowme above all other Academicks. Now *Chryſippus* comming as he did betweene them, by his writings contrary to the doctrine of *Arceſilaus*, ſtopped up the way alſo againſt the powerful eloquence of *Carneades*, and as he left unto the ſenſes many aides and ſuccours, as it were to hold out a long ſiege; ſo he remooved out of the way, and fully cleered all the trouble and confuſion about anticipations and common conceptions, correcting ech one, and reducing them into their proper place; inſomuch, as whoſoever afterwards would ſeeme to make new troubles, and violently diſquiet matters by him ſetled, ſhould not prevaile nor gaine ought, but incurre the obloquie of the world, and be convinced for malicious perſons, and deceitfull ſophiſters. Having thus (I ſay) by theſe words beene chaſed and ſet on fire this morning among them, I had need of ſome meanes to quench the heat as it were of an inflammation, and to rid me of theſe doubts, which are riſen in my minde.

DIADUMENUS.

It fareth haply with you, as with many of the vulgar ſort; but if you beleeve the poets who give out, that the ancient citie *Sipylus* in *Magreſia*, was in old time deſtroied and overthrowen by the providence of the gods, when they chaſtiſed and puniſhed *Tantalus*; you may as well be perſwaded by our old friends the Stoicks to beleeve, that nature hath brought foorth into the world, not by chance and fortune, but by ſome ſpeciall divine providence, *Chryſippus*, when ſhe was minded to pervert and overturne the life of man and courſe of the world, turning all things up ſide downe, and contrariwiſe downe ſide up: for never was there man better made and framed for ſuch a matter than he. And as *Cato* ſaid of that *Iulius Cæſar* Dictator, that before him there was never knowen any to come ſober and conſiderate to manage affaires of ſtate with a purpoſe to worke the ruin of the common weale; even ſo this man in mine opinion, with moſt diligence, greateſt eloquence, & higheſt conceit of ſpirit ſeemeth as much as lieth in him to deſtroy and aboliſh cuſtome. And there witneſſe againſt him no leſſe even they who magnifie the man otherwiſe: namely, when they diſpute againſt him as touching that ſophiſme or ſyllogiſme which is called *Pſeudomenos*, for to ſay my good friend, that the augmentation cõpoſed of contrary poſitions is not notoriouſly falſe, and againe to affirme, that ſyllogiſmes having their premiſſes true, yea and true inductions, may yet have the contrary to their concluſions true, what conception of demonſtrations, or what anticipation of beleefe is there, which it is not able to overthrow?

It is reported of the Pourcuttle or Pollyp fiſh, that in winter time he gnaweth his owne cleies and pendant hairy feet, but the Logicke of *Chryſippus*, which taketh away and cutteth off the principall parts of it, what other conception leaveth it behinde but that which well may be ſuſpected? For how can that be imagined ſteady and ſure which is built upon foundations that abide not firme, but wherein there be ſo many doubts and troubles? But like as they who have either duſt or durt upon their bodies, if they touch another therewith or rub againſt him, doe not ſo much trouble and moleſt him, as they doe begrime and beray themſelves ſo much the more and ſeeme to exaſperate that ordure which pricketh and is offenſive unto them; even ſo, ſome there be who blame and accuſe the Academicks, thinking to charge upon them thoſe imputations, wherewith themſelves are found to be more burdened. For who be they that pervert the common conceptions of the ſenſes more, than do theſe Stoicks? But if you thinke ſo good, leaving off to acuſe them, let us anſwere to thoſe calumniations and ſlanders which they would ſeeme to faſten upon us.

LAMPRIAS.

Me thinks *Diadumenus* that I am this day much changed, and become full of variety: me thinks I am a man greatly altered from that I was ere while: for even now I came hither much diſmaied and abaſhed, as being depreſſed, beaten downe and amazed; as one having need of ſome advocate or other to ſpeake for me and in my behalfe: whereas now I am cleane turned to an humor of accuſation, and diſpoſed to enjoy the pleaſure of revenge, to ſee all the packe of them detected and convinced, in that they argue and diſpute themſelves againſt common conceptions and anticipations, in defence whereof they ſeeme principally to magnifie their owne ſect, * * ſaying that it alone doth agree and accord with nature.

DIADUMENUS

Begin we then firſt, with their moſt renowmed propoſitions, which they themſelves call paradoxes, that is to ſay, ſtrange and admirable opinions: avowing as it were by that name & gently admitting ſuch exorbitant abſurdities; as for example that ſuch Sages as themſelves are onely kings, onely rich and faire, onely citizens, and onely Judges: or pleaſeth it you that we ſend all this ſtuffe to the market of olde and ſtale marchandiſe, and goe in hand with the examination of theſe matters which conſiſt moſt in action and practiſe, whereof alſo they diſpute moſt ſeriouſly?

LAMPRIAS

For mine owne part I take this to be the better. For as touching the reputation of thoſe paradoxes, who is not full thereof, and hath not heard it a thouſand times?

DIADUMENUS.

Conſider then in the firſt place this, whether according to common notions, they can poſſibly accord with nature, who thinke naturall things to be indifferent: and that neither health, nor good plight and habitude of body nor beawty, nor cleane ſtrength be either expetible, profitable, expedient, or ſerving in any ſtead to the accompliſhment of that perfection which is according to nature: nor that the contraries hereunto are to be avoided, as hurtfull, to wit, maimes and mutilations of members, deformities of body, paines, ſhamefull diſgraces and diſeaſes. Of which things rehearſed, they themſelves acknowledge that nature eſtrangeth us from ſome, and acquainteth us with other. The which verily is quite contrary to common intelligence, that nature ſhould acquaint us with thoſe things which be neither expedient nor good, & alienate us from ſuch as be not hurtfull nor ill: and that which more is, that ſhe ſhould either traine us to them or withdraw us from them ſo farre forth, as if men miſſe in obtaining the one,or fall into the other, they ſhould with good reaſon abandon this life,and for juſt cauſe depart out of the world. I ſuppoſe that this alſo, is by thē affirmed againſt common ſenſe,namely, that nature her ſelfe is a thing indifferent: and that to accord and conſent with nature hath in it ſome part of the ſoveraigne good. For neither to follow the rule of the law nor to obey reaſon is good and honeſt, unleſſe both law and reaſon be good and honeſt. But this verily is one of the leaſt of their errors. For if *Chryſippus* in his firſt booke of exhortations hath written thus: A bleſſed and happie life conſiſteth onely in living according to vertue: and as for all other acceſſaries (quoth hee) they neither touch nor concerne us at all, neither make they any whit to beatitude: he cannot avoid but he muſt avow, that not onely nature is indifferent, but alſo which is more, ſenſeleſſe and fooliſh, to aſſociate and draw us into a league with that which in no reſpect concerneth us, and we our ſelves likewiſe are no better than fooles, to thinke that the ſoveraigne felicity, is to conſent and accord with nature which leadeth and conducteth us to that which ſerveth nothing at all to happineſſe. And yet what agreeth and ſorteth ſooner to common ſenſe, than this, that as things eligible are to be choſen and deſired for the profit and helpe of this life; ſo naturall things ſerve for to live anſwerable to nature? But theſe men ſay otherwiſe: for although this be their ſuppoſition that to live according to nature is the utmoſt end of mans good, yet they hold, that things according to nature be of themſelves indifferent. Neither is this alſo leſſe repugnant to common ſenſe and conception,that a well affected, ſenſible and prudent man, is not equally enclined and affectionate to good things that be equall and alike: but as ſome of them he waigheth not,nor maketh any account of,ſo for others againe he is preſt to abide and endure all things, although I ſay the ſame be not greater or leſſe, one than another. For theſe things they hold to be equall, namely, for a man to fight valiantly in the defence of his country,and chaſtly to turne away from an olde trot, when for very age ſhe is at the point of death: for both the one and the other doe that alike which their duty requireth. And yet for the one, as being a worthie and glorious thing, they would be preſt and ready to loſe their lives, whereas to boaſt and vaunt of the other were a ſhamefull and ridiculous part. And even *Chryſippus* himſelfe, in the treatiſe which he compoſed of *Jupiter*,and in the third booke of the Gods, ſaith that it were a poore,abſurd and fooliſh thing to praiſe ſuch acts, as proceeding from vertue, namely to beare valiantly the biting of a flie,or ſting of a weſpe, and chaſtly to abſtaine from a crooked old woman, ſtooping forward & ready to tumble into her grave. Do not theſe Philoſophers then teach and preach even againſt common ſenſe and notion, when thoſe actions which they are aſhamed to commend, they avow and confeſſe to be excellent, and nothing in the world better? For where is that expetible, or how can that be approovable, which deſerveth not that a man ſhould praiſe and admire it, but is ſuch as whoſoever doe commend and admire the ſame, they are reputed no better than ſots and abſurd fooles? And yet I ſuppoſe you will thinke it more againſt common ſenſe and reaſon, that a wiſe and prudent man ſhould not care nor regard a jot whether he enjoy or enjoy not the greateſt goods in the world,but carry himſelfe after one and the ſame maner in things indifferent, as he would in the management and adminiſtration of thoſe good things which are ſo ſingular. For we all,

As many as on fruits do feed,
Which for our uſe the earth doth breed.

are of this judgement, that the thing which being preſent bringeth us helpe and profit, and if it be away, we deſire to have, and find a miſſe of it, is good, expetible and profitable: but that which a man paſſeth not for,neither in earneſt nor in game,and whereof he maketh no account either for his ſport, paſtime or commodity and eaſe, the ſame is indifferent: for by no other marke do we diſtinguiſh a diligent, painfull and induſtrious man in deed, from a vaine buſie body,and a curious medler in many matters,than by this, That as the one travelleth and troubleth himſelfe in unprofitable trifles or things indifferent, ſo the other laboureth for ſuch as be commodious and expedient. But theſe Philoſophers do quite contrary: for according to their doctrine, a wiſe and prudent man, although he meet with many conceptions and the memories of the ſaid comprehenſions, yea and remember divers things whereof he hath a certeine and perfect knowledge, thinketh ſome few of them to concerne him; and as for the reſt, making no reckoning of them, he ſuppoſeth that he neither loſeth nor winneth, by remembring that hee had the other day the comprehenſion,that is to ſay,the certeine knowledge either of *Dion* ſneeſing or *Theon* playing at tennis. And yet every comprehenſion in a wiſe man, and all memory that is firme and ſurely ſetled, is preſently ſcience, yea and a great good thing, nay the greateſt that is. How then? for I would gladly know, whether a wiſe man were ſecure and careleſſe alike, when his health faileth, when ſome one of his ſenſes decaieth or is amiſſe, and when he loſeth his goods, thinking none of all this to touch him; or whether when he feeleth himſelfe ſicke, giveth unto Phyſicians their fees when they come unto him; and for to gaine riches, ſaileth to *Leucon* a great prince and potentate about *Boſporus*, or travelleth as farre as to *Indathyrſus* the Scythian king, as *Chryſippus* ſaith; and of his ſenſes, if he loſe ſome, he will not endure to live any longer? How is it then, that theſe men doe not acknowledge and confeſſe that they deliver doctrine even againſt common notions, who about things indifferent, carke, care and travell ſo much; and yet take the matter indifferently, and reake not much whether they enjoy or be without great good things?

Moreover, this alſo is an opinion of theirs, even againſt common conceptions, That he who is a man, feeleth no joy when out of the greateſt evils and moſt grievous calamities he entreth into a world of good things and a moſt bleſſed and happy ſtate. And yet thus doth their wiſe man: for paſſing from extreame vice, unto exceeding great vertue; eſcaping alſo out of a moſt miſerable life, and atteining unto the happieſt condition that is, he ſheweth no ſigne or token at all of joy: neither doth ſo great a change lift up his heart, or once move him, ſeeing himſelfe how he is delivered out of the greateſt miſerie and wickedneſſe that may be, and arrived now to a moſt firme aſſured accompliſhment of all felicitie and goodneſſe. Againe, contrary it is to common ſenſe, That this ſhould be the greateſt good of a man, namely, a conſtant judgement and immutable reſolution; and yet that he who is mounted up to the heigth and pitch of all, hath no need hereof, neither careth for it when it is come; inſomuch as many times he will not once put forth his finger for this aſſurance and ſtability, notwithſtanding they eſteeme it to be the ſovereigne and perfect good. Neither do theſe Stoicks ſtay here, but ſtil broch more paradoxes & ſtrange opinions, namely, that continuance of time be it never ſo long, augmenteth not any good thing: but if a man chance to be wiſe and prudent but the minute onely of an houre, he is nothing inferior in felicity to him, who all his time hath lived in vertue, and led his whole life bleſſedly therein. Howbeit, as bravely and as ſtoutly as they deliver theſe poſitions, yet on the other ſide, they ſticke not to ſay, that tranſitory vertue which continueth but a while, is worth nothing: for what would it availe or benefit him who incontinently is to ſuffer ſhipwracke and to periſh in the ſea, or otherwiſe to be throwen headlong downe from ſome ſteepe rocke, if he were poſſeſſed of wiſdome a while before? And what would it have booted *Lychas* being flung by *Hercules* as it were out of a ſling into the mids of the ſea, if ſuddenly he had bene changed from vertue to vice? Theſe poſitions therefore ſavour of theſe men, who not onely philoſophize againſt ſenſe and common notions, of the whole world, but alſo confuſedly huddle their owne conceits, making a miſh-maſh of them and contradicting themſelves, if it be ſo that they thinke, that the holding and poſſeſſing of vertue a ſhort time, wanteth nothing of ſovereigne felicity, & withall, make no account of ſo ſhort a vertue, as if in deed it were nothing worth. And yet this is not it that a man would wonder moſt at in their ſtrange doctrine, but this rather, that they eftſoones give out and ſay: That when this ſoveraigne vertue & felicity is preſent, he that is poſſeſſed of it, hath no ſenſe nor feeling thereof; neither perceiveth he how being erewhile moſt miſerable and fooliſh; he is now all at once become both wiſe & happy: for not onely it were a pretie jeſt, and ridiculous conceit to ſay; That a wiſe and prudent man is ignorant even of this one point, that he is wiſe; and knoweth not that he is now paſt ignorance, and want of knowledge: but alſo to ſpeake all in a word; they make goodneſſe to be of no moment, nor to cary any weight and poiſe with it, they make it I ſay very obſcure, enervat and feeble, in caſe when it commeth, a man is not able to feele and perceive it: for according to them, it is not by nature imperceptible; and even *Chryſippus* himſelfe hath expreſly written in his bookes entituled, *Of the end,* That good is perceptible by ſenſe; and as hee thinketh, ſo hee maketh proofe and demonſtration thereof. It remaineth therefore that it is long either of weakeneſſe or ſmalneſſe that it is not perceived, when they who have it preſent, feele it not, nor have any knowledge thereof. Moreover, it were very abſurd to ſay, that the eie ſight ſhould perceive and diſcerne things that be but whitiſh a little, or middle colours betweene, and not bee able to ſee thoſe that be exceeding white in the higheſt degree; or that the ſenſe of feeling ſhould apprehend that which is meanly hot or warme, and yet have no ſenſe at all of ſuch things, as be exceeding hot. But there is more abſurdity in this, that a man ſhould comprehend that which meanly and commonly is according to nature, to wit, health, or the good plight of the body; and be ignorant againe of vertue, when it is preſent, conſidering withall, that they hold it to be principally and in higheſt degree accordant to nature; for how can it otherwiſe be, but againſt common ſenſe, to conceive well enough the difference betweene health and ſickneſſe, and to be ignorant of that diſtinction which is betweene wiſedome and follie; but to thinke the one to be preſent when it is gone, and when a man hath the other, not to know ſo much, that he hath it? Now foraſmuch as after that one advanced and proceeded forward as farre as may be, he is changed into felicity and vertue, one of theſe two muſt of neceſſitie follow; that either this eſtate of progreſſe and profit, is neither vice nor infelicity; or elſe that there is no great difference and diſtance betweene vice and vertue; but that the diverſitie of good things and evill is very ſmall and unperceptible by the ſenſe, for otherwiſe men could not be ignorant when they had the one or the other, or thinke they had the one for the other: ſo long then as they depart not from any contrariety of ſentences, but will allow, affirme, and put downe all things whatſoever, to wit, That they who profit and proceed are ſtill fooles and wicked; that they who are become wiſe and good, know not ſo much themſelves, but are ignorant thereof; that there is a great difference betweene wiſedome and folly: Thinke you, that they ſhew a woonderfull conſtance and uniformity in the maintenance of their ſentences and doctrines?

Well, if in their doctrine they goe againſt common ſenſe, and are repugnant to themſelves; certes, in their life, in their negotiations and affaires, they doe much more: for pronouncing flatly, that thoſe who be not wiſe, are all indifferently and alike, wicked, unjuſt, diſloiall, faithleſſe, and fooliſh; and yet forſoorth, ſome of them they abhorre and will not abide, but be ready to ſpit at them; others, they will not vouchſafe ſo much as to ſalute if they meet with them upon the way; and ſome againe they will credit with their monies, nominate and elect by their voices to be magiſtrates, yea and beſtow their daughters upon them in mariage. Now in caſe they hold ſuch ſtrange and extravagant poſitions in ſport and game, let them plucke downe their browes, and not make ſo many furrowes as they doe in their foreheads: but if in earneſt, and as grave Philoſophers, ſurely, I muſt needs tell them, that it is againſt common notions, to reproove, blame, and raile upon all men alike in words, and yet to uſe ſome of them in deeds as honeſt perſons, & others hardly to intreat as moſt wicked; and for example, to admire *Chryſippus* in the higheſt degree, & make a god of him; but to mocke and ſcorne *Alexinus*, although they thinke the men to be fooles alike, and not one more or leſſe fooliſh than the other. True it is ſay they; and needs it muſt be ſo. But like as he who is but a cubit under the top of the water, is no leſſe ſtrangled and drowned than he who lies five hundred fathom deepe in the bottom of the ſea: even ſo they that be come within a little of vertue, are no leſſe in vice ſtill than thoſe who are a great way off: and as blinde folke be blinde ſtill, although haply they ſhall recover their eie-ſight ſhortly after; even ſo they that have wel proceeded and gone forward, continue fooles ſtill and ſinfull, untill ſuch time as they have fully attained to vertue; but contrary to all this, that they who profit in the ſchoole of vertue, reſemble not thoſe who are ſtarke blinde, but ſuch rather as ſee not clerely; nor are like unto thoſe who be drowned, but unto them that ſwimme, yea and approch neere unto the haven; they themſelves do beare witneſſe by their deeds, and in the whole practiſe of their life; for otherwiſe they would not have uſed them for their counſellors, captaines, and lawgivers, as blinde men do guides for to lead them by the hands, neither would they have praiſed and imitated their deeds, acts, ſayings and lives of ſome as they did, if they had ſeene them all drowned alike and ſuffocated with folly and wickedneſſe.

But letting that goe by, conſider theſe Stoicks, that you may woonder the more at them in this behalfe, that by their owne examples they are not taught to quit and abandon theſe wiſe men who are ignorant of themſelves, and who neither know nor perceive, that they ceaſe to be ſtifled and ſtrangled any longer, and begin to ſee the light, and being riſen aloft, and gotten above vice and ſinne, take their winde and breath againe. Alſo it is againſt common ſenſe, that for a man furniſhed with all good things, and who wanteth nothing of perfect bliſſe and happineſſe, it ſhould be meet and befitting, to make himſelfe away and depart voluntarily out of this life; yea, and more than ſo; that he who neither preſently hath, nor ever ſhall have any good thing; but contrariwiſe, is continually haunted and perſecuted with all horrible calamities, miſeries, and miſhaps that can be, ſhould not thinke it fit and covenient for himſelfe to leave and forſake this life, unleſſe ſome of thoſe things which they hold be indifferent, be preſented, and doe befall unto him. Well theſe be the goodly rules and trim lawes in the Stoicks ſchoole; and verily many of their wiſe men they cauſe indeed to go out of this life, bearing them in hand, that they ſhall be more bleſſed and happie; although by their ſaying a wiſe man is rich, fortunate, bleſſed, happy every way, ſure, and ſecured from all danger: contrariwiſe, a foole and leawd man is able to ſay of himſelfe,

Of wicked parts (to ſay I dare be bold)
So full I am, that unneth I can hold.

And yet forſooth, they thinke it meet and ſeemely for ſuch as theſe to remaine alive, but for thoſe to forgo this life. And good cauſe why, quoth *Chryſippus*, for we are not to meaſure our life by good things or evill, but by ſuch as are according to nature. See how theſe Philoſophers mainteine ordinary cuſtome, and teach according to common notions. Say you ſo (good ſir) ought not he who maketh profeſſion of looking into the eſtate of life and death, to ſearch alſo and conſider

What rule at home in houſe, what worke there is;
How things do ſtand; what goes well, what amis.

Should not he (I ſay) ponder and examine as it were by the ballance, what things incline and bend more to felicity and what to infelicity, and thereby to chuſe that which is profitable? but to lay his ground and make his reckoning to live happily or no by things indifferent, which neither do good nor hurt? According to ſuch preſuppoſitions and principles as theſe, were it not convenient for him who wanteth nothing of all that is to be avoided, to chuſe for to live: & contrariwiſe, for him to leave this life, who enjoieth all that is to be wiſhed for and deſired? And albeit (my good friend *Lamprias*) it be a ſenſeleſſe abſurdity, to ſay that thoſe who taſte of no evill, ſhould forſake this life: yet is it more abſurd and beſide all reaſon, that for the not having of ſome indifferent thing, a man ſhould caſt away and abandon that which is ſimply good; like as theſe men doe, leaving felicity and vertue, which they preſently enjoy, for default of riches and health, which they have not. And to this purpoſe we may well and fitly alledge theſe verſes out of *Homer*:

And then from Glaucus, Jupiter
  all wit and ſenſe did take,
When he with Diomedes *would*
  a fooliſh bargaine make;
For braſen armour to exchange
  his owne of golde moſt fine,
An hundred * *oxen richly worth,*
  for that which went for nine.

* Or pieces of coine having the forme of an ox ſtamped upon them.

And yet thoſe armes made of braſſe, were of no leſſe uſe in battell, than the other of golde: whereas the decent feature of the bodie and health, according to the Stoicks, yeeld no profit at all, nor make one jote for felicity. Howbeit, theſe men for all that, are content to exchange wiſdome for health, inaſmuch as they holde that it would have become *Heraclitus* well enough and *Pherecydes*, to have caſt off their wiſdome and vertue, had it beene in their power ſo to do, in caſe thereby they might have bene rid of their maladies, the one of the lowſie diſeaſe, and the other of the dropſie. And if *Circe* had filled two caps with ſeverall medicines and potions, the one making fooles of wiſe men, and the other, wiſe men of fooles, *Ulyſſes* ought to have drunke that of folly, rather than to change his humane ſhape into the forme of a beaſt, having in it wiſdome withall, and by conſequence felicity alſo. And they ſay, that even wiſdome and prudence it ſelfe teacheth as much and commandeth in this wiſe: Let me alone, and ſuffer me to periſh, in caſe I muſt be caried to and fro in the forme and ſhape of an aſſe. But this wiſedome and prudence will ſome man ſay, which preſcribeth ſuch things, is the wiſedome of an aſſe; if to be wiſe and happy is of it ſelfe good, and to beare the face of an aſſe indifferent. There is (they ſay) a nation of the Aethiopians where a dogge is their king; he is ſaluted by the ſtile and name of a king, and hath all honours done unto him, and temples dedicated, as are done unto kings. But men they be that beare rule and performe thoſe functions and offices which apperteine unto governours of cities and magiſtrates. Is not this the very caſe of the Stoicks? for vertue with them hath the name, and carieth the ſhew and apparence of good, it alone they ſay, is expetible, profitable, and expedient; but they frame all their actions, they philoſophize, they live and die, according to the will, preſcript, & commandement as it were of things indifferent. And yet there is not an Aethiopian ſo hardy as to kill that dog their king; but he ſitteth upon a throne under a cloth of eſtate, and is adored of them in all reverence: but theſe Stoicks deſtroy this vertue of theirs, and cauſe it to periſh whiles they are wholly poſſeſſed of health and riches. But the corollarie which *Chryſippus* himſelfe, hath for a finiall ſet unto theſe their doctrines, eaſeth me of farther paines, that I need not to ſtand more upon this point: For whereas (quoth he) there be in nature things good, things bad, and things meane or indifferent; there is no man but hee would chuſe rather to have that which is good, than the indifferent, or that which is bad: and to proove the trueth hereof, let us take witneſſe of the very gods, when as we doe crave of them in our praiers and oriſons, principally the poſſeſſion and fruition of good things; if not, yet at leaſtwiſe the power and grace to avoid evils; but that which is neither good nor evill, we never deſire for to have in ſtead of good; mary we can be content and wiſh to enjoy it, in lieu of evill. But this *Chryſippus* heere inverting and perverting cleane the order of nature, tranſpoſeth and transferreth out of the middle place betweene, the meane and indifferent into the laſt, and reducing the laſt bringeth it backe into the mids; giving as tyrants doe to wicked perſons, the preeminence of ſuperior place, with authority and credit unto evill things; enjoining us by order of law, firſt to ſeeke for that which is good; ſecondly, for that which is evill; & laſt of all to repute that woorſt, which is neither good nor evill: as if a man ſhould next unto heaven ſet hell, and reject the earth and all the elements about it into the pit of *Tartarus* beneath:

Right farre remote, where under ground
The gulfe that lies, no man can ſound.

Having then ſaid in his third booke of Nature: That it is better for a man to live in the ſtate of a foole, yea though he never ſhould become wiſe, than not to live at all; he addeth thus much moreover word for word: For ſuch are the good things of men, that even the evill things after a ſort are preferred before thoſe which are meane and in the mids betweene; not that theſe go before, but reaſon, with which jointly to live, availeth more although we ſhould continue fooles all the daies of our life: yea and to be plaine, albeit we ſhould be wicked, unjuſt, breakers of the lawes, enemies to the gods, and in one word, wretched and unhappie; for all theſe concurre in thoſe that live fooles. Is it better then to be unhappy, than not unhappie; to ſuffer harme, rather than not to ſuffer harme; to commit injuſtice, than not to commit injuſtice; to tranſgreſſe the lawes, than not to tranſgreſſe the lawes: which is as much to ſay, as is it fit and expedient to do thoſe things which are not fit and expedient; and beſeemeth it to live otherwiſe than it beſeemeth? Yea forſooth: For worſe it is to bee without reaſon and ſenſleſſe, than to be fooliſh. What aile they then, and what takes them in the head, that they will not avow and confeſſe that to be evill, which is woorſe than evill? And why do they affirme that we are to avoid folly alone, if it be meet to flie no leſſe, nay rather much more, that diſpoſition which is not capable nor ſuſceptible of folly? But wherefore ſhould any man be offended and ſcandalized hereat, if hee call to mind that which this philoſopher wrote in his ſecond booke of Nature, where he avoucheth: That vice was not made without ſome good uſe and profit, for the whole world? But it will be better to recite this doctrine, even in his owne words, to the end that you may know in what place they range vice, and what ſpeech they make thereof, who accuſe *Xenocrates* and *Speuſippus*, for that they reputed not health to be an indifferent thing, nor riches unprofitable. As for vice (quoth he) it is limited in regard of other accidents beſide: for it is alſo in ſome ſort according to nature; and if I may ſo ſay, it is not altogether unprofitable in reſpect of the whole, for otherwiſe there would not be any good; and therefore it may be inferred, that there is no good among the gods, in as much as they can have none evil: neither when at any time *Jupiter* having reſolved the whole matter into himſelfe, ſhall become one, & ſhall take away all other differences, wil there be any more good, conſidering there will be no evill to be found. But true it is, that in a daunce or quier, there wil be an accord & meaſure, although there be none in it that ſingeth out of tune & maketh a diſcord: as alſo health in mans body, albeit no part thereof were pained or diſeaſed: but vertue without vice can have no generation. And like as in ſome medicinable confections there is required the poyſon of a viper or ſuch like ſerpent, and the gall of the beaſt Hyæna; even ſo there is another kind of neceſſarie convenience betweene the wickedneſſe of *Melitus*, and the juſtice of *Socrates*; betweene the diſſolute demeanor of *Cleon*, and the honeſt carriage of *Pericles*. And what meanes could *Jupiter* have made, to bring foorth *Hercules* and *Lycurgus* into the world, if he had not withall made *Sardanapalus* and *Phalaris* for us? And it is a great marvell if they ſay not alſo, that the Phthiſicke or ulcer of the lungs, was ſent among men for their good plight of bodie, and the gout for ſwift footmanſhip: and *Achilles* had not worne long haire, unleſſe *Therſites* had beene bald. For what difference is there betweene thoſe that alledge theſe doting fooleries or rave ſo abſurdlie; and ſuch as ſay that looſeneſſe of life and whoredome were not unprofitable for continence, and jniuſtice for juſtice? So that we had need to pray unto the gods that there might be alwaies ſinne and wickednes,

Falſe leaſing ſmooth and gloſing tongue,
Deceitfull traines and fraud among.

in caſe when theſe be gone, vertue depart and periſh withal. But will you ſee now and behold the moſt elegant deviſe and pleaſanteſt invention of his? For like as Comœdies (quoth he) carrie otherwhiles ridiculous Epigrams or inſcriptors, which conſidered by themſelves, are nothing woorth, howbeit they give a certaine grace to the whole Poeme: even ſo, a man may well blame and deteſt vice in it ſelfe, but in regard of others it is not unprofitable. And firſt to ſay that vice was made by the divine providence, even as a lewd Epigram compoſed by the expreſſe will of the Poet, ſurpaſſeth all imagination of abſurditie: for if this were true, how can the gods be the givers of good things, rather than of evill? or how can wickednes any more be enemie to the gods, or hated by them? or what ſhall we have to ſay and anſwere to ſuch blaſphemous ſentences of the Poets, ſounding ſo ill in religious eares, as theſe:

God once diſpos'd ſome houſe to overthrow,
Twixt men ſome cauſe and ſeeds of ſtrife doth ſow.
Againe:
Which of the gods twixt them did kindle fire,
Thus to conteſt in termes of wrath and ire.

Moreover, a fooliſh and leawd epigram doth embeliſh and adorne the Comedie, ſerving to that end for which it was compoſed by the Poet, namely, to pleaſe the ſpectatours, and to make them laugh. But *Jupiter* whom we ſurnamed, Paternall, Fatherly, Supreame, Sovereigne, Juſt, Righteous, and according to *Pindarus*, ἀειστοτέχνας, that is to ſay, the beſt and moſt perfect artiſan, making this world as he hath done, not like unto ſome great Comedie or Enterlude, full of varietie, skill, and wittie devices, but in maner of a city common to gods and men, for to inhabit together with juſtice and vertue in one accord and happily, what need had he, to this moſt holy and venerable end, of theeves, robbers, murderers, homicides, parricides and tyrans? for ſurely vice and wickedneſſe was not the entry of ſome moriſque-dance or ridiculous eare-ſport, carrying a delectable grace with it and pleaſing to God; neither was it ſet unto the affaires of men for recreation and paſtime, to make them ſport, or to move laughter, being a thing that carrieth not ſo much as a ſhadow, nor repreſenteth the dreame, of that concord and convenience with nature, which is ſo highly celebrated and commended. Furthermore, the ſaid lewd epigram, is but a ſmall part of the Poeme, and occupieth a very little roome in a Comedie: neither do ſuch ridiculous compoſitions abound overmuch in a play, nor corrupt and marre the pleaſant grace of ſuch matters as ſeeme to have beene well and pretily deviſed: whereas all humane affaires are full thorowout of vice: and mans life even from the very firſt beginning and entrie as it were of the prologue unto the finall concluſion of all and epilogue, yea and to the very plaudite, being diſordinate, degenerate, full of perturbation and confuſion, and having no one part thereof pure and unblamable, as theſe men ſay, is the moſt filthy unpleaſant and odious enterlude of all others, that can be exhibited. And therefore gladly would I demaund and learne of them, in what reſpect was vice made profitable to this univerſall world: for I ſuppoſe he will not ſay it was for divine and celeſtiall things: becauſe it were a mere reciculous mockery to affirme that unleſſe there were bred and remained among men vice, malice, avarice, and leſing, or unleſſe we robbed, pilled and ſpoiled, unleſſe we ſlandered and murdered one another, the ſun would not run his ordinary courſe, nor the heaven keepe the ſet ſeaſons and uſuall revolutions of time, ne yet the earth ſeated in the midſt and center of the world, yeeld the cauſes of winde and raine. It remaineth then, that vice & ſin was profitably engendred for us and for our affaires: and haply this is it which they themſelves would ſeeme to ſay. And are we indeed the better in health for being ſinfull? or have we thereby more plenty and aboundance of things neceſſary? availeth our wickedneſſe ought to make us more beawtifull and better favoured, or ſerveth it us in any ſtead to make us more ſtrong and able of body? They anſwere No. But is this a ſilent name onely, and a cretaine blinde opinion and weening of theſe night-walking Sophiſters, and not like indeed unto vice which is conſpicuous enough & expoſed to the view of the whole world, in ſuch ſort as it is not poſſible that it ſhould bring any detriment or ought that is unprofitable, and leaſt of all, ô good god, of vertue, for which we were borne. And what abſurdity were it to ſay, that the commodious inſtruments of the husband man, the mariner or the carter, ſhould ſerve their turnes for to attaine unto their purpoſe and entended end: but that which hath bene created by God for vertue, ſhould corrupt, mar, and deſtroy vertue? But peradventure it is more than time now, to paſſe unto ſome other point, and to let this goe.

LAMPRIAS

Nay I beſeech you good ſir of all loves and for my ſake doe not ſo: For I deſire to know and nnderſtand how theſe men bring in evill things before the good, and vice before vertue.

DIADUMENUS.

You ſay well, and certes my friend this is a point worth the knowledge: much vaine jangling and prittle prattle verily doe theſe men make, but in the end they come to this concluſion, that prudence is the ſcience of good things & evil together: for that otherwiſe it could not ſtand but muſt needs altogether fall to the ground: For like as if we admit that there be truth, it cannot otherwiſe be but that falſity and untruth ſhould be likewiſe hard by: ſo it is meet and ſtands to good reaſon, that if there be good things, the evill alſo muſt have their being.

LAMPRIAS

To grant the one of theſe not to be amiſſe ſaid, yet me thinks I ſee of my ſelfe, that the other is cleane contrary. For I diſcerne very well the difference: becauſe that which is not trueth, muſt immediatly be falſe: but that which is not evill, is not by and by good: For betweene true and falſe there is no meane: but betwixt good and evill there is: to wit, indifferent. Neither followeth it neceſſarily, that both good and evill things ſhould have their ſubſtance together, and that if the one be, the other likewiſe ſhould enſue. For it may be that nature had good, and required not the evill, ſo that it might have that which was neither good nor evill. But as touching the former reaſon, if your Academicks ſay ought of it. I would gladly heare from your mouth.

DIADUMENUS.

Yes mary (quoth he) much there is alledged by them, but for this preſent relate I will, that which is moſt neceſſarie. Firſt and formoſt, a mere folly it is to thinke that good things and evill have their ſubſiſtence for prudence ſake. For contrariwiſe, when good and evill was before, then prudence followed after: like as phyſicke enſued upon things holſome and breeding diſeaſes, which are ſuppoſed to have bene before. For ſurely the good and the evill came not up nor were brought forth, to the end that there ſhould be prudence: but that faculty or power whereby we judge and diſcerne betweene evill and good is called prudence: like as the ſight is a ſenſe which ſerveth to diſtinguiſh blacke from white, which colours had not their being firſt, to the end that we ſhould have our ſeeing, but contrariwiſe need we had of our ſeeing for to diſcerne the ſaid colours. Secondly when the world in that generall conflagration, which they hold and talke of, ſhall be all on a light fire and burnt, there will remaine behind nothing that evill is, but all ſhall then be wiſe and prudent: And therefore confeſſe they muſt, will they nill they, that there is prudence although there be no evill, neither is it neceſſary, that if wiſdome be, evill alſo ſhould have a being. But ſay it were abſolutely ſo, that prudence were the ſcience of evill and good, what harme or abſurdity would follow, if upon the aboliſhing & annulling of evill things there were no prudence any more, but ſome other vertue in lieu thereof, which were not the ſcience of evill and good together, but onely of good? Like as among colours, if the blacke were quite periſhed and gone for ever, who will force us to confeſſe that the ſenſe of ſeeing is likewiſe loſt? And who would impeach or debarre us for ſaying that ſight is not the ſenſe of diſcerning blacke and white? Surely if any man would force upon us the contrary, what inconvenience and abſurdity were there to anſwere him thus, Sir if we have not that ſenſe that you ſpeake of, yet we have another ſenſe and naturall power inſteed of it, whereby we apprehend colours that be white and not white. And verily for mine owne part I doe not thinke that if there were no bitter things in the world, our taſte ſhould be therefore utterly loſt, or the ſenſe of feeling in caſe all dolour and paine were gone: no more am I perſwaded that prudence ſhould be aboliſhed, if all evill were rid out of the way. But like as thoſe ſenſes would remaine to apprehend ſweet ſavours and pleaſant objects of feeling, ſo this prudence alſo would continue to be the ſciences of things good and not good. As for thoſe who are of another opinion, let them take the name to themſelves, ſo they leave us the thing indeed. But over and beſides all this, what ſhould hinder us to ſay, that the evill is in cogitation and intelligence; but good in reality and eſſence? like as, I ſuppoſe the gods enjoy the reall preſence of health, where as they have the intelligence of the fever and pleuriſie: conſidering that we alſo, albeit we were peſtred with all the evils in the world, and had no affluence at all of good things as theſe men ſay, yet we want not the underſtanding what is prudence, what is good and what is felicity.

And this is a woonderfull thing, if there being no vertue preſent, yet ſome there are who teach what vertue is, and enforme us in the comprehenſion thereof; whereas if there were no ſuch thing, it is impoſſible to have the intelligence of it; for doe but conſider what they would perſwade us to, who reaſon philoſophically againſt common conceptions, namely, That by fooliſhneſſe and ignorance, wee comprehend wiſdome and prudence; but prudence without follie and ignorance, cannot conceive ſo much, as ignorance it ſelfe. And if nature had neceſſarily need of the generation of evill, certes, one example or two at the moſt of evill were ſufficient; or if you will have it ſo, requiſit it was that there ſhould be brought foorth ten wicked perſons, or a thouſand, or ten thouſand, and not ſuch an infinit multitude of vices, as the ſands of the ſea, the duſt, or the feathers of divers plumed birds, could not affoord ſo great a number: but of vertue not ſo much as a bare dreame or vaine viſion. They that were the wardens and maſters at *Lacedæmon*, of thoſe publike halles or dining places called *Phiditia*, were woont to bring foorth and ſhew openly unto their youth, two or three of their ſlaves called *Helotæ*, full of wine, and ſtarke drunken, that they might know thereby, what a ſhamefull and foule thing it was to be drunken, and ſo take heed of that vice, and learne to be ſober. But in this life there be many ſuch examples of vice in our actions; for there is not ſo much as one ſober unto vertue, but we all trip and ſtumble, nay we wander as if our braines turned round about, living ſhamefully in miſery; and ſo farre foorth are we intoxicate with our owne reaſon and ſelfe conceit, filled with ſo great perturbation and folly, that wee may be well and fitly likened to thoſe dogs which as *Aeſope* tels the tale, ſeeing certeine ſkinnes floting above the water, gaped ſo greedily for to have them, that they would needs drinke up all the ſea before them, for to be ſure of the ſaid ſkinnes; but ere they could come by them, they drunke ſo much as they burſt againe: and even we hoping by reaſon to acquire glory and reputation, and thereby to attaine unto vertue, are ſpoiled, marred, and deſtroied therewith, before we can reach thereunto, being before-hand loden with a mighty deale of meere, heady, and bitter vice, if it be ſo, as theſe men give it out, that even they who have made good progreſſe and proceeded to the end, feele for all that no eaſe, no alteration, no remiſſion or breathing time at all from folly and infelicity. But marke I pray againe, how he who ſaith, that vice was not produced and brought foorth into the world unprofitably, depainteth it unto you what maner of thing hee deſcribeth it to be, and what an heritage it is for him who hath it? For in his treatiſe of Duties or Offices he ſaith: That the vicious and ſinfull perſon, hath no want nor need of any thing; that nothing is profitable, nothing meet and convenient for him. How then is vice commodious, wherewith neither health it ſelfe is expedient, nor ſtore of money, ne yet advancement and promotion? And hath a man no need of thoſe things, whereof ſome are precedent, preeminent, and to be preferred, yea, and beleeve me, very profitable and commodious; others according to nature, as they themſelves terme them? And of all theſe doeth no man finde need, unleſſe he become wiſe? And ſo by this reckoning, hath the leawd and fooliſh man no need to become wiſe; neither be men thirſty or hungry, before they are made wiſe? So that if they be dry, have they no need of water, nor if hungry, bread?

Reſembling right thoſe gentle gueſts,
who nought elſe did require,
But under rouſe to ſhrowd their heads,
and warme themſelves at fire.

And ſo belike he had no need of covert nor of mantell, who ſaid:

Give Hipponax *a cloke his corps to fold,*
For why, I ſhake and ſhiver hard for cold?

But will you pronounce a paradox indeed, ſuch an one as is extravagant and ſingular by it ſelfe? Say hardly then; That a wiſe man wanteth nought, and hath need of nothing; he is rich, he is full and fortunate, he is of himſelfe ſufficient, bleſſed, happy, & every way abſolute. But what a dizzineſſe & giddineſſe of the braine is this to ſay; That he who is indigent of nothing, yet hath need of the good things which he hath; and that the lewd and vicious perſon is indigent of many things, and yet needeth nothing? for this is the very aſſertion which *Chryſippus* holdeth: That wicked perſons have no need, and yet are indigent, turling, ſhifting, and tranſpoſing the common notions, like unto cockall bones or cheſſe-men upon the boord. For all men deeme thus, that to have need, goeth before indigence, ſuppoſing him that ſtandeth in need of things which are not ready at hand, nor eaſie to be gotten, is indigent. To make this more plaine, no man is ſaid to be indigent of hornes or of wings, for that he hath no need of them; but we ſay truly and properly, that ſome have need of armour, of monie, and of apparell, when in the penury and want of theſe things, they neither have them nor can come by them, to ſupply their neceſſity. But theſe Stoicks are ſo deſirous to be thought alwaies for to broch ſomewhat againſt common ſenſe and conception, that many times they forget themſelves and ſlip out of their owne proper opinions, ſo much affected they are and given to new conceits; like as in this place, if you pleaſe to caſt your eie unto *Chryſippus,* and looke ſomewhat behinde, calling to minde what hath heeretofore beene delivered.

This is one of his poſitions, affirmed even againſt common ſenſe, and vulgar opinion, that no evill and fooliſh man can finde good and profit by any thing; and yet many of them by inſtitution and teaching, proceed forward and profit; many who were ſlaves, become enfranchized; beſieged, are delivered; drunken, are guided and lead by the hand; ſicke and diſeaſed, are cured of their maladies: but for all this forſooth, they are never the better whatſoever is done unto them; no benefits they receive, no benefactours they have, no nor neglect thoſe who deſerve well of them: and ſo vicious perſons are not unthankfull, no more than are good and wiſe men. And thus ingratitude is not at all, nor hath any being; for that the good never intervert, nor miſcognize the favour and benefit which they have received; and the wicked are capable of none at all. But ſee (I pray you) what ſhift they make to ſalve & anſwer all this: They ſay (forſooth) that grace, favour, or benefit is ranged in the number of meane things: and that to helpe or be helped, apperteineth onely to the wiſe. True it is ſay they, that wicked receive alſo a grace or benefit. What is that? Thoſe who have part in a benefit, have not they alſo a part of uſe and commodity? and whereto a grace or benefit reacheth, doth nothing that is commodious and convenient, extend thither? And is there ought elſe that maketh a demerit or pleaſure done to be a grace, than that the party who doth the pleaſure ſhould in ſome reſpect be commodious unto the needy receiver?

Lamprias.

But let theſe matters paſſe, and tell us what is that ὠφέλεια, that is to ſay, utility, which they priſe ſo highly, and whereof they make ſo great account?

Diadumenus.

This is a thing (I may tell you) which they reſerve and keepe as a great matter and a ſingularitie for their Sages onely, and yet leave them not ſo much as the name of it. If one wiſe man, ſay they, do but put forth his finger prudently, whereſoever it be, all the wiſe men that are in the whole continent and habitable world find this ὠφέλεια and utility by it. This is the onely gift and worke of the amity that is among them, and in this doe determine and end the vertues of wiſe men, namely, the entercourſe of common profit and utility, paſſing to and fro betweene them. As for *Ariſtotle,* he doted, *Xenocrates* alſo doted, who taught and affirmed that men had helpe from the gods, helpe from their parents, and helpe by ther teachers and ſcholemaſters: but never underſtood they this wonderfull helpe and commoditie, which theſe wiſe men receive one from another, when they be moved to vertue, although they be not together, no nor ſo much as know one another. And verily all men do thinke, that to gather, to lay up, to keepe, to diſpenſe and beſtow, is condrucible and profitable, when there is received profit and commodity by ſuch things. And a good ſubſtantiall houſholder buyes himſelfe locks and keies, he keepeth his cellars, his cloſets and coffers,

Taking great joy his chamber doore
with hand for to unlocke,
Where lies of golde and ſilver both,
his treaſure and his ſtocke.

But to gather and lay up, to keepe with great care, diligence and paine, thoſe things which are for nothing profitable, is neither honourable, nor yet ſeemly and honeſt. If then *Ulyſſes* being taught by *Circe* to make that faſt knot, had with it tied ſure and ſealed up as it were, not the gifts and preſents which *Alcinous* gave him, to wit, treſeets, pots, plate clothes, apparell and gold; but ſome traſh, as ſticks, ſtones and other pelfe raked together, thinking it a great felicity for him to poſſeſſe and keepe charily ſuch riffe-raffe and trumperie: who would have praiſed and commended him for it, or imitated this fooliſh forecaſt, witleſſe, providence, and vaine diligence? And yet this is the goodly and beautifull honeſty of the Stoicks profeſſion in generall, this is their honourable gravity, this is their beatitude; and nothing els is it, but an heaping up, a keeping and preſerving of things unprofitable and indifferent. For ſuch be thoſe which they ſay are according to nature; and much more thoſe outward matters: foraſmuch as ſometime they compare the greateſt riches with fringes and chamber-pots of golde, yea and (I aſſure you) otherwhiles as it falleth out, with oile cruets. And afterwards, like as thoſe who thinke they have moſt inſolently and proudly abuſed with blaſphemous words and polluted the temples, the ſacred ceremonies and religious ſervices of ſome gods or divine powers, preſently change their note, and become penitent perſons, and falling downe proſtrate, or ſitting humbly below upon the ground, bleſſe and magnifie the heavenly power of the Godhead; even ſo they, as incurring the vengeance and plague of God for their preſumptuous follies, arrogant and vaine ſpeeches, are found puddering and raking againe in theſe indifferent things, nothing indeed pertinent unto them; ſetting out a throat and crying as loud as they can, what a gay matter, what a goodly and honourable thing it is, to gather and lay up ſuch commodities, and eſpecially the communion and fellowſhip of enjoying and uſing them: alſo that whoſoever want the ſame, and can not come by them, have no reaſon to live any longer; but either to lay violent hands on themſelves, or by long faſting and abſtinence from all viands, to ſhorten their lives, bidding vertue farewell for ever. And theſe men verily, howſoever they repute *Theognis* to be a man altogether of a baſe and abject minde, for ſaying thus in verſe,

A man from povertie to flie,
O Cyrmis, *ought himſelfe to caſt*
Headlong from rocks moſt ſteepe and hie,
Or into ſea as deepe and vaſt.

themſelves meane while in proſe give theſe exhortations, and ſay, that to avoid a grievous maladie, and eſcape exceeding paine, a man ought (if he had not a ſword or dagger neere at hand, nor a poiſoned cup of hemlocke) to caſt himſelfe into the ſea, or els fall headlong and breake his necke from ſome ſteepe rocke: yet affirme they, that neither the one nor the other is hurtfull, evill or unprofitable; nor maketh thoſe miſerable, who fall into ſuch accidents. Whence then ſhall I begin (quoth he) what ground-worke and foundation of duety ſhall I lay, or what ſhall I make the ſubject and matter of vertue, leaving nature, and abandoning that which is according to nature? And whereat (I pray you, good ſir) begin *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*? what principles take *Xenocrates* and *Polemon*? And even *Zeno* himſelfe, hath he not followed them, in ſuppoſing Nature and that which is according to Nature, for to be the elements of felicitie? But theſe great clerks verily, reſted here in theſe things, as eligible, expetible, good and profitable; adjoining moreover unto them, vertue, which emploieth the ſame, and worketh by ech of them according to their proper uſe; thinking in ſo doing, to accompliſh a perfect and entire life, and to conſummate that concord and agreement which is in trueth ſortable and conſonant unto Nature. For they made no confuſed miſh-maſh, nor were contrary to themſelves, as thoſe who leape and mount on high from the ground, and immediatly fall downe upon it againe, and in naming the ſame things, meet to be choſen, and yet not expetible; proper and convenient, and withall not good; unprofitable, and yet fit for good uſes; nothing at all pertinent unto us, and yet forſooth, the very principles of dueties and offices. But looke what was the ſpeech of theſe noble and famous perſonages, the ſame alſo was their life; their deeds (I ſay) were anſwerable and conformable to their words. Contrariwiſe, the ſect of theſe Stoicks, doth according to that craftie woman whom *Archilochus* deſcribeth, to cary water in the one hand, and fire in the other: for in ſome of their doctrines and aſſertions they receive and admit nature, in another they reject her: or to ſpeake more plainly; in their acts and deeds they adhere and cleave unto thoſe things which are according to nature, as being eligible and ſimply good; but in their diſputations and diſcourſes they refuſe and condemne the ſame as things indifferent and nothing available to vertue for the acquiring of felicitie: nay, that which woorſe is, they give her hard and reprochfull tearmes. And foraſmuch as all men generally are perſwaded in their minds, that the ſovereigne good is a thing joious, exoptable, happie, moſt honourable, and of greateſt dignitie, ſufficient of it ſelfe, and wanting nothing. See now this ſovereigne good of theirs, and examine it according to this common opinion: To put forth ones finger like a ſage and wiſe Philoſopher, doth this make that joious good? or what exoptable thing I pray you, is a prudent torture? who caſteth himſelfe downe headlong from an high rocke, ſo he do it with a colour of reaſon and honeſty, is he happy and fortunate? is that moſt honourable and of greateſt price and dignity, which reaſon many times chuſeth to reject, for another thing that of it ſelfe is not good? is that all-ſufficient in it ſelfe, accompliſhed and perfect, which whoſoever do preſently injoy,if haply they can not obteine withall,ſome one of theſe indifferent things,they will not deigne to live any longer? was there ever knowen any diſcourſe or diſputation wherein uſe and ordinary cuſtome ſuffered more outrage and abuſe, which ſtealing and plucking from it the true and naturall conceptions,as legitimate children of her owne, putteth in the place,baſtards, changelings, of a monſtrous and ſavage kinde, and conſtreineth it to love, cheriſh and keepe them in lieu of the other? And thus have they done in treating of good things and evill, expetible and to be avoided, proper and ſtrange; which ought to have beene more cleerely and plainly diſtinguiſhed, than hot from colde, or white colours from blacke. For the apprehenſions and conceits of theſe qualities,are from withoutforth brought in by the ſenſes naturall; but the other are within vs, taking their originall from thoſe good things that we have within us. Now theſe men entring into the queſtion and common place of ſovereigne felicity, with their Logicke ſubtilties,as if they were to handle the lying ſophiſme called *Pſeudomenos*; or that maſterfull maner of reaſoning named *Kyritton*, have not ſolved one of the doubts and queſtions which there were, but mooved and raiſed an infinite number of others that were not there before.

Moreover, there is no man who knoweth not that there being two ſorts of good things; the one which is the very utmoſt end,and the other, the meanes to attaine thereto: the one is more excellent and perfect of the twaine. And *Chryſippus* himſelfe knoweth well enough this difference,as it may appeare by that which he hath written in his third booke of Good things: for he diſagreeth with thoſe who are of opinion, that the end or ſovereigne good, is ſcience; and putteth this downe in his treatiſe of Juſtice: If there be any who ſuppoſeth that pleaſure is the end of good things, hee thinketh not that juſtice can be ſafe; if not the finall end, but ſimply good and no more,he is of another minde. I do not thinke that you would heare me at this preſent to rehearſe his owne words, for his third booke as touching Juſtice, is extant and to be had every where. When as they ſay therefore (my friend) elſewere, that no good thing is greater or leſſe than another, but that the finall end is equall with that which is not the end, and no better than it,it is evident that they be contrary and repugnant not onely to the common notions, but alſo to their owne very words. And againe, if of two evils, the one maketh us woorſe than we were when it came unto us; and the other hurteth us indeed, but maketh vs not woorſe: that evill in mine opinion is the greater which maketh us worſe: neither doth that more hurt,which cauſeth us not to be the woorſe. And *Chryſippus* verily confeſſeth, that there be certeine feares, ſorrowes and deceitfull illuſions, which well may hurt and offend us, but not make us woorſe. But reade over and peruſe the firſt of thoſe books which are written againſt *Plato*,as concerning Juſtice: for in reſpect of other cauſes, it were very well done and worth your labour,to note the frivolous babling in that place of this man, where he makes no ſpare to deliver all matters and doctrines whatſoever indifferently, even thoſe aſwell of his owne ſect as of other ſtrangers, flat oppoſit to common ſenſe: as for example, That it is lawfull to propoſe two ends and two ſcopes of our life,and not to referre all that ever we do unto one end. And yet more than that,is this alſo a common notion, That the end verily is one, but every thing that is done, ought to have a relation to another; and yet of neceſſitie, they muſt abide the one or the other. For if the firſt things according to nature be not expetible for themſelves and the laſt end; but rather the reaſonable election and choiſe of them; and if every man doth what lies in him,to have and obteine thoſe things which are firſt according to nature, and all actions and operations have their reference thither, namely,to acquire and enjoy the principall things according to nature: if (I ſay) they thinke ſo, it muſt needs be that without aſpiring and aiming for to get and atteine thoſe things, they have another end to which they muſt referre the election and choiſe of the ſaid things, and not the things themſelves: for thus will be the end, even to know how to chuſe them well and to take them wiſely; but the things themſelves and the enjoying of them, will be of ſmall moment,being as a matter and ſubject which hath the dignity and eſtimation: for thus I ſuppoſe they uſe and put downe in writing this very word to ſhew the difference.

LAMPRIAS.

Certes you have paſſing well and woorthily reported unto us, both what they ſay, and how they deliver it.

DIADUMENUS.

But marke I beſeech you, how they fare like unto thoſe who will needs ſtreine themſelves to leape over and beyond their owne ſhadow; for they leave not behinde, but carie evermore with them ſome abſurdity in their ſpeech, and the ſame farre remote alwaies from common ſenſe: for as if one ſhould ſay, That an archer doeth all that lieth in him, not to hit the marke, but to doe all that ever he can; he might be juſtly taken for a man, who ſpake ænigmatically & by darke riddles, and uttered ſtrange and prodigious words: even ſo doe theſe old doting fooles, who with all their power endevour to maintaine, that to obteine the things according to nature, is not the end of aiming and aſpiring to things according to nature; but forſooth to take and chuſe them; and that the deſire of health and ſeeking after it in any man, endeth not in health of ech one, but contrariwiſe, that health is referred to the appetite and ſeeking after it: ſaying moreover, that to walke, to read, or ſpeake aloud, to endure ſections or inciſions, yea and to take purging medicines, ſo all be done by reaſon, are the ends of health, and not it, the end of thoſe meanes. Certes, theſe men dote, rave, & ſpeake idly, as well as they who ſhould ſay; let me goe to ſupper, that we may ſacrifice, bath, or ſweat in the ſtouph. Nay (that which more is) that which theſe men ſay, perverteth order and cuſtome, and conteineth a confuſion, ſhufling & turning upſide downe of al our affaires whatſoever: We ſtudy not ſay they, to walke in due time, for to concoct & digeſt our meats well; but we concoct and digeſt our meat, becauſe we might walke in due ſeaſon. Why? Hath nature given us health for Ellebore, or rather brought foorth Ellebor for health ſake? For what could be uttered more ſtrange and abſurd, than ſuch propoſitions as theſe? and what difference is there betweene him who ſaith, that health was made for medicinable drogues, and not drogues medicinable for health? and another who holdeth, that the gathering, the choiſe, the compoſition and uſe of ſuch medicines, is to be preferred before health it ſelfe? or rather he thinks that health is not in any reſpect expetible: but hee ſetteth downe the very end in the penning and handling of thoſe medicines, affirming forſooth that appetite is the end of fruition, and not fruition of appetite: And why not (quoth he) all while there be added thereto theſe termes; conſiderately and with reaſon. True will we ſay againe, if a man have regard unto the obteining and enjoying of the thing which he purſueth; for otherwiſe that conſiderate reaſon is to no purpoſe, in caſe all be done for to obteine that, the fruition whereof is neither honorable nor happy.

LAMPRIAS.

And ſince we are fallen upon this diſcourſe, a man may ſay, that any thing elſe whatſoever, is according to common ſenſe rather, than to hold, that without having notice or conception of good, a man may deſire and purſue after it; for you ſee how *Chryſippus* himſelfe driveth *Ariſton* into theſe ſtreights, as to imagine and dreame of a certeine indifference in things tending to that which is neither good nor ill, before that the ſaid good and ill is ſufficiently knowen and underſtood; for ſo it might ſeeme that this indifference muſt needs ſubſiſt before if it be ſo, that a man cannot conceive the intelligence of it, unleſſe the good were firſt underſtood, which is nothing elſe but the onely and ſoveraigne good indeed.

DIADUMENUS.

But conſider I pray you, and marke now this indifference * taken out of the Stocks ſchoole, and which they call ὁμολογίαν, after what maner, and whereby it hath given us the meane to imagine and conceive in our minde that good? for if without the ſaid good, it is not poſſible to conceive and imagine the indifference reſpective to that which is not good; much leſſe the intelligence of good things yeeldeth any cogitation unto them, who had not before ſome prenotion of the good. But like as there is no cogitation, of the art of things which be holſome or breeding ſickneſſe in them who had not a precogitation before of thoſe things: even ſo it is impoſſible for them to conceive the ſcience of good and evill things, who had no fore-conceit what were good and what were evill? What then is good? nothing but prudence; and what is prudence, nothing but ſcience: and ſo according to that old common proverbe * Διὸς Κόρινθος, that is to ſay, *Jupiters* Corinth; is oftentimes applied unto their maner of reaſoning. For let be I pray you, the turning of the peſtill round about, becauſe you may not be thought to ſcoffe and laugh at them, although in trueth their ſpeech is much after that maner; for it ſeemeth that for the intelligence of good, one hath need to underſtand prudence: & againe, to ſeeke for prudence in the intelligence of good; being driven to purſue the one alwaies for the other, and ſo to faile both of the one and the other, which implieth a meere contrariety, in that we muſt alwaies underſtand the thing before, which cannot be underſtood apart. Beſides, there is another way, whereby a man may perceive and ſee, not the perverſion and diſtortion, but the very everſion and deſtruction of all their reaſons.

* αἱρημένην, not ἀρνεμένην.

* A by-word which noteth the paralogiſme or fault in arguing, called *Petitio principij*, like as doth the turning alſo of the peſtill round within the morter.

They hold that the very ſubſtance of good, is the reaſonable and conſiderate election of that which is according to nature; now this election is not conſiderate which is directed to ſome end, as is before ſaid: And what is this? Nothing elſe ſay they, but to diſcourſe with reaſon in the elections of thoſe things which be according to nature. Firſt and formoſt then, the conception of the ſoveraigne good, is periſhed and cleane gone; for this conſiderate diſcourſing in elections, is an operation depending of the habitude of good diſcourſe; and therefore being compelled to conceive this habitude from the end, and the end not without it, we come ſhort of the intelligence of thē both. And againe, that which yet is more, by all the reaſon in the world, it muſt needs be that the ſaid reaſonable and conſiderate election, was the election of things good, profitable, and cooperant to the atteining of the end. For to chuſe ſuch things, which be neither expedient, nor honourable, nor yet any way eligible; how can it ſtand with reaſon: for ſuppoſe it were as they ſay; that the end were a reaſonable election of things which have ſome dignity and worthineſſe, making unto felicitie. See I beſeech you how their diſcourſe and diſputation ariſeth unto a trim point and goodly concluſion in the end: For the end (ſay they) is the good diſcourſe, in making choiſe of thoſe things which have dignity, making unto happineſſe. Now when you heare theſe words, thinke you not my good friend, that this is a very ſtrange and extravagant opinion?

LAMPEIAS.

Yes verily; but I would willingly know, how this hapneth?

DIADUMENUS.

Then muſt you lay your eare cloſe, and harken with great attention, for it is not for every one to conceive this ænigmaticall riddle: But heare you ſir, and make me anſwer: Is not the end by their ſaying, the good diſcourſe in elections according to nature?

DIADUMENUS.

That is their ſaying.

LAMPRIAS.

And theſe things which be according to nature, they chuſe (doe they not) as good, or having ſome dignities and preferences inducing to the end, or to ſome other thing elſe.

DIADUMENUS.

I thinke not ſo: but ſurely, to the end.

LAMPRIAS

Having diſcovered thus much already, ſee now to what point they are come, namely, that their end is to diſcourſe well of felicity.

DIADUMENUS.

They ſay directly, that they neither have nor conceive any other thing of felicity, but this precious rectitude of diſcourſe touching the elections of things that are of worth. Howbeit ſome there be who ſay that all this refutation is directed againſt *Antipater* alone, and not the whole ſect of the Stoicks, who perceiving himſelfe to be urged & hardly preſſed by *Carneades*, fell into theſe vanities and fooliſh ſhifts for his evaſion.

Moreover, as touching that which is diſcourſed and taught in the Stoicks ſchoole, Of Love, ven againſt common notions, it concerneth all the Suppoſts in generall of that ſect, who have every one of them their hand in the abſurdity thereof: for they avouch that yong youths, are foule and deformed, if they be vicious and fooliſh: but the wiſe onely are beawtifull: and yet of theſe that are thus faire and beawtifull, there was never any one yet either beloved, or lovely and amiable. And yet this is not ſo abſurd: but they ſay moreover, that ſuch as are in love with thoſe who be foule, ceaſe to love them when they are become faire. And who hath ever ſeene or knowen ſuch a kinde of love which ſhould kindle and ſhew it ſelfe preſently upon the diſcovery of the bodies deformity and the ſoules vice: and incontinently, be quenched and vaniſh away after the knowledge of paſſing beawty, together with juſtice and temperance? And verily ſuch I ſuppoſe doe properly reſemble theſe gnats, which love to ſettle upon vineger, ſoure wine or the fome thereof: but the good and pleaſant potable wine they care not for, but flie from it. As for that emphaticall apparence of beawty (for that is the terme they give it) which they ſay is the alluring & attractive bait of love: firſt and formoſt it carieth no probability with it nor likelihood of reaſon. For in thoſe who are moſt foule and wicked in the higheſt degree there can be no ſuch emphaticall apparence of that beawty: in caſe it be ſo as they ſay that the leawdneſſe of maners ſheweth in the face and infecteth the viſage: for there be ſome of them who expound this ſtrange poſition as ſtrangely, ſaying that a foule perſon is worthy to be loved, becauſe there is ſome hope and expectance that one day he will become faire: mary when he hath gotten this beawty once, and is withall become good and honeſt, then he is beloved of no man. For love ſay they, is a certaine hunting as it were after a yong body, as yet rude and unperfect, howbeit framed by nature unto vertue.

LAMPRIAS.

And what other thing do we now, my good friend, but refute the errors of their ſect, who do thus force, pervert and deſtroy all our common conceptions with their actions which be ſenſeleſſe, and their words and termes as unuſuall and ſtrange? For there was no perſon to hinder this love of wiſe men toward yong folke if affection were away: although all men and women to, both thinke and imagin love to be ſuch a paſſion, as the woers of *Penelope* in *Homer* ſeeme to acknowledge,

Whoſe heat of love was ſuch that in their hart
They wiſht in bed to lie with her apart.

Like as *Jupiter* alſo ſaid to *Juno* in another place of the ſaid poet:

Come let us now to bed both goe, and there with ſweet delight
Solace our ſelves: for never earſt before remember I
That any love to women faire no nor to Goddeſſe bright
Thus tam'd my hart, or prict me ſo, with them to company.

DIADUMENUS

Thus you ſee how they expell and drive morall philoſophy into ſuch matters as theſe,

So intricate and tortuous,
So winding quite throughout
That nothing ſound is therein found,
But all turnes round about.

And yet they deprave vilipend, diſgrace and flout all others, as if they were the men alone who reſtored nature and cuſtome into their integrety as it ought to be, inſtituted their ſpeech accordingly: But nature of it ſelfe doth divert and induce, by appetitions, purſuits inclinations and impulſions, ech thing to that which is proper and fit for it. And as for the cuſtome of Logicke being ſo wrangling and contentious as it is, it receiveth no good at all nor profit: like as the eare diſeaſed by vaine ſounds is filled with thickeneſſe and hardneſſe of hearing. Of which if you thinke ſo good we will begin anew and diſcourſe elſe were another time: but now for this preſent let us take in hand to run over their naturall philoſophy, which no leſſe troubleth and confoundeth common anticipations and conceptions in the maine principles and moſt important points, than their morall doctrine as touching the ends of all things. Firſt and formoſt this is apparently abſurd and againſt all common ſenſe, to ſay, that a thing is, & yet hath no being nor eſſence: and the things which are not, yet have a being: which though it be moſt abſurd, they affirme even of the univerſall world: for putting downe this ſuppoſition that there is round about the ſaid world a certaine infinit voidneſſe, they affirme that the univerſall world is neither body nor bodileſſe: whereupon enſueth that the world is, and yet hath no exiſtence. For they call bodies onely, exiſtent: for as much as it is the property of a thing exiſtent, to doe and ſuffer ſomewhat: And ſeeing this univerſall nature hath no exiſtence; therefore it ſhall neither doe nor ſuffer ought: neither ſhall it be in any place, for that which occupieth place is a bodie, but that univerſall thing is not a body. Moreover that which occupieth one and the ſame place is ſaid to remaine and reſt: and therefore the ſaid univerſall nature doth not remaine, for that it occupieth no place: and that which more is, it mooveth not at all, firſt becauſe that which mooveth ought to be in a place and roome certaine. Againe, becauſe whatſoever mooveth, either mooveth it ſelfe, or elſe is mooved by another: now that which mooveth it ſelfe, hath certeine inclinations either of lightneſſe or ponderoſity: which ponderoſity and lightneſſe, be either certeine habitudes, or faculties & powers, or elſe differences of ech body: but that univerſality, is no body: whereupon it muſt of neceſſity follow that the ſame is neither light nor heavy, and ſo by good conſequence hath in it no principle or beginning of motion; neither ſhall it be mooved of another, for without & beyond it there is nothing: ſo that they muſt be forced to ſay, as they doe indeed, that the ſaid univerſall nature doth neither reſt nor moove. In ſum, for that according to their opinion, we muſt not ſay in any caſe that it is a body, and yet the heaven, the earth, the living creatures, plants, men and ſtones be bodies: that which is no body it ſelfe ſhall by theſe reckonings have parts thereof, which are bodies and that which is not ponderous, ſhall have parts weightie, and that which is not light, ſhall have parts light: which is as much againſt common ſenſe and conceptions, as dreames are not more; conſidering that there is nothing ſo evident and agreeable to common ſenſe than this diſtinction, If any thing be not animate, the ſame is inanimate: and againe, if a thing be not inanimate, the ſame is animate. And yet this manifeſt evidence they ſubvert and overthrow, affirming thus as they do, that this univerſal frame is neither animate nor inanimate. Over and beſides, no man thinketh or imagineth that the ſame is unperfect, conſidering that there is no part thereof wanting: and yet they holde it to be unperfect: For (ſay they) that which is perfect, is finite and determinate; but the whole and univerſall world, for the infiniteneſſe thereof is indefinite. So by their ſaying, ſome thing there is, that is neither perfect not unperfect. Moreover, neither is the ſaid univerſall frame a part, becauſe there is nothing greater than it; nor yet the whole: for that which is whole, muſt be affirmed likewiſe to be digeſted and in order; whereas being as it is, infinite, it is indeterminate and out of order. Furthermore, *The other,* is not the cauſe of the univerſall world, for that there is no other beſide it; neither is it the cauſe of *The other,* nor of it ſelfe, for that it is not made to do any thing: and we take a cauſe to be that which worketh an effect. Now ſet caſe we ſhould demand of all the men in the world, what they imagine NOTHING to be, and what conceit they have of it, would they not ſay (thinke you) that it is that which is neither a cauſe it ſelfe, nor hath any cauſe of it; which is neither a part, nor yet the whole; neither perfect nor unperfect; neither having a ſoule, nor yet without a ſoule; neither moving nor ſtil & quiet, nor ſubſiſting; and neither body nor without body? For what is all this, but *Nothing?* yet, what all others do affirme and verifie of *Nothing,* the ſame doe they alone of the univerſall world: ſo that it ſeemeth they make *All* and *Nothing*, both one. Thus they muſt be driven to ſay, that Time is nothing, neither Prædicable, nor Propoſition, nor Connexion, nor Compoſition, which be termes of Logicke, that they uſe, no Philoſophers ſo much; and yet they ſay, that they have no exiſtence nor being. But (that which more is) they holde that Trueth, although it be, yet it hath no being nor ſubſiſtence, but is comprehended onely by intelligence, is perceptible and beleeved, although it have no jote of eſſence. How can this be ſalved and ſaved, but that it muſt ſurpaſſe the moſt monſtrous abſurdity that is? But becauſe it may not be thought that all this ſmelleth overmuch of the quirks and difficulties in Logicke, let us treat of thoſe which are more proper unto Naturall philoſophie. Foraſmuch therefore, as

Jupiter *is the firſt, the mids, the laſt, even all in all,*
By him all things begin, proceed, and have their finiall.

they themſelves give out, they of all men eſpecially ought to have reformed, rectified redreſſed and reduced to the beſt order, the common conceptions of men as touching the Gods, if haply there had crept into them any errour and perplexed doubt; or if not ſo, yet at leaſtwiſe, to have let every man alone, and left them to the opinion which the lawes and cuſtomes of the countreys wherein they were borne, preſcribed unto them as touching religion and divinitie.

For neither now nor yeſterday
Theſe deepe conceits of God began,
Time out of minde, they have beene ay,
But no man knowes, where, how, nor whan.

But theſe Stoicks having begunne even from the domeſticall goddeſſe *Veſta* (as the proverbe ſaith) to alter and change the opinion eſtabliſhed and received in every countrey, touching religion and the beliefe of God, they have not left ſo much as one conceit or cogitation that way ſound, ſyncere and incorrupted. For where is or ever was the man, beſides themſelves, who doth not conceive in his minde, that God is immortall and eternall? what is more generally acknowledged in our common conceptions as touching the Gods, or what is pronounced with more aſſent and accord than ſuch ſentences as theſe?

And there the Gods do alwaies joy
In heavenly bliſſe, without annoy.

Alſo,

In heaven the Gods immortall ever be:
On earth below, poore mortall men walke we.

Againe,

Exempt from all diſeaſe and craſie age,
The Gods do live in joy, and paine feele none:
They feare no death, nor dread the darke paſſage
Over the Frith of roaring Acheron.

There may peradventure be found ſome barbarous and ſavage nations, who thinke of no God at all; but never was there man having a conception and imagination of God, who eſteemed him not withall to be immortall and everlaſting. For even theſe vile wretches called Ἄθεοι, that is to ſay, Atheiſts, ſuch as *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, and *Hippon*, godleſſe though they were, could never finde in their hearts to ſay and pronounce, That God was corruptible. Onely, they could not beleeve and be perſwaded in their minde, that there was any thing in the world not ſubject to corruption. Thus howſoever they admitted not a ſubſiſtence of immortality & incorruptibility, yet reteined they the common anticipation of the Gods: but *Chryſippus* & *Cleanthes*, having made the heaven, the earth, the aire and ſea to ring againe, as a man would ſay, with their words, and filled the whole world with their writings of the Gods, yet of ſo many Gods, they make not one immortall, but *Jupiter* onely; and in him they ſpend and conſume all the reſt: ſo that this propertie in him, to reſolve and kill others., is never a jote better, than to be reſolved and deſtroied himſelfe. For as it is a kinde of infirmitie, by being changed into another for to die; ſo it is no leſſe imbecillitie to be mainteined and nouriſhed by the reſolution of others into it ſelfe. And this is not like to many other abſurdities collected and gathered by conſequence out of their fundamentall ſuppoſitions, or inferred upon other aſſertions of theirs; but even they themſelves crie out with open mouth expreſly in all their writings, of the gods, of providence, of deſtiny and nature, that all the gods had a beginning of their eſſence, and ſhall periſh and have an end by fire, melted and reſolved, as if they were made of waxe or tinne. So that to ſay that a man is immortall, and that God is mortall, is all one, and the one as abſurd and againſt common ſenſe as the other: nay rather I cannot ſee what difference there will be betweene a man and God, in caſe God be defined, a reaſonable animall, and corruptible: for if they oppoſe and come in with this their fine and ſubtile diſtinction, that man in deed is mortall, but God not mortall, yet ſubject to corruption; marke what an inconvenience doth follow and depend thereupon: for of neceſſity they muſt ſay, either that God is immortall and corruptible withall; or elſe neither mortall nor immortall: then which a man can not (if he would of purpoſe ſtudy for it) deviſe a more ſtrange and monſtrous abſurdity. I ſpeake this by other; for that theſe men muſt be allowed to ſay any thing, neither have there eſcaped their tongues and pens, the moſt extravagant opinions in the world.

Moreover *Cleanthes* minding ſtill to fortifie and confirme that burning and conflagration of his, ſaith: That the ſunne will make like unto himſelfe, the moone with all other ſtarres, and turne them into him. But that which of all others is moſt monſtrous, the moone and other ſtarres, being forſooth gods, worke together with the ſunne, unto their owne deſtruction, and conferre ſomewhat to their owne inflammation. Now ſurely this were a very mockerie, and ridiculous thing for us to powre out our praiers and oraſons unto them for our owne ſafety, and to repute them the ſaviours of men, if it be kinde and naturall for them to make haſte unto their owne corruption and diſſolution. And yet theſe men ceaſe not by all the meanes they can to inſult over *Epicurus*, crying, Fie, fie for ſhame, & redoubling, Out upon him, for that by denying the divine providence, he troubled & confounded the general prenotion and conception in our minds of the gods; for that they are held and reputed by all men, not onely immortall and happy, but alſo humane and benigne, having a carefull eie, and due regard to the good and welfare of men, as in trueth they have. Now if they who take away the providence of God, doe withall aboliſh the common prenotion of men as touching God; what doe they then, who avouch that the gods indeed have care of us; but yet are helpefull to us in nothing, neither give they us any good things, but ſuch onely as be indifferent; not enduing us with vertue, but beſtowing upon us riches, health, procreation of children, and ſuch like, of which there is not one profitable, expedient, eligible or availeable. Is it not certeine that theſe overthrow the common conceptions that are of the gods? neither reſt they heere, but fall to flouting, frumping, and ſcoffing, whiles they give out that there is one god, ſurnamed Ἐπικάρπιος, that is to ſay, the ſuperintendent over the fruits of the earth; another γενέθλιος, that is to ſay, the patron of generation; another φυτάλμιος, that is to ſay, the protectour of plants; another παιὰν, and μαντικος, that is to ſay, the preſident of phyſicke and divination; meane while neither is health ſimply good, nor generation, ne yet fertilitie of the ground and abundance of fruits, but indifferent, yea and unprofitable to thoſe who have them.

The third point of the comon conception of the gods is, that they differ in nothing ſo much from men, as in felicity and vertue: but according to *Chryſippus*, they are in this reſpect nothing ſuperior to men: for he holdeth, that for vertue *Jupiter* is no better than *Dion*; alſo that *Jupiter* & *Dion* being both of them wiſe, doe equally and reciprocally helpe one another: for this is the good that the gods doe unto men, and men likewiſe unto the gods, namely, when they proove wiſe and prudent, and not otherwiſe. So that if a man be no leſſe vertuous, he is not leſſe happy; inſomuch as he is equall unto *Jupiter* the ſaviour in felicitie, though otherwiſe infortunate, and who for grievous maladies and dolorous diſmembring of his body, is forced to make himſelfe away, and leave his life, provided alwaies that he be a wiſe man. Howbeit, ſuch an one there neither is nor ever hath bene living upon the earth: whereas contrariwiſe infinit thouſands and millions there are and have beene of miſerable men and extreme infortunate under the rule and dominion of *Jupiter*, the government & adminiſtration wherof is moſt excellent. And what can there be more againſt common ſenſe, than to ſay, that *Jupiter* governing and diſpenſing all things paſſing well, yet we ſhould be exceeding miſerable? If therefore (which unlawfull is once to ſpeake) *Jupiter* would no longer be a ſaviour, nor a deliverer, nor a protectour, and ſurnamed thereupon *Soter*, *Lyſius*, and *Alexicacos*, but cleane contrary unto theſe goodly and beautifull denominations, there can not poſſibly be added any more goodneſſe to things that be, either in number or magnitude as they ſay; whereas all men live in the extremitie of miſerie and wickedneſſe, conſidering that neither vice can admit no augmentation, nor miſery addition: and yet this is not the woorſt nor greateſt abſurdity: but mightily angry and offended they are with *Menander* for ſpeaking as he did thus bravely in open theater:

I hold, good things exceeding meane degree,
The greateſt cauſe of humane miſerie.

For this (ſay they) is againſt the common conception of men; meane while themſelves make God, who is good and goodneſſe it ſelfe, to be the author of evils: for matter could not verily produce any evill of it ſelfe, being as it is without all qualities; and all thoſe differences and varieties which it hath, it received of that which moved and formed it, to wit, reaſon within, which giveth it a forme and ſhape, for that it is not made to moove and ſhape it ſelfe. And therefore it cannot otherwiſe be, but that evill if it come by nothing, ſhould proceed and have being from that which is not; or if it come by ſome mooving cauſe, the ſame muſt be God. For if they thinke that *Jupiter* hath no power of his owne parts, nor uſeth ech one according to his owne proper reaſon; they ſpeake againſt common ſenſe, and doe imagine a certeine animall, whereof many parts are not obeiſant to his will; but uſe their owne private actions and operations, whereunto the whole, never gave incitation, nor began in them any motion. For among thoſe creatures which have life and ſoule, there is none ſo ill framed and compoſed, as that againſt the will thereof, either the feet ſhould goe forward, or the tongue ſpeake, or the horne puſh and ſtrike, or the teeth bite; whereof God of neceſſity muſt endure & abide the moſt part, if againſt his will, evill men being parts of himſelfe doe lie, doe circumvent and beguile others, commit burglary, breake open houſes, to rob their neighbors, or kill one another. And if according as *Chryſippus* ſaith, it is not poſſible that the leaſt part ſhould behave it ſelfe otherwiſe than it pleaſeth *Jupiter*, and that every living thing doeth reſt, ſtay, and moove, according as he leadeth, manageth, turneth, ſtaieth and diſpoſeth it:

Now well I wot, this voice of his,
Sounds worſe and more miſcheivous is.

For more tolerable it were by a great deale to ſay, that ten thouſand parts, through the impotencie and feebleneſſe of *Jupiter*, committed many abſurdities perforce even againſt his nature and will, than to avouch that there is no intemperance, no deceit and wickedneſſe, whereof *Jupiter* is not the cauſe

Moreover ſeeing that the world by their ſaying is a city, and the Sarres citizens: if it be ſo, there muſt be alſo tribes and magiſtracies: yea and plaine it is, that the Sunne muſt be a Senatour, yea & the evenning ſtarre, ſome provoſt, major or governor of the city. And I wot not wel whether he who taketh in hand to confute ſuch things, can broch and ſet abroad other greater abſurdities in naturall matters than thoſe doe, who deliver and pronounce theſe doctrines. Is not this a poſition againſt common ſenſe to affirme, that the ſeed ſhould be greater and more than that which is engendred of it? For we ſee verily that nature in all living creatures, and plants even thoſe that be of a wilde and ſavage kinde, taketh very ſmall and ſlender matters, ſuch as hardly can be ſeene, for the beginning & the generation of moſt great and huge bodies. For not onely of a graine or corne of wheat it produceth a ſtalke with an eare, and of a little grape ſtone it bringeth forth a vine tree, but alſo of a pepin, kernill, akorne or bery eſcaped and fallen by chance from a bird, as if of ſome ſparkle it kindled and ſet on fire generation, it ſendeth forth the ſtocke of ſome buſh or thorne or elſe a tall and mighty body of an oake, a date or pine tree. And hereupon it is that generall ſeed is called Σπέρμα, in Greeke, as one would ſay σπείρασις, that is to ſay, the enfolding and wrapping together of a great maſſe into a ſmall quantity: alſo nature taketh the name of φύσις, as it were ἐμφύσησις, that is to ſay, the inflation and defuſion of proportions and numbers, which are opened & looſened under it. And againe, the fire which they ſay is the ſeed of the world, after that generall conflagration, ſhall change into the owne ſeed, the world, which from a ſmaller body and little maſſe is extended into a great inflation and defuſion, yea and moreover occupieth an infinite ſpace of voidneſſe which it filleth by his augmentation: but as it is engendered, that huge greatneſſe retireth and ſetleth anon, by reaſon that the matter is contracted and gathered into it ſelfe upon the generation. We may heare them diſpute, and reade many of their books, and diſcourſes, wherein they argue and crie out aloud againſt the Academicks, for confounding all things with their *Aparalaxies*, that is to ſay, indiſtinguible identities ſtriving and forcing to make in two natures, one endued with the like quality. And yet what man living is their who conceiveth and knoweth not as much? or ſuppoſeth not the contrary, namely, that it were a mervellous ſtrange thing & a very abſurdity, if neither ſtocke-dove to ſtocke-dove, bee to bee, wheat-corne to wheat-corne, and as the common proverbe goeth, one figge unto another hath bene at all times alike and ſemblable.

But this in very deed and trueth is cleane contrary to all common ſenſe, that theſe men holde and affirme: how in one ſubſtance, there be properly and particularly two qualified, and how the ſame ſubſtance having particularly one qualified, when there commeth another to it, receiveth and keepeth them both, the one as well as the other. For if we admit two, I avouch it may as well have three, fowre, five and as many as one will name, in one and the ſame ſubſtance, I ſay not in divers parts, but all equally and indifferently, though they were infinit, even in the whole. Now *Chryſippus* ſaith, that *Jupiter*, as alſo the world, reſembleth a man, and providence the ſoule: when as then that conflagration of the world ſhall be, *Jupiter*, who onely of all the gods is immortall, ſhall retire unto providence, and both twaine ſhall remaine together in the ſubſtance of the skie. But leave we now the gods for this preſent, and pray we unto them that they would vouchſafe to give unto the Stoicks, a common ſenſe and underſtanding according with other men, and let us ſee now what they ſay as touching the elements. This firſt and formoſt ſtandeth not with the received conceit and opinion of the world, that a bodie ſhould be the place of a body, and that one body ſhould enter and pierce through another bodie, conſidering that neither the one nor the other containeth vacuity: but that which is full entereth into that which is full, and that which hath no diſtance receiveth into it ſelfe that which is mingled with it, but that which is full and ſolid, hath no void diſtance in it ſelfe by reaſon of continuity. And theſe men verily not thruſting one into one, nor two nor three, nor ten together, but caſt all parts of the world cut peece-meale, into one, which they firſt meet with, even the leaſt that is by ſenſe perceptible: ſaying moreover that it will containe the greateſt that ſhall come unto it. Thus in a braverie after their old maner in many other things, make of that which convinceth and refelleth them, one of their ſentences and reſolutions, as they who take for ſuppoſitions, thoſe things which be repugnant to common ſenſe. And thus upon this ſuppoſall, there muſt needs enſue many monſtrous and prodigious poſitions when they once confuſedly mingle whole bodies with whole: and among thoſe abſurd paradoxes this alſo may goe for one, That three be fowre. For even that which others bring in & alledge for an exſample of that which cannot fall into mans imagination, they holde for an undoubted trueth: ſaying, that when one cyath of wine is mingled with two of water, it wanteth not but is equall in the whole, and thus confounding them together, they bring it ſo about, that one is made twaine, by the equall mixture of one with two: for that one remaineth, and is ſpred as much as twaine, making that which is equall to a duple. Now if by the mixture with two, it taketh the meaſure of two in the defuſion, this muſt needs be the meaſure together, both of three and of fowre: of three becauſe one is mingled vith twaine: and of fower, for that being mingled with twaine, it hath as much in quantity, as thoſe wherewith it is mingled. This fine device hapneth unto them, becauſe they put bodies within a body, and for that it cannot be imagined how they cauſe one to containe another. For, of neceſſity it muſt be that bodies making a penetration one within another by mixture, that the one ſhould not containe and the other be contained, nor the one receive and the other be received within. For ſo this ſhould not be a commixion but a contiguity and touching of ſuperficies one cloſe to another, whiles one entreth within forth, and the other encloſeth without, when the other parts remaine pure aud entire without mixture, and ſo ſhall be one of many divers and differing aſunder. But it cannot otherwiſe be as they would have it, that when there is a mixture, the things mingled, ſhould not be mixed one within another: and that one ſelfe ſame thing being within ſhould not withall be contained: and likewiſe in receiving, containe another: and poſſible it is not, that either the one or the other ſhould be: but fall out it will, that the two which be mingled, ſhould pierce one within the other; neither can ſo much as one part of the one or the other remaine by it ſelfe apart, but neceſſarily they be all full one of another. And heere ariſeth that legge of *Arceſilaus*, ſo much talked of in the ſchooles, which inſulteth and daunceth upon their monſtrous abſurdities with much laughter; for if theſe mixtions be through the whole, what ſhould hinder, but that if a legge bee cut off, putrified, caſt into the ſea, and in proceſſe of time all diffuſed; not onely the fleet of *Antigonus* might ſaile in and thorow it, as ſaid *Arceſilaus*, but alſo the 1200. ſaile of *Xerxes*, yea and the three hundred gallies of the Greeks might give a navall battell within the ſaid legge? for faile it never will to be extended and ſpread more and more, nor the leſſe ceaſe within the greater, ne yet will that mixture ever come to an end, no nor the extremitie of it touch where it will end, and ſo pierce not thorow the whole, but will give over to be mingled: or if it be not mixed thorowout the whole, ſurely the ſaid legge will not affoord roome ſo much as for the Greekes to give a navall battell in it, but even the ſame muſt needs putrifie and be changed. But if a cyath of wine, or no more but one drop, falling into the Aegean or Candiot-ſea, paſſe directly into the Ocean, or maine Atlantique-ſea, it ſhall not touch onely the ſuperficiall part of the water loſt, but ſpred throughout, in breadth, depth & length. And verily *Chryſippus* admitteth ſo much in the very beginning of his firſt booke as touching Naturall queſtions, ſaying that one drop of wine will not faile but be mingled throughout the whole ſea. And that we ſhould not marvell ſo much hereat, he ſaith moreover, that the ſaid drop by the meanes of mixture, will extend throughout the whole world: which is ſo abſurd and without all appearance of reaſon, as I cannot deviſe any thing more. And is not this alſo againſt common ſenſe, that in the nature of bodies, there is no ſupreame, nor firſt or laſt, to conclude & determine the magnitude of the body? but that which is propoſed as the ſubject, runneth on ſtill infinitely without end, ſo as whatſoever is added, yet ſomewhat more ſeemeth may be put thereto? for we cannot conceive or comprehend one magnitude greater or leſſe than another, if it be incident to both parts thus to proceed *in infinitum*, which is as much as to take away the whole nature of inequalitie. For of two magnitudes that be underſtood unequall, the one commeth firſt ſhort of the laſt parts, and the other goeth beyond and ſurpaſſeth; but if there be no inequalitie of length in them, it followeth that there will be no unevenneſſe in the upper ſuperfices nor aſperitie: for this unevenneſſe is nothing elſe, but the inequalitie of the ſuperficies with it ſelfe; but aſperitie is an inequalitie of the ſuperficies with hardneſſe. Of which qualities they allow none, who determine no bodie in an extreme or utmoſt part, but draw out all ſtill by a multitude of parts infinitly: and yet who knoweth not evidently, that man is compounded of a greater number of parts, than is his finger, and the world more than a man? for all men know and thinke as much, unleſſe they become Stoicks: but proove they once to be Stoickes, they both ſay and opine the contrarie; namely, that man is not compoſed of more parts than is his finger, nor the world of more than is man: for ſection reduceth bodies into *infinitum*; and in things infinite there is neither more nor leſſe; neither is there any multitude that ſurpaſſeth; neither ſhall the parts of that which is left, ceaſe to be alwaies ſubdivided ſtill, yea and to furniſh out a multitude of themſelves. How then do they wind out of theſe difficulties and untie theſe knots? certes, with great ſlight, verie ſubtilly and valiantly: for *Chryſippus* ſaith, that when we be demaunded, if we have any parts, and how many there be? alſo whether they be compounded of other, and of how many? we are to flie unto this diſtinction; ſuppoſing and ſetting downe, that the whole entire bodie, conſiſteth of head, breaſt and legges, as if this were all that was demaunded and doubted of. But if they ſhould proceed in their interrogatories to the extreme parts: then ſaith he, no ſuch anſwere is to be made, but we are to ſay, neither that they conſiſt of any certaine parts, nor likewiſe of how many? neither of infinite nor determinate. But I thinke it were better if I alledged his verie owne words, to the end you may ſee how he keepeth and obſerveth the common conceptions, forbidding us as he doth, to thinke, imagine or ſay, of what parts, and how many ech bodie is compounded, and that it conſiſteth neither of finite or infinite. For if there were a meane betweene finite and infinite, like as there is betweene good and bad, to wit, indifferent; he ſhould pronounce what the ſame was, and ſo ſalve the difficultie. But, if as that which is not equall, incontinently becommeth unequall; and that which is not corruptible, preſently is incorruptible; ſo that which is not finite, is immediately infinit, I ſuppoſe, that to ſay, A bodie is compoſed of parts neither finit or infinite, is all one as to ſay, that an argument is compoſed neither of true nor of falſe propoſitions, and a number neither of even nor odde. But after all this, vaunting himſelfe youthfully, he letteth not to ſay, that whereas a pyramis conſiſteth of triangles, the ſides inclining to the commiſſure or joint, are unequall, and yet exceed one another, in that they be bigger. Thus you ſee how trimly he kept and obſerved common conceptions; for if there be any thing greater, and yet ſurpaſſeth not, there muſt be alſo ſomewhat leſſe, and yet the ſame faileth not, and ſo there ſhall be alſo ſomthing unequall, that neither exceedeth nor wanteth, which is as much to ſay, as it ſhall be equall and yet unequall, not greater but yet greater, not leſſe and yet leſſe. See moreover I pray you a little, how he anſwereth unto *Democritus* diſputing and doubting phyſically and earneſtly, if a cone or round pyramis be cut at the baſe thereof by the plumb or level, what we ought to conceive and judge as touching the ſuperficies of the ſections whether they be equal or unequal: for if they be unequal, they wil make the ſaid cone or pyramis uneven; and admitting many deepe rabbotted inciſions, and rough aſperities in maner of ſteps and grees: and if they be equall, then the ſections alſo muſt be equall, and ſo it will be found that the round pyramis or cone ſhall have the ſame befall unto it that a cylinder hath, namely, to conſiſt of circles equall and not unequall, which were very abſurd. Herein, making *Democritus* to be an ignorant perſon and one who knew not what he ſaid, he commeth in with this, and ſaith, that the ſuperficies be neither equall nor unequall, but that the bodies be unequall, in that the ſuperficies be neither equall nor unequall. Now to ſet downe by way of ordinance and to affirme, that allowing the ſuperficies to be unequall, it may fall out, that bodies ſhould not be unequall, were the part of a man who permitteth himſelfe to have a woonderfull libertie to write and ſpeake whatſoever comes into his head. For both reaſon and manifeſt evidence, giveth us to underſtand quite contrary, namely, that of unequall bodies the ſuperficies alſo be unequall, and the bigger that a body is, the greater is the ſuperficies, unleſſe the exceſſe whereby it ſurpaſſeth the ſmaller, be altogether devoid of a ſuperficies: for if the ſuperficies of greater bodies exceed not thoſe of the leſſer, but rather faile before they come to an end, then we muſt of neceſſitie ſay, that a part of that bodie which hath an end, is without end, and not determinate: for if hee alledge and ſay that hee is driven perforce thereunto, leſt the inequalitie of ſuperficies might ſeeme to make unequall inciſions, there is no ſuch cauſe why hee ſhould feare: for thoſe rabbotted inciſions which hee ſuſpecteth in a cone or round Pyramis, it is the inequalitie of the bodies, and not of the ſuperficies that cauſeth them. So that it were a ridiculous follie, by taking away the ſuperficies, for to be convinced to leave an inequalitie and unevenneſſe of the bodies. But to perſiſt ſtill in this matter, what can there be more contrary to common conception, than to faine and deviſe ſuch ſtuffe? for if we admit that one ſuperficies is neither equall nor unequall to another, wee we may conſequently affirme, that neither magnitude is equall or unequall, nor number either even or odde; conſidering that we can not ſet downe nor conceive in our minde, any meane betweene unequall and unequall, which is neuter. Moreover, if there were any ſuperficies neither equall nor unequall, what ſhould let but that we may imagine circles alſo neither equall nor unequall? for verily theſe ſuperficies of the ſections of cones or round Pyramides, be circles: and if we allow thus much in circles, then we may aſwell admit ſo much of the Diameters of circles, namely, that they be neither equall nor unequall. And if this goe for good, of angles likewiſe and triangles, of Parallelograms, and of ſuperficies parallel or equally diſtant. For if longitudes be neither equall nor unequall one to another, then ſhall not weight, nor percuſſion, no nor bodies be equall or unequall. Furthermore, how dare they reproove thoſe who bring in vacuities, and certeine indiviſible bodies mainteining combat one againſt another, ſuppoſing that they neither ſtirre nor ſtand ſtill; when as they themſelves mainteine that ſuch propoſitions as theſe be falſe? If any things be not equall one to the other, the ſame be unequall one to the other: and theſe things here be not equall one to the other; neither are they unequall one to the other. But foraſmuch as he ſaith, that there is ſomething greater, which notwithſtanding ſurpaſſeth not; it were good reaſon therefore to doubt and demand, whether the ſame be agreeable and fitting one to the other? and if they agree, how then can either of them be the bigger? Now if it be not ſortable, how is it poſſible that the one ſhould not exceed, and the other come ſhort? for theſe things can not hang together, to ſay, that neither the one nor the other ſurpaſſeth: and it agreeth not with the greater: or it agreeth, and yet the one is greater than the other. For of neceſſitie it muſt follow, that thoſe who reteine not nor obſerve common conceptions, be troubled with ſuch perplexities.

Over and beſides, it is againſt all common ſenſe, to ſay that no one thing toucheth another:

as alſo, that bodies touch one another, and yet do in no part touch. Now it muſt needs be, that they admit this, who allow not the leaſt parts of a body, and ſo they ſuppoſe alwaies ſomething before that which ſeemeth to touch, and never ceaſe to paſſe on farther ſtill: which is the thing that they principally object againſt thoſe, who defend & maintein the indiviſible parcels called Atoms; namely, that there is no totall touching, but that it is a mixture, conſidering that ſuch indiviſible bodies have no parts. How is it then, that they themſelves fall not into the like inconvenience, ſeeing they admit no part to be either firſt or laſt? for that they ſay, bodies doe touch one another mutually in the whole by a certeine terme or extremity, and not by a part, and the ſaid terme or point is no body. Then a body ſhall touch a body, by a thing which is no body: and contrariwiſe, ſhall not touch, the incorporall being betweene. And if it touch, it ſhall do likewiſe and ſuffer ſomewhat, being it ſelfe a body, by that which is incorporall and no body. For the propertie of bodies, is to do and ſuffer ſomewhat mutually, yea, and to touch one another: and if the body have a touching in part by the meanes of that which is incorporall, it ſhall likewiſe have a generall and totall connexion, even a mixtion and incorporation. Againe, in theſe connexions and mixtures, neceſſarie it is that termes or extremities of bodies, either continue or not continue, but periſh: but both the one and the other is againſt common ſenſe. For even they themſelves allow not corruptions and generations of things incorporall: and impoſſible it is, that there ſhould be a mixtion or totall touching of bodies reteining ſtill their proper termes and extremities. For it is this terme or extremity that determineth and conſtituteth the nature of a body: and as for mixtions (if there were no approching nor application of parts to parts) they confound all things wholly which are mixed. And as theſe men ſay, we muſt admit the corruption of extremities in mixtures; and likewiſe againe, their generations, in the diſtractions & ſeparations of them. But no man there is able to comprehend this eaſily: for in regard that bodies touch one another, they alſo are preſſed, thruſt and cruſhed one by the other. And impoſſible it is, that a thing incorporall ſhould ſuffer or do thus; neither can we imagine ſo much: yet would they conſtraine us to thinke no leſſe. For if a ſphære or boule touch a flat or plaine bodie onely by a point, certeine it is, that it may be trained and rolled along the ſaid plaine or flat body, by a point. And if the foreſaid boule be painted in the ſuperficies therof with vermillion, it ſhall imprint a red line onely upon the ſame plaine body; and being yellow, or of a firie colour, it ſhall likewiſe give the ſame tincture to the ſuperficies of the flat bodie. Now that a thing incorporall ſhould either give or take a colour, is againſt all common ſenſe. And if we imagine a boule of earth, of Cryſtall or glaſſe, to fall from on high upon a ſmooth bodie of ſtone, it were againſt all reaſon to thinke that it would not breake the ſame into pieces, namely, when as it ſhall light upon that which is ſolide, hard, and able to make reſiſtance: but more unreaſonable it were to ſay, that it were broken by a terme or point that is incorporall: in ſuch maner, as in every ſort, their anticipations & common conceptions as touching things incorporall and bodies, muſt needs be troubled and confounded, or rather utterly aboliſhed, in ſuppoſing thus many things impoſſible.

Againſt common ſenſe it is to ſay, that there is a future time, and a time paſt, but none at all preſent; as alſo, that the time which was erewhile and not long ſince, hath a ſubſiſtence, whereas that which now is hath no being at all. And yet this is an uſuall and ordinary matter with theſe Stoicke philoſophers, who admit not the leaſt time that is betweene, and will not allow the preſent to be indiviſible; but of all that which a man doeth thinke and imagine as preſent, they affirme the one part to be of that which is already paſt, and the other of the future; inſomuch as there remaineth and is left in the mids no piece at all of the time preſent; in caſe of that which is ſaid to be the very inſtant, part is attributed unto things paſt, and part to things to come; whereupon of neceſſitie one of theſe twaine muſt follow, that either in admitting the tenſe, It was; or It ſhalbe; the tenſe It is, muſt wholly be aboliſhed, or in admitting the preſent time, It is, one part thereof is paſt, and the other to come: as alſo to ſay, that of that which is, part is yet future, and part already paſt: likewiſe of that which now is preſent, one parcell is before, and another behinde; in ſuch ſort as preſent, is that which yet is not preſent, and not preſent any more; for that is not preſent any longer, which is already paſt; nor preſent at all, which is yet to come: And thus in dividing the preſent, they muſt alſo needs ſay, that of the yeere and of the light, part was of the yeere paſt, and part of the yeere to come; likewiſe of that which is together and at once, there is ſome before, and ſome after: For no leſſe troubled are they, in hudling and confounding after a ſtrange maner theſe termes, Not yet, Already, No more, Now & not now, as if they were all one; whereas other men doe conceive and thinke, that theſe tearmes, Ere while, or not long ſince, & a while after or anon, are different parts from the preſent time, ſetting the one before, & the other after the ſaid preſent. And among theſe, ***Archidemus*** who affirmeth that the preſent Now, is a certeine beginning, joint or commiſſure of that which is already paſt and neere at hand to come, ſeeth now how in ſo ſaying, he utterly aboliſheth all time; for were it true that Now is no time, but onely a terme of extremity of time & that every part of time is as it were Now, it would ſeem then, that this preſent Now, hath no part at al, but is reſolved wholy into ends & extremities, joints, commiſſures, & beginnings. As for ***Chryſippus*** willing to ſhew himſelfe witty & artificial in his diviſions, in that treatiſe which he compoſed as touching voidneſſe, and in other places affirmeth, that the Paſt and the Future of time ſubſiſteth not, but hath ſubſiſted; and that the preſent onely hath being: But in the third, fourth, & fift books of Parts, he avoucheth, that of the inſtant or preſent, part is Future, & part Paſt; in ſuch ſort as by this means he divideth the ſubſtance of time, into thoſe parts of ſubſiſtent, which are not ſubſiſtent, or to ſpeake more truely, he leaveth no part at al ſubſiſtent, if the inſtant & preſent hath no part at al, which is not either paſt or to come: and therefore the conceit that theſe men have of time, reſembleth properly the holding of water in a mans hand, which runneth and ſheddeth the more, by how much harder it is preſſed together. Come now unto actions and motions, all light and evidence is by them darkned, troubled, and confounded; for neceſſarily it enſueth, that if the Inſtant or preſent is divided into that which is paſt, and to come, part of that which now mooveth at this inſtant, ſhould partly be moved already, and in part to remoove afterwards, and withall, that the beginning and end of motion ſhould be aboliſhed: alſo that of no worke there ſhould be any thing firſt or laſt, all actions being diſtributed and diſperſed together with time: for like as they ſay, that of the preſent, ſome is paſt, and ſome to come: even ſo of every action in doing, ſome part is already done, and other reſteth to be done. When had then beginning, or when ſhal have end, To dine, to write, & to go, if every man who dineth, hath dined already, and ſhall dine; and whoſoever goeth, hath gone and ſhall go? and that which is (as they ſay) of al abſurdities moſt monſtrous, if it be granted, that he who now liveth, hath lived already, & ſhal live; life had neither beginning, nor ever ſhall have end: but every one of us as it ſhould ſeeme by this reckoning, was borne without beginning of life, & ſhall die without giving over to live: for if there be no extreme part, but ever as one that now liveth ſhal have ſomewhat of the preſent remaining for the future, it will never be untruely ſaid; *Socrates* ſhal live, ſo long as it ſhal be truely ſaid, *Socrates* liveth; ſo that as often as it is true, *Socrates* liveth, ſo often it is falſe, *Socrates* is dead. And therefore if it be truely ſaid in infinit parts of time, *Socrates* ſhall live; in no part of time ſhal it ever be truly ſaid, *Socrates* is dead. And verily what end ſhal there be of any worke? & where ſhal any action ſtay & ceaſe, in caſe as often as it ſhall be truly ſaid; a thing is now doing, ſo often likewiſe it ſhall be truly ſaid, It ſhall be done: for lie he ſhall who ſaith, This is the end of ***Plato*** writing or diſputing; for that one day ***Plato*** ſhall ceaſe to write or diſpute: if at no time it be a lie to ſay, of him that diſputeth, He ſhall diſpute; or of him who writeth, He ſhall write. Moreover, of that which is done, there is no part, which either is not finiſhed already, or ſhall be finiſhed, and either is paſt or to come. Beſides, of that which is already done, or of that which ſhal be done, of that which is paſt or future, there is no ſenſe. And ſo in one word, and to ſpeake ſimply, there is no ſenſe of any thing in the world; for we neither ſee nor heare that which is paſt or to come; ne yet have we any ſenſe of things which have bene or which ſhall be; no nor although a thing ſhould be preſent, is it perceptible & ſubject to ſenſe, in caſe that which is preſent, be partly to come, and in part paſt already; if I ſay one part thereof hath beene, and another ſhall be: and yet they themſelves cry out upon ***Epicurus***, as if he committed ſome great indignitie, and did violence to common conceptions, in mooving as he doeth all bodies with equall celerity, and admitteth no one thing ſwifter than another: But farre more intolerable it is, and farther remot from common ſenſe to hold, that no one thing can reach or overtake another:

No not although Adraſtus *horſe*
So ſwift, a Tortois ſlow ſhould courſe.

according as we ſay in our common proverbe: which muſt of neceſſity fall out, if things move according to Before and Behind; and in caſe the intervals which they paſſe through, be diviſible into infinit parts, as theſe men would have them: for if the tortoiſe be but one furlong before the horſe, they who divide the ſaid interval or ſpace betweene into infinit parts, and moove both the one and the other according to ***Prius*** and ***Poſterius***, ſhall never bring the ſwifteſt cloſe unto the ſloweſt, for that the ſlower alwaies winneth ſome ſpace or interval, before that which is diviſible, into other infinit intervals. And to ſay, that water which is powred forth out of a cup or boll, ſhall never be powred all cleane out; how can this chuſe but be againſt common ſenſe? & doeth not this conſequently follow upon thoſe things that theſe men avouch? for never ſhall a man comprehend or conceive that the motion of things infinitly diviſible, according to before, hath fully performed the whole intervall, but leaving alwaies ſome ſpace diviſible, it will evermore make all the effuſion, all the running foorth or ſhedding of the liquor, all the motion of a ſolid body; or the fall of a weighty poiſe, to be imperfect. I let paſſe many abſurdities delivered in their doctrine; and touch thoſe onely, which are directly againſt common ſenſe.

As for the queſtion touching augmentation, it is very auncient: For according as *Chryſippus* ſaith; it was by *Epicharmus* put foorth. And for that the Academicks thought it to be not very eaſie and ready all of a ſudden to be cleered; theſe men come with open mouth againſt them, accuſing them for overthrowing all anticipations, whereas they themſelves keepe not at all the common conceptions: and that which more is, pervert the very ſenſes. For whereas the queſtion is plaine and ſimple; theſe men grant and allow ſuch ſuppoſitions as theſe, that al particular ſubſtances flow and runne, partly by yeelding and ſending foorth ſomewhat out of themſelves, and in part by receiving other things from without; and that by reaſon of the number and multitude of that which comes in, or goes out, things continue not one and the ſame, but become altered and divers by the foreſaid additions and detractation, ſo as their ſubſtance receiveth a change. Alſo that contrary to all right and reaſon, cuſtome hath ſo farre prevailed, that ſuch mutations be called augmentations and diminutions: whereas rather they ought to be termed generations, and corruptions, for that they force an alteration of one preſent ſtate and being, into another; but to grow and diminiſh are paſſions and accidents of a body, and ſubject that is permanent. Which reaſons and aſſertions being after a ſort thus delivered in their ſchooles, what is it that theſe defenders of Perſpicuity and Evidence, theſe canonicall reformers (I ſay) of common notions would have? namely, that every one of us ſhould be double like twinnes, or of a two-fold nature: not as the poets feigned the Molionides, to be in ſome parts conjunct and united, and in other ſevered and disjoined, but two bodies, having the ſame colour, the ſame ſhape, the ſame weight and place: a thing that no man ever ſaw before: mary theſe Philſoſophers onely have perceived this duplicity, this compoſition and ambiguitie; whereby every one of us are two ſubjects, the one being ſubſtance, the other * * the one of them runneth and floweth continually, and yet without augmentation and diminution, or remaining in the ſame ſtate ſuch as it is; the other continueth ſtill, and yet groweth and decreaſeth, and yet ſuffreth all things quite contrary to the other, wherewith it is concorporate, united, and knit, leaving to the exteriour ſenſe no ſhew of diſtinct difference. And yet verily it is ſaid of that *Lynceus*, how in old time hee had ſo quicke and piercing an eieſight, that he was able to ſee through ſtocks and ſtones. And one there was by report, who ſitting in *Sicily*, could from a watch-tower ſenſibly diſcerne the ſhippes ſailing out of the haven of *Carthage*, which was diſtant a day & a nights ſailing with a good forewind. And as for *Callicrates* and *Myrmecides*, they have the name to have made chariots ſo ſmal, as that the wings of a fly might cover them: yea & in a millet graine or ſeſam ſeed to have engraven *Homers* verſes. But ſurely this perpetuall fluxion & diverſity in us, there was never any yet that could divide & diſtinguiſh: neither could we our ſelves ever find that we were double, & that partly we ranne out continually, and in part againe remained alwaies one and the ſame, even from our nativity to our end. But I am about to deale with them more ſimply and plainly; for whereas they deviſe in every one of us foure ſubjects, or to ſpeake more directly, make ech of us to be foure, it ſhall ſuffice to take but two, for to ſhew their abſurditie. When we doe heare *Pentheus* in a tragedy ſaying, that he ſeeth two Sunnes, and two cities of *Thebes*, we deeme of him, that he ſeeth not two, but that his eies doe dazzell and looke amiſſe, having his diſcourſe troubled, and underſtanding cleane tranſported. And even theſe perſons, who ſuppoſe and ſet downe, not one city alone, but all men, all beaſts, all trees, plants, tooles, veſſels, utenſils, and garments, to be double, and compoſed of two natures; reject wee not and bid farewell, as men who would force us not to underſtand any thing aright, but to take every thing wrong? Howbeit, haply heerein they might be pardoned and winked at, for feining and deviſing other natures of ſubjects, becauſe they have no meanes elſe, for all the paines they take, to mainteine and preſerve their augmentations: But in the ſoule, what they ſhould aile, what their meaning might be, and upon what grounds and ſuppoſitions, they deviſed to frame other different ſorts and formes of bodies, and thoſe in maner innumerable, who is able to ſay? or what may be the cauſe, unleſſe they ment to diſplace, or rather to aboliſh and deſtroy altogether the common and familiar conceptions, inbred in us, for to bring in and ſet up new fangles, and other ſtrange and forren novelties? For this is woonderfull extravagant and abſurd, for to make bodies of vertues and vices, and beſides of ſciences, arts, memories, fanſies, apprehenſions, paſſions, inclinations and aſſents: and to affirme that theſe neither lie, nor have any place ſubſiſting in any ſubject, but to leave them one little hole like a pricke within the heart, wherein they range and draw in, the principall part of the ſoule, and the diſcourſe of reaſon, being choked up as it were with ſuch a number of bodies, that even they are not able to count a great ſort of them, who ſeeme to know beſt how to diſtinguiſh and diſcerne one from another. But to make theſe not onely bodies, but alſo living creatures, and thoſe endued with reaſon, to make (I ſay) a ſwarme of them, & the ſame not gentle, mild, & tame, but a turbulent ſort & rable by their malicious ſhrewdneſſe, oppoſit & repugnant to al evidence, & uſual cuſtome, what wanteth this of abſurdity in the higheſt degree. And theſe men verily do hold that not onely vertues & vices be animall and living creatures, nor paſſions alone, as anger, wrath, envy, griefe, ſorrow & malice, nor apprehenſions onely, fantaſies, imaginations, and ignorances, nor arts and myſteries, as the ſhoomakers & ſmithscraft: but alſo over and beſides al theſe things, they make the very operations and actions themſelves to be bodies, yea and living creatures: they would have walking to be an animall dancing likewiſe, ſhoing, ſaluting, and reprochfull railing: and ſo conſequently they make laughing & weeping to be animall. And in granting theſe, they admit alſo, coughing, ſneeſing and groaning, yea and withall, ſpitting, reaching, ſnitting and ſnuffing of the noſe and ſuch like actions, which are as evident as the reſt. And let them not thinke much and take it grievouſly, if they be driven to this point by way of particular reaſonning, calling to minde *Chryſippus*, who in his third booke of Naturall queſtions ſaith thus: What ſay you of the night, is it not a body: evening, morning, midnight, are they not bodies? Is not the day a body? The new moone is it not a bodie? the tenth, the fifteenth, the thirtieth day of the moone, the moneth it ſelfe, Summer, Autumne, and the whole yeere, be they not bodies? Certes all theſe things by me named they hold with tooth and naile, even againſt common prenotions: But as for theſe hereafter, they maintaine contrary to their owne proper conceptions, when as they would produce the hotteſt thing that is by refrigeration, and that which is moſt ſubtile by inſpiſſation. For the ſoule is a ſubſtance moſt hot and conſiſting of moſt ſubtill parts: which they would make by the refrigeration and condenſation of the body, which as it were by a certaine perfuſion and tincture it hardeneth & altereth the ſpirit, from being vegetative to be animate. They ſay alſo that the Sun is become animate, by reaſon of the moiſture turned into an intellectuall and ſpirituall fire. See how they imagin the Sun to be engendred and produced by refrigeration? *Xenophanes*, when one came upon a time and tolde him that he had ſeene Eeles to live in hot ſcalding water, Why doe we not ſeethe them then (quoth he) in colde water? If therefore they will cauſe heat by refrigeration, and lightneſſe by aſtriction and condenſation: it foloweth on the other ſide againe, by good conſequence, that by keeping a certaine proportion and correſpondenſie in abſurdity, they make heat by colde, thickning by diſſolving, and waighty things by rarefaction. As for the very ſubſtance and generation of common conception and ſenſe, doe they not determine it even againſt common ſenſe it ſelfe? For conception is a certaine phantaſie or apprehenſion: and this apprehenſion is an impreſſion in the ſoule. The nature of the ſoule is an exhalation, which by reaſon of the rarity thereof can hardly receive an impreſſion: and ſay that it did receive any, yet impoſſible it were to keepe and retaine it. For the nutriment and generation of it conſiſting of moiſt things, holdeth a continuall courſe of ſucceſſion and conſumption. The commerce alſo and mixture of reſpiration with the aire, engendreth continually ſome new exhalation turning and changing by the flux of aire comming in and going forth reciprocally. For a man may imagin rather that a river of running water keepeth the formes, figures & images imprinted therein, than a ſpirit caried in vapours & humors, to be mingled with another ſpirit or breath from without continually, as if it were idle and ſtrange unto it. But ſo much forget they or miſunderſtand themſelves, that having defined cōmon conceptions to be certaine intelligences laid up apart: memories to be firme permanent, & habituall impreſſions having fixed ſciences likewiſe, every way faſt and ſure, yet within a while after they ſet under al this a foundation and baſe, of a certaine ſlippery ſubſtance, eaſie to be diſſipated, caried continually, and ever going and comming to and fro. Moreover this notion and conception of an element and principle, all men have imprinted in their minde, that it is pure, ſimple, not mingled nor compoſed:

poſed : for, that which is mixed , cannot be an element nor a principle, but rather that, whereof it is mixed and compoſed.

Howbeit theſe men deviſing God the principle of all things to be a ſpirituall bodie , and a minde or intelligence ſeated in matter, make him neither pure nor ſimple, nor uncompound, but affirme that he is compoſed of another and by another. As for matter, being of it ſelfe without reaſon and void of all quality, it carieth with it ſimplicity, and the very naturall propertie of a principle : and God, if it be true , that he is not without body and matter , doth participate of matter as of a principle. For if reaſon and matter, be all one and the ſame, they have not done well to define matter for to be reaſonleſſe : but if they be things different, then doth God conſiſt of both twaine , and not of a ſimple eſſence, but compounded, as having taken to his intellectuall ſubſtance a bodily nature out of matter. Furthermore , conſidering they call theſe fower primitive bodies, to wit, earth , water , aire and fire , the firſt elements , I can not ſee how they ſhould make ſome of them ſimple , and others mixed or compound : for they hold , that the earth and water cannot containe either themſelves or any other , and that it is the participation of ſpirit and fellowſhip of fire, whereupon dependeth the preſervation of their unity : as for the aire and fire by their owne power they fortifie themſelves , which being medled with the other two, give them their force vigor and firmitude of ſubſtance. How is it then , that either earth is an element or the water , ſeeing neither of them both is ſimple, firſt, or ſufficient to keepe and preſerve it ſelfe, but having need of another without to containe them alwaies in their being and to ſave them ? for they have not left ſo much as any thought that they be a ſubſtance. But ſurely this reaſon of theirs as touching the earth, that it conſiſteth of it ſelfe, containeth much confuſion and great uncertainty , for if the earth be of it ſelfe , how commeth it to paſſe that it hath need of the aire , to binde and conteine it ? for ſo it is no more earth of it ſelfe , nor water ; but the aire hath by thickning & hardning matter, made thereof the earth : and contrariwiſe, by diſſolving and mollifying it, hath created the water : and therefore we may inferre thus much, that neither of theſe is an element, ſeeing that ſome other thing hath given them their eſſence and generation. Over and beſides, they affirme, that ſubſtance and matter are ſubject to qualities, and ſo in maner doe yeeld their limit and definition : and then on the other ſide, they make the ſaid qualities to be bodies ; wherein there is a great confuſion : for if qualities have a certeine proper ſubſtance, whereby they are termed and be really bodies indeed, they require no other ſubſtance, for that they have one of their owne : but if they have this onely under them which is common, and which they call eſſence or matter, certeine it is, that they doe but participate of the bodie ; for bodies they are not. For that which is in the nature of the ſubject and doeth receive, muſt of neceſſitie differ from thoſe things which it receiveth, and whereof it is the ſubject. But theſe men ſee by the halfe ; for they terme the matter ἄποιον, that is to ſay, without qualities : but they will not name the qualities ἀύλους, that is to ſay, void of matter. And yet how is it poſſible to make a body without quality , but wee muſt imagine a quality without a bodie ? for that reaſon, which coupleth a body with all maner of qualities, permitteth not the thought to comprehend any body without ſome qualitie. Either therefore he that fighteth againſt a bodileſſe qualitie, ſeemeth to reſiſt likewiſe a matter void of qualitie ; or if he ſeparate the one from the other, hee parteth and divideth them both aſunder. And as for that reaſon which ſome of them ſeeme to pretend , as touching a ſubſtance which they name ἄποιον, not becauſe it is void of all qualitie, but becauſe it is capable forſooth of every qualitie ; it is contrary to common notion, and nothing ſo much. For no man taketh or imagineth that to be ἄποιον, that is to ſay, unqualified, which is participant of al qualities and uncapable of none ; nor impaſſible, that which is apt to receive and ſuffer every paſſion ; nor immoovable, which is moovable every way. And as for this doubt, it is not ſolved, that howſoever we alwaies underſtand matter with ſome quality , yet we conceive withall, that matter and qualitie be different one from the other.

AGAINST

AGAINST COLOTES, THE EPICUREAN.

The Summarie.

WE have in many places before, but principally in two ſeverall Treatiſes of the former tome, perceived how Plutarch is quite contrary unto the Epicureans, and namely, in one of thoſe Treatiſes he dealeth with a certaine booke (which he now expreſly refuteth) where Colotes endevoured to proove, that a man can not poſſibly live well, according to the opinions of other Philoſophers, Plutarch ſheweth on the contrarie ſide, that impoſſible it is to leade a joifull life after the doctrine of Epicurus, and that it is accompanied with overweening, impudency and ſlanderous calumniation. And not contenting himſelfe thus to have confuted them of purpoſe once or twice, he ſetteth upon them in this diſcourſe, and particularly he copeth with Colotes, whoſe ſlouth, filthineſſe and impietie he heere deſcribeth. The ſumme of all which declamation, is this, That theſe Epicureans are not any way worthy the name of Philoſophers: who contrariwiſe tread and trample under foot all the parts of true Philoſophie, diſcovering in their writings aſwell as thorowout all their lives, meere beaſtly brutalitie. But all that is delivered in this Treatiſe may be reduced well to two principall points: The one conteineth a defence or excuſe of the doctrine taught by Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Socrates, and other ancient Philoſophers, ſlandered by Colotes, who extolled farre above them, the traditions and precepts of his maſter. The other diſcovereth divers abſurdities and ſtrange opinions of the Epicureans, even by their owne teſtimonies: whom Plutarch refelleth ſoundly; handling in this diſputation many articles of Philoſophie, Naturall, Morall and Supernaturall: and particularly, of the Senſes, of Nature, of the Atomes, of the Univerſall world, of the Knowledge of man, of the Opinion of the Academicks, of the Apprehenſions, faculties, paſſions and affections of the ſoule: of the certeintie of things ſenſible, of the falſitie and trueth of imaginations, of the uſe of Lawes, of the profit of Philoſophie, of the ſovereigne good, of religion, and of other ſuch matters, the principles whereof the Epicureans aboliſhed, bringing in paradoxes woonderfull ſtrange, for to ſhuffle things confuſedly, and make all uncerteine. All which is marked particularly in the traine and courſe of the authours owne words, and therefore needleſſe it is to ſpecifie thereof any more, becauſe I would avoid tantologies & unneceſſary repetitions. True it is, that in certeine refutations Plutarch is not ſo firme as were to be deſired: but that may be imputed to his ignorance of the true God. As for the reſt, it may ſuffice & ſerve, to know the miſery & wretchednes of the Epicureans: and that other Philoſophers had many good parts, and delivered many beautifull ſpeeches, whereof all vertuous perſons may reape and gather great fruit in applying and referring the ſame to their right uſe. And for to cloſe up all, he maketh a compariſon betweene true Philoſophers and the Epicureans, proving in very many places, that Colotes and his fellowes like himſelfe, are people not onely unprofitable, but alſo moſt pernicious, and ſo by conſequence unworthy to live in the world.

(* * *)

AGAINST *COLOTES* THE Epicurean.

C*Olotes*, whom *Epicurus* was wont (ô *Saturninus*) to call by way of flattering diminution, *Colataras* and *Colatarius*, compoſed and put forth a little booke, which he entituled, That there could be no life at all according to the opinions of other Philoſophers: and dedicated the ſaid booke unto king *Ptolemæus*. Now what came into my minde to ſpeake againſt this *Colotes*, I ſuppoſe you would take pleaſure to reade the ſame in writing; being as you are, a man who loveth elegancie and all honeſt things, eſpecially ſuch as concerne the knowledge of antiquity; & beſides, eſteemeth it the moſt princelike exerciſe and roiall ſtudy, to beare in minde and have alwaies in hand, as much as poſſibly may be the diſcourſes of auncient Sages. Whereas therefore of late this booke was in reading, one of our familiar friends, one whom you know well enough, *Ariſtodemus* by name, an Aegian borne, a man exceeding paſſionate, and of all the Academicks a moſt franticke ſectary of *Plato*, although hee carie not the *ferula* like unto the madde ſuppoſts of *Plato*, I wot not how contrary to his uſuall maner, was very patient and ſilent all the while, giving eare moſt civilly even to the very end. But ſo ſoone as the lecture was done: Goe to now my maſters (quoth he) whom were we beſt to cauſe for to ariſe and fight with this fellow in the quarrell and defence of Philoſophers? For I am not of *Neſtors* minde, neither doe I greatly praiſe him, for that when there was to be choſen the moſt valiant warrior of thoſe nine hardy knights who were preſented, to enter into combat with *Hector* hand to hand, committed the election unto fortune, and put all to the lot: But you ſee alſo (quoth I) that even he referred himſelſe to be ordered by the lot, to the end that the choiſe might paſſe according to the diſpoſe and ordinance of the wiſeſt man:

> *The lot out of the helmet then did fall,*
> *Of* Ajax, *whom themſelves wiſht moſt of all.*

And yet if you command me to make election,

> *How can I ever put out of mind,*
> *Divine* Ulyſſes, *a prince ſo kind?*

Conſider therefore and be well adviſed how you may be able to refell this man. Then *Ariſtodemus*: But you know full well (quoth he) what *Plato* ſometime did, who being offended with his boy that waited upon him, would not himſelfe ſwindge him, but cauſed *Speuſippus* to doe ſo much for him, ſaying withall, That he was in a fit of choler. And even ſo, I ſay as much to you, Take the man to you I pray, and entreat him at your pleaſure; for my ſelfe am very angry with him. Now when all the reſt of the company were inſtant with me, and praied me to take this charge in hand: Well I ſee (quoth I) that I muſt ſpeake, ſeeing you will needs have it ſo: but I am affraid leſt I may ſeeme my ſelfe to be more earneſtly bent againſt this booke than it deſerveth, in the defence and maintenance of *Socrates*, againſt the incivility, rudeneſſe, ſcurrility, and inſolence of this man, who preſenteth (as one would ſay) unto him hay, as if he were a beaſt, and demaundeth how he may put meat into his mouth, and not into his eare: whereas haply the beſt way were to laugh onely at him for ſuch railing, eſpecially conſidering the mildneſſe and gentle grace of *Socrates* in ſuch caſes. Howbeit in regard of the whole hoſt beſide of other Greeke Philoſophers, namely, *Democritus*, *Plato*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*, and *Meliſſus*, who by him are foully reviled, it were not onely a ſhame to be tongue-tied and keepe ſilence, but alſo meere ſacriledge and impiety, to remit any jot, or forbeare to ſpeake freely to the utmoſt in their behalfe, being ſuch as have advanced philoſophy to that honour and reputation which it hath. And verily our parents together with the gods have given us our life: but to live well, we ſuppoſe and that truely, that it commeth from the philoſophers, by the meanes of that doctrine which we have received from them, as cooperative with law and juſtice, and the very bridle that doth chaſtice and reſtraine our luſts. Now to live well, is to live ſociably, friendly, temperately, and juſtly: of which good qualities and conditions, they leave us not ſo much as one, who cry out with open mouth, that the ſoveraigne good of man lieth in his belly, and that all the vertues in the world if they were put together, they would prize no better woorth than one crackt braſen piece of coine, without pleaſure, and in caſe all maner of delights were quite remooved from them. Alſo the annex heere to their diſcourſes, as touching the ſoule & the gods, wherein they hold that the ſoule periſheth, when it is once ſeparate from the body: and that the gods meddle not with our affaires. Moreover the Epicureans reproch other Philoſophers, for that by their wiſdome and ſapience, they undoe mans life: and they againe object unto them, that they teach men to live looſely, baſely, and beaſtly. And verily ſuch matters as theſe be mingled in all the writings of *Epicurus*, and ſpred throughout his whole philoſophy. But this *Colotes* heere having made an extract of certaine words or voices void of matter and ſubſtance, and drawen ſome pieces and broken fragments without reaſons and arguments for to proove and confirme his doctrines, or to give light for their underſtanding and credit, hath made his booke in maner of a ſhop full of all ſort of wares; or of a table or ſtall repreſenting ſtrange ſhewes and monſters: which you (I ſay) know beſt of all others, for that you have continually in your hands and doe reade the works of ancient writers. So he ſeemeth unto me that like to the Lydian, he openeth not one gate and no more upon him, but enwrappeth *Epicurus* in very many doubts & difficulties, and thoſe of all other, the greateſt: for he beginnes with *Democritus*, who no doubt received at his hands a goodly ſalary and reward for his apprentiſſage, being a thing certeinly knowen, that for a long time *Epicurus* called himſelfe a Democritian, like as others alſo doe ſay, and namely *Leonteus*, one of the ſcholars and diſciples of *Epicurus*, in the higheſt forme: who in a letter which he wrote unto *Lycophron*, ſaith, that *Epicurus* honored *Democritus*, for that he attained before him to the true and ſound underſtanding of the truth: and that in generall the whole treatiſe of naturall things, was called Democritian, becauſe hee light firſt upon the principles, and met with the primitive fountaines and foundations of nature. And *Metrodorus* ſaid directly and openly of Philoſophy, That if *Democritus* had not led the way, *Epicurus* had never arrived to wiſdome and learning. Now if it be true as this *Colotes* ſaith, That to live according to *Democritus* and other philoſophers opinions, is no life at all, *Epicurus* was a very foole for following *Democritus* as he did, leading him to that doctrine whereby a man could not live. And firſt he reprooveh him, for that in ſaying that every thing is no more ſuch than ſuch, he made a confuſion of mans life. But ſo farre off was *Democritus* from holding the ſaid opinion, namely, that nothing is rather ſuch than ſuch: that he oppugned *Protagoras* the Sophiſter for ſaying ſo, againſt whom he wrot many elegant commentaries, full of good arguments concluding the contrary: which our *Colotes* never ſeeing, nor ſo much as dreaming of, was much deceived in the right underſtanding of the mans words, and namely in one place where he diſertly ſaith and determineth that τὸ δὲν, is no more than τὸ μη δὲν: in which place he nameth a body δὲν, and voidneſſe μη δὲν: meaning thereby and giving us to underſtand, that voidneſſe had a proper nature and ſubſiſtence of the owne, as wel as a body. But he who is of opinion, that nothing is more ſuch than ſuch, followeth one of the decrees & ſentences of *Epicurus*, wherein he delivered, that all apprehenſions and imaginations that come by ſenſe, are true. For if when two men give out and ſay, the one, that the wine is hard: the other, that it is ſweet and pleaſant, neither of them is deceived in his ſenſe but ſpeaketh true, why ſhould the wine be rather harſh than ſweet. And yet it is ſeene oftentimes that one and the ſame bath, ſome find to be hot, & others cold: for that, as theſe command cold water, ſo thoſe bid hot water to be powered in. It is ſaid that a certaine dame or good-wife of *Lacedæmon* went upon a time to viſit *Berronice* the wife of king *Deiotarus*, but when they approched nere together, they turned away immediatly one from the other: the one, as it ſhould ſeeme abhorring the ſinell of ranke butter, and the other offended with the perfume of a ſweet ointment or pomander. If then the ſenſe of one be not more true than the ſenſe of another, probable it is and very like that both water is not more cold than hot, and that the ointment and the butter no more ſenting pleaſantly than ſtinking ſtrongly. For if a man ſay, that it ſeemeth thus to one, and ſo to another, he affirmeth before he is aware, that they be both the one and the other. And as for theſe ſymmetries, proportions and accords of the pores or paſſages in the organs of the ſenſes, whereof they talke ſo much: as alſo the divers mixtures of ſeeds, which they ſay being diſſeminate and diſperſed throughout all ſavors, odors and colours, do move the ſenſe; doe they not directly drive them to this point, that things are no more one than another? For ſuch as thinke that the ſenſe is deceived, for that they ſee contrary events and paſſions doe proceed from the ſame objects, they pacifie againe and ſalve this objection, by teaching that whereas all things be mingled and confounded together, yet neverthcleſſe this is more ſortable and fitting to one and that to another: whereby there is not the contractation and apprehenſion of one and the ſame quality, neither doth the object move all indifferently at once and alike in all parts, but every one meeting with thoſe qualities onely, whereunto they have all ſenſe proportionate, they doe not well to ſtand ſo ſtifly upon this, that a thing is coloured or not coloured, white or not white, thinking to fortifie and eſtabliſh their owne ſenſes by deſtroying thoſe of others. Whereas it behoveth neither to oppugne the ſenſes, for they all touch and reach one quality or other (each one drawing as out of a lively and large fountaine, from this confuſed mixture, that which is fit and ſutable) nor accuſe and blame the whole, in touching onely the parts; ne yet thinke that all ought to ſuffer the ſame thing, conſidering that one ſuffereth by one qualitie and power of it, and another by another. So that now we are to conſider and ſearch, what men they be, who bring in this opinion, as touching things that be not ſuch rather than others, rather than theſe who hold, that whatſoever is ſenſible is a confuſed mixture of all qualities together, like unto a wind-inſtrument compoſed for all kinds of melodious muſicke? But they confeſſe that all their rules are loſt, and their judgement quite gone, if they admit any object in ſome ſort pure and ſyncere, and allow not ech one thing to be many.

See moreover in this place, what diſcourſe and diſputation *Polyænus* held with *Epicurus* in his banquet as touching the heat of wine. For when he demanded in this maner, How now *Epicurus*, ſay you not that wine doth heat? one made anſwere, That he affirmed not univerſally, that wine did cauſe heat: and a little after; For it ſeemeth that wine is not univerſally a heater, but rather, that ſuch a quantitie of wine may be ſaid to enchafe and ſet ſuch an one in heat. And then adjoining the cauſe, he alledgeth the concurrences, compreſſions and diſperſions of the Atomes; the commixtions and conjunctions of others, when the wine commeth to be mingled with the body: and then he addeth this concluſion; And therefore generally we are not to ſay that wine doth heat; but ſo much wine may well heat ſuch a nature, and ſo diſpoſed: whereas another nature it cooleth in ſuch and ſuch a quantity. For in ſuch a maſſe, there be thoſe natures and complexions, of which, cold if need were, may be compoſed, and being joined with others as occaſion ſerveth, may cauſe a vertue refrigerative. And hereupõ it is, that ſome are deceived, ſaying that wine uniuerſally is hot, and others againe, affirming it to be univerſally colde. He then who ſaith that the multitude and moſt part of men do erre, in holding that to be ſimplie hot, which doth heat, and that likewiſe to be cold, which doth coole, is deceived himſelfe, if he thinketh not, that it followeth by good conſequence upon that which hee hath ſaid, that one thing is more ſuch than ſuch. And afterwards he inferreth this ſpeech, that many times wine entring into the body, bringeth with it neither a calefactive nor a refrigerative vertue; but that when the maſſe of the body is moved and ſtirred, ſo as there is a tranſpoſition made of the parts, then the Atomes which are effective of heat, concurre together one while into one place, and through their multitude, ſet the body into an heat and inflamation; but another while by diſperſing and ſevering themſelves aſunder, inferre coldneſſe.

Moreover he diſſembleth not but that he is proceeded thus farre, as to ſay, that whereas wee take things to be, and doe call them bitter, ſweet, purgative, ſoporiferous, and lightſome, none of them all have any entier quality or perfect property to produce ſuch effects, nor to be active more than paſſive, all while they be in the body, but that they be ſuſceptible of ſundry temperatures and differences. For even *Epicurus* himſelfe, in his ſecond booke againſt *Theophraſtus*, in ſaying that colours are not naturall unto bodies, but are engendred according to certeine ſituations and poſitions, reſpective to the eie-ſight of man, ſaith by this reaſon, that a bodie is no more deſtitute of colour, than coloured. And a little before, word for word he writeth thus: But over and beſide all this, I know not how a man may ſay, that theſe bodies which be in the darke, have any colour at all; and yet oftentimes when the aire a like darke is ſpred round about, ſome there be who can diſtinguiſh the diverſity of colours, others perceive nothing at all, by reaſon of their feeble & dim-ſight. Againe when we goe into a darke houſe, we ſee not at our firſt entrance, any colours, but after we have beene there a pretie while, we perceive them well enough: And therefore we are to ſay, that ech body is not rather coloured than not coloured. If then colour be a relative, and hath being in regard of ſome other things, white alſo is a relative, and blew likewiſe: if theſe, then ſweet and bitter ſemblably: ſo that a man may truely affirme of every quality, that it is not more ſuch, than not ſuch. For to thoſe who are ſo diſpoſed, a thing ſhall be ſuch, and to them that are not ſo affected, not ſuch. So that *Colotes* doeth all to daſh and beray both himſelfe and his maſter alſo, with the ſame mire and dirt, wherein he ſaith thoſe doe ſticke who hold that things are not more ſuch than ſuch. What then? doth this egregious clerke heerein onely ſhew himſelfe, according to the old proverbe:

A leech profeſsing others for to cure,
Whiles he himſelfe is full of ſores impure?

No verily: but much more yet in his ſecond reprehenſion, he chaſeth ere he is aware *Epicurus* together with *Democritus* out of this life: for he giveth out that *Democritus* ſaid, The atomes are unto the ſenſes by a certeine law and ordinance colour, by the ſaid law ſweet, and by the ſame law bitter: Alſo that he who uſeth this reaſon, and holdeth this opinion, knoweth not himſelfe, if he be a man? nor whether he be dead or alive? To contradict theſe ſpeeches I wot not well how: but thus much I ſay, that this is as much inſeparable from the ſentences and doctrine of *Epicurus*, as figure and weight by their ſaying from the Atomes: for what ſaith *Democritus*? That there be ſubſtances in number infinite, which are called Atomes, becauſe they cannot be divided: howbeit different, without qualitie and impaſſible, which doe moove and are caried, diſperſed to and fro in the infinit voidneſſe, which when they approch one another, or concur and meet together, or elſe be enterlaced & enfolded one about another, then appeereth of theſe thus heaped and hudled together, one thing water, another fire, another a plant, and another a man: That all theſe be Atomes ſtill, termed by him *Ideæ*, and nothing elſe. For there can be no generation of that which is not; no more than that which once was can become nothing, by reaſon that theſe Atomes are ſo firme and ſolid, that they can neither change nor alter, nor ſuffer. And therefore neither can there be colour made of thoſe things which have no colour, nor nature or ſoule of ſuch as be without quality and are impaſſible. Whereupon *Democritus* is to be blamed in that he confeſſeth not thoſe things that be accident unto principles, but ſuppoſeth thoſe to be principles, whereto theſe happen: For he ſhould not have put downe principles immutable: or at leaſtwiſe, when he had ſuppoſed them to be ſuch, not to ſee withall, that therewith the generation and breeding of all qualities periſheth. And to denie an abſurdity when one ſeeth it, is impudence in the higheſt degree. As for *Epicurus*, he ſaith verily, that he ſuppoſeth the ſame principles that *Democritus* doth, but he ſaith not, that colour ſweet, white, and other qualities are by law and ordinance. Now if he confeſſe not that he ſaith, which nevertheleſſe he ſaid, it is no other but an old cuſtome of his, & that which he is woont to doe. For much like it is to this, that he will ſeeme to take away divine providence, and yet hee ſaith, that he alloweth piety and religious devotion toward God: And albeit he giveth out that for pleaſure, he maketh choiſe of amity and friendſhip, yet for his friends ſake he willingly endureth moſt grievous paines: alſo for all he ſuppoſeth the univerſall world to be infinit, yet hee taketh not away, above and beneath. But this is not like unto the maner of drinking one unto another at a table, where a man may take the cup in hand and drinke what he will, and ſo give backe the reſt. But in this diſputation eſpecially, it behooved to remember well the notable Apophthegme or ſaying of the wiſe man. Of what things the beginnings are not neceſſarie, the ends and conſequences fall out to be neceſſary. Neceſſary it was not therefore to ſuppoſe, or (to ſpeake more truely) to wring from *Democritus* thus much, That Atomes be the principles of the whole and univerſall world: or when he had ſuppoſed and ſet downe this doctrine, and withall made a glorious ſhew of the firſt probabilities and faire apparences thereof, he ſhould likewiſe have ſwallowed that which was troubleſome therein, or ſhewed how thoſe bodies which have no quality, could give unto others all ſorts of qualities, onely by meeting and joining together. As for example, to ſpeake of that which is next to hand, this that we call fire, whence came it, and how groweth it to theſe indiviſible bodies called *Atomi*? if they neither had heat when they came, nor became hot after they met together? For the former preſuppoſeth that they had ſome quality, and the latter, that they were fit to receive the ſame, and to ſuffer: But neither of them twaine ye ſay, fitteth well with the Atomes, in that they be incorruptible. How then? did not *Plato*, *Ariſtotle* and *Xenocrates* produce golde, of that which was not golde; and ſtone of that which is not ſtone; yea, and many other things out of the foure ſimple bodies called elements? Yes Iwis: but together with the ſaid bodies there concurre immediatly at the firſt, the principles alſo, to the generation of every thing, bringing with them great contributions, to wit, the firſt qualities which be in them: afterwards, when there come to meet in one and joine together, dry with moiſt, cold with heat, ſolid and firme with that which is gentle and ſoft, that is to ſay, active bodies with ſuch as be apt to ſuffer, and to receive all change and alteration, then enſueth generation, which is the paſſage from one temperature to another: whereas this Atome or indiviſible bodie being of it ſelfe naked and alone, is deſtitute of all qualitie and generative facultie; but when it hapneth to run upon others, it can make a ſound and noiſe onely, by reaſon of the hardneſſe and ſolidity thereof, but no other accident els: for ſtrike they doe, and are ſtricken againe continually : and ſo farre be they off from compoſing and making by this meanes a living creature, a ſoule, or a nature, that they are not able ſo much as to raiſe a round maſſe or heape of themſelves together : for that as they jurre and beat one upon another, ſo they rebound and flie backe againe aſunder. But *Colotes* verily, as if hee dealt with ſome king that was ignorant and unlettered, falleth againe upon *Empedocles*, breathing out theſe verſes:

One thing will I ſay more to thee :
there is no true nature
Of mortall wights : of griſly death,
no ſeed nor geniture.
A mixture onely firſt there is
of things, then after all,
The ſame grow to diſunion :
and this men Nature call.

For mine owne part, I doe not ſee how this is repugnant and contrary unto life, among them eſpecially who are of opinion that there is no generation of that which is not at all, nor corruption of that which is and hath being : but the meeting and union of ſuch things as be, is called Generation ; the diſſolution likewiſe and diſunion of the ſame, is termed Death and corruption. For, that he taketh Nature for Generation, and that he meaneth ſo, himſelfe hath declared, when he ſet Nature oppoſite unto Death. And if thoſe live not nor can live, who put generation in union, and death in diſunion ; what thing els doe theſe Epicureans? And yet *Empedocles*, ſodering as it were and conjoining the elements by heats, ſoftneſſe and humidities, giveth them in ſome ſort a mixtion and compoſition unitive : but they who drive together the Atomes which they ſay to be immutable, ſturdy and impaſſible, compoſe nothing that proceedeth from them, but rather make many and thoſe continuall percuſſions of them. For their interlacing which impeacheth diſſolution, doth ſtil augment their colliſion : in ſuch ſort, as this is no mixtion nor conglutination, but a certeine troubleſome ſtriving and combat, which according to them is called Generation. And theſe Atomes or indiviſible bodies which meet together but a moment, if one while they recule and ſtart backe for the reſiſtance of the ſhocke which they have given, and another while returne againe and recharge after the blow paſt, they are more than twice ſo long apart one from another without touching or approching, ſo as nothing can be made of them, not ſo much as the very body without a ſoule. But ſenſe, ſoule, underſtanding and prudence, there is no man able to thinke and imagine, would he never ſo faine, how they can be formed of voidneſſe and of theſe Atomes : which neither of themſelves apart have any qualitie, nor yet paſſion or alteration whatſoever, when they are met together, conſidering that this meeting is no incorporation nor ſuch a coition as might make a mutuall mixture and conglutination, but rather jurrs and reciprocall concuſſions : in ſuch maner, as according to the doctrine of theſe folke, ſuppoſing as they doe, ſuch void, impaſſible, inviſible, undivine and unhelpful principles, yea & ſuch as will not receive any mixture or incorporation whatſoever, To live and to be a creature animall, falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. How commeth it then, that they admit or allow Nature, Soule and Living creature? Forſooth, even as they do an oth, a vow, praier, ſacrifice and adoration of the gods, to wit, in word and mouth onely ; pronouncing and naming in ſemblance and outward appearance, that which by their principles and doctrines they quite aboliſh and anull. And even ſo, that which is borne, they terme Nature, and that which is engendred, Generation : like as they who ordinarily call the frame of wood and timber, Wood it ſelfe, and thoſe voices or inſtruments that accord together, Symphonie. And what ſhould he meane to object ſuch ſpeech againſt *Empedocles*? Why trouble we and weary our ſelves (quoth he) in being ſo buſie about our owne ſelves, in deſiring certeine things as we doe, and avoiding others? for neither are we our ſelves, neither live we by uſing others. But be of good cheere (may one haply ſay) my loving and ſweet *Colotarion* : have no feare man : no man hindreth you, but that you may regard your ſelfe, teaching that the nature of *Colotes*, is *Colotes* himſelfe and nothing els : neither that you need or deſire to uſe certeine things. As for theſe things among you, they be pleaſures : ſhewing withall, that it is not the nature of tarts, cakes and marchpanes, nor of odors, nor of love ſports that you deſire, but tarts and marchpanes themſelves, ſweet perfumes and women they be that you would have. For the Grammarian who ſaith, the force and ſtrength of *Hercules* is *Hercules*, denieth not thereby that *Hercules* is : nor thoſe who ſay that ſymphonies, accords or opinations are bare prolations or pronunciations, affirme not therewithall, that there be no ſounds, nor voices, nor opinions :

foraſmuch as there be ſome, who aboliſhing the ſoule and prudence, ſeeme not to take away either to live or to be prudent. And when *Epicurus* ſaith, The nature of things that have being, are the bodies and the void place of them, doe we take his words, as if he meant that nature were ſomwhat els than the things that be? or that things being, do ſhew their nature and nothing els? even as for examples ſake, the nature of voidneſſe, he is wont to call voidneſſe it ſelfe: yea, and I aſſure you, the univerſall world it ſelfe, the nature of all. Now if a man ſhould demaund of him: How now *Epicurus*, ſay you indeed that this is voidneſſe, & that is the nature of voidneſſe? Yes verily, will he anſwere againe, but this communication of names the one for another, is taken up and in uſe. And in trueth, that the law and cuſtome warranteth this maner of ſpeech, I alſo avouch.

And what other thing I pray you hath *Empedocles* done than taught that nature is nought elſe but that which is bred and engendred, nor death any thing but that which dieth? But like as Poets otherwhiles by a trope or figurative ſpeech repreſenting as it were the image of things ſay thus:

Debate, tumult, uprore and ſtomacke fell,
With deadly fude and malice there did dwell.

Even ſo the common ſort of men doe uſe the termes of generation and corruption in things that are contracted together and diſſolved. And ſo farre was he from ſtirring or remooving thoſe things that be, or oppoſing himſelfe againſt things of evident apperance, that he would not ſo much as caſt one word out of the accuſtomed uſe: but ſo far forth as any figurative frawd might hurt or endammage things, he rejected and tooke the ſame away, rendring againe the uſuall and ordinary ſignification to words, as in theſe verſes:

And when the light is mixed thus
with aire in heavenly sky,
Some man is made or wilde beaſts kinde,
or birds aloſt that flie:
Or elſe the ſhrubs: and this rightly
is cleap'd their geneture,
But death, when as diſſolved is
the foreſaid faſt joincture.

And yet I ſay my ſelfe, that *Colotes* having alledged thus much, knew not that *Empedocles* did not aboliſh men, beaſts ſhrubs or birds in as much as he ſaith that all theſe are compoſed and finiſhed of the elements mixed together: But teaching and ſhewing them how they were deceived, who finde fault with naming this compoſition a certaine nature or life: and the diſſolution unhappy fortune and death to be avoided, he annulled not the ordinary and uſuall uſe of words in that behalfe. For mine owne part I thinke verily that *Empedocles* doth not alter in theſe places the common maner of pronouncing and uſing the ſaid words: but as before it was related, did really as of a different minde as touching the generation of things that had no being, which ſome call nature. Which he eſpecially declareth in theſe verſes.

Fooles as they be of ſmall conceit,
for farre they cannot ſee,
Who hope that things which never were,
may once engendred be,
Or feare that thoſe which are ſhall die,
and periſh utterly.

For theſe verſes are thundred out and do ſound aloud in their hearing who have any eares at all, that he doth not aboliſh generation abſolutely, but that alone which is of nothing: nor yet corruption ſimply, but that which is a totall deſtruction, that is to ſay, a reduction to nothing. For unto a man who were not willing, after ſuch a ſavage, rude and brutiſh maner but more gently to cavil, the verſes following after might give a collourable occaſion to charge *Empedocles* with the contrary, when he ſaith thus:

No man of ſenſe and judgement ſound,
would once conceive in minde
That whiles we living here on earth,
both good and bad doe finde,
So long onely we being have:
(yet this, men life doe call)

And birth before, or after death,
we nothing are at all.

Which words verily are not uttered by a man, who denieth them their being who are borne and live, but rather by him who thinketh that they who are not yet borne, as alſo thoſe that be alredy dead have their being. And even ſo *Colotes* doth not altogether reproove him for this : but he ſaith that according to his opinion we ſhall never be ſicke nor wounded. And how is it poſſible that he who ſaith that men before life and after life, are accompanied with good and bad indifferently, ſhould not leave for them that be alive the power to ſuffer ? What be thoſe then, good *Colotes*, who are accompanied with this immunity, that they can neither be hurt nor diſeaſed? Even your ſelfe and ſuch as you are, who be altogether made of an Atome and voidneſſe, for by your owne ſaying, neither the one nor the other hath any ſenſe. But no force. For I here of no harme yet. Mary here is the griefe, that by this reaſon you have nothing in you to cauſe delight and pleaſure, ſeeing that an Atome is not capaple of ſuch things as moove pleaſure: and voidneſſe is unapt to be affected by them. But for as much as *Colotes* for his part would needs immediatly after *Democritus* ſeeme to interre and bury *Permenides* for ever, and my ſelfe in putting off a little and paſſing over the defence of *Parmenides*, have betweene both taken in hand the maintenance of that which was delivered by *Empedocles*, becauſe me thought they did more properly adhere and hang to thoſe firſt imputations, let us now come againe to *Parmenides*. And whereas *Colotes* chargeth him with ſetting abroad certaine ſhamefull ſophiſtries yet hath the man thereby made friendſhip nothing leſſe honourable nor, voluptuouſneſſe and ſenſuallity more audacious and unbrideled. He hath not bereft honeſty of that attractive property to draw unto it ſelfe, nor of the gift of being venerable of it ſelfe: neither hath he troubled & confounded the opinions as touching the gods. And in ſaying that All is One, I ſee not how he hath hindered our life. For when *Epicurus* himſelfe ſaith, that [All] is infinite, ingenerable and incorruptible, that it cannot be augmented nor diminiſhed, he ſpeaketh and diſputeth of All, as of ſome one thing. And in the beginning of his treatiſe concerning this matter, having delivered that the nature of All things being, conſiſteth in ſmall indiviſible bodies which he termeth Atomes, and in voidneſſe : hee made a diviſion as it were of one thing into two parts : whereof the one in trueth is not ſubſiſtent, but termed by you impalpable void and bodileſſe : whereby it commeth to paſſe, that even with you, All commeth to be but One: unleſſe you will uſe vaine words and void of ſenſe, ſpeaking of voidneſſe, and fighting in vaine, as with a ſhadow, againſt thoſe auncient Philoſophers.

But theſe Atomes you will ſay, are according to the opinion of *Epicurus* in number infinite, and every thing that appereth unto us, ariſeth from them. Beholde now what principles you put downe for generation, to wit, infinity and voidneſſe: whereof the one is without action, impaſſible and bodileſſe: the other, namely, infinity, diſorderly, void of reaſon, incomprehenſible, diſſolving and confounding it ſelfe, for that by reaſon of multitude it cannot be circumſcribed nor contained within limits. But *Permenides* hath not aboliſhed either fire or water, or any rocke, no nor the cites (as *Colotes* ſaith) inhabited as well in *Europe* as in *Aſia*, conſidering that he hath both * inſtituted an orderly diſpoſe & digeſtion : and alſo tempering the elements together, to wit, light and darke, of them and by them abſolutely finiſheth all things viſible in the world, for written he hath at large of Earth, of Heaven, of Sunne, Moone and ſtarres : as alſo, ſpoken much of mans generation : and being as he was a very ancient Philoſopher, he hath left nothing in Phyſiologie unſaid, and whereof he hath not delivered both by word and writing his owne doctrine not borrowed elſe where, paſſing over the repugnancie of other received principall opinions. Moreover he of all others firſt, and even before *Socrates* himſelfe obſerved and underſtood, that in nature there is one part ſubject to opinion, and another ſubject to intelligence. And as for that which is opinable, inconſtant it is and uncertaine, wandring alſo and carried away with ſundry paſſions and mutations, apt to diminiſh and paire : to increaſe alſo and growe, yea and to be diverſly affected, and not ever after one ſort diſpoſed to the ſame in ſenſe alike. As for the intelligible part, it is of another kinde :

For ſound it is, whole and not variable,
Conſtant and ſure, and ingenerable.

as he himſelfe ſaith, alwaies like to it ſelfe & perdurable in the owne nature & eſſence. But *Colotes* like a ſycopāht, cavilling at him, & catching at his words, without regard of the matter, not arguing againſt his reaſons indeed, but in words onely, affirmeth flatly, that *Parmenides* overthroweth all things in one word, by ſuppoſing that All is One. But he verily on the contrary ſide aboliſheth

* *διάκοσμον πεποίηται.* ſome divide this & reade *Δία κοσμών*, that is to ſay, hath made *Jupiter* the world.

liſheth neither the one nature nor the other, but rendreth to ech of them that which is meet, and apperteineth thereto. For the intelligible part he rangeth in the *Idea* of One, and of That which is, ſaying that it is and hath being, in regard of eternity and incorruption: that it is one: becauſe it alwaies reſembleth it ſelfe, and receiveth no diverſity. As for that part which is Senſible, he placeth it in the ranke of that which is uncerteine, diſorderly and ever mooving. Of which two, we may ſee the diſtinct judgement in the ſoule, by theſe verſes:

The one reteins to truth which is ſyncere
Perſwaſive, breeding ſcience pure and cleere.

For it concerneth that which is intelligible, and evermore alike and in the ſame ſort.

The other reſts on mens opinions vaine,
Which breed no true beleefe but uncertaine.

For that it is converſant in ſuch things as receive al maner of changes, paſſions, & mutabilities. And verily how poſſibly he ſhould admit and leave unto us ſenſe and opinion, and not withall allow that which is ſenſible and opinable, a man is not able to ſhew. But foraſmuch as to that which is exiſtent indeed, it appertaineth to remaine in being, and for that things ſenſible, one while are, and another while are not, but paſſe continually from one being to another, and alter their eſtate, inſomuch as they deſerve rather ſome other name than this, of being: This ſpeech as touching All, that it ſhould be one, is not to take away the plurality of things ſenſible, but to ſhew the difference betweene them and thoſe that be intelligible, which *Plato* in his treatiſe of *Ideæ* minding to declare more plainly, gave *Colotes* ſome advantage for to take holde of him. And therefore me thinks it good reaſon to take before me all in one traine, that alſo which he hath ſpoken againſt him. But firſt let us conſider the diligence, together with the deepe and profound knowledge of this Philoſopher *Plato*, conſidering that *Ariſtotle, Xenocrates, Theophraſtus*, and all the Peripateticks have followed his doctrine. For in what blinde corner of the world unhabitable wrot he his booke? that you *Colotes* in heaping up together theſe criminations upon ſuch perſonages, ſhould never light upon their works, nor take in hand the books of *Ariſtotle* as touching the heaven and the ſoule: nor thoſe compoſitions of *Theophraſtus* againſt the Naturaliſts, nor that *Zoroaſtres* of *Heraclitus*, one booke of Hell and infernall ſpirits, another of Doubts and queſtions Naturall: that alſo of *Dicæarchus* concerning the ſoule. In all which books they are contradictory and repugnant, in the maine and principall points of Naturall philoſophy unto *Plato*? And verily the prince of all other Peripateticks, *Strato*, accordeth not in many things with *Ariſtotle*, and mainteineth opinions cleane contrary unto thoſe of *Plato*, as touching Motion, Underſtanding, the Soule, and Generation. And in concluſion, he holdeth that the very world is not animall: and whatſoever is naturall is conſequent unto that which is caſuall, and according to fortune. As for the *Idea* for which *Ariſtotle* every where ſeemeth to courſe *Plato*, and mooveth all maner of doubts concerning them in his Ethicks or morall diſcourſes, in his Phyſicks, in his Exotericall dialogues, he is thought of ſome to diſpute and diſcourſe with a more contentions and opinative ſpirit than became a Philoſopher, as if he propounded to himſelfe for to convell and debaſe the Philoſophy of *Plato*, ſo farre was hee from following him. What impudent and licentious raſhneſſe therefore is this, that one having never knowen nor ſeene what theſe learned clerks had written, and what their opinions were, ſhould coine and deviſe out of his owne fingers ends, and falſly charge upon them, thoſe things which never came into their heads, and in perſwading himſelfe that he reprooveth and refuteth others, to bring in a proofe and evidence written with his owne hand, for to argue and convince himſelfe of ignorance, or raſh and audacious impudence, ſaying, that thoſe who contradict *Plato*, agree with him, and they that repugne againſt him doe follow him? But *Plato* (quoth he) hath written: That horſes are in vaine counted by us horſes, and men likewiſe. And in what odde corner of *Platoes* works hath *Colotes* found this hidden? As for us wee reade in all his books, that horſes be horſes, and men be men, and that fire even by him is eſteemed fire; for hee holdeth every one of theſe things to be ſenſible and opinable, and ſo he nameth them. But this our trim man *Colotes*, as though hee wanted never a jot of the higheſt pitch of ſapience and knowledge, preſumeth forſooth and taketh it to be all one and the ſame, to ſay, A man is not, and A man is that, which hath no being. But *Plato* thinketh that there is a woonderfull great difference betweene theſe termes, Not to be at all, and To be that which is not: for the former importeth a nullity and aboliſhment of all ſubſtance; and the other ſheweth the difference of that which is participated and that which doth participate: which diſtinction and diverſity they who came after, have reduced onely unto a different raunge, of kinds, formes, and of certeine common and proper qualities or accidents, but higher than ſo they mounted not, falling downe upon ſome doubts and difficulties more reaſonable: for the ſame reaſon and proportion there is betweene the thing participated and participating, as is betweene the cauſe and the matter, the originall and the image, the power and the paſſion. Wherein principally differeth that which is by it ſelfe, and ever the ſame, from that which is by another, and never keepeth one ſtate: for that the one never ſhall be, nor ever was not exiſtent: and for this cauſe, it is truely and altogether ſubſiſtent; whereas the other hath not ſo much as that being conſtant, which it hapneth to participate from another, but doth degenerate and grow out of kinde, through imbecilitie; in that the matter doth glide and ſlide about the forme, receiving many paſſions and mutations bending toward the image of ſubſtance, in ſuch ſort, as continually it mooveth and ſhaketh to and fro. Like as therefore he who ſaith, that *Plato* is not the image of *Plato*, taketh not away the ſenſe and ſubſtance of an image, but ſheweth the difference betweene that which is of it ſelfe, and the other which is in regard of it: even ſo they aboliſh not the nature, the uſe nor ſenſe of men, who ſay, that every one of us by participating the *Idea* of a certeine common ſubſtance, is become the image of that which giveth ſimilitude and affinity unto our generation. For neither he who ſaith, that iron red hot is not fire, or the Moone, the Sunne, but (to uſe the very words of *Parmenides*)

A flame that beares a borowed light,
Wandring about the earth by night.

doth take away the uſe of a burning gleed, or the nature of the moone: but if he ſhould affirme, that it were no bodie nor illuminate, then he went againſt the ſenſes, as one who admitted neither body nor living animall, nor generation nor ſenſe. But he that by opinion imagineth theſe things to have no ſubſiſtence but by participation, and withall, how farre they are ſhort and diſtant from that which hath alwaies being, and which gave them the power to be, conſidereth not amiſſe the ſenſible, but is dim-ſighted in the intelligible: neither doth he annihilate and overthrow the paſſions which ariſe and appeare in us, but ſheweth unto them that are docible and follow him, that there be other more firme and ſtable things than theſe, as touching eſſence, for that they neither are engendred nor periſh, nor yet ſuffer ought: but teacheth more cleerely & purely, noting and touching the difference by the very termes and names, calling the one ſort exiſtent, & the other breeding or ingendred. The ſame uſually befalleth alſo to our late modern writers, who deprive many great and weighty things of this denomination of ſubſiſtence, as namely, Voidneſſe, Time, Place, and generally, the whole kinde of thoſe ſpeeches wherein are compriſed all things true. For theſe things being, they ſay are not; and yet they ſay ſome are; yea and uſe the ſame aſwel in their life as their doctrine and philoſophy, as having ſubſiſtence & being. But I would gladly demand of this accuſer of ours himſelfe, whether he and his fellowes in their affaires perceive not this difference, whereby ſome things be permanent and immutable in their ſubſtances, like as they affirme of their Atomes, that they be at all times and continually after one and the ſame ſort, by reaſon of their impaſſibility and ſtiffe ſoliditie? whereas all things compounded and compact of them, be flexible, pliable, mutable, breeding and periſhing: for that an infinite number of images doe paſſe and flow from them evermore, yea and an innumerable ſort of other things, by all likelihood, from out of the ambuent aire do reflow and have recourſe unto them, for to ſupply and fill up the heape ſtill, which maſſe is become much altered, diverſified and tranſvaſed as it were by this permutation, in that the Atomes which are in the bottome of the ſaid maſſe can never ceaſe nor give over ſtirring, but reciprocally beat one upon another, as they themſelves affirme. So there is in things ſuch a difference of ſubſtance as this: and yet *Epicurus* is more wiſe and learned than *Plato*, in that he tearmeth all things equally ſubſiſting, Voidneſſe impalpable, the Body ſolid and reſiſting, the Principles, things compoſed: and for that hee thinketh that the eternall doeth not ſo much as participate in the common ſubſtance with that which is ingendred; the immortall with that which doth periſh; the natures impaſſible, perdurable, immutable, which never can fall or be deprived from their being, with thoſe which have their eſſence in ſuffering and changing, and never can continue in one and the ſame ſtate. Now were it ſo, that *Plato* had moſt juſtly of all men in the world deſerved to be condemned for his error heerein, yet my good friend, there ſhould no imputation be charged upon him by theſe our great maſters heere, who ſpeake purer and finer Greeke and more exquiſitly than he, but onely for confounding ſome words and ſpeaking improperly; nor to be blamed for aboliſhing the matters themſelves, or taking us out of this life, becauſe he termed them ingendred, and not exiſtent, as theſe men do.

But ſeeing wee have paſſed over *Socrates* after *Parmenides*, wee muſt now take his defence in hand. *Colotes* then began directly at the firſt (as we ſay in the common proverbe) to remoove him from the ſacred line or tribe: and having related how *Charephon* had brought an anſwere from the Oracle at *Delphos,* as touching *Socrates,* which we all know to be ſo, ſaith thus: As for this diſcourſe and narration (quoth he) of *Charephon,* for that it is altogether odious, captious, ſophiſticall, and full of untrueth, we will overpaſſe. Then is *Plato* likewiſe (to ſay nothing of others) odious and abſurd, who hath put the ſaid anſwere downe in writing. Then are the Lacedæmonians more odious and intolerable, who keepe that Oracle delivered, as touching *Lycurgus*, among their moſt ancient writings and authenticall records. Semblably, the diſcourſe and narration of *Themiſtocles* was a ſophiſticall and counterfeit device, whereby he perſwaded the Athenians to abandon their citie, and ſo in a navall battell defaited the barbarous prince *Xerxes*. And even ſo all the noble lawgivers and founders of *Greece* are to be counted odious and intolerable, who eſtabliſhed the moſt part of their temples, their ſacrifices and ſolemne feaſts, by the anſwere from the Oracle of *Apollo*. But if it be ſo, that the Oracle brought from *Delphi* as touching *Socrates,* a man raviſhed with a divine and heavenly zeale to vertue, whereby he was declared and pronounced wiſe, were odious, fained and ſopſticall: by what name ſhall we truely and juſtly call your cries, your ſhouts, your hideous noiſes, your applauſes and clapping of hands, your adorations and canonizations wherewith you exalt and celebrate him, who incited and exhorted you to continuall pleaſures one after another, who in one of his letters ſent unto *Anaxarchus* hath written thus: As for me, I invite and call you to continuall pleaſures, and not to theſe vaine and unprofitable vertues, ſuch as have nothing but turbulent hopes of uncerteine fruits. And yet *Metrodorus* writing unto *Timarchus*, ſaith thus unto him, Come on (quoth he) let us do ſome goodly and honeſt thing for thoſe who are faire and beautifull, ſo that we be not plunged in theſe ſemblable and reciprocall affections, but retiring anon out of this baſe and terreſtriall life, let us advance our ſelves to theſe true, holy and divine ceremonies and myſteries of *Epicurus*. And even *Colotes* himſelfe hearing *Epicurus* one day diſcourſing of Naturall things, fell downe at his feet immediatly, and tooke holde of his knees, as if hee had beene a god. And *Epicurus* likewiſe taking no ſmall pride and glorie heerein, writeth thus unto him againe: For as if you adored that which then was delivered by mee, there came upon you ſuddenly a deſire and zeale proceeding from no cauſe in nature, to come toward mee, to proſtrate your ſelfe upon the ground, to clip and claſpe my knees, and to uſe thoſe geſtures unto me, which ordinarily they doe, who worſhip the gods and pray unto them: So that you have (quoth he) made mee alſo reciprocally to deifie and adore you. Certes I could finde in my heart to pardon them, who ſay they would not ſpare for any coſt, but give they cared not what for a table or picture, wherein they might ſee lively repreſented to the eie this ſtory depainted; namely, how the one lieth proſtrate at the others feet, and embraceth his knees: who mutually againe adoreth him, and maketh his devout praiers unto him. And yet this devotion and ſervice of *Colotes*, how well ſoever it was by him ordered and preciſely obſerved, reaped not the condigne fruit thereof: for he was not by him declared A wiſe man: onely this bleſſing he had from him againe, Goe thy waies and walke immortall, and repute us alſo ſemblably immortall. Theſe men knowing full well in their owne conſciences that they uſe ſuch fooliſh words, ridiculous jeſtures, and fond paſſions, yet forſooth they are ſo bold as to call other men odious. And *Colotes* verily having given us a taſte of his goodly firſt fruits, & wiſe poſitions as touching Naturall ſenſes, namely, That we do eate our viands and cates, not hay or forage, and that when the rivers be high, wee ferry over them in botes, but when they be low and paſſable, we wade eaſily on foot through the fourd, exclameth and crieth out afterwards: You uſe ô *Socrates* vaine ſpeeches, you interteine thoſe who come and ſpeake unto you with one thing in word, and do practiſe others cleane contrary in deed. And ſay you ſo *Colotes*? Firſt I would gladly know wherein the words of *Socrates* were vaine & arrogant, conſidering that he was wont ordinarily to ſay, that he knew nothing at all, but was a learner continually, and went to ſearch and finde out the trueth? But if haply you ſhould light upon ſuch ſpeeches from *Socrates* his mouth, as thoſe were which *Epicurus* wrote unto *Idomeneus,* ſend us then the firſt fruits, for the furniture of our ſacred body, for us (I ſay) & our children: For thus it comes upon me to ſpeake, what more inſolent and ſottiſh words could you deviſe to ſpeake? And yet, that *Socrates* never ſaid otherwiſe than he did, he hath given us marvellous proofes in the battell of

Delium, and in that of *Potidea:* That which he did during the time of the thirty tyrants againſt *Archelaus* and againſt the people of *Athens:* his poverty; his death; his cariage and demeanour in all theſe times and occaſions, be they not anſwerable every way to the ſayings and doctrines of *Socrates?* This had beene a true proofe indeed, to have ſhewed that hee lived and did otherwiſe than he ſpake and taught, in caſe he had propoſed the end of man to be a joifull and pleaſant life, and then lived as he did. Thus much as touching the reprochfull termes that hee hath given *Socrates*. Moreover, he perceiveth not how himſelfe is attaint even in thoſe points which he reprooveth and objected as touching things * evident and apparent. For one of the poſitions and decrees of *Epicurus* is this, That no perſon ought irrevocably to beleeve or be perſwaded to a thing, but onely the wiſe man. Now ſeeing that *Colotes* became not one of the Sages, for all that adoration & worſhip which he performed unto *Epicurus*, let him demand firſt and formoſt theſe queſtions, How it is, that he falleth to cates, and not to hay, when he hath need of victuals? and why he caſteth a robe about his owne body, and not upon a pillar? conſidering that he is not aſſuredly perſwaded, that cates be cates, or that a robe is a robe: But if he doe ſo, namely, feed upon viands, and weare a robe: if he venture not to wade through rivers when they be riſen and high; if he flie from ſerpents and woolves, being not in a ſure beleefe that any thing is ſuch as it ſeemeth, but doing every thing according as it appeereth unto him; the opinion as touching ſenſes, would not hinder *Socrates* at all, but that he might likewiſe uſe that which ſeemeth not him. For bread ſeemed not bread unto *Colotes*, nor hay to be hay, becauſe he had read thoſe holy canons and ſacred rules of *Epicurus* which fell from heaven out of *Jupiters* lap: and *Socrates* upon a vaine arrogance of his owne, conceived an imagination of bread that it was hay, and of hay that it was bread. For theſe wiſe men heere, have better opinions and rules to goe by than we. But to have ſenſe, and to receive an impreſſion in the imagination of things evident, is common as well to ignorant perſons as to Sages, for that it proceedeth from cauſes that need no diſcourſe of reaſon. But that poſition, that our naturall ſenſes are not certeine nor ſufficient enough to proove a thing, and cauſe beliefe, is no hinderance, but that every thing may appeere unto us: but when we uſe the ſenſes in our actions, according to that which appeereth, it permitteth us not to truſt thẽ, as if they were every way true and without error: for that ſufficeth in them, which is neceſſary and commodious for uſe, becauſe there is nothing better. As for Science, knowledge, and perfection, which the ſoule of a Philoſopher deſireth to have of every thing, the ſenſes have juſt none. But of theſe matters which *Colotes* hath charged upon many others, he will give us occaſion elſe where to diſcourſe thereof.

* περὶ τῶν ἐναργῶν, ſome read ἐναγῶν, underſtanding thereby the crime of impietie.

Furthermore, that wherein he doth vilipend and mocke *Socrates* moſt, in that he demaundeth the queſtion, What is man? and in a youthfull bravery, and childiſhly as he ſaith, affirmeth that he knoweth not, it is evident that even hee who derideth him, never came himſelfe where it was, nor atteined thereto: whereas *Heraclitus* contrariwiſe, as one who had done a great and worthy matter, ſaid thus, I have beene ſeeking out my ſelfe. And of all thoſe ſentences which are written over the gates of *Apolloes* temple at *Delphos,* this was thought to be moſt heavenly and divine, Know thy ſelfe: which gave unto *Socrates* occaſion firſt to doubt and enquire thereof; according as *Ariſtotle* hath ſet downe in his Platonique queſtions. But this forſooth ſeemeth unto *Colotes* to be a fooliſh and ridiculous thing. I marvell then why he mocketh not his maſter likewiſe for doing ſo, as often as he writeth and diſcourſeth as touching the ſubſtance of the ſoule, and the beginning of that confuſed maſſe: for if that which is compounded of both, as they themſelves doe teach, to wit, of ſuch a body & ſoule, be man, he who ſearcheth the nature of the ſoule, ſearcheth conſequently the nature of man, even from his principall & chiefe principle. Now that the ſame is hardly by reaſon to be comprehended, but by the outward ſenſe altogether incomprehenſible, let us learne not of *Socrates,* a vaine glorious man & ſophiſticall diſputer, but rather of theſe wiſe men here, who doe forge & frame the ſubſtance of the ſoule ſo farre onely as to the faculties extending to the fleſh, whereby ſhe giveth heat, ſoftneſſe & ſtrength to the bodie, of I wot not what heat and aireous ſpirit, never wading ſo far as to that which is the principall, but faint & give over in the way. For that faculty whereby ſhe judgeth, whereby ſhe remembreth, whereby ſhe loveth or hateth, and in one word, that reaſon which wiſely foreſeeth & diſcourſeth, he ſaith, is made of a certaine quality which is nameleſſe. Now that this nameles thing is a mere confeſſion of ſhameful ignorance, in them that ſay they cannot name that, which indeed they are not able to comprehend and underſtand, we know well enough. But this alſo may well deſerve pardon, as they are wont to ſay. For it ſeemeth that this is no ſmall and light matter neither a thing that every one can finde out and reach unto, being deeply ſettled in the bottom of ſome by-place far remote and in ſome obſcure and hidden corner, ſeeing that among ſo many words and termes which be in uſe, there is not one ſignificant enough and ſufficient to declare and explaine the ſame. And therefore *Socrates* was no foole nor lob, for ſeeking and ſearching what himſelfe was, but they rather be dolts who go about enquiring after any other thing before this, the knowledge whereof is ſo neceſſary and hard to be found. For hardly may he hope to attaine unto the knowledge of any other thing, who is not able to underſtand the principall part of himſelfe. But ſay we ſhould graunt and yeeld thus much unto him, as to confeſſe that there is nothing ſo vaine, ſo unprofitable and ſo odious, as for a man to ſeeke himſelfe, we will be ſo bolde as to demaund, what confuſion of mans life this ſhould be, or how it is that a man cannot continue in life, when he comes to diſcourſe & reaſon thus with himſelfe, Who and what mought I be? Am I after the maner of ſome compoſition, confected and mingled of ſoule and body? or rather a ſoule making uſe of the body, as the horſman doth of his horſe? and not a ſubject compoſed of horſe and man? or whether the principall part of the ſoule whereby we underſtand, we diſcourſe, we reaſon and doe every action, is every each one of us? and all the parts beſides both of ſoule and body, be nothing but the organs and inſtruments ſerving to this puiſſance and faculty? Or to conclude, whether there be no ſubſtance of the ſoule apart, but onely a temperature and complexion of the body, ſo diſpoſed, that it hath power to underſtand and to live. But *Socrates* herein ſaith he doth not overthrow the life of man, conſidering that all naturall philoſophers doe handle this argument. Mary they be thoſe monſtrous queſtions that trouble the common-wealth, and turne all upſide downe, which are in the Diologue *Phædrus*, wherein he thinketh that he ought to examine and conſider himſelfe, namely whether he be a beaſt more ſavage, more ſubtill, cautelous and furious than ever was that *Typhon*: or rather ſome animall more tame and gentle by nature, and endued with a portion more divine, and a condition nothing proud and inſolent. But yet by theſe diſcourſes and reaſonings he overturneth not the life of man, but he chaſeth out of it preſumption & arrogance, proud and puffed up opinions and vaine overweenings of a mans ſelfe: For this is that fell *Typhon*, which your good maſter and teacher hath made to be ſo great in you, warring as he doth both againſt the gods and all good and godly men.

After he hath done with *Socrates* and *Plato*, he falleth in hand with the Philoſopher *Stilpo*. As for the true doctrines and good diſcourſes of the man, whereby he ordered and governed himſelfe, his native country, his friends, & thoſe kings and princes who affected him and made good account of him, he hath not written a word: neither what gravity and magnanimity was in his heart and the ſame accompanied with mildeneſſe, moderation, and modeſty: but of thoſe little ſentences or propoſitions which *Stilpo* was wont to uſe & caſt forth in meriment againſt the Sophiſters, when he was diſpoſed to laugh and play with them, he made mention of one: and without alledging any reaſon againſt it or ſolving the ſubtilty thereof, he made a tragœdie, and kept a foule ſtirre with him about it, ſaying that by him the life of man and the whole courſe of this world was ſubverted: becauſe he ſaid, that one thing could not be affirmed and verified of another. For how ſhould we live (quoth *Colotes*) if we may not ſay a good man, or a man is a captaine, but we muſt pronounce apart, man is man, good is good, and captaine is a captaine: neither ten thouſand horſmen, nor a fenſed city, but horſmen be horſmen, ten thouſand be ten thouſand, and ſo of the reſt? But tell me I pray you, what man ever lived the worſe for ſaying thus? And who is he who having heard theſe words and this maner of arguing, did not conceive and underſtand ſtraight waies that it was the ſpeech of a man diſpoſed to make ſome game and diſport learnedly, or to propoſe unto others this Logicall quillet for exerciſe ſake? It is not *Colotes*, ſuch a greivous ſcandall and hainous matter as you would make it, to ſay man is not good or horſmen be not ten thouſand: marry to affirme that god is not god as you and the reſt doe, who will not confeſſe that there is a *Jupiter* preſident over generation, or a *Ceres* that giveth lawes, or a *Neptune* ſuperintendent over plants, is a dangerous point. This is the ſeparation of names and words that is pernicious, this filleth our life with contemptuous impiety, Athiſme & diſſolute audaciouſneſſe: For when you plucke from the gods theſe attributes & appellations that eſſentially be linked & tied to them, you aboliſh therewithall holy ſacrifices, divine myſteries, ſacred proceſſions and ſolemne feaſts: for unto whome ſhall we performe the nuptiall ſacrifices called *Proteleia*; unto whom ſhall we offer the oblations for health named *Soteria*? How ſhall we accompliſh the rites of *Phoſphoia*, the Bacchanals, and the ceremonies going before mariage, if we leave not any prieſts of *Bacchus*, if we admitte not *Phoſphori Proereſii*, and the ſaving gods *Soteres?* For I tel you, this toucheth the maine & principal points, this breedeth error in the things themſelves & not about certaine bare voices in the *Syntaxes* and conſtruction of words or uſe of termes. Now if theſe be matters that trouble and ſubvert this life of ours, who be they that offend and be delinquent more in their phraſe & language than you? who making prepoſitions to be the only ſubſtance of ſpeech, aboliſh altogether all ſimple voices, & admitting ſuch as come next hand, you aboliſh in the meane while the things by them ſignified; whereby all diſcipline, doctrines, erudition, anticipations, intelligences, inclinations and aſſents are performed, and holde generally that all theſe be juſt nothing. But as for *Stilpo* thus the caſe ſtandeth: If we affirme of an horſe, to runne: he doth not ſay that the thing affirmed which the Logicians call *Predicatum,* is all one with the *Subjectum,* of which it is affirmed; but that the eſſential definition of a man is one, and that of good is another; as alſo, to be an horſe is different from to be running: For if we asked the definition of the one and the other, we will not give the ſame for both, and in that regard, they doe amiſſe who affirme the one of the other. For if a man and Good were all one: likewiſe, an horſe, and to runne were both one: how commeth it to paſſe that the terme Good is affirmed of ſome meate, drogue, or medicine, and to run likewiſe, of a lion and a dog? But if the *Predicatum* or thing affirmed be different, then we doe not well, to ſay, Good man, or the horſe runneth. Now if *Stilpo* in theſe matters doe exorbitate and be fouly deceived, admitting no copulation at all nor connexion of ſuch things as are ſaid to be in or about the ſubject, together with the ſaid ſubject it ſelfe: but every one of them if it be not abſolutely the very ſame with that unto which it hapneth, hee thinketh not that the ſame ought to be ſaid and affirmed thereof as an accident: and if therein he be offended with ſome termes, and go againſt the ordinary cuſtome of ſpeech, he doth not therefore ſtreightwaies ſubvert and overthrow mans life, nor humane affaires, as all the world may ſee well enough.

Colotes now having done with the ancient Philoſophers, turneth himſelfe to thoſe of his owne time, and yet he nameth not one. Howbeit, he ſhould have done better to have argued aſwell againſt theſe moderne as thoſe ancients, by name, or not at all to have named thoſe of old time. But he who ſo often hath pricked *Socrates, Plato* & *Parmenides* with his pen, ſheweth plainly, that it was for meere cowardiſe that he durſt not be ſeene to deale with the living; and not upon any modeſty or reverence that he ſpared their names, conſidering that he uſed them, who were farre more excellent than they, in no good ſort and reſpect. His meaning was as I ſuſpect and gueſſe, to aſſaile the Cyrenaiques firſt, and then in a ſecond place the Academicks, ſectaries of *Arceſilaus:* for as theſe were the Philoſophers who doubted of all things and yeelded their aſſent in nothing at all; ſo the other repoſing paſſions and imaginations in themſelves, thought that the beliefe proceeding from thence, was not ſufficient to aſſure & confirme things, but faring like unto thoſe who are beſieged within a citie, abandoning and forſaking all without, they keepe themſelves ſhut within their paſſions, uſing this word ordinarily, It ſeemeth: and of things without, affirming and pronouncing, It is. And therefore (quoth *Colotes*) they cannot live nor have the uſe of things. And then, playing his part as it were in a Comedie: Theſe men (ſaith he) denie that a man, a horſe and a wall are; but they ſay, that they become walles, horſes and men; abuſing firſt and formoſt cauteloully and wickedly theſe termes, like ſlanderous and foule mouthed ſycophants: for ſurely this is an ordinary caſt and uſuall with theſe men. But it behooved to declare the thing it ſelfe, according as they teach: for they affirme, that things become ſweet, wax bitter, prove lightſome, or grow darke, when ech of theſe hath the proper efficacie of theſe paſſions in it ſelfe naturally inbred, and ſuch as can not be diſtracted from it. But if honie be ſaid ſweet, an olive branch bitter, haile colde, meere wine hot, the aire of the night darke; there be many beaſts, many things, and many men, that will teſtifie the contrary: whiles ſome are offended with honie and abhorre it, others are delighted with the taſte of the olive branch; ſome are burnt and ſindged by haile, others cooled with wine; ſome can not abide the light of the Sun but their ſight therewith is dazled and dimmed, others againe ſee well enough by night. And therefore opinion perſiſting ſtill and abiding in the paſſions, keepeth it ſelfe from offence and errour: but going foorth once, and buſily judging or pronouncing of things exterior, it troubleth many times it ſelfe, and repugneth with others, who of the ſame objects receive contrary paſſions, and different imaginations. And as for *Colotes*, he reſembleth for all the world yoong children who newly begin to learne their A. B. C. for being uſed to pronounce and name the letters which they ſee engraven in their owne battleders, when they finde them written elſwhere, they ſticke at them, and are much troubled: and even ſo the very words and ſayings which he approoveth, praiſeth and embraceth in the writings of *Epicurus,*

curus, hee will not underſtand nor acknowledge, when they are uttered by others. For when there is preſented unto us one image round and another broken, they who ſay that the ſenſe verily is truely informed and hath a true impreſſion, but will not ſuffer us to pronounce that the tower is round, but the oare broken, ſurely they confirme thereby that their paſſions be their owne fanſies and imaginations, but they will not avow and confeſſe, that the things without are ſo affected. But as they before are to ſay, that they be not horſe or wall, but become horſe and wall; even ſo of neceſſitie we muſt ſay, that the ſight is imprinted with a round figure or triangular with three unequall ſides, but not that a tower is neceſſarily either triangular in that ſort or round: for that the image wherewith the ſight is affected may well be broken, but the oare from whence proceedeth the image is not broken. Seeing then there is a difference betweene the paſſion and the ſubject without, either we muſt ſay that the beliefe abideth in the paſſion, or els that the being which is affirmed by the apparence is convinced of untrueth, and not found to be ſo. And whereas they cry out and be offended and angry about the ſenſe, they doe not ſay that the thing without is hot, but that the paſſion in the ſenſe is ſo: is it not all one with that which is ſpoken as touching the taſte, as if one ſhould ſay, that the thing without is not ſweet, but that it is ſome paſſion and motion about the ſenſe, that is become ſuch? And he who ſaith, that hee apprehendeth the imagination of a mans forme, but perceiveth not that it is a man, whereupon hath he taken occaſion to ſay ſo? Came it not from them who ſay that they receive an imagination and apprehenſion of a bowing forme and figure, but the ſight doth not affirme that it is bowing and bending, neither that it is round, but ſome imagination and impreſſion about the ſenſe is become round? True it is will ſome one ſay: but as I approch neere unto a tower, or elſe touch an oare, I will pronounce and affirme, that the the one is ſtreight, and the other hath many angles and many faces: But he when he ſhall come neere, will confeſſe and ſay that it ſeemeth ſo and that it appeareth ſuch unto him, but no more. O yes good ſir, and more than ſo, when hee ſeeth and obſerveth the conſequence heereupon, namely, that every fantaſie and imagination is ſemblably of it ſelfe ſufficient to procure beleefe, and none at all, in regard of another, but be all of equall condition. But this your opinion is come juſt to nothing, namely, that fantaſies be all true, and none falſe and incredible, in caſe you thinke that theſe ought to pronounce affirmatively of that which is without, and beleeve not the other a farre off no farther than in that which they ſuffer: for if they be of equall condition and beleeved alike, when they are neere, and when they be far off, meet it is and juſt, that either all indifferently or elſe not theſe, ſhould have the affirmative judgement following upon them, to pronounce, that a thing is. But if there be a difference of paſſion in things that be nere, & thoſe which are farther off, then is it falſe that neither imagination nor ſenſe is one more expreſſe and evident than another: like unto thoſe which they call atteſtations which are nothing to the ſenſe, but unto the opinion: ſo that in following thē, they would have their followers to affirme and pronounce of exteriour things, attributing to opinion the judgement, that a thing is, and to ſenſe, the paſſion that appereth: whereby they tranſport the judgement from that which is alwaies true, unto that which falleth oftentimes to be ſo. But what need is there at this time to ſhew, the confuſion and contradiction that is herein? But it ſeemeth that the reputation of *Arceſilaus*, who of all Philoſophers in his time was beſt beloved and moſt eſteemed, was no ſmall thorne in *Epicurus* his eies, but troubled him beyond all meaſure: For he giveth out of him, that delivering as he did nothing of his owne invention he imprinted in the minds of ignorant and unlettered men a certaine opinion and conceit of him, that he was a deepe clerke and very well ſeene in all kinde of literature. But ſo far was *Arceſilaus*, from affecting any glorie & reputation in the world by broching novelties or ſtrange opinions and derogating from the auncients or aſcribing any thing of theirs to himſelfe, that the Sophiſters in his daies reprooved and charged him for fathering upon *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Parmenides* and *Heraclitus* the opinions as touching the retention of aſſent and the incōprehenſibility of things who indeed never ſought nor deſired ſo much at his hands, onely becauſe he would referre the ſame unto ſuch famous perſonages, the better to be confirmed by the authority of their name. Howbeit for this, thanks be to *Colotes* and every one who ſaith that the Academicke doctrine was more ancient than *Arceſilaus*, and was derived from others before his time unto him. But as for the retention of aſſent, & the doubting of all things, not ſo much as they verily who have greatly travelled in the matter and have ſtrived to that purpoſe for to write many great bookes and large treatiſes, could ever remoove or overthrow: but bringing in at the laſt out of the very ſchoole and doctrine of the Stoicks, the ceſſation from all actions, as it were the fiend

Gorgon to ſcare folke withall, were weary and gave over in the plaine field, after they ſaw once, that what attempt ſoever they made, & which way ſoever they turned themſelves their inſtinct and appetition was never ſo obeiſant as to become a conſent and approbation, neither received ſenſe for the beginning of propenſion and inclination, but ſeemed to preſent it ſelfe to actions, as having no need to be joined with others. For ſurely with theſe men the combate is lawfull and the conflict juſt.

For looke what words thou doeſt to others give,
The like thou maiſt be ſure to heare, believe.

And verily to ſpeake unto *Colotes*, as touching inſtinct and appetition, is all one as to ſound the harpe before an aſſe. But this point of learning would be delivered unto thoſe who can give eare and conceive, that there be in our ſoule three kindes of motions, Imaginative Appetitive and Aſſenting. As for the Imaginative, we cannot take it away, would we never ſo faine; for as things approch and objects be preſented, we cannot chuſe but be informed and receive as it were an impreſſion and ſuffer by them. The Appetitive being ſtirred up by the imaginative, moveth a man effectually to thoſe things which are proper and convenient for him, as if in the principall and reaſonable part thereof there were ſome propenſion and inclination. And verily this motion do not they overthrow and anul who hold off, and keepe in their aſſent, doubting of every thing, but make uſe of this appetition or inſtinct, conducting naturally every man to that which is proper and meet for him. What is the onely thing then that the Academicks flie and avoid? even that wherein alone there is engendred leaſing, deceit and falſhood, to opine, to apply the aſſent, which is a yeelding through imbecillity to that which appeareth, and hath no true profit. For our action requireth two things, to wit, the apprehenſion or imagination of that which is convenient and familiar: and the inſtinct or appetition driving unto the ſame: whereof neither the one nor the other is repugnant to the cohibition of aſſent. For the diſcourſe of reaſon withdraweth us from opinion, and not from appetition or imagination. When as therefore that which is pleaſant and delectable ſeemeth unto us to be proper for us and familiar, there is no need at all of opinion for to move and carry us to it, but appetition immediatly preſenteth it ſelfe, which is nothing elſe but a motion and incitation of the minde. Now for that there muſt be a ſenſe as it were of theſe things, and the ſame conſiſting of fleſh and blood, the ſame pleaſure and delight likewiſe will appeare good. And therefore it will ſemblably ſeeme good unto him who holdeth off his aſſent, for ſurely he hath ſenſes, and is made of fleſh, blood and bone, and ſo ſoone as he hath apprehended the imagination of good, he hath an appetite and deſire thereto, doing all that ever he can, not to miſſe it nor leeſe the fruition thereof: but as much as is poſſible to cleave and adhere continually to that which is proper unto him, as being driven and drawen thereto, by Naturall and not Geometricall conſtraints. For theſe goodly, pleaſant, gentle and tickling motions of the fleſh, be of themſelves without any other teacher attractive enough, as they themſelves forget not to ſay, and are able to draw and traine him whoſoever he be, that will not confeſſe nor be knowen, but ſtoutly denieth that he is made ſoft and pliable by them. But paradventure you will aske me how it comes to paſſe that one of theſe that are ſo retentive and deinty of their aſſent, climeth not up ſome hill, but to the baine or hot houſe: or when hee riſeth and purpoſeth to goe into the market place, why hee runneth not his head againſt a poſt or the wall, but taketh his way directly to the dore? And aske you me this queſtion indeed, you that holde all ſenſes to bee infallible, the apprehenſions alſo and imaginations to bee certaine and true? Forſooth it is becauſe the baine ſeemeth unto him a baine and not a mountaine, the dore alſo appeareth to be a dore, and not the wall: And ſo is it to be ſaid likewiſe of ſuch other things everie one: For the doctrine delivered as touching this cohibition of aſſent, doth not pervert the ſenſe, nor worke in it by ſtrange paſſions and motions any ſuch change and alteration as may trouble the imaginative faculty. Onely it taketh away and ſubverteth opinions, but uſeth all other things, according to their nature. But impoſſible it is not to yeeld conſent unto apparent evidences. For to denie thoſe things which wee are verily perſwaded of and doe beleeve, is more abſurd, than neither to deny nor affirme any thing at al. Who be they then that deny ſuch things as they beleeve, and goe againſt things evident? even they who overthrow divination, and denie that there is any government by divine providence: they who ſay that neither the ſun is animall nor the moone, which all men honour and adore, to which they make their praiers and offer ſacrifice. As for you, doe yee not anull that which is apparent to the whole world, to wit, that naturally infants & yongones, are conteined within their mothers and dams? and that betweene paine and pleaſure there is no meane, even againſt the ſenſe and experience of all men? ſaying that not to be in paine, is to have pleaſure; and not to do, is to ſuffer; as alſo, not to joy, is to be ſorowfull? But to let paſſe all the reſt, what is more evident, and ſo fully believed generally, than this, that thoſe who have their braines troubled, and their wits diſtracted, or otherwiſe ſicke of melancholicke diſeaſes, weene they ſee and heare thoſe things which they neither heare nor ſee? namely, when their underſtanding comes to be in ſuch ſort affected and tranſported, as to breake out into theſe ſpeeches?

Theſe women here in habit blacke
yclad, hold in their hands,
To dart at me and burne mine eies,
torches and firy brands.

Alſo:

Loe how ſhe in her armes doth beare
My mother deare, who did me reare.

Theſe verily, and a number beſides of other illuſions more ſtrange and tragicall than theſe, reſembling the prodigious monſters that ***Empedocles*** deſcribeth like anticks, which they make ſport and laugh at,

Ειλίποδα, * Κειτόχειρα, ϗ Βυγενῆ, Ανδρόπρωρα.

* Or rather Κειοχειρα.

That is to ſay,

With crooked ſhanks and winding feet,
reſembling rammes in pace,
In bodie made like ox or cow,
like man before, in face.

And all other ſorts of monſtrous ſhapes and ſtrange natures, mixed together all in one, fetched from troubleſome dreames and alienations of the minde. But theſe men ſay, that none of all this is any deception or errour of the ſight, or vaine apparition, but be all true imaginations of bodies and figures, which paſſe to and fro out of the inconſtant aire about them. Tell me now, what thing is ſo impoſſible in nature, that we need to doubt, if it be poſſible to beleeve theſe? For ſuch things as never any conceited maske-maker or deviſer of viſards, any inventive potter, glaſſe-maker, or curious painter and drawer of woonderfull ſhapes, durſt joine together, either to deceive the beholders, or to make them ſport for their paſtime: theſe men ſuppoſing verily and in good earneſt that they be really ſubſiſtent; and that which more is, affirming all firme and conſtant beliefe, all certitude of judgement and of trueth, to be quite gone for ever, if ſuch things have not their ſubſiſtence, theſe men I ſay be they, which involve all in obſcuritie and darkneſſe, who overthrow all apparence, and bring into our judgement feare and terrour, into our actions doubtfull ſuſpition; in caſe our ordinary and uſuall actions, and ſuch affaires of ours which are dayly ready at hand, be caried in the ſame imagination, beleefe and perſwaſion, that theſe enormious, abſurd, and extravagant fanſies: for the equalitie which they ſuppoſe in all, plucketh away more credit from things ordinary, than it addeth unto ſuch as be uncouth and unuſuall: which is the cauſe that we know Philoſophers not a few, more willing to avouch, that no imagination is true, than that all be true without exception; and who diſtruſt all men whom they had not converſed withall, all things which they had not tried, generally all ſpeeches which they had not heard, rather than beleeve ſo much as one of theſe imaginations and illuſions which madde and franticke folke, fanaticall perſons poſſeſſed with a furious ſpirit, or dreamers in their ſleeps doe apprehend. Seeing then, ſome imaginations we may utterly aboliſh, and others not, lawfull it is to reteine our aſſent and doubt of things whether they be or no, if there were no other cauſe els but this diſcordant, which is ſufficient to worke in us ſuſpition of things, as having nothing aſſured and certeine, but all incertitude and perturbation. As for the diſſenſions and differences about the infinite number of worlds, the nature of the Atomes, being indiviſible bodies, and their declinations to a ſide, although they trouble and diſquiet many men, yet this comfort there is and conſolation, that in all this there is nothing neere at hand to touch us, but rather every one of theſe queſtions be farre remote, and beyond our ſenſes; wheras this diſtruſt and diffidence, this perturbation and ignorance about ſenſible things and imaginations, preſented to our eies, our eares and our hands, this doubt, I ſay, whether they be true or falſe, what opinion is it that they doe not ſhake and make to waver, what judgement and aſſent do not they turne up-ſide downe? For if men, being not drunke nor intoxicate, nor otherwiſe troubled in their braines, but ſober, well in their wits and ſound of judgement, profeſſing alſo to write of the trueth, and of the canons and rules to judge by, in the moſt evident paſſions and motions of the ſenſe, ſet downe that for true which can not poſſibly ſubſiſt, and for falſe that which ſubſiſteth, it is not to be marvelled nor thought incredible, if they give no judgement of ſuch things which evidently appeare, but rather be of contrary judgements. For a man may leſſe woonder at one for affirming neither the one nor the other, and keeping himſelfe in a meane betweene two oppoſits, than for putting downe things repugnant and meere contrary. For he that neither affirmeth nor denieth, but holds himſelfe quiet, is leſſe repugnant both unto him who putteth downe his opinion, than he who denieth it; and alſo to him that denieth it, than he who puts it downe. And if it be poſſible to make doubt and ſticke at theſe things, it is not impoſſible then to doe ſo of others; at leaſtwiſe according to you who are of opinion, that there is no difference at all betweene ſenſe and ſenſe, betweene imagination and imagination: and therefore this doctrine as touching the retention of beliefe and aſſent, is not as *Colotes* ſaith, a vaine fable, nor a captious toy of raſh and light-headed yong men, that love to jangle and prate, but a ſetled reſolution and habituall diſpoſition of ſtaied men, who be wary and take heed that they miſtake not any thing, and fall into inconvenience, or abandon at aventure their judgment to the ſenſes, ſo conjecturall and doubtfull, and not ſuffring them to be deceived and caried away with thoſe, who hold that things uncerteine, if they ſeeme and appeare, ought to be beleeved as well as if they were certeine, notwithſtanding they ſee ſo great obſcurity and incertitude in imaginations and apparent things: But rather the infinity that you put downe, and the images which you dreame of be fables. And as for heady raſhneſſe and a vaine humour of much babble, hee engendreth in yoong ſtudents who writeth of *Pythocles* being not fully eighteene yeeres of age, that there was not in all *Greece* a better or more towardly nature; as being one who with admiration was able moſt excellently to expreſſe the conceptions of his minde; and that his caſe was much like to the incomparable beauty of women, wiſhing and praying therefore, that all thoſe ſurpaſſing gifts and moſt rare parts might not worke the yoong man hatred and envie.

But buſie Sophiſters they be, and vaine fellowes, who againſt ſo great and excellent perſonages, dare write ſo impudently and proudly: And yet I confeſſe, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, and *Democritus* gainſaied and contradicted thoſe who wrote before them: Howbeit there was never man knowen but himſelfe ſo bold, as to make a booke againſt all indifferently, and with ſuch a proud inſcription as he did: And than afterwards forſooth, like unto thoſe who have offended and diſpleaſed the gods: in the end of the ſaid booke, as one confeſſing his faults, he ſaith: That they who have eſtabliſhed lawes and ordinances, who have erected roiall governments and politicke rule of cities and ſtates, have ſet the life of man in great quiet, ſafety, and ſecurity, yea and delivered it from dangerous troubles: which if they were abrogated and put downe, we ſhould lead a ſavage life like wilde beaſts; one would eat another as they met together; for theſe be the very words that he uſeth, though unjuſtly and untruly: For ſay a man did aboliſh lawes, and yet withall leave behind unrepealed and uncondemned the doctrines and books of *Parmenides*, *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and *Plato*, we ſhould be farre for all that from devouring one another, or living a ſavage life; for we ſhould feare and forbeare diſhoneſt things, we ſhould even for vertue and honeſty, honour juſtice, beleeve that the gods, good magiſtrates, and the angels or ſpirits have the guarding, keeping, and ſuperintendance of mans life, thinking all the gold that is both above and under the ground, not able to counterpeize vertue, and doing willingly by reaſon and learning as *Xenocrates* was woont to ſay, that which now we doe perforce for feare of the lawes. But when ſhall our life become beaſtly, ſavage, and inſociable? Mary when, the lawes being taken away, there ſhall be left remaining, books and diſcourſes, inciting and ſoliciting men unto pleaſure: when it ſhall be thought and beleeved, that the world is not ruled and governed by Gods providence, when they ſhall be deemed Sages and wiſe men, who ſpit againſt honeſty and vertue, unleſſe it be joined with pleaſure, and when they ſhall deride and mocke ſuch ſentences as theſe,

In Juſtice is an eie,
Which all things doth eſpie.

And

God neere doth ſtand,
And ſees all at hand.

As alſo this old ſaid ſawe; God having in his power the beginning, mids, and end of the whole world, paſſeth directly throughout all nature, and goeth round about, attended upon by Juſtice, to puniſh thoſe who tranſgreſſe the law divine. For they that deſpiſe and contemne theſe inſtructions as idle fables, and ſuppoſe that the ſovereigne good conſiſteth in the belly and other parts, whereby we enjoy pleaſure, be thoſe who had need of the law, they ought to feare the whip, and ſtand in awe of ſome king, prince, and magiſtrate, who hath the ſword of juſtice in his hand, to the end that they might not devour their neighbour by inſatiable gluttony, which upon Atheiſme and impiety, would grow to exceſſive outrage: For verily ſuch is the life of brute beaſts, for that they know nothing better than pleaſure, they have no ſenſe of Gods juſtice, they neither honour nor regard the beauty of vertue: But if nature hath endued them with any hardineſſe, craft, and induſtrious activity, they employ the ſame, to ſatisfie their fleſhly pleaſure, and accompliſh their luſts. And therefore *Metrodorus* is reputed a great wiſe man, for ſaying, that all the fine, ſubtill, witty, and exquiſit inventions of the ſoule, have beene deviſed for to pleaſe and delight the fleſh, or elſe for the hope to obteine and enjoy the ſame; and looke what art ſoever tendeth not thereto, is vaine & to no purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes and Philoſophicall reaſons as theſe, downe goe holſome lawes, and in place thereof enter in lions pawes, woolves teeth, oxes paunches, and camels necks and throates: and for want of writings and ſpeech, the very beaſts doe preach and teach ſuch doctrines and opinions as theſe, with their bleating, bellowing, neighing, and braying: For all the voice that they have, is nothing but belly cheere, and the pleaſure of the fleſh, which they either embrace preſently, or joy in the expectation thereof; unleſſe haply there be ſome kind of them that delighteth naturally in gagling, cackling, and garrulity. So that no man is able to praiſe thoſe ſufficiently, and to their full deſert, who to repreſſe ſuch furious and beaſtly affections, have ſet downe law, eſtabliſhed policie and government of State, inſtituted magiſtrates, and ordeined holſome decrees and edicts. But who bee they that confound, yea, and utterly aboliſh all this? Are they not thoſe, who give out that all the great empires and dominions in the worlde are nothing comparable to the crowne and garland of * feareleſſe tranquillity and repoſe: Are they not thoſe, who ſay, that to be a king and to reigne is to ſinne, to erre and wander out of the true way leading to felicity: yea and to this purpoſe write diſertly in theſe termes, we are to ſhew, how to maintaine in beſt ſort and to keepe the end of nature: and how a man may avoid at the very firſt not to enter willingly and of his owne accord into offices of ſtate and goverment of the multitude. Over and beſides, theſe ſpeeches alſo be theirs, there is no need at all henceforth for a man to labour and take paines for the preſervation of the Greeks, nor in regard of wiſdome and learning to ſeeke for to obtaine a crowne at their hands, but to eate and drinke, ô *Timocrates*, without hurt doing to the body, or rather withall contentment of the fleſh. And yet the firſt and moſt important article of the digeſts and ordinance of lawes and policie which *Colotes* ſo highly commendeth, is the beleefe and firme perſwaſion of the gods: whereby *Lycurgus* in times paſt ſanctified the Lacedęmonians, *Numa* the Romans, that ancient *Ion* the Athenians, and whereby *Deucalion* brought all the Greeks univerſally to religion: which noble and renowmed perſonages made the people devout & affectionate zealouſly to the gods in praiers, othes, oracles and propheſies, by the meanes of hope and feare together, which they imprinted in their hearts: In ſuch ſort, that if you travell through the world, well you may finde cities without wals, without literature, without kings, not peopled and inhabited, without houſes, moniles, and ſuch as deſire no coine, which know not what Theaters or publicke hals of bodily exerciſe meane: but never was there nor ever ſhall be any one city ſeene, without temple, church or chappell, without ſome god or other, which uſeth no praiers nor othes, no propheſies and divinations, no ſacrifices either to obtaine good bleſſings or to avert heavy curſes and calamities: nay, me thinks a man ſhould ſooner finde a city built in the aire without any plot of ground wheron it is ſeated, than that any common wealth altogether void of religion & the opinion of the gods ſhould either be firſt eſtabliſhed, or afterwards preſerved and maintained in that eſtate. This is it that containeth and holdeth together all humane ſociety, this is the foundation, prop and ſtay of all lawes which they ſubvert and overthrow directly, who goe not round about the buſh as they ſay, nor ſecretly and by circuit of covert ſpeeches, but openly and even at the firſt aſſault ſet upon the principall point of all, to wit, the opinion of God, and religion: and then afterwards as if they were haunted with the furies, they confeſſe how greivouſly they have ſinned, in ſhuffling and confounding thus, all rights and lawes, and in aboliſhing the ordinance of juſtice and pollicy, to the end that they might obtaine no pardon; for to ſlip and erre in opinion, although it be not a part of wiſe men, yet it is a thing incident to man: but to impute and object thoſe faults unto others which they commit themſelves, what ſhould a man call it if he forbeare

* ἀταραξίας, haply ἀταξίας, that is to ſay, diſorder and confuſion.

beare to uſe the proper termes & names that it deſerveth? For if in writing againſt *Antidorus* or *Bion* the Sophiſter, he had made mention of lawes, of pollicy, of juſtice and government of common weale, might not one have ſaid unto him as *Electra* did to her furious brother *Oreſtes*.

Poore ſoule, be quiet feare none ill
Deare hart, in bed ſee thou be ſtill.

cheriſhing and keeping warme thy poore body? As for me, let them argue and expoſtulate with me about theſe points, who have lived œconomically or politickly. And ſuch are they all whom *Colotes* hath reviled and railed upon. Among whom *Democritus* verily in his writings admoniſheth and exhorteth, both to learne military ſcience, as being of all others the greateſt, and alſo to take paines, and endure travels. Whereby men attaine to much renowme and honour. As for *Parmenedes* hee beawtified and adorned his owne native countrey with moſt excellent lawes which he ordained: in ſo much as the magiſtrates every yeere when they newly enter into their offices, binde the citizens by an oth to obſerve the ſtatutes and lawes of *Parmenides*. And *Empedocles* not onely judicially convented and condemned the principall perſons of the city wherein he dwelt, for their inſolent behaviour and for diſtracting or embeſelling the publicke treaſure, but alſo delivered all the territorie about it from ſterility and peſtilence, whereunto before time it was ſubject, by emmuring and ſtopping up the open paſſages of a certaine mountaine, through which the ſouthern winde blew and overſpred all the plaine country underneath. *Socrates* after he was condemned to death, when his frends had made meanes for him to eſcape, refuſed to take the benefit thereof, becauſe he would maintaine and confirme the authority of the lawes; chuſing rather to die unjuſtly, than to ſave his life by diſobaying the lawes of his country. *Meliſſus* being pretor or captaine generall of the city wherein he dwelt, defaited the Athenians in a battell at ſea. *Plato* left behinde him in writing many good diſcourſes of the lawes and of civill government: but much better imprinted he in the hearts and minds of his diſciples & familiars, which were the cauſe that *Dion* freed *Sicily* from the tyrany of *Dionyſius*; and *Thrace* likewiſe was delivered by the meanes of *Python* and *Heracledes*, who killed king *Cotys*. *Chabrias* and *Phocion*, worthy commaunders of the Athenians armie, came both out of the ſchoole *Academia*. As for *Epicurus* he ſent as farre as into *Aſia* certaine perſons of purpoſe to taunt and revile *Timocrates*, yea and cauſed the man to be baniſhed out of the kings court, onely for that he had offended *Metrodorus* his brother. And this you may read written in their owne books. But *Plato* ſent of thoſe friends which were brought up under him *Ariſtonimus* to the Arcadians, for to ordeine their common wealth, *Phormio* to the Elians *Menedemus* to thoſe of *Pyrrha*, *Eudoxus* to the Cnidians, and *Ariſtotle* to thoſe of *Stagira*, who being all his diſciples and familiars, did pen and ſet downe lawes. *Alexander* the Great requeſted to have from *Xenocrates* rules and precepts as touching the government of a kingdome. And he who was ſent unto *Alexander* from the Greeks dwelling in *Aſia* & who moſt of all other ſet him on a light fire and whetted him on to enterpriſe the warre againſt the barbarous king of *Perſia*, was *Delius* an Epheſian, one of *Platoes* familiars. *Zenon* alſo a ſcholar of *Parmenides* undertooke to kill the tyrant *Demylus*, and having no good ſucceſſe therein, but miſſing of his purpoſe, maintained the doctrine of *Parmenides* to be pure and fine golde tried in the fire from all baſe metal, ſhewing by the effect, that a magnanimous man is to feare nothing, but turpitude and diſhonour and that they be children and women, or elſe effeminate and heartleſſe men like women, who are affraid of dolor and paine: for having bitten off his tongue with his owne teeth, he ſpit it in the tyrants face. But out of the ſchoole of *Epicurus*, and of thoſe who follow his rules and doctrines, I doe not aske what tyrant killer there was or valiant man and victorious in feats of armes, what lawgiver, what counſellour, what king or governour of ſtate, either died or ſuffred torture for the upholding of right and juſtice: but onely which of all theſe Sages did ever ſo much as imbarke and make a voiage by ſea in his countries ſervice and for the good thereof? which of them went in embaſſage or diſburſed any mony thereabout? or where is there extant upon record any civill action of yours in matter of goverment. And yet becauſe that *Metrodorus* went downe one day from the city, as far as to the haven *Pyraæum*, & tooke a journey of five or ſix miles to aide *Mythra* the Syrian one of the king of *Perſias* traine and court, who had bene arreſted and taken priſoner, he wrot unto all the friends that he had in the world, of this exploit of his: and this doubty voiage *Epicurus* hath magnified & exalted in many of his letters. What a doe would they have made then, if they had done ſuch an act as *Ariſtotle* did who reedified the city of his nativity *Stagira*, which had bene deſtroied by king *Philip*? or as *Theophraſtus*, who twice delivered and freed his native city being held and oppreſſed by tyrants? Should not thinke you the the river *Nilus* have ſooner given over to beare the popyr reed, than they bene weary of diſcribing their brave deeds. And is not this a grievous matter and a great indignity, that of ſo many ſects of Philoſophers that have bene, they onely in maner enjoy the good things and benefits that are in cities, without contributing any thing of their owne unto them? There are not any Poets Tragedians or Comedians, but they have endevoured to doe or ſay alwaies ſome good thing or other for the defence of lawes and policie: but theſe here, if peradventure they write ought, write of policie, that we ſhould not intermeddle at all in the civill government of ſtate: of Rhetoricke, that we ſhould not plead any cauſes eloquently at the barre: of Roialty, that we ſhould avoid the converſing and living in kings courts: neither doe they name at any time thoſe great perſons who manage affaires of common weale, but by way of mockerie for to debaſe and aboliſh their glorie. As for example of *Epaminondas* they ſay that he had indeed ſome good thing onely in name and word, but the ſame was but μίκκον, that is to ſay, as little as might be, for that is the very terme that it pleaſeth them to uſe. Moreover they name him heart of yron demaunding why he marched up and downe through out all *Peloponneſus* with his armie as he did, and ſat not rather quiet at home in his owne houſe with a dainty chaplet upon his head given wholly to make good chere, and to ſleepe with his belly full in a whole skin. But me thinks I ſhould not for any thing omit in this place to rehearſe what *Metrodorus* hath written in his booke of philoſophy, wherein abjuring all dealing in government of ſtate, he ſaith thus, Some there be of theſe wiſe men (quoth he) who being full of vanity and arrogancy, had ſo deepe an inſight into the buſineſſe thereof, that in treating of the rules of good life and of vertue they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the very ſame deſires that *Lycurgus* and *Solon* fell into. What? was this vanity indeed and the aboundance of vanity and pride, to ſet the city of *Athens* free, to reduce *Sparta* to good policy, and the government of holſome lawes, that yong men ſhould doe nothing licenciouſly nor get children upon curtiſans and harlots? and that riches, wanton delicacie, intemperance, looſeneſſe & diſſolution ſhould beare no ſway nor have the commaund in cities, but law onely and juſtice; for theſe were the deſires of *Solon*. And thus *Metrodorus* by way of ſcorne and contumelious reproch addeth thus much more for a concluſion to the reſt, And therefore (quoth he) it is well beſeeming a gentleman, to laugh a good and right heartly at all other men, but eſpecially at theſe *Solones* and *Lycurgi*. But verily ſuch an one were not a gentleman *Metrodorus*, nor well borne, but ſervile, baſe, unruly and diſſolute and who deſerved to be ſcurged not with the whip which is for free borne perſons, but with that whip Aſtragalote, wherewith the maner was to whip and chaſtice thoſe gelded ſacrificers called *Gally* when they did amiſſe in the cerimonies and ſacrifices of *Cylote* the great mother of the gods. Now, that they warred not againſt the lawgivers but the very lawes themſelves, a man may heare and learne of *Epicurus*; for in his queſtions he demaundeth of himſelfe, whether a wiſe man being aſſured that no man ever ſhould know, would doe and commit any thing that the law forbiddeth? and he maketh an anſwere which is not full nor an open, plaine and ſimple affirmation, ſaying, doe it I will, marry confeſſe it and be knowen thereof I will not. Againe, writing as I ſuppoſe unto *Idomeneus*, he admoniſheth him not to ſubject and enthrall his life unto lawes and the opinions and reputations of men: unleſſe it be in this regard onely that otherwiſe there is prepared odious whipping chere and that neere at hand. If then it be ſo, that they who aboliſh lawes, governments and policies, do withall ſubvert and overthrow mans life: if *Metrodorus* and *Epicurus* doe no leſſe, withdrawing and averting their friends and followers from dealing in publicke affaires, and ſpitefully hating thoſe who doe meddle therein, miſcalling and railing at the chiefe and wiſeſt lawgivers that ever were, yea and willing them to contemne the lawes, ſo that they keepe themſelves out of the feare of the whip and danger of punniſhment, I cannot ſee that *Colotes* hath in any thing ſo much belied others, and raiſed falſe imputations againſt them, as he hath indeed and truely accuſed the doctrine and opinions of *Epicurus*.

(* * *)

OF LOVE.

The Summarie.

T*His Dialogue is more dangerous to be read by yoong men than any other Treatiſe of* Plutarch, *for that there be certeine glaunces heere and there againſt honeſt marriage, to upholde indirectly and underhand, the curſed and deteſtable filthineſſe covertly couched under the name of the Love of yoong boyes. But minds guarded and armed with true chaſtitie and the feare of God, may ſee evidently in this diſcourſe the miſerable eſtate of the world, in that there be found patrons and advocates of ſo deteſtable a cauſe; ſuch I meane as in this booke are brought in under the perſons of* Protogenes *and* Piſias. *Meane while they may perceive likewiſe in the combat of matrimoniall love againſt unnaturall Pæderaſtie not to be named, that honeſtie hath alwaies meanes ſufficient to defend it ſelfe for being vanquiſhed, yea and in the end to go away with the victorie. Now this Treatiſe may be compriſed in foure principall points: of which, the firſt (after a briefe Preface wherein* Autobulus *being requeſted to rehearſe unto his companions certeine reports which before time hee had heard* Plutarch *his father to deliver as touching Love, entreth into the diſcourſe) conteineth the hiſtorie of* Iſmenodora, *enamoured upon a yoong man named* Bacchon; *whereupon aroſe ſome difference and diſpute: of which,* Plutarch *and thoſe of his companie were choſen arbitratours. Thereupon* Protogenes *ſeconded by* Piſias, *(and this is the ſecond point) ſetting himſelfe againſt* Iſmenodora, *diſgraceth and diſcrediteth the whole ſex of woman kinde, and praiſeth openly enough the love of males. But* Daphnæus *anſwereth them ſo fully home and pertinently to the purpoſe, that he diſcovereth and detecteth all their filthineſſe, and confuteth them as behoovefull it was, ſhewing the commodities and true pleaſure of conjugall love. In this defence, aſſiſted he is by* Plutarch, *who prooveth that neither the great wealth, nor the forward affection of a woman to a man, cauſeth the mariage with her to be culpable or woorthy to be blamed, by divers examples declaring that many women even of baſe condition, have beene the occaſion of great evils and calamities. But as he was minded to continue this diſcourſe, newes came how* Bacchon *was caught up and brought into the houſe of* Iſmenodora, *which made* Protogenes *and* Piſias *to diſlodge; inſomuch as their departure gave entrie into the third and principall point concerning Love what it is? what be the parts, the cauſes, the ſundry effects and fruits thereof, admirable in all ſorts of perſons, in altering them ſo as they become quite changed and others than they were before: which is confirmed by many notable examples and ſimilitudes. In the laſt point* Plutarch *diſcourſeth upon this argument, and that by the Philoſophy of* Plato *and the Aegyptians, conferring the ſame with the doctrine of other Philoſophers and Poets. Then having expreſly and flatly condemned Pæderaſtie, as a moſt vile and abhominable thing, and adjoined certaine excellent advertiſements for the entertening of love in wedlocke, betweene husband and wife, of which he relateth one proper example, his ſpeech endeth by occaſion of a meſſenger who came in place, and drew them all away to the wedding of* Iſmenodora *and* Bacchon, *beforeſaid.*

OF LOVE.

FLAVIANUS.

IT was at *Helicon* (ô *Autobulus*) was it not, that thoſe diſcourſes were held as touching Love, which you purpoſe to relate unto us at this preſent, upon our requeſt and intreaty, whether it be that you have put them downe in writing, or beare them well in remembrance, conſidering that you have ſo often required and demanded them of your father?

AUTOBULUS.

Yes verily, in *Helicon* it was (ô *Flavianus*) among the Muſes, at what time as the Theſpians ſolemnized the feaſt of *Cupid*: for they celebrate certeine games of priſe every five yeeres, in the honour of Love, aſwell as of the Muſes, and that with great pompe and magnificence.

FLAVIANUS.

And wot you what it is that we all here that are come to heare you, will requeſt at your hands?

AUTOBULUS.

No verily, but I ſhall know it when you have tolde me.

FLAVIANUS.

Mary this it is: That you would now in this reherſall of yours, lay aſide all by-matters and needleſſe preambles, as touching the deſcriptions of faire medowes, pleaſant ſhades; of the crawling and winding Ivie; of rils iſſuing from fountaines running round about; and ſuch like common places, that many love to inſert, deſirous to counterfeit and imitate the deſcription of the river *Iliſſus*, of the Chaſt-tree, and the fine greene graſſe and prety herbs growing daintily upon the ground, riſing up a little with a gentle aſſent, and all after the example of *Plato* in the beginning of his Dialogue *Phædrus*, with more curioſitie iwis and affectation, than grace and elegancie.

AUTOBULUS.

What needs this narration of ours (my good friend *Flavianus*) any ſuch Proœme or Preface? for the occaſion from whence aroſe and proceeded theſe diſcourſes, requireth onely an affectionate audience, and calleth for a convenient place as it were a ſtage and ſcaffold, for to relate the action: for otherwiſe, of all things els requiſit in a Comedie or Enterlude, there wanteth nothing: onely let us make our praiers unto the Muſes Mother, Ladie Memorie, for to be propice unto us, and to vouchſafe her aſſiſtance, that we may not miſſe, but deliver the whole narration. My father long time before I was borne, having newly eſpouſed my mother, by occaſion of a certeine difference and variance that fell out betweene his parents and hers, tooke a journey to *Theſpiæ*, with a full purpoſe to ſacrifice unto *Cupid* the god of Love; and to the feaſt hee had up with him my mother alſo, for that it principally apperteined unto her to performe both the praier & the ſacrifice. So there accompanied him from his houſe, certeine of his moſt familiar friends. Now when he was come to *Theſpiæ*, he found *Daphnæus* the ſonne of *Archidamus*, and *Lyſander* who was in love with *Simons* daughter, a man who of all her woers was beſt welcome unto her and moſt accepted: *Soclarus* alſo the ſonne of *Ariſtion*, who was come from *Tithora*: there was beſides, *Protogenes* of *Tarſos*, and *Zeuxippus* the Lacedæmonian, both of them his olde friends and good hoſts, who had given him kinde enterteinment: and my father ſaid moreover, that there were many of the beſt men in *Bœotia* there, who were of his acquaintance. Thus as it ſhould ſeeme, they abode for two or three daies in the citie, enterteining one another gently at their leaſure with diſcourſes of learning, one while in the common empaled parke of exerciſes, where the youth uſed to wreſtle, and otherwhiles in the Theaters and Shew-places, keeping companie together. But afterwards, for to avoid the troubleſome contentions of Minſtrels and Muſicians, where it appeared that all would go by favour, ſuch labouring there was before-hand for voices, they diſlodged from thence for the moſt part of them, as out of an enemies countrey, and retired themſelves to *Helicon*, and there ſojourned and lodged among the Muſes: where, the morrow morning after they were thither come, arrived and repaired unto them *Anthemion* and *Piſias*, two noble gentlemen, allied both and affectionate unto *Barchon*, ſurnamed The Faire, and at ſome variance one with another by reaſon of I wot not what jealouſie, in regard of the affection they bare unto him. For there was in the city of *Theſpiæ*, a certeine

Dame named *Iſmenodora*, deſcended of a noble houſe and rich withall: yea and of wiſe and honeſt carriage beſides in all her life: for continued ſhee had no ſmall time in widowhood without blame, reproch or touch, notwithſtanding ſhee was yoong, and therewith beautifull.

This freſh widow whiles ſhe treated of a mariage to be made betweene *Bacchon* a yoong gentleman, a neighbours childe, whoſe mother was a very familiar friend of hers; a certeine yoong maiden a kinſwoman of her owne, by often talking with him, and frequenting his company much, fell herſelfe in ſome fancie with the yoong man: Thus both hearing and ſpeaking much good and many kinde ſpeeches of him, and ſeeing beſides a number of other gentlemen and perſons of good woorth to be enamoured upon him; by little and little ſhe alſo fell to bee in hot love with the youth: howbeit, with a full intention and reſolution to doe nothing that ſhould be diſhoneſt, or unbeſeeming her place, parentage, & reputation, but to be wedded unto *Bacchon* lawfully in the open ſight of the world, and ſo to live with him in the eſtate of wedlocke. As the thing it ſelfe ſeemed at the firſt very ſtrange, ſo the mother of the yoong man of one ſide doubted and ſuſpected the greatneſſe of her ſtate, and the nobility & magnificence of her houſe & linage, as not meet & correſpondent to his cōdition, for to be a lover or to be matched there; and on the other ſide, ſome of his companions who uſed to ride forth a hunting with him, conſidering that the yoong age of *Bacchon* was not anſwerable to the yeeres of *Iſmenodora*, buzzed many doubts in his head, and frighted him from her what they could, ſaying: That ſhe might be his mother, and that one of her age was not for him; and thus by their jeſting and ſcoffing, they hindered the mariage more, than they who laboured in good earneſt to breake it: for hee began to enter into himſelfe, and conſidering that he was yet a beardleſſe youth, and ſcarcely undergrowen, he was abaſhed and aſhamed to mary a widow. Howbeit in the end, ſhaking off all others, he referred himſelfe to *Anthemion* and *Piſias*, for to tell him their minds upon the point, and to adviſe him for his beſt: Now was *Anthemion* his couſen german, one of good yeeres, and elder than himſelfe farre; and *Piſias* of all thoſe that made love unto him, moſt auſtere: and therefore he both withſtood the mariage, and alſo checked *Anthemion*, as one who abandoned and betraied the yoong man unto *Iſmenodora*. Contrariwiſe, *Anthemion* charged *Piſias* and ſaid he did not well: who being otherwiſe an honeſt man, yet heerein imitated leawd lovers, for that he went about to put his friend beſide a good bargaine, who now might be ſped with ſo great a mariage, out of ſo worſhipfull an houſe, and wealthy beſides; to the end that he might have the pleaſure to ſee him a long time ſtripped naked in the wreſtling place, freſh ſtill, and ſmooth, and not having touched a woman. But becauſe they ſhould not by arguing thus one againſt another, grow by little and little into heat of choler, they choſe for umpiers and judges of this their controverſie, my father and thoſe who were of his company; and thither they came: aſſiſtant alſo there were unto them, other of their friends, *Daphnæus* to the one, and *Protogenes* to the other, as if they had beene provided of ſet purpoſe to plead a cauſe: As for *Protogenes* who ſided with *Piſias*, he inveighed verily with open mouth againſt dame *Iſmenodora*: whereupon *Daphnæus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what are we not to expect, and what thing in the world may not happen; in caſe it be ſo that *Protogenes* is ready heere to give defiance and make warre againſt love, who all his life both in earneſt and in game, hath beene wholy in love, and all for love, which hath cauſed him to forget his booke, and to forget his naturall countrey, not as *Laius* did, who was but five daies journey diſtant: for that love of his was ſlow and heavy, and kept ſtill upon the land: whereas your *Cupid*, *Protogenes*

With his light wings diſplaied and ſpred,
Hath over ſea full ſwiftly fled

from out of *Cilicia* to *Athens*, to ſee faire boies, and to converſe and goe up and downe with them (for to ſay a trueth, the chiefe cauſe why *Protogenes* made a voiage out of his owne countrey, and became a traveller, was at the firſt this and no other) Heereat the company tooke up a laughter, and *Protogenes*: Thinke you (quoth he) that I warre not againſt love, and not rather ſtande in the defence of love againſt laſcivious wantonneſſe, and violent intemperance, which by moſt ſhamefull acts and filthy paſſions, would perforce chalenge and breake into the faireſt, moſt honeſt, and venerable names that be? Why (quoth *Daphnæus* then) do you terme mariage and the ſecret of mariage, to wit, the lawfull conjunction of man and wife, moſt vile and diſhoneſt actions, than which there can be no knot nor linke in the world more ſacred and holy? This bond in trueth of wedlocke (quoth *Protogenes*) as it is neceſſary for generation, is by good right praiſed by Politicians and law-givers, who recommend the ſame highly unto the people and common multitude: but to ſpeake of true love indeed, there is no jot or part therof in the ſocierie and felowſhip of women: neither doe I thinke that you and ſuch as your ſelves, whoſe affections ſtand to wives or maidens, do love them no more than a flie loveth milke, or a bee the hony combe; as caters and cookes who keepe foules in mue, and feed calves and other ſuch beaſts fatte in darke places, and yet for all that they love them not. But like as nature leadeth and conducteth our appetite moderately, and as much as is ſufficient to bread and other viands; but the exceſſe thereof, which maketh the naturall appetite to be a vicious paſſion, is called gourmandiſe, and pampering of the fleſh: even ſo there is naturally in men and women both a deſire to enjoy the mutuall pleaſure one of another: whereas the impetuous luſt which commeth with a kinde of force and violence, ſo as it hardly can be held in, is not fitly called love, neither deſerveth it that name: For love if it ſeiſe upon a yoong, kinde, and gentle heart, endeth by amity in vertue: whereas of theſe affections and luſts after women, if they have ſucceſſe and ſpeed never ſo well, there followeth in the end the fruit of ſome pleaſure, the fruition and enjoying of youth and a beautifull body, and that is all. And thus much teſtified *Ariſtippus*, who when one went about to make him have a diſtaſte and miſlike of *Lais* the curtiſan, ſaying, that ſhe loved him not, made this anſwer: I ſuppoſe (quoth he) that neither good wine, nor delicate fiſh loveth me, but yet (quoth he) I take pleaſure and delight in drinking the one, and eating the other. For ſurely the end of deſire and appetite, is pleaſure and the fruition of it. But love if it have once loſt the hope and expectation of amity and kindneſſe, will not continue nor cheriſh and make much for beauty ſake, that which is irkſome and odious, be it never ſo gallant and in the flower and prime of age, unleſſe it bring foorth and yeeld ſuch fruit which is familiar unto it, even a nature diſpoſed to amity and vertue. And therefore it is that you may heare ſome huſband in a comœdie, ſpeaking tragically thus unto his wife:

Thou hateſt me: and I againe,
thine hatred and diſdaine
Will eas'ly beare: and this abuſe
turne to my proper gaine.

For ſurely, more amorous than this man is not hee, who not for lucre and profit, but for the fleſhly pleaſure of *Venus*, endureth a curſt, ſhrewd and froward wife, in whom there is no good nature nor kinde affection. After which maner *Philippides* the Comicall Poet ſcoffed at the Oratour *Stratocles* and mocked him in theſe verſes:

She winds from thee, ſhe turnes away unkind,
Hardly thou canſt once kiſſe her head behinde.

But if we muſt needs call this paſſion Love, yet ſurely it ſhall be but an effeminate and baſtard love, ſending us into womens chambers and cabinets as it were to *Cynoſarges* at *Athens*, where no other youthes do exerciſe but miſbegotten baſtards: or rather, like as they ſay, there is one kinde of gentle faulcons or roiall eagles bred in the mountaines, which *Homer* calleth the Blacke eagle for game: whereas other kinds there be of baſtard hawks, which about pooles and meres catch fiſh or ſeaze upon heavie winged birds and ſlow of flight; which many times wanting their prey, make a piteous noiſe and lamentable cry for very hunger and famine: even ſo the true and naturall love is that of yoong boies, which ſparkleth not with the ardent heat of concupiſcence, as *Anacreon* ſaith the other of maidens and virgins doeth: it is not beſmered with ſweet ointments, nor tricked up and trimmed, but plaine and ſimple alwaies a man ſhall ſee it, without any intiſing allurements in the Philoſophers ſchooles, or about publicke parks of exerciſe and wreſtling places, where it hunteth kindly and with a very quicke and piercing eie after none but yoong ſtriplings and ſpringals, exciting and encouraging earneſtly unto vertue, as many as are meet and woorthy to have paines taken with them: whereas the other delicate and effeminate love, that keepeth home and ſtirreth not out of dores, but keepeth continually in womens laps, under canapies or within curtaines in womens beds and ſoft pallets, ſeeking alwaies after daintie delights, and pampered up with unmanly pleaſures, wherein there is no reciprocall amitie, nor heavenly raviſhment of the ſpirit, is worthy to be rejected and chaſed farre away: like as *Solon* baniſhed it out of his common wealth, when he expreſly forbad all ſlaves and thoſe of ſervile condition to love boies or to be anointed in the open aire without the baines, but he debarred them not from the companie of women. For amitie is an honeſt, civill and laudable thing: but fleſhly pleaſure, baſe, vile, and illiberall. And therefore that a ſervile ſlave ſhould make love to a ſweet youth, it is neither decent, civil nor commendable: for this is no carnall love nor hurtfull any way, as that other is of women. *Protogenes* would have continued his ſpeech and ſaid more, but *Daphnæus* interrupting him: Now ſurely, you have done it very well (quoth he) and alledged *Solon* trimly for the purpoſe; and wee muſt belike, take him for the judge of a true lover, and the rule to go by, eſpecially when he ſaith:

Thou ſhalt love boies, till lovely downe
upon their face doth ſpring,
Catching at mouth their pleaſant breath,
and ſoft thighs cheriſhing.

Adjoine alſo unto *Solon* (if you thinke good) the Poet *Aeſchylus*, whereas he ſaith:

Unthankfull man, unkinde thou art
For kiſſes ſweet which thou haſt found,
Regarding not of thy deare hart,
The thighs ſo ſtreight and buttocks round.

Here are proper judges indeed of love. Others I wot well there be, who laugh at them, becauſe they would have lovers like to ſacrificers, bowel-priers and ſoothſaiers, to caſt an eie to the hanches and the loines: but I for my part, gather from hence a very good and forcible argument in the behalfe of women: for if the companie with males that is againſt kinde, neither taketh away nor doth prejudice the amitie and good will of lovers, farre more probable it is that the love to women which is according to nature, is performed by a kinde of obſequious favour, and endeth in amity: for the voluntarie ſubmiſſion of the female to the male, was by our anceſtors in olde time, ô *Protogenes*, termed χάρις, that is to ſay, Grace or Favour: which is the reaſon that *Pindarus* ſaith *Vulcane* was borne of *Juno* ἄνευ χαρίτων, that is to ſay, without the Graces. And *Sappho* the Poetreſſe ſpeaking to a yoong girle not as yet for her tender yeeres marriageable:

Too yoong (my childe) you ſeeme to me,
Withouten Grace alſo to be.

And *Hercules* was asked the queſtion of one in theſe termes:

What did you force the maiden by compulſion,
Or win her grace and favour with perſwaſion.

whereas the ſubmiſſion in this kinde of males to males, if it be againſt their will, is named violence and plaine rape: but if it be voluntarie, and that upon an effeminate weakneſſe they be ſo farre beſide their right wits as to yeeld themſelves to be ridden as it were and covered, for thoſe be *Platoes* words, in maner of foure footed beaſts; I ſay ſuch love is altogether without Grace, without decencie, moſt unſeemly, filthy and abominable. And therefore I ſuppoſe verily, that *Solon* powred out thoſe verſes when he was a luſtie yoonker, ranke of blood and full of naturall ſeed, as *Plato* ſaith: for when he was well ſtept in yeres he ſung in another tune and wrote thus:

The ſports of VENUS *Lady bright,*
And BACCHUS *now are my delight:*
In MUSICKE *eke I pleaſure take:*
For why? theſe three men joies do make.

when he had retired and withdrawen his life as it were out of a troubleſome ſea and tempeſtuous ſtorme of *Pæderaſtium*, into the quiet calme of lawfull marriage and ſtudie of Philoſophie.

Now if we will conſider better, & looke nerer into the truth, the paſſion of Love (ô *Protogenes*) be it in one ſex or another, is all one & the ſame: but if upon a froward and contentious humor you will needs divide and diſtinguiſh them, you ſhall finde that this love of boies doth not conteine it ſelfe within compaſſe, but as one late borne and out of the ſeaſonable time of age and courſe of this life, a very baſtard and begotten ſecretly in darkneſſe, it would wrongfully drive out the true legitimate naturall love, which is more ancient. For it was but yeſterday or two daies ago as one would ſay my good friend, and namely, ſince yong lads began in *Greece* to diſrobe & turne themſelves naked out of their clothes, for the exerciſe of their bodies, that it crept into theſe impaled places, where youthes prepared themſelves for to wreſtle: & there cloſely ſetling it ſelfe, lodged and was enſtalled; where by little and little when the wings were full growen, it became ſo inſolent, that it could not be held in, but offer injury and outrage to that nuptiall love, which is a coadjutreſſe with nature, to immortalize mankind, in kindling it immediately againe by generation according as the ſame is extinguiſhed and put out by death. But this *Protogenes* heere would ſeeme to deny that the ſaid love tendeth to any pleaſure: The truth is this, he is aſhamed to confeſſe, and afraid to avow ſo much. But there muſt needs be deviſed ſome pretie reaſon, and cleanly excuſe, for the touching, feeling, and handling of theſe faire yoong boies. Wel the pretence and colour to cover al, is amity and vertue. He beſtreweth himſelfe with duſt againſt he ſhould wreſtle, he doth bath and waſh in cold water, he knitteth & bendeth his browes full gravely, he giveth it out and maketh his boaſt that he ſtudieth Philoſophie, that he is chaſte and continent: and all this is abroad and before folke, for feare of the lawes; but when the night comes, and that every man is retired to his reſt,

Sweet is the fruit that ſtollen is ſecretly,
And gather'd cloſe, while keeper is not by.

And if as *Protogenes* ſaith this *Pæderaſtium* aimeth not at carnall conjunction, how then can it be love, if *Venus* be not there? conſidering that of all other gods and goddeſſes, her alone *Cupid* is deſtined and devoted to ſerve and attend upon, having neither honour, power nor authoritie, no farther than ſhe will impart and beſtow upon him. And if you ſay unto mee, that there may be ſome love without *Venus*, like as there is drunkenneſſe without wine, for a man may drinke of a certein decoction of figs, or barly made into malt, & be drunke therewith: I anſwer you, that as this is but a flatulent exagitation, ſo the motion of ſuch love is fruitleſſe, unperfect, bringing lothſome ſatietie, and weariſome fulneſſe ſoone. Whiles *Daphnæus* thus ſpake, it appeered evidently, that *Piſias* found himſelfe galled, and was enchaffed againſt him. Therefore ſo ſoone as he had made an end of his ſpeech, after ſome little pauſe: O *Hercules* (quoth hee) what intollerable impudency and inconſiderate raſhneſſe is this, that men ſhould confeſſe and avow, that like dogs they be tied to women by their naturall parts, and ſo chaſe and baniſh this god *Cupid*, out of the publicke places of exerciſe, out of the open galleries and walks; from the pure converſation in open aire, ſunne-ſhine, and before the whole world for to be ranged and brought, to little ſpades, hatchets, drogues, medicines, charmes and ſorceries of theſe wanton and laſcivious women? For to ſpeake of chaſte and honeſt dames, I ſay, it is not beſeeming that they ſhould either love or be loved. And heereat verily my father ſaid, that himſelfe tooke *Protogenes* by the hand, reciting this verſe out of the Poet:

Such words as theſe no doubt will make
The Argives, armes anon to take.

For ſurely *Piſias* through his inſolencie, cauſeth us to ſide with *Daphnæus*, and undertake to mainteine his part, ſeeing he ſo farre exceedeth the bonds of all reaſon, as to bring into mariage and wedlocke, a ſociety without love, and void of that divine inſtinct of amity, and inſpired from heaven above: which we ſee how we have enough to doe for to mainteine and hold with al the yokes, bittes and bridles, of feare and ſhame, if this hearty affection and grace be away. Then *Piſias*, I paſſe little (quoth he) for all theſe words: and as for *Daphnæus* me thinks I ſee how it fareth with him, as it doth with a piece of braſſe, which melteth not ſo much by force of fire, as it doth by another piece of braſſe melted, if a man power the ſame upon it, for then anon it will be liquefied and runne together with it. And even ſo, the beauty of *Lyſandra* doth not ſo greatly affect and trouble him, as this that converſing along time with one that is enflamed and full of fire, by touching her he is himſelfe all fire: and evident it is, that unleſſe hee retire with ſpeed unto us, he will melt and run all to liquor: But I perceive (quoth he) that I do that which *Anthemion* ſhould moſt deſire and wiſh, namely, that I am offenſive both to the judges and to my ſelfe; wherefore I will hold my peace & ſay no more: You ſay true indeed (quoth *Anthemion*) you do me a great pleaſure, for you ſhould at the very firſt have ſaid ſomwhat to the point, and upon the particular matter now in queſtion: I ſay therefore (quoth *Piſias*, but I proteſt before hand, & that aloud, that for mine owne part I will be no hinderance, but that every woman may have her lover) that this yoong man *Bacchon* had need to take heed and beware of the riches and wealth of *Iſmenodora*; otherwiſe if wee match him with ſuch an houſe of ſo great ſtate and magnificence, we ſhall ere we be aware conſume him to nothing, like a piece of tinne among braſſe. For a great matter I may tell you it were, if being ſo yoong as he is, and eſpouſing a wife of meane and ſimple degree, he ſhould in ſuch a mixture hold his owne, and keepe the predominance as wine over water. But we may ſee that this gentlewoman heere ſeemeth alreadie to looke for to commaund and be his maſter: otherwiſe ſhe would never have refuſed and rejected ſo many husbands as ſhe hath done of ſuch reputation, ſo nobly deſcended, and ſo wealthy withall, for to woo and ſollicite as ſhe doth a very boy new crept out of the ſhell, no better than a page but the other day, one iwis that had more need to goe to ſchoole ſtill, and be under a tutour and governour. And heereupon it is, that thoſe husbands who are of the wiſer ſort, doe of themſelves caſt away, or elſe clip and cut the wings of their wives, that is to ſay, their goods and riches, which cauſe them to be proud and inſolent, ſumptuous and waſteful, full of ſhrewdneſſe, vaine, light, and fooliſh; and with theſe wings they mount many times, take their flight and away; or if they ſtay at home, better it were for a man to be bound with fetters of gold, as the maner is to encheine priſoners in *Aethiopia*, than to be tied with the wealth and riches of his wife: But he hath ſaid nothing as yet (quoth *Protogenes*) heereof, nor once touched this ſtring, namely, how in admitting this mariage, we ſhall in maner invert and that ridiculouſly and with abſurdity enough the ſentence of *Heſiodus* who giveth counſell in theſe words:

At thirty yeeres (not much above
nor under) of thine age,
Wed thou a wife: this is the time,
moſt meet for mariage:
At foureteene yeeres a damoſell
doth ſignes of ripeneſſe ſhew,
At fifteene would ſhe maried be,
and her bedfellow know.

And we heere cleane contrary almoſt, will match a yoong man before he be ready for mariage, unto a woman as old againe well neere as himſelfe, as if one ſhould ſet dates or figges upon old ſtocks, to make them ripe. And why not? ſome one will haply ſay; for ſhe is enamoured upon him; ſhe burnes & is ready to die for love of him, I marvel much who hinders her that ſhe goeth not to his houſe in a maske, that ſhe ſings not lamentable ditties at his dore, & amorous plaints, that ſhe adorneth not his images with garlands and chaplets of flowers, and that ſhe entreth not into combat with her corrivals, and winne him from them all by fight and feats of activity: for theſe be the caſts of lovers; let her knit her browes; let her forbeare to live bravely and daintily, putting on the countenance and habit meet for this paſſion: but if ſhe be modeſt, ſhamefaced, ſober, and honeſt, as that ſhe is abaſhed ſo to doe; let her ſit womanly and decently as it becommeth, at home in her houſe, expecting her lovers and woers, to come and court her there. For ſuch a woman as doth not diſſemble, but bewraieth openly that ſhe is in love, a man would avoid and deteſt, ſo farre would he be from taking her to be his wife, or laying for the ground of his mariage ſuch ſhameleſſe incontinence. Now when *Protogenes* had made an end of his ſpeech, and pauſed a while: See you not ô *Anthemion* (quoth *Daphnæus*) how they make this a common cauſe againe and matter of diſputation, enforcing us to ſpeake ſtill of nuptiall love, who denie not our ſelves to be the mainteiners thereof, nor avoid to enter into the daunce as they ſay, and to ſhew our ſelves to be the champions of it? Yes mary do I (quoth *Anthemion*) & I pray you take upon you to defend at large this love: and withall let us have your helping hand about this point, as touching riches, which *Piſias* urgeth eſpecially, and wherewith he ſeemeth to affright us more than with any thing elſe: What can we doe leſſe quoth my father then; for were it not a reproch offred unto woman kind, and would it not greatly redound to their diſcredit and blame, in caſe we would reject and caſt off *Iſmenodora*, for her love and her wealth ſake? But ſhe is brave, ſhe is ſumptuous, coſtly, and bearing a great port: What matters that, ſo long as ſhe is faire, beautifull, and yoong? But ſhe is come of a noble houſe and highly deſcended? What harme of that if ſhe live in good name, and be of good reputation? for it is not neceſſary that wives to approove their honeſty and wiſdome, ſhould be ſower, auſtere, curſt & ſhrewd: for chaſte dames and ſober matrons, doe indeed deteſt bitterneſſe, as an odious thing and intollerable. And yet ſome there be that call them furies, and ſay they be curſt ſhrewes unto their husbands, when they be modeſt, wiſe, diſcret, and honeſt. Were it not beſt therefore to eſpouſe ſome od *Abrotonon* out of *Thracia*, bought in open market: or ſome *Bacchis*, a Mileſian * paſſing in exchange for raw hides, and prized no deerer: And yet we know there be many men, whom ſuch women as theſe hold moſt ſhamefully under their girdles, and rule as they liſt: For even minſtrell wenches of *Samos*, and ſuch as profeſſed dauncing, as *Ariſtonica*, *Oenanthe*, with her tabour and pipe & *Agathocleia*, have over-topped kings and princes, yea troaden their crownes and diademes under foot: As for *Semiramis* a Syrian, ſhe was at firſt no better than a poore wench, ſervant and concubine to one of the great king *Ninus* ſlaves: but after that the king himſelfe had ſet his eie and fancie upon her, he was ſo devoted unto her, & ſhe againe ſo imperiouſly ruled over him, and with ſuch contempt, that ſhe was ſo bold to require at his hands, that he would permit her to ſit one day upon her roiall throne, under the cloth of eſtate, with the diademe about her head, and ſo to give audience and diſpatch the affaires of the kingdome in ſtead of him; which when *Ninus* had graunted, & given expreſſe charge withall, that all his ſubjects whatſoever ſhould yeeld their loiall obedience to her as to his owne perſon, yea and performe whatſoever ſhe ordeined and decreed: ſhe caried herſelfe with great moderation in her firſt commandements, to make triall of the penſioners and guard about her; and when ſhe ſaw that they

* ἐγγύον ἐπαχθείλω δίωνης κατηαρυμάτων, that is to ſay, whoſe open ſale is a pawne for aſſurance, that ſhe will bee true and obedient to her husband, as ſome interpret it.

they gainſaid her in nothing, but were very diligent and ſerviceable; ſhe commanded them to arreſt and apprehend the body of *Ninus* the king, then to binde him faſt, and finally to doe him to death. Al which when they had fully executed, ſhe reigned indeed, & for a long time in great ſtate and magnificence ruled all *Aſia*. And was not *Beleſtie* I pray you a Barbarian woman, bought up even in the very market among other ſlaves? and yet thoſe of *Alexandria* have certeine temples, chappels & altars, which king *Ptolomæus* who was enamoured upon her, cauſed to be entituled by the name of *Venus Beleſtie*? And *Phryne* the famous courteſan, who both heere and alſo at *Delphos* is ſhrined in the ſame temple and chappell with *Cupid*, whoſe ſtatue all of beaten gold ſtandeth among thoſe of kings and queenes; by what great dowry was it that ſhe had all her lovers in ſuch ſubjection under her? But like as theſe perſons through their effeminate ſoftneſſe and puſillanimity, became ere they were aware a very prey and pillage to ſuch women: ſo on the other ſide, we finde others of baſe degree and poore condition, who being joined in mariage to noble & rich wives, were not utterly overthrowen with ſuch matches, nor ſtruck ſaile or abated ought of their generoſitie and high ſpirit, but lived alwaies loved and honored by thoſe wives, yea and were maſters over them to their dying day. But he that rangeth and reduceth his wife into a narrow compaſſe and low eſtate, as if one bent a ring to the ſlenderneſſe of his finger, for feare it ſhould drop off, reſembleth thoſe for all the world, who clip and ſhave the maines of their mares, and plucke the haire off their tailes, and then drive them to water, into ſome river or poole: for it is ſaid, that when they ſee themſelves in the water ſo ill favouredly ſhorne and curtailed, they let fall their courage, ſtomacke, and hautie ſpirit, ſo as they ſuffer themſelves afterward to be covered by aſſes. And therefore like as to preferre the riches of a woman above her vertue, or to make choiſe thereof before nobility of birth were baſe and illiberall: ſo to reject wealth joigned with vertue and noble parentage is meere folly. King *Antigonus* writing unto a captaine of his whom he put with a gariſon into the fortreſſe *Munichia* in *Athens*, the which he fortified with all diligence poſſible, commanded him not onely to make the collar and cheine ſtrong, but the dogge alſo weake and leane: giving him thereby to underſtand, that he ſhould empoveriſh the Athenians, and take from them all meanes whereby they might rebell or riſe againſt him. But a man who hath taken to wife a rich and beautifull woman, ought not to make her either poore, or foule and ill-favoured; but rather by his diſcretion, good government & wiſdome, and by making ſemblance that he is raviſhed with no admiration of any thing that ſhe hath, to beare himſelfe equall unto her and in no wiſe ſubject, giving by his good demeanour and carriage a counterpeiſe to the balance for to hold her firme, or a waight rather to make her incline and bend that way which is good for them both. Now to returne unto *Iſmenodora*, her yeeres are meet for mariage, and her perſon fitte for breeding and bearing children, and I heare ſay the woman is in the very floure and beſt of her time; for elder ſhe is not (and with that he ſmiled upon *Piſias*) than any of her ſuters and corrivals, neither hath ſhe any gray haires, as ſome of thoſe that be affectionate to *Bacchon* and follow him. Now if they thinke themſelves of a meet age to converſe familiarly with him, what ſhould hinder her but ſhe ſhould affect and fancie the yong mans perſon as well (if not better) as any yong maiden whatſoever. And verily theſe yong folke are otherwhiles hard to be matched, united and concorporated together, and much a doe there is but by long continuance of time, to caſt aſide and ſhake off wantonneſſe and wildeneſſe: for at the firſt there is many a foule day and bluſtring tempeſt, and unneth will they abide the yoke and drawe together: but eſpecially if there be any inkling or jelouſie of other loves abroad, which like unto windes when the pilot is away do trouble and diſquiet the wedlocke of ſuch yoong perſons as neither be willing to obey, nor have the skill to commaund. If it be ſo then, that a nourſe can rule her little babe ſucking at her pap; a ſchoolemaſter the boy that is his ſcholar; a maſter of exerciſes, the yong ſpringall; a lover, the youth whom he loveth; the law and the captaine, a man growen and him that is able to beare armes; inſomuch as there is no perſon of what age ſoever without government, and at his owne libertie to doe what he liſt: what abſurdity is it if a wife that hath wit and diſcretion, and is beſides the elder, governe and direct the life of a yong man her husband? being as ſhe is profitable unto him in regard ſhe is the wiſer, and beſides milde and gentle in her government, for that ſhe loveth him? Over and beſides, to conclude, we all that are Bœotians (quoth he) ought both to honour *Hercules*, and alſo not to be offended with the mariage of thoſe who are in yeeres unequall, knowing as we doe that he gave his owne wife *Megara* being thirty three yeeres olde, in mariage to *Iolaus* being then but ſixteene yeeres of age. As theſe words paſſed to and fro, there came (as my father made report) one of *Piſias* companions galloping hard one horſebacke from out of the city bringing newes of a very ſtrange and wonderfull occurrent. For *Iſmenodora*, perſwading her ſelfe (as probable it was) that *Bacchon* miſliked not this mariage in his heart but that he held off, for the reſpect and reverence that he carried unto thoſe who ſeemed to divert him from it, reſolved, not to give over her ſuit, nor to caſt off the yong men. Whereupon ſhe ſent for ſuch of her friends, as were luſty yong and adventurous gallants, and withall her favourits thoſe that wiſhed well to her love: certaine women alſo who were inward with her and moſt truſty: and when ſhe had aſſembled them all together in her houſe and communicated her mind unto them, ſhe waited the very houre, when as *Bacchon* was wont ordinarily to paſſe by her dores, going well and orderly appointed forth to the publicke place of wreſtling. Now when he approched nere unto her houſe all enhuiled and anointed as he was, accompanied only with two or three perſons, *Iſmenodora* her ſelfe ſtepped forth of dores, croſſed the way upon him and only touched the mandilion that he had about him: which ſignall being given, all at once her friends leapt forth & faire caught up this faire youth in his mandilion and dublet as he was, and gently caried him into her houſe, and immediatly ſhut the dores faſt locked. No ſooner had they gotten him within dores, but the women in the houſe turning him out of his upper mandilion aforeſaid, put upon him a faire wedding robe, & withall the ſervants of the houſe ran up and downe, and adorned with ivie and olive branches the dores and gates not onely of *Iſmenodora* but alſo of *Bacchons* houſe: and with that a minſtrill wench alſo paſſed along through the ſtreet piping and ſinging a wedding ſong. As for the citizens of *Theſpiæ* and the ſtrangers who were there at that time, ſome of them tooke up a laughter, others being angry and offended hereat, incited the maſters and governours of the publicke exerciſes (who indeed have great authority over the youth and carry a vigilent eie unto them, for to looke nerely unto all their behaviours) whereupon they made no account at all of the preſent exerciſes then in hand, but leaving the theater, to the dore they came of *Iſmenodora*, where they fell into hot reaſoning and debating of the matter one againſt another. Now when the ſaid friend of *Piſias* was come in all haſte riding upon the ſpurre with this newes, as if he had brought ſome great tidings out of the campe in time of warre, he had no ſooner uttered, panting for want of winde and in maner breathleſſe, theſe words, *Iſmenodora* hath raviſhed *Bacchon*, but *Zeuxippus*, as my father told the tale, laughed heartily, and out of *Euripides* (as he was one who alwaies loved to reade that Poet) pronounced this ſentence:

Well done faire dame: you having wealth at will,
Are worldly wiſe, your minde thus to fulfill.

But *Piſias*, riſing up in great choler, cried out, O the will of God, what will be the end of this licentious libertie, which thus overthroweth our citie? ſeeing how all the world is growen already to this paſſe, that through our unbrideled audaciouſneſſe, we doe what we liſt, and paſſe for no lawes? but why ſay I lawes, for haply it is but a ridiculous thing to take indignation for the tranſgreſſing of civill law and right: for even the very lawe of nature is violated by the inſolent raſhneſſe of women. Was there ever the like example ſeene in the very iſle *Lemnos*? Let us be gone (quoth he) goe we and quit from hence-foorth the wreſtling ſchooles, and publike place of exerciſes, the common hall of juſtice, and the ſenate houſe, and commit all to women, if the city be ſo inervate as to put up ſuch an indignitie. So *Piſias* brake company and departed in theſe termes, and *Protogenes* followed after him, partly as angry as he, and in part appeaſing & mitigating his mood a little. Then *Anthemion*: To ſay a trueth (quoth he) this was an audacious part of hers, and ſavouring ſomwhat of the enterpriſe of thoſe Lemnian wives in old time, and no marvell; for we our ſelves know that the woman was exceeding amorous. Hereat *Soclarus*: Why thinke you (quoth he) that this was a raviſhment indeed, and plaine force, and not rather a ſubtile deviſe and ſtratageme, as it were of a yong man himſelfe, who hath wit at wil, to colour and excuſe himſelfe, in that eſcaping out of the armes of his other lovers, he is fallen into the hands of a faire, yoong and wealthie Ladie. Never ſay ſo (quoth *Anthemion*) nor interteine ſuch an opinion of *Bacchon*: for ſay that he were not of a ſimple nature (as he is) and plaine in all his dealings, yet would he never have concealed ſo much from me, conſidering that he hath made me privie to all his ſecrets, and knoweth full well that in theſe matters I was of all other moſt ready to ſecond and ſet forward the ſute of *Iſmenodora*. But a hard matter it is to withſtand not anger as *Heraclitus* ſaith, but love: for whatſoever it be that it would have, compaſſe the ſame it will, though it be with the perill of life, though it coſt both goods and reputation. For ſetting this thing aſide, was there ever in all our citie, a woman more wiſe, ſober and modeſt than *Iſmenodora*? when was there ever heard abroad of her, any evill report, and when went there ſo much as a light ſuſpition of any unhoneſt act out of that houſe? Certes we muſt thinke and ſay, that ſhe ſeemes to have beene ſurpriſed with ſome divine inſtinct ſupernaturall and above humane reaſon. Then laughed *Pemptides*: You ſay even true (quoth he) there is a certeine great maladie of the bodie, which thereupon they call ſacred: is there any marvell then that the greateſt and moſt furious paſſion of the minde ſome do terme ſacred and divine? But it ſeemes unto me, that it fares with you here, as I ſaw it did ſometime with two neighbours in *Aegypt*, who argued & debated one with another upon this point, that whereas there was preſented before them in the way as they went, a ſerpent creeping on the ground, they were reſolved both of them, that it preſaged good & was a luckie ſigne; but either of them tooke & challenged it to himſelfe: for even ſo when I ſee that ſome of you draw love into mens chambers, and others into womens cabinets, as a divine and ſingular good thing, I nothing wonder thereat, conſidering that this paſſion is growen to ſuch power and is ſo highly honoured, that even thoſe who ought to clip the wings thereof, and chace it from them of all ſides, thoſe be they that magnifie and extoll it moſt. And verily hitherto have I held my peace as touching this matter in queſtion, for that I ſaw the debate and controverſie was about a private cauſe rather than any publicke matter: but now that I ſee how *Piſias* is departed, I would gladly heare and know of you, whereat they aimed and tended, who firſt affirmed that Love was a God? When *Pemptides* had propounded this queſtion, as my father addreſſed himſelfe and began to make his anſwere, there came another meſſenger in place, whom *Iſmenodora* had ſent from the citie, for to bring *Anthemion* with him; for that the trouble and tumult in maner of a ſedition grew more and more within the towne, by occaſion that the two maſters of the publicke exerciſes, were at ſome difference one with another, whiles the one was of this minde that *Bacchon* was to be redemanded and delivered, the other againe thought that they were to deale no farther in the matter. So *Anthemion* aroſe incontinently and went his way with all ſpeed and diligence poſſible: and then my father calling to *Pemptides* by name, and directing his ſpeech unto him: You ſeeme *Pemptides* (quoth he) in my conceit, to touch a very maine and nice point, or rather indeed to ſtirre a ſtring that would not be ſtirred, to wit, the opinion and beleefe that we have as touching the gods, in that you call for a reaſon and demonſtration of them in particular. For the ancient faith and beleefe received from our ancients in the country where we are borne is ſufficient, than which there can not be ſaid or imagined a more evident argument:

For never was this knowledge found,
By wit of man or ſenſe profound.

But this tradition being the baſe and foundation common to all pietie and religion, if the certitude and credit thereof received from hand to hand be ſhaken and mooved in one onely point, it becommeth ſuſpected and doubtfull in all the reſt. You have heard no doubt how *Euripides* was courſed and troubled for the beginning of his Tragœdie *Menalippe*, in this maner:

Ζεὺ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν ἐγὼ, &c.

Jupiter *whoſe name I know*
By heare-ſay onely and no mo.

And verily he had a great confidence in this Tragœdie, being as it ſhould ſeeme magnificently and with exquiſit elegancie penned: but for the tumultuous murmuring of the people, hee changed the foreſaid verſes, as now they ſtand written:

Ζεὺς ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο, &c.

God Jupiter *(which name in veritie*
Doth ſort full well to his divinitie.)

And what difference is there by our words and diſputation, betweene calling the opinion which we have of *Jupiter* and of *Mercurie* into queſtion and making doubt of *Cupid* or Love? For it is not now of late, and never before, that this God begins to call for altars or to challenge ſacrifices: neither is he a ſtranger come among us from ſome barbarous ſuperſtition, like as certeine *Attæ* and I wot not what *Adonides* and *Adonæi*, brought in by the meanes of ſome halfe-men or mungrell *Hermaphrodites* and odde women; and thus being cloſely crept in, hath met with certeine honours and worſhips farre unmeet for him, in ſuch ſort as he may well be accuſed of baſtardice and under a falſe title to have beene enrolled in the catalogue of the gods: for my good friend, when you heare *Empedocles* ſaying thus,

And equall to the reſt in length
and bredth, was Amitie;

But ſee in ſp'rit thou it beholde,
not with deceitfull eie.

you muſt underſtand him, that he writeth thus of Love; for that this God is not viſible, but apprehended onely by opinion and beleefe, among other Gods which are moſt ancient. Now if of all them in particular, you ſeeke for a proofe and demonſtration, laying your hands upon ech temple, and making a ſophiſticall triall by every altar, you ſhall find nothing void and free from calumniation and envious ſlander: for not to go farre off, marke but theſe verſes:

But Venus *uneth can I ſee*
How great a goddeſſe ſhe ſhould be:
Of Cupid *ſhe the mother is,*
And ſhe alone that Love doth give:
Whoſe children we (you wot wel this)
Are all, who on the earth do live.

And verily, *Empedocles* called her ζείδωρος, that is to ſay, fertile or giving life: *Sophocles*, εὔκαρπος, that is to ſay, fruitfull: both of them uſing moſt fit and pertinent attributes. Howbeit, this great and admirable worke, to wit, Generation, is wrought principally and directly by *Venus*, but collaterally and as an acceſſary by Love: which if love be preſent, is pleaſant & acceptable; contrariwiſe, if love be away, and not aſſiſtent thereto, ſurely the act thereof remaineth altogether not expetible, diſhonorable, without grace and unamiable. For the conjunction of man and woman without the affection of love, like as hunger and thirſt which tend to nothing elſe but ſatiety and fulneſſe, endeth in nought that is good, lovely and commendable: but the goddeſſe *Venus*, putting away all lothſome ſatiety of pleaſure, by the meanes of love, engendred amitie and friendſhip, yea and temperature of two in one. And hereupon it is that *Parmenides* verily affirmeth love to be the moſt ancient worke of *Venus*, writing thus in his booke intituled *Coſmogenia*, that is to ſay, the creation of the world.

And at the firſt ſhe framed love
Before all other gods above.

But *Heſiodus* ſeemeth in mine opinion more phyſically to have made love more ancient than any other whatſoever, to the end that all the reſt by it might breed and take beginning. If then we bereave this love of the due honours ordained for it, certes thoſe which belong to *Venus* will not keepe their place any longer. Neither can it be truely ſaid that ſome men may wrong and reproch love, and forbeare withall to doe injurie unto *Venus*. For even from one and the ſame ſtage we doe here theſe imputations, firſt upon love:

Love idle is it ſelfe, and in good troth
Poſſeſſeth ſuch like perſons, given to ſloth.

And then againe upon *Venus*:

Venus *(my children) hath not this onely name*
Of Venus *or of* Cypris *: for the ſame*
Anſwere right well to many an attribute,
And ſurname, which men unto her impute.
For hell ſhe is: and alſo violence
That never ends, but aie doth recommence
And furious rage, yong folke for to incenſe

Like as, of the other gods there is not one almoſt, that can avoid the approbrious tongue of unlettered ruſticity and ignorance. For do but conſider and obſerve god *Mars*, who as it were in an Caldæan and Aſtronomicall table ſtandeth in a place diametrally oppoſit unto love; marke I ſay, what great honours men have yeelded unto him, and contrariwiſe what reprochfull termes they give him againe:

Mars *is ſtarke blinde and ſeeth not*
(faire dames) but like wilde bore,
By turning all things up ſide downe,
works miſcheife evermore.

Homer calleth him μιαιφόνον, that is to ſay, imbrued with blood and polluted with murders; likewiſe ἀλλοπρόσαλλον, that is to ſay, variable and leaping from one ſide to another. As for *Chryſippus*, by etymologizing and deriving this gods name, faſtneth upon him a criminous accuſation, ſaying that ἄρης, for ſo he is named, in Greeke, cometh of ἀνερεῖν, that is to ſay to murder and deſtroy:

giving thereby occaſion unto ſome, to thinke that the facultie and power in us, prone to warre, fight, debate, quarrell, anger, and fell ſtomacke, is called Αρης, that is to ſay, *Mars*. Like as others alſo will ſay, that concupiſcence in us, is termed *Venus*; our gift of ſpeaking, *Mercurie*; skill in arts and ſciences, *Muſes*; and prudence, *Minerva*. See you not how deepe a pit and downefall of Atheiſme and impietie is ready to receive and ſwallow us up, in caſe we range and diſtribute the gods according to the paſſions, powers, faculties and vertues that be in us?

I ſee it very well (quoth *Pemptides*:) but neither ſtandeth it with pietie and religion, to make gods to be paſſions; nor yet contrariwiſe, to beleeue that paſſions be gods. How thinke you then (quoth my father) is *Mars* a god, or a paſſion of ours? *Pemptides* anſwered, That he thought him to be a god, ruling and ordering that part of our ſoule wherein is ſeated animoſitie, anger and manly courage. What *Pemptides*, cried out my father then, hath that turbulent, warring, overthwart and quarrelling part in us, a deitie to be preſident over it; and ſhall this that breedeth amity, ſocietie and peace, be without a divine power to governe it? Is there indeed, a martiall and warlike god of armes, called thereupon *Stratius* and *Enyalius*, who hath the ſuperintendance and preſidence of mutuall murders wherein men kill and be killed, of armour, weapons, arrowes, darts and other ſhot of aſſaults and ſcaling walles, of ſaccage, pillage and booties? Is there never a god, to be a witneſſe, guide, director and coadjutour of nuptiall affection and matrimoniall love, which endeth in unitie, concord and fellowſhip? There is a god of the woods and foreſts, named *Agroteros*, who doth aide, aſſiſt and encourage hunters, in chaſing and crying after the roe-bucke, the wilde goat, the hare and the hart; and they who lie in ſecret wait for to intercept woolves and beares in pitfalles, and to catch them with ſnares, make their praiers to *Ariſtæus*,

Who firſt, as I have heard men ſay,
Did grinnes and ſnares for wilde beaſts lay.

And *Hercules* when he bent his bowe, and was ready to ſhoot at a bird, called upon another god: and as *Aeſchylus* reporteth,

Phœbus *the hunter, directed by-and-by,*
His arrow ſtraight, as it in aire did fly.

And ſhall the man who hunteth after the faireſt game in the world, even to catch friendſhip and amitie, have no god nor demi-god, no angell to helpe, to favoriſe, and ſpeed his enterpriſe and good endevours? For mine owne part, my friend *Daphnæus*, I take not man to be a more baſe plant or viler tree, than is the oake, the mulberie tree, or the vine which *Homer* honoureth with the name of *Hemeris*, conſidering that in his time and ſeaſon he hath a powerfull inſtinct to bud and put foorth moſt pleaſantly, even the beauty both of body and minde. Then (quoth *Daphnæus*) who ever was there, before God, that thought or ſaid the contrary? Who? anſwered my father: mary even all they verily, who being of opinion, that the carefull induſtrie of plowing, ſowing and planting, apperteineth unto the gods:

For certaine Nymphs they have hight Driades
Whoſe life they ſay is equall with the trees.

And as *Pindarus* writeth,

God Bacchus *who the pure reſplendent light*
Of Autumne is, and with his kinde influence
Doth nouriſh trees, and cauſe to graw upright,
And fructifie at length in affluence.

Yet for all this are not perſwaded that the nouriture and growth of children, and yong folke, who in their prime and flour of age, are framed and ſhaped to ſingular beauty and feature of perſonage, belongeth to any one of the gods or demy gods. Neither by their ſaying, any deitie or divine power, hath the care & charge of man, that as he groweth he ſhould ſhoot up ſtreight, and ariſe directly to vertue; and that his naturall indument and generous ingenuity ſhould be perverted, daunted and quelled, either for default of a carefull tutour and directour, or through the leawd and corrupt behaviour of bad company about him. And verily were it not a ſhamefull indignity and ingratitude thus to ſay: and in this behalfe to drive God as it were from that bounty and benignity of his to mankinde, which being defuſed ſpred and diſperſed over all, is defectious in no part, no not in thoſe neceſſary actions and occaſions, whereof ſome have their end more needfull iwis many times than lovely or beautifull to ſee to. As for example, even our very birth at firſt, is nothing ſightly at all nor pleaſant, in regard of the bloud and bitter pangs that do accompany it, yet hath the ſame a goddeſſe to be the preſident & overſeer thereof, of,to wit *Lucina,* called thereupon *Lochia* and *Ilithyia*. Beſides,better it were for a man never to have bene borne, than to become evill and naught, for want of a good governor and guardian. Moreovor the deitie and devine power,leaveth not man deſtitute when he is ſicke,no nor when he is dead: but ſome God there is or other, that hath an office and function even then, and is powerfull in thoſe occaſions: there is one, I ſay, that helpeth to convey the ſoules of ſuch as have ended their life, from hence into another world, and to lay them in quiet repoſe, who for beſtowing and transporting of them in that ſort is called **Catunaſtes** and **Pſychopompos** according as he ſaith.

The ſhady night never bare
(The harps to ſound) a fine muſician:
Nor prophet ſecrets to declare:
Ne yet in cures a good phiſitian:
But for the ſoules of dead, below,
In their due place, them to beſtow.

And yet in theſe miniſteries and functions many odious troubles and incombrances there be: whereas contrariwiſe there can be named no worke more holy, no exerciſe, game of price or profeſſion of maiſteries,whatſoever, whereof it beſeemeth a god better,to have the diſpoſe,preſidence and overſight, than is the charge and regard, to order and rule the deſires of lovers, affecting and purſuing beautifull perſons in the floure and prime of their age. For herein their is nothing foule,nothing forced nor by conſtraint: but that gentle perſwaſion & attractive grace, which yeelding in trueth a pleaſant and ſweet labor, leadeth all travell whatſoever unto vertue and amitie; which neither without a god can attaine unto the deſired end which is meet and convenient, nor hath any other god, for the guide, maſter, and conductor, than Love which is the companion of the Muſes graces and *Venus*;

For Cupid *ſowing ſecretly*
In heart of man a ſweet deſire,
And heat of Love, immediatly
By kindling milde and gentle fire.

According as *Menalippedes* ſaith, tempereth the pleaſanteſt things that be with thoſe that are moſt faire and beautifull. How ſay you **Zeuxippus**, is it not ſo? Yes verily(quoth he)I am altogether of that minde: for to hold the contrary were very abſurd. Then (quoth my father againe) and were it not as monſtrous, that whereas amitie hath foure ſeverall kindes and branches, according as the ancient Philoſophers haue divided it: The firſt in nature, then that of propinquity and locall affinity, the third of ſociety, and the laſt this of love, every one of the reſt ſhould have a god to be the preſident and governour thereof, to wit, ſurnamed either φίλιος, or ξένιος, or ὁμόγνιος, and πατρῷος, and this amorous amitie onely or love as accurſed, interdicted and excommunicate, be left without a lord and ruler? conſidering that it requireth more care, ſolicitude and government than all the reſt? It doth indeed (quoth *Zeuxippus)* and need it hath out of that which is ſtrange but proper and familier, of the owne.

Moreover (quoth my father) a man may here take hold by the way of **Plato** his opinion and doctrine to this purpoſe: to wit, that there is one kind of furie tranſmitted from the body to the ſoule proceeding from certaine indiſpoſitions and malignant diſtemperatures of ill humours, or elſe occaſioned by ſome hurtfull winde or pernitious ſpirit that paſſeth and entreth into it, and this furie is a ſharpe and dangerous diſeaſe. There is another not without ſome divine inſtinct: neither is it engendred at home and within us: but a ſtrange inſpiration it is, comming from without, a very alienation of reaſon, ſenſe, and underſtanding,the beginning and motion whereof ariſeth from ſome better power and a certaine divine puiſſance. And this paſſion in generall is named **Enthuſiaſmus**, as one would ſay, a divine inſpiration. for like as, ἔμπνουν, in Greeke ſignifieth repletion with ſpirit or winde. And ἔμφρον, that which is full of prudence and wit: Even ſo ſaith he an agitation and ſhaking of the ſoule is called ἐνθουσιασμὸς by the participation and ſociety of ſome more heavenly and divine power. Now this enthuſiaſme is ſubdevided: for one part thereof is propheticall, and can skill of foretelling naturall things,when one is inſpired and poſſeſſed by *Apollo*. A ſecond is **Bacchanall** ſent from **Bacchus** whereof *Sophocles* ſpeaketh in one place thus,

And ſee you dance.
With Corybants.

For thoſe furies of dame *Cybele* the mother of the gods, as alſo Panique & terrors frights hold al of the Bacchenall ſacred ceremonies. The third proceedeth from the Muſes, which meeting with a tender and delicate ſoule, not polluted with vice, ſtirreth up and raiſeth a poeticall ſpirit, and muſicall humour: as for that raging and martiall *Enthuſiaſme* (for *Arinianius* it is called) that furious inſpiration breathing warre, is well knowen to every man, for to proceed from god *Mars*; a furie wherein there is no grace, no muſicall ſweetneſſe, hindring the generation and nouriſhment of children, and inciting people to take armes. There remaineth one alienation more of the underſtanding ô *Daphnæus*, and an exſtacie or tranſportation of mans ſpirit, and the ſame not obſcure, nor quiet and calme: concerning which I would demand of *Pemptides* heere,

What god is he, that ſhakes the ſpeare
In hand, which doth ſo faire fruit beare.

Even this raviſhment of love, ſetled as well upon faire and good boies, as honeſt and ſober dames; which is the hotteſt and moſt vehement tranſportation of the minde: for ſee you not that even the very ſoldier and warrior himſelfe, comming once to be ſurpriſed therewith, laide downe his armes preſently, and caſt off his warlike furie,

For then his ſervants joy did make,
And corſelet from his ſhoulders take.

and himſelfe having no more minde to battell, ſat ſtill looking upon others that fought. And as for theſe Bacchanall motions, theſe wanton ſkippings and friſks of the Corybantes, they uſe to appeaſe and ſtay by changing, onely in dauncing of the meaſures, the foot Trochæus into Spondæus; and in ſong, the Phrygian tune into the Dorique: ſemblably *Pythia* the prieſtreſſe of *Apollo*, being once come downe from her three footed fabricke, upon which ſhe receiveth that incentive ſpirit of furie, remaineth quiet and in calme tranquillity: whereas the rage of love, after it hath once in good earneſt caught a man, and ſet him on fire, there is no muſicke in the world, no charme, no lenitive ſong, no change of place able to ſtay it: for amorous perſons when they be preſent, doe love, if they be abſent, doe long; in the day time they follow after their ſweet hearts, by night they lie and watch at their doores; faſting and ſober they call upon their faire paramours, full and drunken, they ſing and chant of them: neither are poeticall fancies and inventions, as one ſometimes ſaid for their lively and effectuall expreſſion, the dreams of perſons waking; but rather this may be verified of lovers imaginations, who deviſe and talke with their loves abſent, as if they were preſent, they ſalute, embrace, chide, and expoſtulate with them, as if they ſaw them in place: for it ſeemeth that our ordinarie ſight doth depaint other imagination with liquid and wateriſh colours, which quickly paſſe away, are gone and departed out of our minds: but the fancies and viſions of Lovers being imprinted in their cogitations by fire or enambled, leave in their memorie lively images ſurely engraved, which move, live, breath, ſpeake, remaine and continue euer after; like as *Cato* the Romane ſaid, that the ſoule of the lover lived & dwelt in the ſoule of the loved: for that there is ſetled ſure in him the viſage, countenance, manners, nature, life, and actions of the perſon whom he loveth, by which being led and conducted, he quickly diſpatcheth and cutteth off a long jorney, as the * Cynicks are wont to ſay, finding a ſhort, compendious and direct way unto vertue: for hee paſſeth ſpeedily from love to amity and friendſhip, being caried on end by the favour of this God of Love, with the inſtinct of his affection, as it were with winde and tide, with weather and water together: in ſumme, I ſay, that this enthuſiaſme or raviſhment of lovers is not without ſome divine power, and that there is no other god to guide and governe it, than he whoſe feaſt we ſolemnize, and unto whom we ſacrifice this very day: howbeit, for that we meaſure the greatneſſe of a god by puiſſance eſpecially & profit, according as among all humane goods, we holde roialty and vertue to be moſt divine, and ſo to call them. It is time now to conſider firſt and formoſt, whether Love be inferior to any other god in power? And verily *Sophocles* ſaith:

Venus *in power doth much availe,*
To win a priſe and to prevaile.

Great alſo is the puiſſance of *Mars*: and verily we ſee the power of all other gods to be after a ſort divided in theſe matters two waies, the one is allective, and cauſeth us to love that which is beautifull and good, the other is adverſative, and maketh us to hate that which is foule and bad, which are the firſt impreſſions, that from the beginning are engraven in our mindes, according as *Plato* in one place ſpeaketh of the Idea. Let us now come to the point, and conſider how the very act alone of *Venus* may be had for a groat or ſome ſuch ſmall piece of ſilver, neither was

*κυνικοι, ſome read Κωμικοι, that is, Comicall Poets.

there ever man knowen to endure any great travell, or to expoſe himſelfe to any danger, for the enjoying of ſuch a fleſhly pleaſure, unleſſe he were amorous withall and love ſicke. And to forbeare heere to name ſuch curtiſanes as *Phryne* and *Lais* were, we ſhall finde my good friend, that *Gnathænium* the harlot,

> *At lanterne light in euening late,*
> *Waiting and calling for ſome mate.*

is many time paſſed by and neglected: but otherwhiles againe

> *If once ſome ſudden ſpirit moove,*
> *The raging fit of fervent love.*

it maketh a man to prize and eſteeme the foreſaid pleaſure which erewhile he reckoned nothing woorth, comparable in value to all the talents as they ſay, of *Tantalus* treaſure, and equall to his great ſeignorie and dominion; ſo enervate is the delight of *Venus*, and ſo ſoone bringeth it lothſome ſacietie, in caſe it be not inſpired with the power of love: which we may ſee yet more evidently by this one argument; namely, that there be many men who will be content to part with others in this kind of venereous pleaſure, yea, and can find in their harts to proſtitute unto them not only their miſtreſſes and concubines, but alſo their owne eſpouſed wives; as it is reported of that *Galba* or *Cabbas* a Romane, who, if I doe not miſtake, invited *Mæcenas* upon a time unto his houſe, & feaſted him; where perceiving how from him to his wife there paſſed ſome wanton nods and winkings, which bewraied that hee had a minde and fancie to her, he gently reſted his head upon a pillow or cuſhion, making ſemblance as though he would take a nap and ſleepe, whiles they dallied together: in the meane time when one of the ſervants which were without ſpying his time, came ſoftly to the table for to ſteale away ſome of the wine that ſtood there; avaunt unhappy knave (quoth *Galba*) being broad awake, and open eied, knoweſt thou not that I ſleepe onely for *Mæcenas* ſake? But peradventure this was not ſo ſtrange a matter, conſidering that the ſaid *Galba* was no better than one of the buffons or pleaſants that profeſſe to make folke merry and to laugh. I will tell you therefore another example: At *Argos* there were two of the principall citizens concurrents, and oppoſite one to the other in the government of the city, the one was named *Philoſtratus*, & the other *Phaulius*; now it fortuned upon a time that king *Philip* came to the towne: and commonly thought it was, that *Phaulius* plotted and practiſed to atteine unto ſome abſolute principallity and ſovereignty in the city, by the meanes of his wife, who was a yoong and beautifull ladie, in caſe he could bring her once to the kings bed, and that ſhe might lie with him. *Nicoſtratus* ſmelling and perceiving as much, walked before *Phaulius* doore and about his houſe for the nonce, to ſee what he would do: who indeed having ſhod his wife with a paire of high ſhooes, caſt about her a mantle or mandilion, and withall ſet upon her head a chaplet or hat after the Macedonian faſhion, and dreſſed her every way like unto one of the kings pages; ſent her ſecretly in that habit and attire unto his lodging. Now conſidering there hath beene in times paſt and is at this preſent ſuch a number of amourous perſons and lovers, have you ever read or knowen that any one of them hath beene the bawd to proſtitute his owne love, though he might thereby have gained ſovereigne majeſty, and obteined the divine honours of *Jupiter*? I verily beleeve no: for why? there is not a perſon dare quetch to contradict and oppoſe himſelfe in government of State againſt the actions of princes and tyrants? But on the other ſide, corrivals they have and concurrents many in love, ſuch as will not ſticke to beard them in the queſtion of faire, yong and beautifull perſons, whom they affect and fancie. For it is reported that *Ariſtogiton* the Athenian, *Antileon* the Metapontine, and *Menalippus* of *Agrigentum* never contended nor conteſted with the tyrants, for all they ſaw them to waſte and ruinate the common-weale, yea, to commit many enormious outrages; but when they began once to ſollicit and tempt their paramors and loves, then they roſe up as it were in the defence of their ſacred temples and ſanctuaries, then they ſtood againſt them even with the hazzard and perill of their lives. It is ſaid, that king *Alexander* wrote unto *Theodorus* the brother of *Proteas* in this wiſe: Convey unto me that Muſicall wench of thine, that ſings ſo daintily, and receive for her ten talents, which I ſend by this bearer; let me have her, I ſay, unleſſe thou thy ſelfe be in love with her. When *Antipatrides* another of his minions, came in a maske on a time to his houſe, accompanied with a prety girle that plaied upon the pſaltery, & ſung paſſing well; *Alexander* taking great delight & contentment in the ſaid damoſell, demanded of *Antipatrides*, whether he were not himſelfe enamoured of her. And when he anſwered, Yes verily, and that exceeding much. A miſchiefe on thee (quoth he) leud varlet as thou art, and the divell take thee: but the wench he abſteined from, and would not ſo much as touch her. But marke moreover & beſides, of what power, even in martiall feats of armes, Love is: Love I ſay, which is not (as ſaith *Euripides*)

Of nature ſlow, dull, fickle, inconſtant,
Nor in ſoft cheeks of maidens reſiant.

For a man that is poſſeſſed ſecretly in his heart with Love, needeth not the aſſiſtance of *Mars* when he is to encounter with his enemies in the field; but having a god of his owne within him, and preſuming of his preſence,

Moſt preſt he is and reſolute,
to paſſe through fire and ſeas;
The blaſts of moſt tempeſtuous windes,
he cares not to appeaſe.

And all for his friends ſake, and according as he commandeth him. And verily, of thoſe children, aſwell ſonnes as daughters, of lady *Niobe*, who in a Tragœdie of *Sophocles* are repreſented to be ſhot with arrowes, and ſo killed, one there was, who called for no other to helpe and ſuccor her at the point of death, but onely her paramor, in this wiſe:

Oh that ſome god my Love would ſend,
My life to ſave, and me defend.

Ye all know I am ſure, doe ye not? how and wherefore *Cleomachus* the Theſſalian died in combat? Not I for my part (quoth *Pemptides*) but gladly would I heare and learne of you. And it is a ſtorie (quoth my father) worth the hearing and the knowledge. There came to aide the Chalcidians, at what time as there was hot warre in *Theſſalie* againſt the Eretrians, this *Cleomachus*: now the Chalcidians ſeemed to be ſtrong enough in their footmen, but much adoe they had, and thought it was a difficult piece of ſervice, to breake the cavallerie of their enemies, and to repell them. So they requeſted *Cleomachus* their allie and confederate, a brave knight, and of great courage, to give the firſt charge, and to enter upon the ſaid men of armes. With that, he asked the youth whom he loved moſt entirely, and who was there preſent, whether he would beholde this enterpriſe, and ſee the conflict: and when the yong man anſwered Yea, and withall, kindly kiſſing and embracing him, ſet the helmet upon his head; *Cleomachus* much more hardy and fuller of ſpirit than before, aſſembled about him a troupe of the moſt valourous hoſemen of all the Theſſalians, advanced forward right gallantly, and with great reſolution ſet upon the enemies, in ſuch ſort, as at the very firſt encounter he brake the front, diſarraied the men of armes, and in the end put them to flight. Which diſcomfiture, when their infanterie ſaw, they alſo fled: and ſo the Chalcidians woon the field, and atchieved a noble victorie. Howbeit, *Cleomachus* himſelfe was there ſlaine, and the Chalcidians ſhew his ſepulchre and monument in their Market place, upon which there ſtandeth, even at this day, a mighty pillar erected. And whereas the Chalcidians before-time held this pæderaſtie or love of yoong boies an infamous thing, they of all other Greeks ever after affected and honoured it moſt. But *Ariſtotle* writeth, that *Cleomachus* indeed loſt his life after he had vanquiſhed the Eretrians in battell: but as for him who was thus kiſſed by his lover, he ſaith that he was of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*, ſent for to aide thoſe of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*: and hereupon it commeth that the Chalcidians uſe to chant ſuch a caroll as this:

Sweet boies, faire impes extract from noble race,
Endued beſides with youth and beauties grace,
Envie not men of armes and bolde courage,
Fruition of your prime and flowring age:
For here aſwell of Love and kinde affection,
As of proweſſe, we all do make profeſſion.

The lover was named *Anton*, and the boy whom he loved *Philiſtus*, as *Dionyſius* the Poet writeth in his booke * of Cauſes.

* Or entituled *Antia*.

And in our city of *Thebes*, ô *Pemptides*, did not one *Ardetas* give unto a youth whom he loved, a complet armour, the day that he was enrolled ſouldier, with the inſcription of *Ardetas* his owne name? And as for *Pammenes* an amorous man and one well experienced in love matters, he changed and altered the ordinance in battell of our footmen heavily armed, reprooving *Homer* as one that had no skill nor experience of love; for ranging the Achæans by their tribes and wards, and not putting in array the lover cloſe unto him whom he loveth: for this indeed had beene the right ordinance, which *Homer* deſcribeth in theſe words:

The Morians ſet ſo cloſe, and ſhield to ſhield
So iointly touch'd, that one the other held.

And this is the onely battalion and armie invincible. For men otherwhiles in danger abandon thoſe of their tribe, their kindred alſo and ſuch as be allied unto them: yea, and beleeve me, they forſake their owne fathers and children: but never was there enemie ſeene, that could paſſe through, and make way of evaſion betweene the lover and his darling, conſidering that ſuch, many times, ſhew their adventerous reſolution in a bravery, and how little reckoning they make of life, unto them being in no diſtreſſe nor requiring ſo much at their hands. Thus *Thero* the Theſſalian laying and clapping his left hand to a wall, drew forth his ſword with the right, and cut off his owne thumbe, before one whom he loved, and challenged his corrivall to doe as much, if his heart would ſerve him. Another chanced in fight to fall groveling upon his face, and when his enemie lifted up his ſword to give him a mortall wound, he requeſted him to ſtay his hand a while untill he could turne his body, that his friend, whom he loved, might not ſee him wounded in his backe part. And therefore we may ſee, that not onely the moſt martiall and warlicke nations are moſt given to Love, to wit, the Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Candiots, but alſo divers renowmed princes and captaines, of olde time: as namely, *Meleager*, *Achilles*, *Ariſtomenes*, *Cimon*, *Epaminondas*. And as for the laſt named, he had two yong men whom he deerely loved, *Aſopicus* and *Zephiodorus*, who alſo died with him in the field at *Mantinea*, and was likewiſe interred neere unto him. And when *Aſopicus* became hereupon more terrible unto his enemies, and moſt reſolute, *Euchnanus* the Amphyſſian, who firſt made head againſt him, reſiſted his furie, and ſmote him, had heroique honors done unto him by the Phocæans. To come now unto *Hercules*; hard it were to reckon and number his loves they were ſo many: But among others, men honour and worſhip to this day *Iolaus*, becauſe they take him to have beene *Hercules* his derling, in ſo much as upon his tombe the manner is of lovers to take a corporall oth and aſſurance of reciprocall Love. Moreover it is reported of *Apollo*, that being ſkilfull in Phyſicke, he ſaved the life of *Alceſtis* being deſperatly ſicke, for to gratifie *Admetus*, who as he loved her intirely being his wife, ſo he was as tenderly beloved of him. For the Poets doe fable, that *Apollo*, being inamoured, for pure Love,

Did ſerve Admetus *one whole yeere*
As one that his hir'd ſervant were.

And here it falleth out, in ſome ſort well, that we have made mention of *Alceſtis*: for albeit women have ordinarily much dealing with *Mars*, yet the raviſhment and furious fits of Love driveth them otherwhiles to enterpriſe ſomewhat againſt their owne nature, even to voluntarie death; and if the poeticall fables are of any credit, and may goe currant for trueth, it is evident by ſuch reports as goe of * *Alceſtis* of *Proteſilaus*, and *Euridice* the wife of *Orpheus*, that *Pluto* obeieth no other god but onely Love, nor doth what they command. And verily howſoever in regard of all other gods, as *Sophocles* ſaith,

He cannot skill of equity,
of favour and of grace.
But onely with him Iuſtice ſtraight,
and rigour taketh place.

* For *Alceſtis* was reported to die for the love of *Admetus*, & to ſave his life.

Yet he hath good reſpect and reverence to lovers, and to them alone he is not implacable nor inflixible. And therefore a good thing it is, my friend, I confeſſe, to be received into the religious confraternity of the Eleuſinian myſteries: but I ſee that the votaries profeſſed in Love, are in the other world in better condition accepted with *Pluto*: And this I ſay as one who neither am too forward in beleeving ſuch fables of Poets, nor yet ſo backward as to diſtruſt and diſcredit them all: for I aſſure you they ſpeake well, and by a certaine divine fortune and good hap they hit upon the trueth, ſaying as they do, that none but lovers returne from hell unto this light againe: but what way and how they wot not; as wandring indeed and miſſing of the right path, which plato of all men firſt by the meanes of philoſophy found out and knew. And yet among the Aegyptians fables, there be certaine ſmall ſlender and obſcure ſhadowes of the truth, diſperſed here an there. Howbeit they had need of an expert and well experienced hunter, who by ſmall tracts knoweth how to trace and finde out great matters. And therefore let us paſſe them over.

And now that I have diſcourſed of the force and puiſſance of Love being ſo great as it appeareth, I come now to examine and conſider the bountie and liberality thereof to mankinde, not whether it conferre many benefits upon them, who are acquainted with it, and make uſe thereof (for notable they be and well knowen to all men) but whether it bringeth more and greater commodity to thoſe that are ſtudious of it, and be amorous? For *Euripides*, howſoever he were a great favourit of Love; yet ſo it is, that he promiſed and admired that in it, which of all others is leaſt, namely when he ſaid,

Love teacheth Muſicke, marke when you will
Though one before, thereof had no skill.

For he might as well have ſaid, that it maketh a man prudent and witty, who before was dull and fooliſh; yea & valiant, as hath beene ſaid, who before was a coward; like as they that by putting into fire burning peeces of wood, make them firme and ſtraight, where as they were before weake and tender: Semblably, every amorous perſon becommeth liberall and magnificent, although he had beene aforetime a pinching ſnudge: For this baſe avarice and micherie waxeth ſoft, and melteth by love, like as iron in the fire, in ſuch ſort, as men take more pleaſure to give away and beſtow upon thoſe whom they love, than they doe, to take and receive of others. For yee all know well how *Anytus* the ſonne of *Anthenion* was inamoured upon *Alcebiades*, and when he had invited certaine friends and gueſts of his unto a ſumptuous and ſtately feaſt in his houſe, *Alcibiades* came thither in a maske to make paſtime; and after he had taken with him one halfe of the ſilver cups that ſtood upon the boord before them, went his waies, which when the gueſts tooke not well, but ſaid that the youth had behaved himſelfe vere proudly and malipertly toward him. Not ſo (quoth *Anytus*) for he hath dealt very courteouſly with me, in that, when he might have gone away withall, he left thus much behinde for me. *Zeuxippus* taking ioy hereat: O *Hercules* (quoth he) you want but a little of ridding quite out of my heart that hereditary hatred derived and received from our anceſtors, which I have taken againſt *Anytus*, in the behalfe of *Socrates* and Philoſophie, in caſe he were ſo kinde and courteous in his love. Be it ſo (quoth my father) but let us proceed: Love is of this nature, that it maketh men otherwiſe melancholicke, auſtere, and hard to be pleaſed or converſed withall, to become more ſociable, gentle and pleaſant: for as ye know well enough,

More ſtately is that houſe in ſight,
Wherein the fire burnes cleere and bright:

and even ſo, a man is more lightſome and jocund, when he is well warmed with the heat of love. But the vulgar ſort of men are in this point ſomewhat perverſly affected and beſide all reaſon; for if they ſee a flaſhing celeſtiall light in an houſe by night, they take it to be ſome divine apparition, and woonder thereat: but when they ſee a baſe, vile, & abject mind ſuddenly repleniſhed with courage, libertie, magnificence, deſire of honour, with grace, favour and liberality, they are not forced to ſay as *Telemachus* did in *Homer*:

Certes, ſome god, I know full well,
Is now within, and here doth dwell.

And is not this alſo, quoth *Daphnæus*, (tell me, I pray you, for the love of all the Graces) an effect of ſome divine cauſe, that a lover who regardeth not, but deſpiſeth in a maner all other things, I ſay not his familiar friends onely, his fellowes and domeſticall acquaintance, but the lawes alſo and magiſtrates, kings and princes; who is afraid of nothing, admireth, eſteemeth and obſerveth nothing; and is beſides ſo hardy, as to preſent himſelfe before the flaſhing ſhot of piercing lightning, ſo ſoone as ever he eſpieth his faire love,

Like to ſome cocke of cravain kinde lets fall,
Or hangs the wing, and daunted is withall.

He droups I ſay, his courage is cooled, his heart is done, and all his animoſitie quailed quite. And heere it were not impertinent to the purpoſe, to make mention of *Sappho* among the Muſes. The Romans write in their hiſtory, that *Cacus* the ſonne of *Vulcane* breathed and flaſhed flames of fire from his mouth. And in trueth the words that *Sappho* uttereth, be mixed with fire, and by her verſes teſtifieth the ardent and flaming heat of her heart,

Seeking for love ſome cure and remedy
By pleaſant ſound of Muſes melodie.

as *Philoxenus* writeth. But *Daphnæus*, unleſſe peradventure the love of *Lyſandra* have made you to forget your olde ſports and delights wherewith you were wont to paſſe the time away, call to minde (I beſeech you) and rehearſe unto us thoſe ſweet verſes of faire *Sappho*, wherein ſhe ſaith, that when her love came in her ſight, ſhe loſt her voice preſently, and was ſpeechleſſe, her bodie ran all over into colde ſweats, ſhe became pale and wan, ſhe fell a trembling and quaking, her braines turned round, ſurpriſed ſhe was with dizzineſſe, and fell into a fainting fit of ſwowning.

Thrice happy do I holde that wight,
Who may eſtſoones enjoy thy ſight,
Of thy ſweet voice to reape delight,
And pleaſant ſmiles:
Which kindle in me ſuch a fire,
That, as I them do much admire,
My heart they raviſh, and deſire
Tranſport the whiles.
Thy face no ſooner doe I ſee,
But ſudden ſilence comes on me;
My tongue ſtrings all diſſolved bee,
And ſpeech quite gone:
Then, underneath my skin is ſpred
A firy fluſh of colour red;
With that mine eyes be darkened,
And ſight yeeld none.
Mine eares alſo do buzze and ring,
And yet diſtinctly heare nothing;
Cold drops of ſwet run down trickling,
Or ſtand as dew:
My joints anon and ſinewes ſhake,
My heart-root pants, my fleſh doth quake;
And paleneſſe ſoone doth overtake
My former hew.
And thus full wan I do remaine,
As flower in houſe that long hath laine,
Or graſſe in field, which wanting raine,
Doth quickly fade:
Untill at length in extaſie,
Withouten ſenſe and breath I lie;
As if death of me ſuddenly
Surprize had made.

When *Daphnæus* had recited this ſonet: Is not this (quoth my father, in the name of *Jupiter* I beſeech you) a plaine poſſeſſion of the minde by ſome heavenly power; is not this (I ſay) an evident motion and a very celeſtiall raviſhment of the ſpirit? What furious paſſion was there ever ſo great and ſtrong, that came upon the propheteſſe *Pythia*, when ſhe mounted that three-footed fabricke, from whence ſhe delivered oracles? Who ever was there ſo farre tranſported and caried beſide himſelfe by the pipes and flutes of fanaticall perſons ſuppoſed to be ſurprized by ſome divine ſpirit of furie, by the tabour and other ſtrange ceremonies in the ſervice of *Cybele* the mother of the gods? Many there be, that holde the ſame body, and looke upon the ſame beautie; but the amourous perſon onely is caught and raviſhed therewith. What ſhould be the reaſon of it? Certes, there is ſome cauſe thereof? Verily, when *Menander* ſheweth it unto us, yet we learne it not, nor underſtand his meaning by theſe verſes:

There is a maladie of the minde,
That it ſurpriſeth fatally:
Who ſmitten is therewith, doth finde
Himſelfe ſore wounded inwardly.

And heereof is god Love the cauſe, who toucheth one, and ſpareth another. But that which ought indeed to have been ſpoken rather at the firſt,

Since now it comes into my minde,
And way out of my mouth would finde.

as *Aeſchilus* ſaith, I thinke not good to overpaſſe in ſilence, being a matter of ſo great importance. For of all things els (my good friend) in a maner, whereof we take knowledge, not by the miniſterie of the five naturall ſenſes; ſome there be, that came into credit (at the beginning) and authority, by fables; other, by lawes; and the reſt, by doctrine and diſcourſe of reaſon. Now the conſtant beleefe and full perſwaſion of the gods, the firſt maſters, teachers and authors altother thereof, were Poets, Lawgivers, and in a third ranke, Philoſophers, who all with one accord jointly did ſet this downe as a verity, that Gods there be: howbeit, they are at great diſcord and variance, touching the number, order, nature, eſſence and power of them. For thoſe whom the Philoſophers acknowledge to be gods, are not ſubject to diſeaſes, nor to age, neither know they what it is to fele paine or endure trauell:

Eſcape they doe the paſſage of the firth,
Of roaring Acheron, and live in joy and mirth.

And in that regard Philoſophers admit not at all the Poeticall ἔριδας and λιταὶ, that is to ſay, contentions and reconſiliations: they will not allow Δεῖμος and φοβος, to be gods, nor confeſſe them to be the ſonnes of *Mars*: and in many points doe they differ alſo and diſſent from lawgivers; as *Xenophanes* did, who ſaid unto the Egyptians as touching *Oſiris*: if you take him for a mortall man, adore him not; if you account him an immortall god, lament not for him. Againe, the the Poets and lawgivers on the other ſide, deigne not, nor will abide ſo much as to heare thoſe Philoſophers who of certeine Idees, numbers, unities and ſpirits, make gods; neither can they poſſibly conceive and underſtand ſuch doctrine. In ſumme, much variety there is & diſſonance in their opinions, about this one point: but like as in old time there were three ſects or factions in *Athens*, al adverſe, oppoſite & malicious one unto the other, to wit, of the Paralli, the Epacrii, and Pædiæi: yet notwithſtanding, when they were aſſembled and met together in a generall councell, they gave all their voices and ſuffrages to *Solon*, and elected him with one common aſſent their peace-maker, their governour, and lawgiver, as one woorthy, without any queſtion or doubt at all, to have conferred upon him the principality and higheſt degree of vertue and honour: even ſo thoſe three ſects differing in opinion about the gods, and giving their voices ſome on this ſide, and others on that, and not willing to ſubſcribe one unto another, nor eaſily receiving that which is otherwiſe delivered than by themſelves, be all of one and the ſame minde as touching this one god Love; and him the moſt excellent Poets, the beſt Law givers, and the principall Philoſophers, admit with one voice into the regiſter and kalender of the gods, praiſing and extolling him highly in all their writings. and like as *Alcæus* ſaith, That all the Mitylenæans with one accord and generall conſent, choſe *Pittacus* for their ſoveraigne prince and tyrant; even ſo *Heſiodus*, *Plato*, and *Solon*, bring and conduct Love out of *Helicon*, into the Academie unto us, for our king, prince, and preſident, crowned and adorned gaily with garlands and chaplets of flowers, honored alſo, and accompanied with many ſhackles and couples profeſſing amitie and mutuall ſocietie: not ſuch as *Euripides* ſaith:

With fetters bound and tied was,
Farre ſtronger than of iron and braſſe.

Linking them by a cold, heavy, and maſſie chaine of need and neceſſitie, as a colourable vaile and pretence to ſhame and turpitude; but ſuch as are caried by winged chariots unto the moſt goodly and beautifull things in the world, whereof others have treated better and more at large. When my father had thus ſaid: See you not (quoth *Soclarus*) how being fallen now againe, the ſecond time into one and the ſame matter, you forced your ſelfe to turne away from it, I wot not how, avoiding to enter into this holy diſcourſe, and (if I may be ſo bold to ſay what I thinke) ſhifting off unjuſtly to pay the debt, which you have promiſed us? for having ere while by the way, and againſt your will made ſome little mention of the Aegyptians and of *Plato*; you paſſed them over then, and even ſo doe you at this preſent: as for that which *Plato* hath written, or rather theſe Muſes heere have by him delivered, I know well you will ſay nothing thereof; although we ſhould requeſt and pray you to doe it: but for that you have covertly ſignified thus much, that the mythologie or fables of the Aegyptians accord ſufficiently with the doctrine of the Platonikes concerning Love: it were againſt all reaſon that you ſhould refuſe to diſcover, reveale, and declare it unto us: and content will we be, in caſe we may heare but a little of ſuch great and important matters. Now when the reſt of the companie inſtantly intreated likewiſe; my father began againe and ſaid: That the Aegyptians like as the Greeks, acknowledge two kindes of Love, the one vulgar, the other celeſtiall: they beleeve alſo that there is a third beſide, to wit, the ſunne; and *Venus* above all they have in great admiration; as for us we ſee a great affinity and reſemblance betweene Love and the ſunne; for neither of them both is (as ſome doe imagine) a materiall fire, but the heat of the one and the other is milde and generative; for that which proceedeth from the ſunne, giveth unto bodies nouriture, light, and deliverance from cold winter; that which commeth from the other worketh the ſame effects in ſoules: and as the ſunne betweene two clouds, and after a foggy miſt breaketh foorth moſt ardent: even ſo Love after anger, fallings out, and fits of jealouſie; upon attonement and reconciliation made betweene

tweene Lovers, is more pleaſant and fervent: and looke what conceit ſome have of the ſunne, that it is kindled and quenched alternatiuely, namely, that every evening it goeth out, and every morning is lighted againe: the ſame they have of Love, as being mortall, corruptible, and not permanent in one eſtate: moreover, that habite or conſtitution of the body which is not exerciſed and inured to endure both cold and heat, can not abide the ſunne; no more can that nature of the ſoule which is not well nurtured and liberally taught, be able to brooke Love, without ſome paine and trouble; but both the one and the other is tranſported out of order, yea and indiſpoſed or diſeaſed alike, laying the weight upon the force and power of Love, and not upon their owne impuiſſance and weakneſſe: this onely ſeemeth to be the difference betweene them; that the ſunne exhibiteth and ſheweth unto thoſe upon the earth who have their eie-ſight, things beautifull and foule indifferently; whereas Love is the light that repreſenteth faire things onely, cauſing lovers to be lookers of ſuch alone, and to turne toward them; but contrariwiſe to make none account of all others. Furthermore, they that attribute the name of *Venus* to the earth, are induced thereto by no ſimilitude nor proportion at all; for that *Venus* is divine and celeſtiall, but the region wherein there is a mixture of mortall with immortall, is of it ſelfe feeble, darke, and ſhadie, when the ſunne ſhineth not upon it; like as *Venus*, when love is not aſſiſtant unto it: and therefore more credible it is, that the moone ſhould reſemble *Venus*, and the ſunne Love, rather than any other god; yet are not they therefore all one, becauſe the body is not the ſame that the ſoule is, but divers; & like as the ſunne is ſenſible & viſible; but Love ſpirituall and intelligible: and if this might ſeeme a ſpeech ſomewhat harſh, a man might ſay, that the ſunne doeth cleane contrary unto Love, for that it diverteth our underſtanding from the ſpeculation of things intelligible unto the beholding of objects ſenſible, in abuſing and deceiving it by the pleaſure and brightneſſe of the ſight, perſwading it to ſeeke in it, and about it, as all other things; ſo trueth it ſelfe, and nothing elſe where, being raviſhed with the Love thereof,

For that we ſee it ſhine ſo faire
Vpon the earth, amid the aire.

according as *Euripides* ſaith, and that for want of knowledge and experience of another life, or rather by reaſon of forgetfulneſſe of thoſe things which Love reduceth into our memorie. For like as when we awake in ſome great and reſplendent light, all nightly viſions and apparitions vaniſh away and depart, which our ſoule ſaw during ſleepe: even ſo it ſeemeth that the ſunne doeth aſtoniſh the remembrance of ſuch things as heere happen and chance in this life; yea, and to bewitch, charme, and enchant our underſtanding, by reaſon of pleaſure and admiration, ſo as it forgetteth what it knew in the former life: and verily there is the true & reall ſubſtance of thoſe things; but heere apparitions onely, by which our ſoule in ſleepe admireth, and embraceth that which is moſt beautifull, divine, and woonderfull: but as the Poet ſaith;

About the ſame are vaine illuſions,
Dreames manifold, and fooliſh viſions.

And ſo the mind is perſwaded that all things heere be goodly and precious, unleſſe haply by good adventure it meet with ſome divine, honeſt, and chaſte Love for to be her Phyſicion and ſavior; which paſſing from the other world by things corporall, may conduct and bring it to the truth, and to the pleaſant fields thereof, wherein is ſeated and lodged, the perfect, pure, and naturall beautie, not ſophiſticate with any mixture of that which is counterfet and falſe; where they deſire to embrace one another, and to commune together as good friends, that of long time have had no interview nor entercourſe, aſſiſted alwaies by Love, as by a Sextaine, who leadeth by the hand thoſe that are profeſſed in ſome religion, ſhewing unto them all the holy reliques and ſacred ceremonies one after another. Now when they be ſent hether againe, the ſoule by it ſelfe can not come neere and approch thereto, but by the organe of the body: and like as, becauſe yoong children of themſelves are not able to comprehend intelligible things; therefore Geometricians put into their hands viſible and palpable formes, of a ſubſtance incorporall and impaſſible, to wit, the repreſentations of ſphæres, cubes, or ſquare bodies, as alſo thoſe that be *dodecaedra*, that is to ſay, having twelve equall faces: even ſo the celeſtiall Love doth preſent and ſhew unto us, faire mirrors to behold therein beautifull things, howbeit mortall, thereby to admire ſuch as be heavenly and divine; ſenſible objects, for to imagine thereby thoſe that be ſpirituall and intelligible. Theſe be the ſeverall favors and beauties, faire colours, pleaſant ſhapes, proportions and features of yoong perſons in the floure of their age; which ſhining and glittring as they doe, gently excite and ſtirre up our memorie, which by little and little at the firſt is enflamed thereby: whereby it commeth to paſſe that ſome through the folly of their friends and kinsfolke, endevoring to extinguiſh this affection and paſſion of the minde, by force, and without reaſon, have enjoied no benefit thereof, but either filled themſelves with trouble and ſmoke, or elſe running with their heads forward, into beaſtly and filthy pleaſures, pined away and were conſumed. But ſuch as by wiſe and diſcret diſcourſe of reaſon, accompanied with honeſt and ſhamefaſt modeſtie, have taken from Love the burning furious and firie heat thereof, and left behinde in the ſoule a ſplendeur and light, together with a moderate heat (and not a boiling agitation thereof, ſtirring, as one ſaid, a ſlippery motion of the ſeed, when as the atomes of *Epicurus* by reaſon of their ſmoothneſſe and tickling are driven together) which cauſeth a certeine dilatation, woonderfull degenerative, like as in a plant or tree, which putteth foorth leaves, bloſſomes, and fruit; for that ſhe receiveth nutriment, becauſe the pores and paſſages of docilitie, obedience and facilitie, to be perſwaded by enterteining gently good admonitions and remonſtrances be open, ſuch I ſay within a ſmall time pierce farther, and paſſe beyond the bodies of thoſe whom they Love, entring as farre as into their ſoules, and touch their towardneſſe, their conditions and manners, reclaiming their eies from beholding the bodie, and converſing together by the communication of good diſcourſes, behold one another by that meanes; provided alwaies that they have ſome marke and token of true beautie imprinted within their underſtanding; which if they cannot finde, they forſake them, and turne their Love unto others, after the maner of bees, which leave many greene leaves and faire floures, becauſe they can gather out of them no hony; but looke when they meet with any trace, any influence, or ſemblance of divine beauty ſmiling upon them, then being raviſhed with delight and admiration, and drawing it unto them, they take joy and contentment in that which is truly amiable, expetible, and to be embraced of all men.

True it is that Poets ſeeme to write the moſt part of that which they deliver as touching this god of Love, by way of meriment, and they ſing of him as it were in a maske; and little doe they ſpeake in good earneſt touching the very truth, whether it be upon judgement and reaſon, or ſome divine inſtinct and inſpiration: as for example among other things, that which they give out concerning the generation of this god, in this maner:

Dame Iris *with faire winged ſhoes,*
and golden yellow haire,
Conceived by ſir Zephyrus,
the mightieſt god did beare.

unleſſe it be ſo that you alſo are perſwaded by the Grammarians, who holde that this fable was deviſed to expreſſe the variety and gay divertſiy, as it were of ſundry colours repreſented in this paſſion of Love. For, what elſe ſhould in reſpect (quoth *Daphnæus.*) Liſten then ſaid my father, and I will tell you. Forced we are, by manifeſt evidence to beleeve, that when we behold the rainbow, it is nothing elſe but a reflexion of raies and beames, which our eies ſuffer, when our ſight falling upon a cloud ſomwhat moiſt but even & ſmooth withall and of an indifferent and meane * thickeneſſe, meeteth with the Sunne beames, and by way of repercuſſion ſeeth the radiant raies thereof, and the ſhining light about it, and ſo imprinteth in our mind this opinion, that ſuch an apparition indeed is ſettled upon the clowd. And even ſuch is the ſophiſticall device and ſubtile invention of that in the generous and toward minds of gentle lovers, it cauſeth a certaine reflexion of memorie, from beauties appearing here, and ſo called, in regard of that divine, lovely indeed, bleſſed and admirable beautie. Howbeit the common ſort, purſuing and apprehending the image onely thereof, expreſſed in faire perſons, as well boies as yong damoſels, as it were in mirrors, can reape no fruit more certaine and aſſured than a little pleaſure mingled with paine among; which is nothing elſe as it ſeemeth, but the error and wandring dizzineſſe or conceit of moſt folke, who in clowds and ſhadowes ſeeke and hunt after the contentment of their luſt and deſire: much like unto yong children who thinke to catch the rainbow in their hands, being drawen and allured thereto by the deceitfull ſhew preſented to their eies. Whereas the true lover indeed, who is honeſt and chaſt, doth farre otherwiſe: for he lifteth up his deſire from thence to a divine, ſpirituall and intelligible beauty: and whenſoever he meeteth with the beauty of a viſible bodie, he uſeth it as the inſtrument onely of his memorie, he imbraceth and loveth it: by converſing alſo with it ioifully, & with contentment, his underſtanding is more and more inflamed. Such amorous perſons as theſe, whiles they hant theſe bodies here, neither reſt ſo ſitting ſtill, in a deſire and admiration of this cleare beautie: nor when they are come

* παχος.

come thither after their death, returne they hither againe as fugitives, for to hover and keepe about the dores, chambers and cabinets of yong maried wives, which are nothing elſe but vaine dreames and illuſions appearing to ſenſuall men and women given overmuch to voluptuous pleaſures of the body, and ſuch as untruely be called lovers. For he ,who intrueth is amorous, and is thither come where true beauties are, and converſeth with them, as much as it is poſſible and lawfull for a man to doe, is winged anon, mounteth up on high, he is purified and ſanctified, continually abiding reſident above, dauncing, walking and diſporting alwaies about his god, untill he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Venus*, where, being laid a ſleepe, he beginneth to receive a regeneration and new nativity. But this is an higher point and deeper matter, than we have undertaken at this preſent to diſcourſe upon. To returne therefore unto our love, this propertie alſo it hath, like as all other gods, according to *Euripides*,

To take great joy and much content,
When men with honors him preſent.

And contrariwiſe, he is no leſſe diſpleaſed, when abuſe or contempt is offered unto him. For moſt kinde and gracious he is unto them that receive and intertaine him courteouſly : and againe as curſt and ſhrewd to thoſe who ſhew themſelves ſtiffe-necked and contumacious unto him. For neither *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Hoſpitall*, is ſo ready to chaſtice and puniſh wrongs done unto gueſts and ſuppliants, nor *Jupiter Genetal* ſo forward to proſecute & accompliſh the curſes and execrations of parents, as love quickly heareth the praiers of thoſe lovers who are unthankfully requited by their loves, being the puniſher of proud, rude, and uncivill perſons. For what ſhould one ſpeake of *Euchcyntus* and *Leucomantis*, her I meane, who even at this day is called in *Cypres*, *Paracyptuſa*? And peradventure you have not heard of the puniſhment of *Gorgo* in *Candia*, who was ſerved much after the maner of the ſaid *Paracyptuſa*, ſave onely that ſhe was turned into a ſtone, when ſhe would needs looke out at a window, and put forth her body to ſee the corps of her lover enterred. But of this *Gorgo* there was ſomtime one inamoured, whoſe name was *Aſander*, a yoong gentleman, honeſt, and of good parentage deſcended, who having beene before time of worſhipfull and wealthy eſtate, was decaied much and brought to poverty: howbeit his minde a bated not ſo withall, that he thought himſelfe unworthy of the beſt fortune that might be. Whereupon he ſued unto this *Gorgo* a kinſewoman of his, by way of mariage, notwithſtanding that for her goods and riches ſhe was much ſought unto & wooed by many others : and albeit he had divers great and wealthy competitors and corrivals, yet he had wrought and gained all the guardians, tutours and neereſt kinſfolke of the damoſell to ſerve his ſuit.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Here there is a great defect and breach in the originall.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Moreover thoſe things which are named to be the cauſes that engender Love, be not proper and peculiar to the one ſex or to the other, but common to them both. For thoſe images which from without perce and enter into amorous perſons, according to the Epicureans opinion, running to and fro, ſtirring and tickling the maſſe of the whole body, gliding and flowing into the genetall ſeed, by certaine other diſpoſitions of the atomes, it cannot be that they ſhould ſo doe from yong boies, and impoſſible altogether from women : unleſſe alſo theſe faire and ſacred recordations we call and referre unto that divine, true and celeſtiall beautie, according to the Platoniques, by the meanes of which rememorations as with wings the ſoule is mounted and carried up. What ſhould hinder then, but that ſuch recordations may paſſe as well from yong boies as damoſels or women? eſpecially when as we ſee a good nature, chaſt and honeſt, appeare iointly in the flower of favour and beauty, like as, according to *Ariſtotle*, a ſtraight and well faſhioned ſhoe, ſheweth the good forme and proportion of the foot : which is as much to ſay, as when under beautifull faces and in neat and faire bodies, they, who are ſkilfull in the knowledge and iudgement of ſuch things, perceive the cleare and evident traces of a ſincere minde not corrupt nor counterfait. For it is no reaſon that a voluptuous perſon being demanded this queſtion,

For wanton Love how ſtands thy minde?
To male more, or to female kinde?

and anſwering,

Both hands are right with me where beauty is,
Neither of twaine to mee can come a miſſe.

Should ſeeme to have made fit and pertinent anſwere according to his owne carnall concupiſcence: and that an honeſt and generous perſon ſhould not direct his affections to the beautiful and toward diſpoſition of a youthes nature, but to the naturall parts that make difference of ſex. Certes he that loveth horſes and is skilfull in good horſmanſhip, will love no leſſe the generoſity and ſwiftneſſe of the horſe Podergus, then of Aetha the mare of *Agamemnon.* And the huntſman, taketh not pleaſure onely to have good doggs and hounds of the male kinde, but alſo keepeth the braches and bithes of *Candie* and *Laconia.* And ſhall he who loveth the beauty and ſweet favour of mankind, not be indifferently affe cted both to the one ſex and to the other, but make a difference as in divers garments, betweene the love of men and women? And verily men ſay, that beauty is the flower and bloſſome of vertue. Now to ſay, that the feminine ſex doth not flower at all, nor ſhew any apparence and token of a good and towardly diſpoſition to vertue, were very abſurd: for *Aeſchylus* went to the purpoſe, when he wrote theſe verſes:

A damſell yoong, if ſhe have knowen
and taſted man once carnally,
Her eie doth it bewray anon,
it ſparkles fire ſuſpiciouſly.

Go to then: are there evident marks & ſignes to be ſeene upon the viſages of women, to teſtifie a malapert, bold, wanton, and corrupt nature; and contrariwiſe, ſhall there be no light ſhining in their faces, to give teſtimony of their modeſtie and pudicitie? Or rather, ſhall there be divers demonſtrative evidences in many of them, but yet ſuch as will not ſtirre up and provoke any perſon to love them? Surely it is neither ſo nor ſo; there is no trueth nor probabilitie in any of them both: but every thing is common indifferently, aſwell in the one ſex as the other, as we have ſhewed. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Here alſo there is another want in the originall.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

O *Daphnæus,* let us impugne and confute thoſe reaſons, whereupon *Zeuxippus* erewhile diſcourſed, ſuppoſing that Love is all one with concupiſcence, which is diſordinate, and leadeth the ſoule into all looſeneſſe and diſſolution. And yet do I not thinke, that he is ſo perſwaded indeed, and of that beliefe; but for that he hath heard often times odious perſons, and ſuch as have no lovelineſſe in them, ſo to ſay: of whom, ſome holde under their hands, and have at command, poore ſilly women, whom they have gotten for ſome petie dowries ſake, and whom together with their moneys they put to the managing of domeſticall affaires, and to make baſe, vile, and mechanicall accounts, quarrelling and brawling with them every day; and others againe, having more minde and deſire to get children, than to love eſpouſed wives, like unto graſhoppers, which caſt their ſeed upon ſquilles, ſea onions, or ſuch like herbs, having diſcharged their luſt in all the haſte upon any body that firſt comes in their way, and reaped the fruit onely that they ſought for, bid mariage farewell, and make no farther account of their wedded wives, or if they tary and ſtay with them ſtill, they regard them no more than their olde ſhoes, making no count either to love them, or to be loved reciprocally of them. And verily, στέργειν and στέργεσθαι, which ſignifie, to love and to be loved againe dearely, which differ but in one letter from the verbe στέγειν, that is to ſay, to conteine and holde together, ſeeme unto me at the firſt ſight, directly to import and ſhew a mutuall benevolence, by long time and acquaintance tempered with a kinde of neceſſity. But looke what perſon ſoever love ſetleth upon in mariage, ſo as he be inſpired once therewith; at the very firſt, like as it is in *Platoes* Common-wealth, he will not have theſe words in his mouth, *Mine* and *Thine*: for ſimply all goods are not common among all friends, but thoſe only who being ſevered apart in body, conjoine and colliquate, as it were perforce, their ſoules together, neither willing nor beleeving that they ſhould be twaine, but one: and afterwards by true pudicity and reverence one unto the other, whereof wedlocke hath moſt need. As for that which commeth from without, carying with it more force of lawe, than voluntary obſequence and reciprocall duty, and that in regard of feare and ſhame,

A piece of worke, that needs the guide
Of many bits and helmes beſide.

requireth alwaies to have ready at hand a carefull regard among thoſe that are coupled in matrimonie: whereas in true love there is ſo much continency, modeſty, loyalty and faithfulneſſe, that although otherwhile it touch a wanton and laſcivious minde, yet it diverteth it from other lovers, and by cutting off all malapert boldneſſe, by taking downe and debaſing inſolent pride and untaught ſtubburnneſſe, it placeth in lieu thereof, modeſt baſhfulneſſe, ſilence and taciturnity; it adorneth it with decent geſture, and ſeemly countenance, making it for ever after obedient to one lover onely. Ye have heard (I am ſure) of that moſt famous and renowmed courtiſan *Lais,* who was courted and ſought unto by ſo many lovers, and ye know well, how ſhe inflamed and ſet on fire all *Greece* with the love and longing deſire after her; or to ſay more truly, how two ſeas ſtrave about her? how after that the love of *Hippolochus* the Theſſalian had ſeaſed upon her, ſhe quit and abandoned the mount *Acrocorinthus,*

Seated upon the river ſide,
Which with greene waves by it did glide.

as one writeth of it; and flying ſecretly from a great army as it were of other lovers, ſhe retired herſelfe right decently within *Megalopolis* unto him; where other women upon very ſpight, envie and jelouſie, in regard of her ſurpaſſing beautie, drew her into the temple of *Venus,* and ſtoned her to death: whereupon it came, as it ſhould ſeeme, that even at this day they call the ſaid temple, The temple of *Venus* the murdereſſe. We our ſelves have knowen divers yoong maidens, by condition no better than ſlaves, who never would yeeld to lie with their maſter; as alſo ſundry private perſons of meane degree, who refuſed, yea, and diſdained the companie of queenes, when their hearts were once poſſeſſed with other love, which as a miſtreſſe had the abſolute command thereof. For like as at *Rome,* when there was a Lord Dictatour once choſen, all other officers of State and magiſtrates valed bonet, were preſently depoſed, and laied downe their enſignes of authority; even ſo thoſe, over whom Love hath gotten the maſtery and rule, incontinently are quit, freed and delivered from all other lords and rulers, no otherwiſe than ſuch as are devoted to the ſervice of ſome religious place. And in trueth an honeſt and vertuous dame, linked once unto her lawfull ſpouſe by unfained love, will ſooner abide to be clipped, claſped and embraced by any wolves and dragons, than the contrectation and bedfellowſhip of any other man whatſoever but her owne husband. And albeit there be an infinit number of examples among you here, who are all of the * ſame countrey, and profeſſed aſſociats in one dance with this god Love; yet it were not well done to paſſe over in ſilence the accidents which befell unto *Camma* the Galatian lady. This yong dame being of incomparable beauty, was maried unto a tetrarch or great lord of that countrey named *Sinnatus*; howbeit, one *Synorix* the mightieſt man of all the Galatians was enamoured upon her: but ſeeing that he could not prevaile with the woman neither by force and perſwaſion, ſo long as her husband lived, he made no more ado but murdred him. *Camma* then having no other refuge for her pudicity, nor comfort and eaſement of her hearts griefe, made choiſe of the temple of *Diana,* where ſhe became a religious votary, according to the cuſtome of that countrey. And verily the moſt part of her time ſhe beſtowed in the worſhip of that goddeſſe, and would not admit ſpeech with any ſuters, many though they were, and thoſe great perſonages, who ſought her mariage: but when *Synorix* had made meanes very boldly to aske her the queſtion, and to ſollicite her about that point, ſhe ſeemed not to reject his motion, nor to expoſtulate and be offended for any thing paſt, as if for pure love of her, and ardent affection, and upon no wicked and malicious minde unto *Sinnatus,* he had beene induced to do that which he did: and therefore *Synorix* came confidently to treat with her and demand mariage of her: ſhe alſo for her part came toward the man kindly, gave him her hand, and brought him to the altar of the ſaid goddeſſe; where after ſhe had made an offring unto *Diana,* by powring forth ſome little of a certeine drinke made of wine & hony, as it ſhould ſeeme, empoiſoned, which ſhe had put into a cup, ſhe began unto *Synorix,* & dranke up the one halfe of it, giving the reſt unto the ſaid Galatian for to pledge her. Now when ſhe ſaw that he had drunke it all off, ſhe fetched a grievous grone, and brake forth aloud into this ſpeech, naming withall her husband that dead was: My moſt loving and deere ſpouſe (quoth ſhe) I have lived thus long without thee in great ſorow and heavineſſe expecting this day; but now receive me joifully (ſeeing it is my good hap to be revenged for thy death upon this moſt wicked and ungratious wretch) as one moſt glad to have lived once with thee, and to die now with him. As for

* ὁμοχωρους, or haply ὁμο-χορους.

for *Synorix*, he was caried away from thence in a litter, and died ſoone after; but *Camma* having ſurvived him a day and a night, died by report moſt reſolutely and with exceeding joy of ſpirit. Conſidering then, that there be many ſuch like examples, aſwel among us here in *Greece*, as the Barbarians, who is able to endure thoſe that reproch and revile Love, as if being aſſociate and aſſiſtant to love, ſhe ſhould hinder amitie? whereas contrariwiſe, the company of male with male, a man may rather terme intemperance and diſordinate laſciviouſneſſe, crying out upon it in this maner:

Groſſe wantonneſſe or filthie luſt, it is
Not Venus *faire that worketh this.*

And therefore ſuch filths & baggages as take delight to ſuffer themſelves voluntarily thus to be abuſed againſt nature, we reckon to be the woorſt and moſt flagitious perſons in the world; no man repoſeth in them any truſt, no man doth them any jote of honor and reverence, nor vouchſafeth them woorthy of the leaſt part of friendſhip: but in very trueth, according to *Sophocles*,

Such friends as theſe, men are full glad
  and joy when they be gone:
But whiles they have them, wiſh and pray,
  that they were rid anone.

As for thoſe, who being by nature leaud and naught, have beene circumvented in their youth, aad forced to yeeld themſelves and to abide this villany and abuſe, al their life after, abhorre the ſight of ſuch wicked wantons, and deadly hate them, who have bene thus diſpoſed to draw them to this wickedneſſe; yea, and ready they are to be revenged, and to pay them home at one time or other, whenſoever meanes and opportunity is offered: for upon this occaſion *Cratenas* killed *Archelaus*, whom, in his flower of youth he had thus ſpoiled: as alſo *Pytholaus* ſlew *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheræ*. And *Periander* the tyrant of *Ambracia* demanded upon a time of the boy whom he kept, whether he were not yet with childe: which indignity the youth tooke ſo to the heart, that he ſlew him outright in the place: whereas, with women, and thoſe eſpecially that be eſpouſed and wedded wives, theſe be the earneſt penies as it were and beginnings of amity, yea, & the very obligation and ſociety of the moſt ſacred & holieſt ceremonies. As for fleſhly pleaſure it ſelfe, the leaſt thing it is of all other: but the mutuall honour, grace, dilection and fidelity that ſpringeth and ariſeth from it daily, is highly to be reckoned and accounted of: and therefore neither can the Delphians be noted for follie, in that they terme *Venus* ἅρμα, that is to ſay, a chariot; by reaſon of this yoke-fellowſhip: nor *Homer*, in calling this conjunction of man and wife, φιλότης, that is to ſay, amity and friendſhip. *Solon* likewiſe is deemed by this, to have beene an excellent law-giver, and moſt expert in that which concerneth mariage; when he decreed expreſly, that the husband ſhould thrice in a moneth at the leaſt embrace his wife and company in bed with her; not for carnall pleaſures ſake, (I aſſure you) but like as cities and ſtates uſe, after a certeine time betweene, to renew their leagues and confederacies one with another, ſo he would have that the alliance of mariage ſhould eftſooones be enterteined anew by ſuch ſolace and delectation, after jarres, which otherwhiles ariſe and breed by ſome bone caſt betweene. Yea, but there be many enormious and furious parts, will ſome one ſay, that are plaied by ſuch as are in love with women. And be there not more (I pray) by thoſe that are enamoured upon boies? do but marke him who uttereth theſe paſſionate words:

So often as theſe eies of mine behold
That beardleſſe youth, that ſmooth and lovely boy,
I faint and fall: then wiſh I him to hold
Within mine armes, and ſo to die with joy:
And that on tombe were ſet where I do lie,
An Epigram, mine end to teſtifie.

But as there is a furious paſſion in ſome men doting upon women, ſo there is as raging an affection in others toward boies, but neither the one nor the other is love. Well, moſt abſurd it were to ſay that women are not endued with other vertues: for what need we to ſpeake of their temperance and chaſtity, of their prudence, fidelity and juſtice: conſidering that even fortitude it ſelfe, conſtant confidence and reſolution, yea and magnaminity, is in many of them very evident. Now to holde, that being by nature not indiſpoſed unto other vertues, they are untoward for amitie onely and frendſhip, (which is an imputation laid upon them) is altogether beſide all reaſon. For well knowen it is that they be loving to their children and husbands: and this their naturall affection, is like unto a fertile field or battell ſoile, capable of amitie, not unapt for perſwaſion, nor deſtitute of the Graces. And like as Poeſie having fitted unto ſpeech ſong, meeter and rhime as pleaſant ſpices to aromatize and ſeaſon the ſame, by meanes whereof, that profitable inſtruction which it yeeldeth, is more attractive and effectuall, as alſo the danger therein more inevitable: Even ſo nature, having endued a woman with an amiable caſt and aſpect of the eie, with ſweet ſpeech, and a beautifull countenance; hath given unto her great meanes, if ſhe be laſcivious and wanton, with her pleaſure to decive a man; and if ſhe be chaſte and honeſt, to gaine the good will and favour of her husbaud. *Plato* gave counſell unto *Xenocrates* an excellent Philoſopher, and a woorthy perſonage otherwiſe, howbeit in his behavior exceeding ſoure and auſtere, to ſacrifice unto the Graces: and even ſo a man might adviſe a good matron, and ſober dame, to offer ſacrifice unto Love, for his propitious favour unto mariage, and his reſidence with her, and that her husband, by her kind loving demeanour unto him, may keepe home, and not ſeeke abroad to ſome other, and ſo be forced in the end to breake out into ſuch ſpeeches as theſe out of the Comœdie:

Wretch that I am, and man unhappy I
So good a wife to quit with injury.

For in wedlocke, to love, is a better and greater thing by farre, than to be loved; for it keepeth folke from falling into many faults & ſlips, or to ſay more truly, it averteth them from all thoſe inconveniences which may corrupt, marre, & ruinate a mariage: as for thoſe paſſionate affections, which in the beginning of matrimoniall love moove fittes, ſomewhat poinant and biting, let me entreat you (good friend *Zeuxippus*) not to feare, for any exulceration or ſmart itch that they have, although to ſay a trueth, it were no great harme if haply by ſome little wound, you come to be incorporate and united to an honeſt woman; like as trees that by inciſion are engraffed and grow one within another: for when all is ſaid, is not the beginning of conception a kinde of exulceration; neither can there be a mixture of two things into one, unleſſe they mutually ſuffer one of the other, & be reciprocally affected. And verily, the Mathematical rudiments which children be taught, at the beginning trouble them, even as Philoſophie alſo at the firſt is harſh unto yong men: but like as this unpleaſantneſſe continueth not alwaies with thẽ, no more doeth that mordacity ſticke ſtill among lovers. And it ſeemeth that Love at the firſt reſembleth the mixture of two liquors, which when they begin to incorporate together, boile and worke one with another: for even ſo Love ſeemeth to make a certaine confuſed tract and ebullition; but after a while that the ſame be once ſetled and throughly clenſed, it bringeth unto Lovers a moſt firme and aſſured habit: and there is properly that mixtion and temperature which is called univerſall, and thorough the whole: whereas the love of other friends converſing and living together, may be very well compared to the mixtion which is made by theſe touching and interlacings of atomes, which *Epicurus* ſpeaketh of; and the ſame is ſubject to ruptures, ſeparations, and ſtartings a ſunder: neither can it poſſibly make that union which matrimoniall love and mutuall conjunction doeth: for neither doe there ariſe from any other Loves greater pleaſures, nor commodities more continually one from another, ne yet is the benefit and good of any other friendſhip ſo honorable or expetible, as

When man and wife keepe houſe with one accord,
Aud lovingly agree at bed and bord.

Eſpecially when the law warranteth it, and the bond of procreation common betweene them, is aſſiſtant thereto. And verily nature ſheweth that the gods themſelves have need of ſuch love: for thus the Poets ſay, that the heaven loveth the earth; and the Naturaliſts hold, that the Sunne likewiſe is in love with the Moone, which every moneth is in conjunction with him, by whom alſo ſhe conceiveth. In briefe, muſt it not follow neceſſarily, that the earth, which is the mother and breeder of men, of living creatures, and all plants, ſhall periſh and be wholly extinct: when love, which is ardent deſire, and inſtinct inſpired from god, ſhall abandon the matter, and the matter likewiſe ſhall ceaſe to luſt and ſeeke after the principle and cauſe of her conception.

But to the end that we may not range too farre, nor uſe any ſuperfluous and nugatory words, your ſelfe doe know, that theſe pæderaſties are of all other moſt uncertaine, and ſuch as uſe them are wont to ſcoffe much thereat and ſay, that the amitie of ſuch boies is in manner of an egge divided three waies; and as for themſelves, they reſemble the wandring Nomades in *Scythia*, who having encamped in the ſpring time, and paſtured where the fields be greene and full

* ὥσπερ ᾠὸν αὐτῶν τριχῆ αἱρεῖσθαι, φιλία, ſome read ἅμα τριχὶ, with the haire. But in what ſenſe either the one or other, *viderint alij*. But the place is ſo corrupt every way, that is ſkilleth not if it be not underſtood at all.

of flowers, preſently diſlodge and depart as it were out of an enemies countrey. And yet *Bion* the Sophiſter was more rough and odious in his words toward ſuch, when he termed the firſt downe or haires appearing upon the face of beautifull youthes *Harmodii*, and *Ariſtogitones*; for that by them Lovers were delivered out of the tyrannie of ſuch faire perſons, when they begin once to budde and put foorth. But theſe imputations are not juſtly charged upon true Lovers. As for that which *Euripides* ſaid, it was pretie, and caried ſome elegancie with it; for as he embraced and kiſſed faire *Agathon*, even when his beard began to grow, he ſaid: that of faire perſons, the very latter ſeaſon of the Autumne was lovely and beautiful. But I ſay more than ſo, namely, that the lovelineſſe of honeſt women paſſeth not away with rivels, wrinckles, and hoarie haires, but continue alwaies even to their ſepulchre and tombes of memoriall. Againe, there are but a few couples in that other ſex, of true Lovers; but of men and women joined in wedlocke, an infinite number, who to the very laſt houre have kept moſt faithfully their loialty and hearty love reciprocally one unto the other. But one example among many other, which befell in our daies, under *Veſpaſian* the emperour, I will relate unto you. *Julius*, he who in *Galatia* was the author of a revolt, and raiſed a rebellion, had many other complices, (as a man may well thinke) of this conſpiracie, and among the reſt, one *Sabinus* a yoong gentleman of an high ſpirit, and for wealth and reputation, a principall perſon, and of ſpeciall marke: theſe men having enterpiſed a great deſſeigment, failed of their purpoſe; and expecting no other but that they ſhould, according to juſtice, ſuffer due puniſhmẽt according to their deſerts, ſome killed themſelves, other thinking to eſcape by flight, were apprehended; as for *Sabinus*, all other good and ready meanes he had to ſave himſelfe, and flie unto the Barbarians in a ſtrange countrey: but lately he had taken to wife, a moſt vertuous dame, and every way right excellent, whoſe name in thoſe parts was * *Empona*, as one would ſay in the Greeke language, ἡρῶις, that is to ſay, a princeſſe or great lady; but her he could not poſſibly either in his love endure to forſake nor find meanes to take with him: whereas therefore he had at an houſe in the country certeine ſecret vaults, & hidden cellars deepe under the ground, where he beſtowed his treaſure & goods in ſafteie, and thoſe knowen to two of his enfranchiſed ſervants, and no more; the reſt of his houſhold ſervitors he diſcharged and ſent away; pretending unto them, that he was reſolved to poiſon himſelfe; & reteining ſtill about him thoſe two truſty freed men, with them he went downe into thoſe ſecret caves or vaults digged out of the ground; which done, he ſent one of theſe enfranchiſed ſervants of his, whoſe name was * *Martalinus* unto his wife, to let her underſtand that he had killed himſelfe with poiſon, and that the whole houſe together with his corps was burnt; for his purpoſe was by the unfeined ſorrow and mourning of his wife, to make the rumour that ran of his death, the better to be beleeved; & ſo it fell out in very deed: for no ſooner heard ſhe this newes, but with piteous cries, & dolefull lamentations, ſhe caſt herſelfe upon the ground, where ſhe at that time was, & lay there along for three daies and three nights together, without meat or drinke: which when *Sabinus* heard, fearing leaſt the woman would by this meanes worke her owne death; he commanded the ſaid *Martalinus* to round her ſecretly in the eare, that he was yet living, and lay hidden within the ground, requeſting her withall, that ſhe would continue ſtill a while longer in this mournefull ſtate, bewailing her husbands death, yet ſo, as ſhe might not be perceived to counterfet; and verily this yoong ladie in all other reſpects performed the tragicall ſhew of that calamitie ſo artificially, and plaied her part with ſuch dexteritie, that ſhe confirmed the opinions received and divulged of his death: but having a longing deſire to ſee him, ſhe went by night unto him, and came againe the ſame, ſo ſecretly, that no creature perceived it; and thus continued ſhe this haunt from time to time, for the ſpace of ſeven moneths, keeping company, and lying as one would ſay in hell under the ground with her husband; during which time, ſhe one day diſguiſed *Sabinus* in his apparell, and what with ſhaving his beard, and knitting about his head a kerchiefe, ſhe ordered the matter ſo, that he could not be knowen to them that met him: and upon hope of obteining pardon, ſhe brought him with her to *Rome*, with other ſtuffe and cariages of hers: but when ſhe could not ſpeed, ſhe retired againe into the countrey, and for the moſt part abode and converſed with him under the grond: howbeit, otherwhiles betweene, ſhe would repaire to the city, and ſhew herſelfe unto other women her friends, and of her familiar acquaintance. But that which of all other ſeemeth moſt incredible, ſhe handled the matter ſo, that it was never perceived ſhe was with childe, albeit ſhe waſhed and bathed ordinarily with other dames and wives of the citie; for the oile or ointment wherewith women uſe to annoint the haire of their head,

* Or, *Empominance.*

* Or, *Martialis.*

for to make the ſame faire and yellow like burniſhing gold, hath a certaine propertie in it to pinguifie withall, to incarnate, and ſo to raiſe and rarifie the fleſh, that it cauſeth it to be lax, and ſo to ſwell and puffe up more plumpe: of this medicinable oile ſhe made no ſpare, but uſed to rub and beſmeare the other parts of her body, in ſuch ſort, as that by their proportionable riſing, ſhe hid her great belly, which grew more round and full every daie than other. Now when her time was come, ſhe endured the pangs and paines of her travell in child-birth, alone by herſelfe; being gone downe to her husband like a lioneſſe into her denne, and there ſhe ſuckled at her owne breſt ſecretly, if I may ſo ſay, her male whelpes, for two boy twinnes ſhe was delivered of; of which two ſonnes, the one chanced to be ſlaine in *Aegypt*, the other, not long ſince, but very lately, was with us at *Delphos*, named after his father, *Sabinus*. Howbeit for all this, *Veſpaſian* cauſed this lady to be put to death; but for this murder of his he dearely paid, and was puniſhed accordingly: for within a while after, his whole poſterity was utterly deſtroid and rooted out from the face of the earth, ſo as there remained not one of his race: for there was not in thoſe daies, and during his empire, a more cruell and inhumane fact committed; neither was there ever any other ſpectacle that both gods and angels ſeemed more to abhorre and to turne away their eies from beholding. And yet her grandiloquence and ſtout reſolutions in her ſpeech, whereby ſhe did exaſperate and provoke *Veſpaſian* moſt, was ſuch, that it diminiſhed much the pitifull ruth and compaſſion, that the beholders of the execution had of her: for when ſhe was paſt hope of obtaining her husbands life, ſhe would needs die in his turne, and required that exchange for him, ſaying withall, that it was a greater joy unto her, for to live in darkeneſſe and under the earth, than to ſee him emperour.

And heerewith (quoth my father) ended their diſcourſe as touching Love, at what time as they were neere unto *Theſpies*, for then they might perceive comming toward them, faſter than with a foote pace, one of *Piſias* friends, named *Diogenes*; unto whom *Soclarus* ſpake aloud, when he was yet a good way off: You bring us no newes I hope *Diogenes* of warre? Oſſe better than ſo (quoth he) being, as there is, a mariage toward; why mend you not your pace therefore, and make haſte thither? for the nuptiall ſacrifice ſtaieth onely for your comming: At which words (as my father ſaid) all the reſt of the company joied, and were exceeding glad, onely *Zeuxippus* ſhewed himſelfe mal-content, and not well pleaſed; for he could not diſſemble it: howbeit he was the firſt man that approoved the act of *Iſmenadora*, as good and lawfull: and even now he willingly ſet a garland upon his owne head, and put on a white wedding robe, marching before all the companie through the market place, to render thankeſgiving unto the god Love, for this mariage. Well done (quoth my father then) I ſweare by *Jupiter*: goe we on all hands away, and let us be gone; that we may laugh and make our ſelves merie with this man, and withall adore and worſhip the god: for evident it is, that hee taketh joy in that which hath beene done, and is preſent with his favour and approbation to grace the wedding.

◆

OF THE FACE APPEARING WITHIN THE ROUNDLE OF THE MOONE.

The Summarie.

THis dialogue is defective in the beginning thereof. In it are brought in Sylla and Pharnaces, with ſome others, diſputing with Plutarch, as touching one point of naturall Philoſophy, worthy to be conſidered and read over and over againe, by thoſe that take delight in ſuch pleaſant ſpeculations meete for good wits to be exerciſed in. The waight of this matter concerneth the globe of the Moone and toucheth principally this notable accident of the face which appeareth therein: by occaſion whereof, divers queſtions depending upon the firſt and principall, are diſcuſſed and reſolved by our authour, according as he hath compriſed and underſtood them. But here is the miſchiefe in this diſcourſe, like as in many others of this ſecond tome, that it is not only headleſſe, but maimed alſo and diſmembred otherwiſe: and yet the tranſlatour and the french eſpecially hath with great dexterity laid the pieces together, ſo as the breaches can hardly be ſeene, unleſſe a man looke very neere. Now the principall matters handled here, be theſe that follow. After that Plutarch had refuted three opinions concerning the face in the Moone, and brought in one Lucius, maintaining that poſition of the Academiques, who preſuppoſe that the Moone is terrene and conſiſteth of an earthly ſubſtance, he entreth into diſputation againſt thoſe who attribute one centre unto the world and the earth, labouring to confirme his owne opinion by divers arguments marked in their order: which he handleth with ſuch a grace, that yet a man may ſee withall, how naturall Philoſophy deſtitute of that light of Gods word (which by Moſes in the firſt chapter of Geneſis reſolveth and cleereth infinit diſputations and controverſies in theſe matters) is in a maner blinde and ſtumbleth many times moſt groſly and abſurdly. Moreover, according to the traine of words and ſpeeches, which commonly in ſuch conferences follow one upon another, they treat of the centre and motion of the univerſall world, of the proportion thereof, and the principal parts of it, of the illumination of the Moone, of reflexions and mirrours, of eclipſes and the ſhadow of the earth. Item, whether the Moone be a globe of fire, or of what elſe? what is her colour? from whence proceedeth & how commeth this reſemblance of a face which is obſerved in her? whether ſhe be inhabited or no? as alſo of her nature and effects. Toward the end he intermedleth a fable fetched from the Poets and ancient naturall Philoſophy, for to mollifie and make more probable and credible that which had beene delivered as touching thoſe that dwell within the Moone. In ſum, this treatiſe giveth good proofe of the quicke and pregnant wit of our authour, who could enter into, and perce through al things: whereof if he have not alwaies attained unto the exact knowledge, we ſhould rather by all likelihood blame the iniquity of long time, which hath not permitted us to have theſe bookes entire and whole, than the inſufficiency of ſo deepe a clerke. To conclude, this ought to unite thoſe that ſound and ſearch into the ſecrets of nature, to ioine with that which the moderne Philoſophers of our time are able to write ſleightly and at eaſe of ſuch matters, what hath beene delivered by the ancients, who indeed have made the coverture unto thoſe who ſucceeded after them: to the end that there might be drawen out of them all, a certaine firme reſolution, which raiſeth us up above the Moone, and all other celeſtiall bodies, unto the onely God and ſole Creator of ſo many admirable works, thereby to acknowledge, ſerve and praiſe him according as his omnipotent greatneſſe doth deſerve.

OF THE FACE APPEARING in the roundle of the Moone.

WEll, thus much ſaid *Sylla*, for it accorded well to my ſpeech, and depended thereupon: but I would very willingly before all things elſe know, what need is there to make ſuch a preamble for to come unto theſe opinions, which are ſo currant and riſe in every mans mouth, as touching the face of the Moone. And why not (quoth I) conſidering the difficultie of theſe points which have driven us thither: for like as in long maladies, when we have tried ordinarie remedies, and uſuall rules of diet, and found no helpe thereby, we give them over in the end, and betake our ſelves to luſtrall ſacrifices and expiations, to anulets or preſervatives for to be hanged about our necks, and to interpretations of dreames: even ſo in ſuch obſcure queſtions, and difficult ſpeculations, when the common and ordinarie opinions, when uſuall and apparent reaſons wil not ſerve nor ſatisfie us, neceſſary it is to aſſay thoſe which are more extravagant, and not to reject and deſpiſe the ſame, but to enchant or charme our ſelves, as one would ſay, with the diſcourſes of our auncients, and trie all meanes for to finde out the trueth: for at the very firſt encounter you ſee, how abſurd he is & intollerable, who ſaith, that the forme or face appeering in the Moone, is an accident of our eie-ſight, that by reaſon of weaknes giveth place to the brightneſſe thereof, which accident we call the dazzeling of our eies, not conſidering withall, that this ſhould befall rather againſt the Sunne, whoſe light is more reſplendent, and beames more quicke and piercing, according as *Empedocles* himſelfe in one place pleaſantly noteth the difference, when he ſaith:

The Sunne that ſhines ſo quicke and bright,
The Moone with dimme and ſtony light.

for ſo he expreſſeth that milde, amiable, pleaſant, and harmeleſſe viſage of the Moone: and afterwards rendereth a reaſon, why thoſe, who have obſcure & feeble ſights, perceive not in the Moone any different forme or ſhape, but unto them her circle ſhineth plaine, even, uniforme and full round about; whereas they who have more quicke and piercing eies, doe more exactly obſerve the proportion and lineaments, and diſcerne better the impreſſion of a face, yea, and diſtinguiſh more perfectly and evidently the ſeverall parts: for in mine opinion it would fall out cleane contrary, in caſe the weakeneſſe of the eie being overcome, cauſed this apparition, that where the patient eie is more feeble, there the ſaid apparence and imagination ſhould be more expreſſe and evident: furthermore, the inequalitie therein, doth fully every way confute this reaſon; for this face or countenance is not to be ſeene in a continuate and confuſed ſhadow: But *Ageſianax* the Poet, right elegantly depainteth in ſome ſort the ſame, in theſe words:

All round about environed
With fire ſhe is illumined:
And in the middes there doth appeere,
Like to ſome boy, a viſage cleere:
Whoſe eies to us doe ſeeme in view,
Of colour grayiſh more than blew:
The browes and forehead, tender ſeeme,
The cheeks all reddiſh one would deeme.

For in trueth darke and ſhaddowy things, compaſſed about with thoſe that are ſhining & cleare are driven downeward, and the ſame doe riſe againe receprocally, being by them repulſed, and in one word, are interlaced one within another, in ſuch ſort as they repreſent the forme of a face lively and naturally depainted: and it ſeemeth that there was great probability in that which *Clearcus* ſaid againſt your *Ariſtotle*. For this *Ariſtotle* of yours, though he familiarly converſed with that ancient *Ariſtotle*, perverted and overthrew many points of the Perepateticks doctrine. Then *Apollonides*, taking upon him to ſpeake, demanded, what opinion this might be of *Ariſtotle* and upon what reaſon it was grounded. Surely (quoth I) it were more meet for any man elſe to be ignorant hereof,than for you,conſidering that it is grounded upon the very fundamental principles of Geomitry. For this man affirmeth that the thing,which we call the face in the Moone, are the images and figures of the great ocean , repreſented in the Moone as in a mirror : for the circumference of a round circle , being reflected backe every way,is wont to deceive the ſight in ſuch things as are not directly ſeene. And the full Moone her ſelfe is, for eveneſſe, ſmoothneſſe and luſtre, the moſt beautifull and puriſt mirror in the world. Like as therefore yee holde , that the rainbow appeareth (when our eieſight is reflected backe upon the Sunne)in a cloud,that hath gotten ſmoothneſſe ſomewhat liquid,and a conſiſtence withal;even ſo (quoth he)a man may ſee in the Moone the great ocean,without,not in the very place where it is ſituate : but from whence the reflexion by touching the light reverberat and ſent backe, maketh a ſight and apparition thereof. which *Ageſianax* hath ſaid in another place,after this maner,

The figure of the Ocean
is juſt reſembled there
In flaming mirrour, when great waves
it doth againſt it reare.

Apollonides then, being perſwaded that it was ſo ; a ſingular opinion beleeve me (quoth he)this was of his, and when all is ſaid , newly and after a ſtrange maner deviſed by a man , who may be thought bold and confident enough in his projects , howbeit full of wit and a great clerke withall.But how did *Clearchus* refute the ſame ? Firſt & formoſt (quoth I) If the maine ſea or ocean be all of one nature then it muſt needs be that the currant thereof is all one uniforme & continuate :but the apparence of thoſe blacke & dim obſcurities which are obſerved in the face of the Moone, is not even and continued, but there be certaine iſthmes or partitions betweene cleere and bright, which divide and ſeperat that which is ſhadie and darke. Therefore ſeeing each part is diſtinct, and hath proper bounds and limits apart, the coniunctions & approchments of the cleere to that which is darke, making a ſemblance of high and low,do expreſſe and reſemble the ſimilitude of a figure,with eies & lips ; ſo that of neceſſity we are to ſuppoſe,that there be many oceans and maine ſeas, diſtinguiſhed by the iſthmes of firme lands betweene: which is a manifeſt untrueth. And admit that there is but one continued ſea for all, it is not credible that the image thereof ſhould appeare ſo diſſipate and diſtracted by peeces : and as for this point , the ſurer way is, and leſſe dangerous, to demand, than to affirme ought in your preſence ; namely whether, the habitible earth being equall in length and bredth,it be poſſible,that all the ſight reflected and ſent backe by the Moone , ſhould equally touch the whole ocean and all thoſe that ſaile therein,and even ſuch as ſeeme to dwell in it,as the Brittaines doe : ſeeing that your ſelves have maintained that the whole earth,in proportion to the globe or ſphære of the Moone,is no more than a very pricke. As for this verily (quoth I) it is your part to regard and conſider : and true it is that as touching the reverberation and reflexion of the ſight from the Moone, it belongeth neither to you nor to *Hipparcus*. And yet I aſſure you,my good freind *Lamprias* (quoth *Apollonides*) there be many naturaliſts , who holde it not good to affirme with *Hipparcus* that our ſight is ſo driven backe ; but they ſuppoſe and affirme, that it is more like and probable that it hath a certaine temperature and obeiſant compact ſtructure , than ſuch beatings and repercuſſions as *Epicurus* imagineth the Atomes have. Neither doe I beleeve that *Clearchus* would have us to ſuppoſe,that the Moone is a maſſive and waighty bodie,but celeſtiall and lightſome: againſt which you ſay that the refraction of our eie-ſight ſhould reach : and therefore all this reflexion, and reverberation falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. But if I ſhould be urged, and intreated by him to receive and admit the ſame, I would aske him the queſtion,how it comes to paſſe, that this image of the ſea is to be ſeene onely in the bodie of the Moone , and not in any of the other ſtarres ? for by all likelihood and probability, our ſight ſhould ſuffer the ſame equally in all, or juſt in none at all. But I pray you (quoth I, caſtyng mine eies upon *Lucius*) call to minde againe that which was firſt delivered of our part,& by thoſe of our ſide. Nay rather I am affraid (quoth *Lucius*)leaſt we may be thought to offer over much injury unto *Pharnaces*, if we ſhould ſo paſſe over the Stoicks opinion unconfuted, and without oppoſing any thing againſt it. Why then reply ſomwhat upon this man(quoth I)who holdeth that the Moon is a whole mixtion of the aire, and of ſome milde fire, and then afterwards ſaith, that like as in a calme, there happeneth other whiles a little horror or winde, that rumbleth and bloweth upon the ſea , even ſo the aire thereby becommeth blacke , and thereupon is made a certaine reſemblance

blance and forme of a viſage. Courteouſly done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) thus to clad and cover with faire words and good termes ſo abſurd and falſe an opinion. But ſo did not our friend, but ſpake the plaine troth, and ſaid that the Stoicks diſfigured the Moones face making it blacke and blew, and filling it with darke ſpots and clouds, and withall invocating her by the name of *Minerva* and *Diana*, and in the meane while making her a lumpe as it were of paſte, conſiſting of darke aire and a fire of charcole, that cannot burne out, nor yeeld light of it ſelfe, but having a body hard to be judged and knowen, ever ſmoaking and alwaies burning like to thoſe lightnings which by the Poets are called, lightleſſe and ſmoakie. But that a fire of coales, ſuch as they would have that of the Moone to be, continueth not long, nor can ſo much as ſubſiſt, if it meete not with ſome ſolid matter, which may holde it in and withall feed and nouriſh it; I ſuppoſe that they know better, who in meriment ſay that *Vulcane* is lame and doth halt, than theſe Philoſophers doe: for that indeed fire cannot goe forward without wood or fewell, no more than a lame criple without his ſtaffe or crouches. If then the Moone be fire, how commeth it to have ſo much aire in it? For this region aloft which mooveth round, doth not conſiſt of aire, but of ſome other more noble ſubſtance, which is able to ſubtilize and ſet on fire every thing beſide. But in caſe it be afterwards engendred in it, how is it that it periſhith not by being changed and tranſmuted by the fire into a celeſtiall ſubſtance, but mainteineth it ſelfe, and continueth together as it were, cohabiting with the fire ſo long, like unto a ſpike or naile ſet faſt continually in the ſame parts, and fitted thereto? For being rare as it is, and diffuſed, meet it were that it ſhould not ſo abide and continue, but be diſſipated and reſolved; and to grow compact and thicke it is impoſſible, ſo long as it is mixed with fire, having no earth nor water; which are the two onely elements whereby the aire will gather to a conſiſtence and thickneſſe. Moreover, the ſwiftneſſe and violence of motion, is wont to enflame the aire that is within ſtones, yea, and in lead as cold as it is: much more then, that which is in fire, being whirled about, and turned with ſo great celeritie and impetioſitie: for in this regard they are offended with *Empedocles*, for that he made the Moone congealed aire, in maner of haile, and included within a ſphære of fire: and yet themſelves ſay, that the Moone being a ſphære or globe of fire, doeth encloſe and conteine the aire diſperſed to and fro; and that the ſame hath neither ruptures nor concavities, ne yet any profundities, which they admit who will have the Moone to be of earth, but forſooth ſuperficially onely, and as it were ſetled upon the imboſſed and ſwelling backe thereof: which is againſt all reaſon, if it be to endure, and cannot poſſibly be, in caſe we give credit to that which we doe ſee in full Moones: for divided it ought not to be, and ſepararate apart, being blacke and darke, but either being hidden, to be altogether darkened, or elſe to be illuminate when the Moone is overſpred by the Sunne. For heere beneath with us, the aire that is in deepe pits and low caves of the earth, where the Sunne beames never come, remaineth darke and ſhadie, without any light at all: but that which is ſpred about the earth, is cleere, and of a lightſome colour; for by reaſon of the raritie thereof, it is very eaſie to be tranſmuted into every qualitie and facultie; but principally by the light, which if it never ſo little touch it, as they ſay, and lay hold of it, you ſhall ſee it incontinently changed, and light throughout. This very reaſon therefore ſeemeth greatly to helpe and mainteine the opinion of them who drive the aire into I wot not what deepe vallies and pits within the Moone; as alſo to confute you, who mingle and compound I know not how, her ſphære of fire and aire; for impoſſible it is that there ſhould remaine any ſhadow or obſcuritie in the ſuperficies thereof, when the Sunne with his brightneſſe doeth cleere and illuminate whatſoever part of the Moone we are able to diſcerne, and cut with our eie-ſight. And as I ſpake theſe words, even before I had made an end of my ſpeech: See (quoth *Pharnaces*) the ordinary caſt of the Academie, how it is, practiſed upon us, in that they buſie themſelves evermore, and ſpend time in all their diſcourſes to ſpeake againſt others, but never allow the diſcuſſing and reprooving of that which they deliver themſelves: but if any happen to conferre and diſpute with them; they muſt plead in their owne defence alwaies, and not be allowed to reply or come upon them with any accuſations: for mine owne part, you ſhall not draw me this day to render a reaſon of ſuch matters as you charge upon the Stoicks, nor to ſpeake in their behalfe, before I have called you to an account: for thus turning the world upſide downe, as you doe. Heereat *Lucius* laughing; And very well content am I good ſir, (quoth he) ſo to do, provided alwaies, that you accuſe us not of impietie; like as *Ariſtarchus* thought that the Greeks ought to have called *Cleanthes* the Samean into queſtiõ, judicially & to condemne him for his impietie and Atheiſme, as one that ſhooke the very foundations of the world to overthrow all, in that the man endevoring to ſave and maintaine thoſe things which appeare unto us above, ſuppoſed the heaven to ſtand ſtill as immooveable, and that it was the earth that mooved round by the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, and turned about the owne axeltree. As for us, we ſpeake of our ſelves, and in our owne behalfe. But they, my good friend *Pharnaces*, who ſuppoſe that the Moone is earth, why doe they turne the world upſide downe, more than you; who place the earth heere hanging in the aire, being farre greater then the Moone, as the Mathematicians take their meaſure, in the accidents of the ecclipſes, and by the paſſages of trajections of the Moone through the ſhadow of the earth, collecting thereby the magnitude thereof, and what ſpace it taketh up? for ſurely the ſhadow of the earth is leſſe than it ſelfe, by reaſon that it is caſt by a greater light. Now that the ſaid ſhadow is ſtreight, and pointed upward toward the end, *Homer* himſelfe was not ignorant, but ſignified as much, when he called the night θοὴν, for the ſharpeneſſe at the point of the ſaid ſhadow; and yet the Moone as it appeareth in her ecclypſes, being caught and comprehended within the compaſſe of that ſhadow, hath much adoo to get out of it, by going forward in length, thrice as much as her owne bigneſſe comes to. Conſider then, how many times greater muſt the earth needs be than the Moone, if it be ſo, that the ſhadow which it caſteth, where it is ſharpeſt and narroweſt, is thrice as much as the Moone. But yee are afraid leaſt the Moone ſhould fall, if ſhe were avowed to the earth: (for it may be haply, that *Aeſchylus* hath ſealed you a warrant, and ſecured you for the earth, when he ſaid thus of *Atlas*:

> *He ſtandeth like a pillar ſtrong and ſure,*
> *From earth to heaven above that reacheth ſtreight:*
> *To beare on ſhoulders twaine, he doeth endure*
> *A maſſie burden and unweldy weight.)*

if under the Moone there runne and be ſpred a light and thin aire, not firme and ſufficient for to ſuſteine a ſolide maſſe: whereas according to *Pindarus*:

> *To beare the earth there ſtand moſt puiſſant*
> *Columns and pillars of hard diamant.*

And therefore *Pharnaces* for himſelfe is out of all feare, that the earth will fall; mary he pittieth thoſe who are directly and plumbe under the courſe of the Moone, and namely the Aethiopians, and thoſe of *Taprobana*, leaſt ſo weightie a maſſe ſhould tumble downe upon their heads. And yet the Moone hath one good meanes and helpe to keepe her from falling, to wit, her very motion and violent revolution, like unto thoſe bullets or ſtones, or whatſoever weights be put within a ſling, they are ſure enough from ſlipping or falling out, ſo long as they be violently ſwong and whirled about. For every body is caried according to the naturall motion thereof, if there be no other cauſe to empeach or turne it aſide out of courſe: which is the reaſon that the Moone mooveth not, according to the motion of her poiſe, conſidering the inclination thereof downward, is ſtaied and hindred by the violence of a circular revolution. But peradventure more cauſe there were to marvel, if ſhe ſhould ſtand altogether as the earth, immooveable: whereas now the Moone hath this great cauſe to empeach her, for not tending downward hither. As for the earth, which hath no other motion at all to hinder it; great reaſon there is, that according to that onely weight of the owne, it ſhould moove downward and there ſettle; for more heavy it is than the Moone, not ſo much in this regard, that greater it is, but more, for that the Moone by reaſon of heat and aduſtion of fire, is made the lighter. In briefe, it appeareth by that which you ſay, if it be true that the Moone be fire, it hath need of earth, or ſome other matter to reſt upon and cleave unto, for to mainteine, nouriſh, and quicken ſtill the power that it hath: for it cannot be conceived or imagined, how fire ſhould be preſerved without fuell, or matter combuſtible. And you your ſelves affirme, doe yee not? that the earth abideth firme and ſure, without any baſe or piedſtall to ſuſteine and hold it up? Yes verily (quoth *Pharnaces*) being in the proper and naturall place, which is the very mids and center. For this is it whereto all heavy and weightie things doe tend, incline, and are caried to, from every ſide, and about which they cling, and be counterpeized: but the upper region throughout, if haply there be any terreſtriall and heavy matter, by violence ſent up thither, repelleth and caſteth it downe againe with force incontinently, or to ſpeake more truely, letteth it goe and fall, according to the owne naturall inclination, which is to tend and ſettle downward.

For the anſwer and refutation whereof, I willing to give *Lucius* ſome reaſonable time to ſummon his wits together, and to thinke upon his reaſons: and calling unto *Theon* by name, Which of the tragicall Poets was it (*Theon* quoth I) who ſaid that Phyſicians

Bitter medicines into the body powre,
When bitter choler they meane to purge and ſcoure?

And when he made me anſwere that it was *Sophocles.* Well (quoth I) we muſt permit them ſo to doe upon neceſſity: but we ought not to give eare unto Philoſophers, if they would maintaine ſtrange paradoxes, by other poſitions as abſurd, or to confute admirable opinions, deviſe others much more extravagant and wonderfull; like as theſe here who broch and bring in a motion forſooth tending unto a middle, wherein, what abſurdity is there not? Holde not they that the earth is as round as a ball, and yet we ſee how many deepe profundities, hautie ſublimities & manifold inequalities it hath? affirme not they that there be antipodes dwelling oppoſit one unto another, and thoſe ſticking as it were to the ſides of the earth with their heeles upward & their heads downward all arſe verſe, like unto theſe woodwormes or cats which hang by their ſharpe clawes? Would not they have even us alſo that are here for to goe upon the ground not plumbe upright, but bending or enclining ſidelong, reeling and ſtaggering like drunken folke? Doe they not tell us tales, and would make us beleeve, that if barres and maſſes of iron waighing a thouſand talents a peece, were let fall downe into the bottom of the earth, when they came once to the middle centre thereof, will ſtay and reſt there, albeit nothing els came againſt them nor ſuſtained them up? And if peradventure by ſome forcible violence they ſhould paſſe beyond the ſaid midſt, they would ſoone rebound backe thither againe of their owne accord? Say not they that if a man ſhould ſaw off the trunks or ends of beams on either ſide of the earth, the ſame would never ſettle downeward ſtill throughout, but from without forth fall both into the earth, and ſo equally meet one another, and cling together about the hart or centre thereof. Suppoſe not they that if a violent ſtreame of water ſhould runne downeward ſtill into the ground, when it met once with the very point or centre in the midſt, which they holde to be incorporall, it would then gather together and turne round in maner of a whirlepoole, about a pole, waving to and fro there continually like one of theſe pendant buckets, and, as it hangeth, wagge inceſſantly without end? And verily ſome of theſe aſſertions of theirs are ſo abſurd, that no man is able to enforce himſelfe to imagine in his minde although falſely, that they are poſſible. For this indeed is to make high and low all one: this is to turne all upſide downe: that thoſe things, which be come as farre as to the midſt, ſhal be thought below and under: and what is under the middle ſhall be ſuppoſed above and aloft; in ſuch ſort, as that if a man, by the ſufferance and conſent of the earth, ſtood with his navell juſt againſt the middle and centre of it, he ſhould by this meanes have his head and his heeles both together ſtanding upward: and if one ſhould come and digge through the place beyond that part of him which was above, ſhall in the digging be drawen downeward, and that which was beneath be caſt upward both at once: and if there may be imagined another to goe cleane contrary unto him, their feet which were oppoſite one unto the other, ſhould nevertheleſſe be ſaid and be indeed both together, beneath and above. Thus they both carrying upon their backs and alſo drawing after them, not I aſſure you a box or little budget, but a fardle and packe, I ſweare unto you, of judglers boxes full of ſo many and ſo groſſe paradoxes and abſurdities, wherewith they play paſſe and repaſſe, yet the ſay for all this, that others erre, who place the Moone which they holde to be earth, above, and not where the midſt and centre of the world is. And yet if every ponderous body, incline to the ſame place and bendeth from all ſides and on every part to the midſt thereof, certainly the earth ſhall not appropriate and chalenge unto it ſelfe waightie maſſes as parts thereof becauſe it is the middle of the world, more than in regard it is whole and entire: and the gathering together of heavie bodies about it, ſhall be no ſigne nor argument to ſhew that it is the middle of the world, but rather to proove and teſtifie that theſe bodies which have beene taken and pulled from it and returne againe, have a communication and conformitie in nature with the earth. For like as the Sunne converteth into it ſelfe the parts whereof it is compoſed, even ſo the earth receiveth and beareth a ſtone, as a part appertaining unto it, in ſuch ſort as in time every one of theſe things is concorporate and united with it. And if it chance that there be ſome other body which from the begginning was not allotted and laid unto the earth nor plucked from it, but had a part from it, a proper conſiſtence and peculiar nature of the owne, as they may ſay the Moone had, what ſhould let, but it may abide ſeverally by it ſelfe, compacted and bound cloſe together in all the proper parts thereof? For heereby, is not ſhewed demonſtratively that the earth is the midſt of the whole world: and the conglobation of waighty bodies

dies heere and their concretion which the earth declareth unto us the maner how it is probable that the parts the which be their gathered to the bodie of the Moone, may there alſo remaine. But he who driveth all earthly and ponderous things into one place, ranging them altogether, and making them the parts of one and the ſame bodie, I marvell why he attributeth not in like maner the ſame force and conſtraint unto light ſubſtances, but ſuffereth ſo many conglobations of fire to be apart and diſtinct aſunder, neither can I ſee the reaſon why he ſhould not bring all the ſtarres into one, and thinke that there ought to be one entire body of all thoſe ſubſtances that flie upward and are of firie nature. But you Mathematicians, (friend *Pollonides*) affirme that the Sunne is diſtant from the *Primum Mobile*, and higheſt ſcope of heaven, infinite thouſands of miles: and after him, that the day ſtarre *Venus* and *Mercury*, with the other Planets, which being ſituate under the fixed ſtarres, and diſtant one from another, by great intervals and ſpaces betweene, doe make their ſeverall revolutions: meane while you doe not thinke, that the world affordeth unto heavy and terreſtriall bodies, a great and large place in it, and a diſtance one from another. But ſee what a ridiculous thing it were, to denie the Moone to be earth becauſe it is not ſeated in the loweſt place of the world; and withall to affirme it to be a ſtar ſo farre remote from the firmament and *Primum Mobile*, even a huge number of *Stadia*, as if it were plunged low into ſome deepe gulfe: for ſo farre under other ſtarres ſhe is, as no man can expreſſe, and even you Mathematicians want numbers to reckon and ſumme the diſtance: and ſhe ſeemeth after a ſort to touch the very earth, making her revolution as ſhe doth, ſo nere unto the tops of high mountaines, leaving behinde her (as *Empedocles* ſaith) the very prints and tracts of her chariot wheeles upon them: for often times ſhe ſurpaſſeth not the ſhadow of the earth, which is very ſhort, and reacheth not high, by reaſon of the exceſſive greatneſſe of the Sunne that ſhineth upon it: and ſhe ſeemeth to walke her ſtations ſo neere unto the upper face of the earth, and in a maner within the armes of it, that ſhe obſtructeth and hideth from us the light of the Sunne, becauſe ſhe mounteth not above this ſhadowy, terreſtriall and darke region like unto the night, which is (as one would ſay) the very finage and marches allotted to the earth. And therefore a man may be bolde to ſay, that the Moone is within the limits and confines of the earth, ſeeing withall that darkened and ſhadowed it is by the high creſts and tops of mountaines therein. But to leave all other ſtarres, aſwell fixed as wandering, conſider the demonſtrations of *Ariſtarchus* in his treatiſe of *Magnitudes and Diſtances*, that the diſtance of the Sunne from us is more than that of the Moone, above eighteene folde, but under twentie: and he verily who raiſeth the Moone higheſt, ſaith that ſhe is from us, ſix and fiftie times as farre as is the centre of the earth; the diſtance whereof is fortie thouſand *ſtadia*. By their calculation who keepe a meane, and according to this ſupputation, the Sunne ought to be diſtant from the Moone more than foure thouſand and thirty *ſtadia* ten thouſand times tolde: ſo farre (I ſay) is ſhe off from the Sunne in regard of her ponderoſity, and ſo neere approcheth ſhe unto the earth: ſo that if, by places, we ought to diſtinguiſh of ſubſtances, the region and portion of the earth challengeth the Moone, and in regard of her proximity and vicinage unto it, ſhe ought by right to be reckoned and enrolled among the natures, affaires, and bodies terreſtriall. Neither ſhall we do amiſſe in my conceit, if having given unto theſe bodies (that are ſaid to be aloft) ſo large a ſpace and diſtance, we allow alſo to thoſe beneath, ſuch a race and ſpacious roume to runne in, as is from the earth to the Moone: for as he is not moderate nor tolerable, who calleth the upper ſuperficies onely and cope of the heaven ἄνω, that is to ſay, aloft, or ſuperiour; and all the reſt κάτω, that is to ſay, beneath; ſo he who termeth the earth or rather the center of it onely, κάτω, that is to ſay, below or inferiour, is not to be endured; conſidering that the huge vaſtity of the world may affoord, even in this region beneath, ſuch a competent ſpace as is meet and convenient for motion. For if one would mainteine, that all above the earth is immediatly to be counted high and aloft; another preſently will come upon him with this contradiction, and ſay, that he may aſwel hold, that whatſoever is beneath the *Primum mobile* or ſtarrie firmament, ought to be called, Below. In ſumme, how is the earth called, The middle? and whereof is it the middle? for the univerſall frame of the world, called πᾶν, is infinit; and this infinit which hath neither head nor foot: how can it in reaſon have a navill? for even that which we call the mids of any thing, is a kinde of limitation; whereas infinitie is a meere privation of all limits and bounds. As for him who ſaith, it is not in the mids of that univerſalitie, but of the world, he is a pleaſant man, if he thinke not withall, that the world it ſelfe is ſubject to the ſame doubts and difficulties: for the ſaid univerſall frame leaveth not unto the very world a middle, but is without a certeine ſeat, without aſſured footing, mooving in a voidneſſe infinite, not into ſome one place proper unto it: and if haply it ſhould meet with ſome any other cauſe of ſtay, and ſo abide ſtil, the ſame is not according to the nature of the place. And as much may we conjecture of the Moone, that by the meanes of ſome other ſoule or nature, or rather of ſome difference, the earth contiuueth firme beneeath, and the Moone mooveth. Furthermore you ſee, how they are not ignorant of a great errour and inconvenience: for if it be true, that whatſoever is without the centre of the earth, it skils not how, is to be counted Above and Aloft, then is there no part of the world to be reckoned Below or Beneath; but aſwell the earth it ſelfe, as al that is upon it, ſhal be above & aloft: and to be ſhort, every bodie neere or about the centre, muſt go among thoſe things that are aloft; neither muſt we reckon any thing to be under or beneath, but one pricke or point, which hath no bodie: and the ſame forſooth muſt make head and ſtand in oppoſition neceſſarily, againſt all the whole nature beſides of the world; in caſe, according to the courſe of nature, ἄνω and κ [illegible] that is to ſay, above and beneath, be oppoſite. And not onely this abſurdity will follow, but alſo all heavie and ponderous bodies muſt needs loſe the cauſe, for which they bend and incline hither: for, bodie there will be none, toward which it ſhould move: and as for this pricke or centre that hath no bodie, there is no likelihood, neither would they themſelves have it ſo, that it ſhould be ſo puiſſant and forcible, as to draw to it, and reteine about it, all things. And if it be found unreaſonable and repugnant to the courſe of nature, that the world ſhould be all above, and nothing beneath, but a terme or limit, and the ſame without body, without ſpace and diſtance; then this that we ſay, is yet more reaſonable, namely, that the region beneath and that above, being parted diſtinctly one from another, have nevertheleſſe ech of them a large and ſpacious roume to round themſelves in. But ſuppoſe (if it pleaſe you) it were againſt nature, that terreſtriall bodies ſhould have any motion in heaven; let us conſider gently and in good termes, not after a tragicall maner, but mildly, This prooveth not by-and-by, that the Moone is not earth, but rather, that earth is in ſome place, where naturally it ſhould not be: for the fire of the mountaine *Aetna*, is verily under the ground, againſt the nature of it; howbeit, the ſame ceaſeth not therefore to be fire. The winde conteined within leather bottles, is of the owne nature light and given to mount upward, but by force it commeth to be there, where naturally it ought not to be. Our very ſoule it ſelfe (I beſeech you in the name of *Jupiter*) is it not againſt nature deteined within the body; being light, in that which is heavie; being of a firie ſubſtance in that which is colde, as yee your ſelves ſay; and being inviſible, in that which is groſſe and palpable? do we therefore denie, that the ſoule is within the bodie, that it is a divine ſubſtance under a groſſe and heavie maſſe, that in a moment it paſſeth thorowout heaven, earth and ſea; that it pierceth and entreth within fleſh, nerves and marrow; and finally, is the cauſe together with the humors of infinit paſſions? And even this *Jupiter* of yours, ſuch as you imagine and depaint him to be, is he not of his owne nature a mighty and perpetuall fire? howbeit, now he ſubmitteth himſelfe and is pliable; ſubject he is to all formes and apt to admit divers mutations. Take heed therefore, and be well adviſed (good ſir) leſt that in transferring and reducing every thing to their naturall place, you doe not ſo philoſophize, as that you will bring in a diſſolution of all the world, and ſet on foot againe that olde quarrell and contention among all things which **Empedocles** writeth of: or, to ſpeake more to the purpoſe, beware you raiſe not thoſe ancient Titans and Giants, to put on armes againſt nature: and ſo conſequently endevour to receive and ſee againe that fabulous diſorder and confuſion, whereby all that is weightie, goeth one way, and whatſoever is light, another way apart,

Where neither lightſome countenance
of Sunne, nor earth all greene
With herbs and plants, admired is,
nor ſurging ſea is ſeene.

according as **Empedocles** hath written; wherein the earth feeleth no heat, nor the water any winde; wherein there is no ponderoſity above, nor lightneſſe beneath; but the principles and elements of all things be by themſelves ſolitary, without any mutuall love or dilection betweene them; not admitting any ſociety or mixture together, but avoiding and turning away one from the other, mooving apart by particular motions, as being diſdainfull, proud, and carying themſelves in ſuch ſort, as all things do where no god is, as **Plato** ſaith, that is as thoſe bodies are affected wherein there is no underſtanding nor ſoule, untill ſuch time as by ſome divine providence there come into nature a deſire; and ſo amity, **Venus** and Love be there engendred, according to the ſayings of *Empedocles, Parmenides* and *Heſiodus*; to the end, that changing their naturall places and communicating reciprocally their gifts and faculties; ſome driven by neceſſity to moove, other bound to reſt; they be all forced to a better ſtate, remitting ſomewhat of their power, and yeelding one to another, they grew at length unto accord, harmony and ſocietie. For if there had not beene any other part of the world againſt nature, but that ech one had bene both in place, and for quality, as it ought naturally to be, without any need of change or tranſpoſition, ſo that there had beene nothing at the firſt wanting, I greatly doubt what and wherein was the worke of divine providence; or whereupon it is, that *Jupiter* was the father, creator and maker. For in a campe or field, there would be no need of a man who is expert and ſkilfull in ranging and ordering of battell, in caſe every ſouldier of himſelfe knew his ranke, his place, his time and opportunity, which he ought to take, keepe and obſerve. Neither would there be any uſe of gardiners, carpenters or maſons, if water were of it ſelfe taught naturally to go whereas it is needfull, and to runne and overflow a place which requireth watering; and if bricks, timber-logs and ſtones by their owne inclinations and naturall motions, were to range and couch themſelves orderly in their due places. Now if this reaſon and argument of theirs doth directly aboliſh all providence; if order belong unto God, together with the diſtinction of all things in the world; why ſhould any man wonder, that nature hath beene ſo diſpoſed and ordeined by him, as that fire ſhould be here, and the ſtarres there? and againe, that the earth ſhould be ſeated here below, & the Moone placed there above, lodged in a more ſure & ſtrong priſon, deviſed by reaſon, than that which was firſt ordeined by nature? For were it ſo, that abſolutely and of neceſſitie, all things ſhould follow their naturall inſtinct, and move according to that motion which naturally is given them, neither would the Sunne runne his courſe any more circularly, nor *Venus*, nor any other planet whatſoever; for that ſuch light ſubſtances, and ſtanding much upon fire, mount directly upward. Now if it be ſo, that nature reciveth ſuch an alteration and change in regard of the place, as that our fire here being moved and ſtirred, riſeth plumbe upward; but after it is gotten once up to heaven, together with the revolution thereof, turneth round: what marvell is it, if ſemblably, heavie and terreſtriall bodies, being out of their naturall places, be forced & overcome by the circumſtant aire, to take unto another kind of motion? For it can not be ſaid with any reaſon, that heaven hath this power to take from light ſubſtances the propertie to mount aloft, and can not likewiſe have the puiſſance to vanquiſh heavie things & ſuch as naturally move downward: but one while it maketh uſe of that power of her owne, another while of the proper nature of things, alwaies tending to the better. But to let paſſe theſe habitudes and opinions whereto we are ſervilly addicted, and to ſpeake frankly and without feare what our minde is, I am verily perſwaded, that there is no part of the univerſall world, that hath by itſelfe any peculiar order, ſeat or motion, which a man ſimply may ſay to be naturall unto it: but when ech part exhibiteth and yeeldeth profitably that, wherefore it is made, and whereto it is appointed, moving it ſelfe, doing or ſuffering, or being diſpoſed as it is meet and expedient for it, either for ſafetie, beautie, or puiſſance, then ſeemeth it to have place, motion and diſpoſition, proper and convenient to the owne nature. For man, who is diſpoſed (if any thing els in the whole world) according to nature, hath in the upper parts of the bodie, and eſpecially about his head, thoſe things that be ponderous and earthly; but in the mids thereof, ſuch as be hote and of a firy nature; his teeth, ſome grow above, others beneath; and yet neither the one range of them nor the other, is againſt nature. Neither is that fire which ſhineth above in his eies, according to nature, and that which is in the bellie and heart, contrary to nature, but in ech place is it properly ſeated and commodiouſly. Now if you conſider the nature of ſhell-fiſhes, you ſhall finde, that (as *Empedocles* ſaith)

The oiſters, murets of the ſea,
and ſhell-fiſh every one,
With maſsie coat; the tortoiſe eke,
with cruſt as hard as ſtone,
And vaulted backe, which archwiſe he
aloft doth hollow reare;
Shew all, that heavie earth they do
above their bodies beare.

And yet this hard coat and heavie cruſt, like unto a ſtone, being placed over their bodies, doth not preſſe or cruſh them; neither doth their naturall heat, in regard of lightneſſe, flie up and vaniſh away, but mingled and compoſed they are one with the other, according to the nature of every one. And even ſo it ſtandeth to good reaſon, that the world, in caſe it be animall, hath in many places of the body thereof, earth, and in as many, fire and water, not driven thither perforce, but ſo placed & diſpoſed by reaſon:for the eie was not by the ſtrength of lightneſſe forced to that part of the body wherein it is; neither was the hart depreſſed downe by the weight that it had,into the breſt; but becauſe it was better and more expedient for the one and the other, to be ſeated where they are. Semblably, we ought not to thinke, that of the parts of the world, either the earth ſetled where it is, becauſe it fell downe thither by reaſon of ponderoſitie, or the Sunne, in regard of lightneſſe,was caried upward, like unto a bottle bladder full of winde, which being in the bottome of the water, preſently riſeth up, (as *Metrodorus* of *Chios* was perſwaded) or other ſtars, as if they were put in a ballance, inclined this way or that, as their weight more or leſſe required, and ſo mounted higher or lower to thoſe places where now they are ſeated: but rather by the powerfull direction of reaſon in the firſt conſtitution of the world, ſome of the ſtarres like unto bright and glittering eies have beene ſet faſt in the firmament, as one would ſay aloft in the very forhead thereof: and the Sunne repreſenting the power and vigor of the heart, ſendeth and diſtributeth in maner of bloud and ſpirits, his heat and light thorowout all. The earth and ſea are to the world, proportionable to the paunch and bladder in the body of a living creature: the moone ſituate betweene the Sunne and the earth, as betweene the heart and the bellie, reſembling the liver or ſome ſuch ſoft bowell, tranſmitteth into the inferiour parts here beneath, the heat of thoſe ſuperior bodies, and draweth to herſelfe thoſe vapors that ariſe from hence, and thoſe doth ſhe ſubtilat & refine by way of concoction and purification,and ſo ſend and diſtribute them round about her. Now whether that ſolid and terreſtriall portion in it,hath ſome other propertie ſerving for a profitable uſe or no, it is unknowen to us; but ſurely it is evermore the beſt and ſureſt way in all things, to go by that which is neceſſarie: for what probabilitie or likelihood can we draw from that which they deliver? They affirme, that of the aire the moſt ſubtile and lightſome part, by reaſon of the raritie thereof, became heaven; but that which was thickened and cloſely driven together, went to the making of ſtarres; of which the Moone being the heavieſt of all the reſt, was concret and compact of the moſt groſſe and muddy matter thereof: and yet a man may perceive how ſhe is not ſeparate nor divided from the aire, but mooveth and performeth her revolution through that which is about her, even the region of the winds, and where comets or blaſing ſtarres be engendered and hold on their courſe. Thus theſe bodies have not beene by their naturall inclinations, according as ech of them is light or heavie, placed and ſituate as they be, but ſurely by ſome other reaſon they have beene ſo ranged and ordeined.

After theſe words were ſaid, when I would have given unto *Lucius* his turne to ſpeake,and to hold on this diſcourſe, there being nothing at all behinde left, but the demonſtrations of this doctrine: *Ariſtotle* began to ſmile, I am a witneſſe (quoth he) that you have directed al theſe your contradictions and refutations, againſt thoſe, who hold that the Moone is it ſelfe halfe fire; and who affirme, that all bodies of their owne accord, tend either upward or downward directly: But whether there be any one who ſaith, that the Starres of their owne nature, have a circular motion, & that in ſubſtance they be far different from the foure elements, that came not ever,ſo much as by chance and fortune into your remembrance: and therefore I count my ſelfe exempt from all trouble and moleſtation in that behalfe. Why, good ſir (quoth *Lucius*) if yee ſhould haply ſuppoſe and ſet downe, that the other ſtarres, and the whole heaven beſides, were of a pure and ſyncere nature, voide of all change and mutation, in regard of paſſion,as alſo bring in a certeine circle, in which they performed their motions by a perpetuall revolution, you ſhould not finde any one at this time to gaine-ſay you; notwithſtanding there were in this poſition doubts and difficulties innumerable. But when your ſpeech is deſcended ſo low as to touch the Moone, then can it not mainteine in her that impaſſibility, and the celeſtiall beautie of that body. But to leave all other inequalities and differences therein; certes, that very face which appeareth in the body of the Moone, commeth neceſſarily from ſome paſſion of her owne ſubſtance, or elſe by the mixture of ſome other, (for that which is mingled in ſome ſort alwaies ſuffereth) becauſe it looſeth that former puritie, being perforce overcaſt and filled with that which is woorſe. As for that dull and ſlow courſe of hers, that weake and feeble heat whereby, as the Poet *Jon* ſaith,

The grapes their kinde concoction lacke,
And on the vine tree turne not blacke.

unto what ſhall we attribute the ſame, if not to her imbecilitie, in caſe an eternall and heavenly body can be ſubject unto any ſuch paſſion? In ſumme, my good friend *Ariſtotle*, if the Moone be earth, ſurely a moſt faire and beautifull thing it ſeemeth to be, and full of great maieſtie: if a ſtarre, or light, or ſome divine and celeſtiall body, I am affraid leaſt ſhe proove deformed and foule, yea, and diſgrace that beautifull name of hers, in caſe of all thoſe bodies in heaven, which are in number ſo many, ſhe onely remaineth to have need of the light of another,

Caſting behinde, her eie alwaies,
Upon the Sunne and his bright raies.

according as *Parmenides* writeth. And verily our familiar friend, having in a lecture of his, prooved by demonſtration this propoſition of *Anaxagoras*; that all the light which the Moone hath, the Sunne giveth unto her, was commended and well reputed for it. For mine owne part, I am not minded to ſay what I have learned, either of you, or with you; but taking this for a thing granted and confeſſed, I will proceed forward to the reſt behinde. Probable therefore it is, that the Moone is illuminate, not in maner of a glaſſe or cryſtall ſtone, by the bright irradiation and ſhining beames of the Sunne ſtriking through her; neither yet by a certaine colluſtration and mutuall conjunction of lights, as torches which being ſet a burning together, do augment the light: for ſo it would be no leſſe ful moone in the conjunction or firſt quarter, than in the oppoſition, in caſe ſhe did not conteine and keepe in, nor repell the raies of the ſunne, but ſuffer them to paſſe through her by reaſon of her raritie and frugoſitie, or if by a contempeture ſhe ſhineth and kindleth as it were the light about her: for we cannot alledge her oblique and biaſe declination, or her averſions and turnings away, before and after the conjunction or change, as when it is halfe Moone, tipped croiſant, or in the wane; but being directly and plumbe under the bodie that illuminateth it, as *Democritus* ſaith, it receiveth and admitteth the Sunne, in ſuch ſort, as by all likelihood ſhe ſhould then appeare, and he ſhine through her: But ſo farre is ſhe from ſo doing, that both herſelfe at ſuch a time is unſeene, and many times hideth the Sunne, and keepeth off his beames from us: for according to *Empedocles*,

His raies aloft ſhe turneth cleane aſide,
That to the earth beneath they cannot wend:
The earth it ſelfe ſhe doth obſcure and hide,
So farre as ſhe in compaſſe doth extend.

As if this light of the Sunne fell upon night and darkneſſe and not upon another ſtarre. And whereas *Poſadonius* ſaith, that in regard of the thicknes & depth of the Moones body, the light of the Sun can not through her pierce, as far as unto us, this is manifeſtly convinced as untrue. For the aire as infinite as it is, and deeper by many degrees than the Moone, is nevertheleſſe illuminated and lightned all over, and thoughout by the Sunne. It remaineth therefore that according to the opinion of *Empedocles*, the Moone-light which appeareth unto us, commeth by the reflexion and repercuſſion of the Sunne-beames. And heereupon it is, that the ſame is not with us hot and bright, as of neceſſitie it would be, if it did proceed either from the inflammation or commixtion of two lights. But like as the refraction or reverberation of a voice, doth cauſe an eccho, or reſonance more obſcure than is the voice it ſelfe, as it was pronounced; and as the raps, that ſhot, rebounding backe againe, doeth give, are more milde and ſoft,

Even ſo the Sunne beames when they beat
Upon the Moone in compaſſe great.

yeeld a weake and feeble reflexion or refluxion, as one would ſay of light, the force thereof being much abated & reſolved by the refraction & reflexion. Then *Sylla*: Certes, great probalitie this carieth with it, that you have delivered: But the moſt forcible objection that is made againſt this poſition, how thinke you, is it any waies mitigated and mollified? or hath our friend heere paſſed it over quite with ſilence? Whereby ſpeake you this (quoth *Lucius*?) what oppoſition meane you? or is it the doubt or difficulty about the Moone when ſhe appeareth the one halfe? Even the very ſame (quoth *Sylla*) for there is ſome reaſon, conſidering that all reflexion is made by equall angles, that when the halfe Moone is in the middes of heaven, the light ſhould not be caried from her upon the earth, but glaunce and fall beyond the earth: for the Sunne being upon the Horizon, toucheth with his raies the Moone, and therefore being reflected and broken æqually, they muſt light upon the oppoſite bound of the Horizon, and ſo not ſend the light hither; or elſe there ſhall enſue a great diſtortion and difference of the angle, which is impoſſible. Why good ſir (quoth *Lucius*) I dare aſſure you, this hath not beene overpaſſed, but explaned already: and with that, caſting his eie as he ſpake, upon *Menelaus* the

Mathematician: I am abaſhed (quoth he) friend *Menelaus*, to overthrow a Mathematicall poſition, that is ſuppoſed and laid as a ground, and fundamentall principle for oblique matters of mirrours: And yet I muſt (quoth he) of neceſſitie: for that it neither appeareth in this example, nor is generally confeſſed as true, that all reflexions tend to equall angles, for checked and confuted it is by round embowed or emboſſed mirrors, when as they repreſent images appearing at one point of the ſight, greater than themſelves. This alſo is diſprooved by double or two-folde mirrors, for that when they be inclined and turned one unto the other, ſo as the angle be made within, ech of the glaſſes or plaine ſuperficies, yeeld the reſemblance of a double image, and ſo repreſent foure in all from one face; two apparent, anſwerable to that without on the left ſide; and other twaine obſcure, & not ſo evident on the right ſide, all in the bottome of the mirrors, where they yeeld images, in appearance greater than the thing it ſelfe, at one point onely of the ſight. The ſame likewiſe is overthrowen by thoſe mirrors which are hollow, wherein the aſpect is variable: whereof *Plato* rendereth a reaſon and efficient cauſe: for he ſaith, that a mirror riſing of the one ſide and the other, the ſight doeth change the reflexion, falling from the one ſide to the other: and therefore as the viewes and viſions, ſome immediately returne upon us, others gliding upon the oppoſite parts of the mirror, have recourſe againe from thence unto us, it is not poſſible that all reflexions ſhould be in equall angles: ſo that when they come to coping and cloſe fight, they thinke by theſe oppoſitions to take from the fluxions of light, caried from the Moone to the earth, the equalitie of angles, ſuppoſing this to cary more probability with it, than the other. Howbeit, if we muſt needs yeeld thus much, and grant this unto our beſt beloved *Geomitrian*: firſt and formoſt by all likelihood this ſhould befall unto thoſe mirrors that are very ſmooth and exquiſitly poliſhed: whereas the Moone hath many inequalities, and aſperities, in ſuch ſort, as the raies comming from the vaſt body of the Sunne, and caried to mightie altitudes, which receive one from another, and intercommunicate the lights, as they be ſent to and fro, and diſtributed reciprocally, are refracted, broken, and interlaced all maner of waies, ſo as the counterlights doe meet and encounter one another, as if they came from many mirrours unto us. Moreover, if we ſhould grant and ſuppoſe theſe reflexions of beames upon the ſuperfices of the Moone, to be made by way of equall angles, there is no impoſſibility in the matter, but that the ſame raies being caried ſo great a way, ſhuld have their fractions, flexions, and delapſions; that thereby the light ſhould be confuſed and ſhine the more.

Some alſo there be who prove by lineary demonſtration, that ſhe caſteth much of her light to the earth plumbe downe by direct line drawen under her as ſhe doth encline: But for a man to make ſuch a diſcription and deliniation, reading as he doth, and diſcourſing in a publicke auditorie, eſpecially being ſo frequent, it was not eaſie, neither could it well be. In briefe I marvell (quoth he) how they came thus to alledge againſt us the halfe Moone, more than halfe tipped or croiſant. For if the Sunne do illuminate the maſſe, as a man would ſay, of the Moone, being of a celeſtiall or firy matter, ſurely he would not leave halfe the ſphære or globe thereof darke alwaies & ſhadowed without light, to our ſenſe, but how little ſoever he touched her, turning as he doth about, reaſon would give and convenient it were that ſhe ſhould be wholly repleniſhed and totally changed and turned, by that brightneſſe of his, which ſpredeth ſo quickely, and paſſeth through all ſo eaſily. For conſidering that wine touching water in one point onely, or a drop of blood falling into ſome liquor, dieth and coloureth the ſame all red or purple, like unto blood: and ſeeing they ſay that the very aire is altered with light, not by any defluxion or beames intermingled, but by ſudden converſion and change, even in a point or pricke onely: how can they thinke that one ſtarre comming to touch another ſtarre, and one light another ſhould not be mingled immediatly, nor make a confuſion and mutation throughout, but to illuminate that onely in the outward ſuperficies which it toucheth? For that circle which the Sun maketh in fetching a compaſſe and turning toward the Moone, one while falling upon the very line which parteth that which is viſible in her frō the inviſible, another while riſing up directly, in ſuch ſort as that it both cutteth her in twaine & is cutte alſo by her reciprocally, according to divers regards and habitudes of that which is light to the darke, cauſing thoſe ſundry formes in her, whereby ſhe appeareth but halfe, more than halfe horned and croiſant: this I ſay ſheweth more than any thing els, that this illumination of the Moone, whereof we ſpeake all this whiles, is not a mixture of two lights but a touching onely, not a colluſtration or gathering together of ſundry lights, but an illuſtration thereof round about. But for as much as ſhe is not onely illuminate her ſelfe, but he alſo ſendeth backe hither unto us the image of that brightneſſe, this confirmeth us more and more in that which we ſay as touching her terreine ſubſtance. For never are there any reflections and reverberations upon a thing that is rare and of ſubtile parts; neither may a man eaſily ſo much as imagine how light from light, or one fire ſhould reſult and rebound from another: but needs it muſt be that the ſubject which maketh the reverberation or reflection is firme, ſolid and thicke, to the end there may be a blow given againſt it, and a rebounding alſo from it. To prove this, doe but marke the aire, which giveth paſſage unto the Sunne for to perce quite through it, neither admitteth it any repulſe or driving backe. Contrariwiſe we may ſee, that from wood, from ſtones, and from clothes or garments, hung forth againſt the ſame, he maketh many reflections of his light, and illuminations on every ſide. And even ſo we ſee, that the earth by him is illuminate; for he ſendeth not his beames to the very bottome thereof as in water, nor throughout the whole as in the aire: but looke what circle the Sunne maketh turning about the Moone, and how much he cutteth from her, ſuch another there is that compaſſeth the earth: and juſt ſo much he doth illuminate alwaies, as he leaveth without light: for that which is illumined in the one and the other, is a little more than a hemiſphære. Give me leave therefore now to conclude after the maner of Geometricians by proportion. If, when three things there be, unto which the light of the Sunne commeth, to wit, the Aaire, the Moone, and the earth, we ſee that one of them is by him illuminate, not as the aire, but as the earth: we muſt of neceſſity collect that thoſe two be of one nature, conſidering that of the ſame cauſe they ſuffer the ſame effects. Now when all the companie highly commended *Lucius* for this diſputation: Paſſing well done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) you have to a proper diſcourſe annexed as prety a compariſon; for we muſt give you your right and not defraud you of that which is your due. With that ſmiled *Lucius*: I have yet (quoth he) a ſecond proportion which I will adde unto the other, to the end that we may prove by demonſtration, that the Moone wholy reſembleth the earth, not only by this that ſhe ſuffreth togtheer with the earth, from the ſame cauſe, the ſame accidents: but alſo becauſe they both doe worke the like effects upon the ſame object. For this I am ſure you will yeeld and grant unto me, that of all thoſe things which are obſerved about the Sunne, none doe ſo much reſemble one another, as his eclips doth his ſetting or going downe: if you will but call to minde that meeting of Sunne and Moone together, which hapned of late daies, and beginning immediatly after nooneſted, cauſed many a ſtarre from ſundry parts of the skie to be ſeene, and wrought ſuch a temperature or diſpoſition in the aire, as is of the twilight evening and morning. But if you will not grant me the ſaid ſuppoſition in this, our *Theon* here will cite and bring, I trow, *Mimnermus*, *Cydias*, *Archilochus*: and beſides them *Steſichorus* and *Pindarus*, lamenting that in eclipſes, the world is robbed of their greateſt light which they bewaile as if it were enterred, ſaying that midnight was come at noone day, and that the radiant beames of the Sunne, went in the way and path of darkeneſſe: but above all he will alledge *Homer*, ſaying that in an eclips, the faces and viſages of men were overcaſt and ſeized upon with night and darkeneſſe: alſo that the Sunne was quite loſt and miſſing out of the heaven being in conjunction with the Moone. * * * * *

Some thinke he meaneth that darkneſſe over the face of the earth, which hapned at the verie time that our Saviour ſuffered upon the croſſe, which continued frō the ſixt houre of the day, unto the ninth, that is to ſay, from noone, untill three of the clocke after noone.

* *

* Somewhat had bene ſaid of the change of the Moone, as it ſhould ſeeme, for it will not ſtand with the Suns ecclipſe, to be at any other time than at the change, by courſe of nature.

And this hapneth by a naturall cauſe, according as *Homer* ſheweth in this verſe,

τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο.
What time as Moones their interchange begin
As one goes out, another commeth in.

As for the reſt in mine adviſe they be as certaine and doe conclude as exactly as the demonſtrations of the Mathematicians, to wit, that as the night is the ſhadow of the earth, ſo the eclipſe of the Sun, is the ſhadow of the Moone, when as the ſight returneth upon it ſelfe. For the Sunne going downe is hidden from our ſight by the earth, and being eclipſed is likewiſe darkened by the Moone, and both the one and the other be offuſcations of darkeneſſe; that of the Sunne ſetting, by the earth, and the other of the Sunne eclipſed by the Moone, by the reaſon that the ſhade empeacheth our ſight: of which premiſes the concluſion evidently doth follow. For if the effect be like, the efficients alſo be ſemblable; becauſe neceſſary it is, that the ſame accidents or effects in the ſame ſubject, muſt come from the ſame efficient. Now if the darkeneſſe occaſioned by the eclipſes be not ſo deepe nor affect the aire ſo forcibly as doth the night, we are not to marvell thereat: for the ſubſtance of that bodie which maketh the night, and of it that cauſeth the eclipſe, may wel be the ſame, although the greatneſſe be not equall. For the Aegyptians:

tians, I ſuppoſe, doe hold, that the Moone is in bigneſſe the 72. part of the earth: And *Anaxagoras* ſaith it is juſt as big as *Peloponneſus*. *Ariſtarchus* writeth that the overthwart line or Diamiter of the Moone in proportion to that of the earth is leſſe than if 60. were compared with nineteene: and ſomewhat more than if a hundred and eight were compared with 43: and thereby the earth bereaveth us of all ſight of the Sunne, ſo great it is. For it muſt be a great obſtacle and oppoſition betweene, which continueth the time of a night: and the Moone albeit otherwhile ſhe hideth all the Sunne, yet that ecclipſe neither laſteth not ſo long, nor is ſo univerſall: for there appeareth alwaies about his circumference ſome light, which will not permit the darkneſſe to be ſo blacke and deepe, and altogether ſo obſcure. *Ariſtotle* alſo, I meane the ancient Philoſopher of that name, rendring a reaſon why there happen ecclipſes of the Moone oftener than of the Sunne, among other cauſes, brings in this for one: that the Sunne is ecclipſed by the obſtruction of the Moone, and the Moone by that of the earth, which is much greater and more ſpacious, and ſo by conſequence is oppoſed very often. And *Poſidonius* defined this accident thus: The ecclipſe of the Sunne (quoth he) is the conjunction or meeting of the Sunne and the Moone, the ſhadow whereof doeth darken our eie-ſight: for there is no defect or ecclipſe of the Sunnes light, but unto thoſe, whoſe ſight the ſhadow of the Moone hath caught, and ſo hindreth them from ſeeing the Sunne. Now in confeſſing that the ſhadow of the Moone reacheth downe unto us, I know not what he hath left himſelfe for to alledge. Certes, impoſſible it is, that a ſtarre ſhould caſt a ſhadow: for that which is voide altogether of light, is called a ſhadow; and light maketh no ſhadow, but contrariwiſe, naturally riddeth it away. But what arguments beſides, were alledged to this purpoſe (quoth he?) The Moone (quoth I then) ſuffereth the ſame ecclipſe: Well done (quoth he) of you, to reduce this into my memorie: But would you have me to proſecute this diſputation, as if you had already granted and ſet downe, that the Moone is ſubject to ecclipſes, when ſhe is caught within the ſhadow of the earth; or that for a ſubject and argument of ſome declamation, and demonſtration unto you, I firſt rehearſe all the arguments one after another? Mary, do ſo I pray you (quoth *Theon*:) beſtow your labour in ſuch a diſcourſe. I had need verily (quoth he) of ſome perſwaſion, having onely heard ſay, that when theſe three bodies, to wit, the earth, the Sunne, and the Moone, are directly in one right line, then happen ecclipſes; for that either the earth, taketh the Sunne from the Moone, or the Moone taketh him from the earth: for the Sunne is in defect or ecclipſe when the Moone, and the Moone likewiſe when the earth is in the mids of them three; whereof the one falleth out in conjunction, the other in the oppoſition or full Moone. Then (quoth *Lucius*) theſe be in a maner all the principall points and the very briefe of thoſe that which hath beene delivered: but to begin withall, if you thinke ſo good take in hand that firme argument which is drawen from the forme and figure of the ſhadow, which indeed is a *Conus* or *Pyramis* (reſembling a ſugar loafe) with the ſharpe end forward, namely when a great fire or great light being round, comprehendeth a maſſe likewiſe round but leſſe: and hereupon it commeth that in eclipſes of the Moone the circumſcription of the blacke or darkeneſſe, from the cleere and light, have alwaies their ſections round: for the approchments and applications of a round bodie, in what part ſoever, whether it give or receive thoſe ſections; by reaſon of the ſimilitude doe alwaies keepe a round forme and be circular. Now to the ſecond argument. You know well (I ſuppoſe) that the firſt part eclipſed or darkened in the Moone, is that which regardeth the eaſt: and contrariwiſe in the Sunne, that which looketh toward the weſt: for the ſhaddow of the earth goeth from eaſt to weſt, but contrariwiſe the Sunne and Moone, from weſt eaſtward. The experience of the apparitions, giveth us the viſible knowledge of theſe things: and many words there need not to make the demonſtration hereof plaine and evident to be underſtood: by which ſuppoſitions is confirmed the cauſe of the eclipſe: For, in as much as the Sunne is eclipſed when he is overtaken, and the Moone by meeting with that which maketh her eclipſe, by all likelihood, nay rather neceſſarily, the one is caught behinde, the other ſurpriſed before, for that the obſtruction, & inumbration beginneth on that ſide on which that commeth firſt that maketh the ſaid inumbration. Now the Moone lighteth upon the Sunne from the weſt, as ſtriving with him in courſe and haſtning after him: but the ſhaddow of the earth commeth from the eaſt, as having a contrary motion. The third reaſon is taken from the time and greatneſſe of the eclipſes of the Moone. For when ſhe is eclipſed on high and farre from the earth, ſhe continueth but a little while in defect or want of light: but when ſhe ſuffereth the ſame default being low and nere unto the earth, ſhe is much oppreſſed, and ſlowly getteth ſhe foorth of the ſhade thereof: and yet when ſhe is low ſhe moveth moſt ſwiftly, and being aloft, as ſlowly. But the cauſe is in the difference of the ſhaddow, which toward the bottome or baſe is broader as are the *Cones* or *Pyramides*, & ſo it groweth ſmaller and ſmaller taperwiſe, untill at the top it endeth in a ſharpe point. And hereupon it cōmeth that the Moone being low and ſo falling within the ſhadow is compaſſed with greater circles of the ſhadow, & ſo paſſeth through the very bottome of it, & that which is moſt darke: but being on high, by reaſon of the narrow compaſſe of the ſhadow, being as it were in a ſmall puddle of mire, ſhe is but a little ſullied or beraied therewith, & ſo quickely getteth forth of it. Here I paſſe by the accidents and effects that have their particular cauſes. For we daily ſee that the fire, out of a ſhady place appeareth & ſhineth the rather, either by reaſon of the thickeneſſe of the darke aire, which admitteth no efluxions nor diffuſions of the vertue of the fire, keeping in and containing within it ſelfe the ſubſtance thereof: or rather if this be a paſſion of the ſenſe, like as hot things nere unto cold are felt to be more hot, and pleaſures preſently upon paines found more vehement: even ſo things cleere, appeare better when they are laid neere unto thoſe that be darke, by meanes of different paſſions, which doe ſtreine the imagination: but the former conjecture ſeemeth to bee more probable: for in the Sunne-ſhine, the whole nature of fire not onely leeſeth his brightneſſe, but alſo in giving place unto it, becommeth more dull, and unwilling to burne, for that the heat of the Sunne doth ſcatter and diſſipate the force thereof. If then it were true that the Moone had in it a feeble and dimme or duskiſh fire, as being a muddy ſtarre, as the Stoicks ſaie it is, reaſon it were and meet, that it ſhould not ſuffer any one of thoſe accidents (but contrary al) which now we ſee it to ſuffer, namely to be ſeene at that time when as it is hidden; and againe to be hidden, what time as ſhe ſheweth herſelfe: that is to ſay, to be covered all the reſt of the time, being darkned by the aire environing it, and to ſhine out againe for ſix moneths, and afterwards for five moneths be hidden, entring within the ſhadow of the earth. For of 465. revolutions of ecclipſed full Moones, 404. are of ſix moneths, and the reſt of five. It muſt needs be then, during this time, the Moone ſhould appeare ſhining in the ſhadow: but contrariwiſe we ſee, that in the ſhadow ecclipſed ſhe is, and looſeth her light, which ſhe recovereth againe afterwards, when ſhe is eſcaped and gotten foorth of the ſaid ſhadow, yea, and appeareth often in the day time; ſo that it is rather any thing elſe than a firie body, and reſembling a ſtarre.

Lucius had no ſooner thus ſaid, but *Pharnaces* & *Apollonides* came running both together, to ſet upon him, and to confute his ſpeech: and then *Pharnaces* aſſiſted by *Apollonides* there preſent: Why: this (quoth he) is that which principally prooveth the Moone to be a ſtarre, and to ſtand much upon fire, namely, that in ecclipſes ſhe is not wholly darkned, and not at all to be ſeene, but ſheweth through the ſhade a certeine colour, reſembling a coale of fire, and the ſame fearefull to ſee to, which is the very naturall and proper hue of her owne. As for *Apollonides*, he made inſtance and oppoſition as touching the word ſhadow: for that (quoth he) Mathematicians by that terme uſe alwaies to call the place which is not illumined, but the heaven admitteth no ſhadow. Whereto I made anſwer, that this inſtance of his was alledged rather againſt the word contentiouſly, than againſt the thing Phyſically, or Mathematically; for the place which is darkned and obſtructed by the oppoſition of the earth, if a man will not call a ſhadow, but a place voide or deprived of light, yet be it what it will, whenſoever the Moone is there, you muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe, that ſhe becommeth obſcure and darkned: and in one word, I ſay, it is a very abſurd folly to hold, that the ſhadow of the earth reacheth not to that place, from whence the ſhadow the Moone falling upon our ſight heere upon the earth, cauſeth the ecclipſe of the Sunne. And now will I come againe to you *Pharnaces*: For that burnt colour, like a coale in the Moone, which you ſay is proper unto her, agreeth very well to a body, that hath thickneſſe and depth: neither uſe there to remaine in bodies which be rare any marke or token of a flame, nor a coale can poſſibly be made of a body which is not ſolide & able to receive deepe within it the heat of fire, and the blackneſſe of ſmoake: as *Homer* himſelfe ſheweth very well in one place, by theſe words:

When flower of fire was gon and flowen away
And flame extinct the coales he did forth lay.

For the coale ſeemeth not properly to be fire, but a bodie firie and altered by fire, remaining ſtill in a ſolid maſſe or ſubſtance which hath taken as it were deepe root: whereas flames are but the ſetting on fire and fluxions of ſome nutriment or matter which is of a rare ſubſtance, and by reaſon of feebleneſſe is quickely reſolved and conſumed. In ſo much as there were not another

ther argument ſo evident, to prove that the Moone is ſolid and terreſtriall, as this, if the proper colour therof reſemble a coale of fire. But it is not ſo my *Pharnaces*: for in her eclipſe ſhe changeth diverſly her colours, which Mathematicians in regard of time and place determinatly diſtinguiſh in this ſort. If ſhe be eclipſed in the Weſt, ſhe appeareth exceeding blacke for three houres and an halfe: if in the middle of the heaven, ſhe ſheweth this light reddiſh or bay colour reſembling fire: and after ſeven houres and an halfe, there ariſeth a redneſſe indeed. Finally, when this eclipſe hapneth in the eaſt and toward the Sunne riſing ſhe taketh a blew or grayiſh colour, which is the cauſe that the Poets and namely *Empedocles* calleth her *Glaucopis*. Conſidering then, that they ſee maniſeſtly how the Moone changeth into ſo many colours in the ſhaddow, they doe very ill to attribute unto her this colour onely of a burning or live coale: which in truth a man may ſay to be leſſe proper unto her than any other, and rather to be ſome little ſuffuſion and remnant of light appearing and ſhining through a ſhaddow; and that her proper and naturall colour is blacke and earthly. For ſeeing that here below whereas the lakes and rivers which receive the Sunne beames, and by that meanes ſeeme in their ſuperficies to be ſometime reddiſh, and otherwhiles of a violet colour, the ſhaddowy places adjoining take the ſame colours and are illuminated, ſtarting backe by reaſon of reflexions & divers rebated ſplendures. What wonder is it, if a great river (as it were) or flux of ſhadow falling upon a celeſtiall ſea as a man would ſay of a light not firm, ſtedy & quiet, but ſtirred with inumerable ſtarres walking over it, and beſides, which admitteth divers mixtures and mutations, doth take from the Moone the impreſſion of ſundry colours, and ſend the ſame hither unto us? For it cannot be avowed that a ſtarre or fire ſhould appeare through a ſhaddow either blacke, blew, or violet; but hils, plaines, and ſeas, are ſeene to have many and ſundry reſemblances of colours by reflexion of the Sunne running upon them, which are the very tinctures, that a brightneſſe, mingled with ſhaddowes and miſts (as it were) with painters drugges and colours, bringeth upon them: which tinctures *Homer* went about to expreſſe in ſome ſort and to name, when one while he calleth the ſea ἰοειδὴς, and οἴνοψ, that is to ſay, of a violet colour, or deepe red as wine, and otherwhile the waves purple: in one place the ſea blew, greene or grey, and the colour white: as for the tinctures and colours appearing upon the earth diverſly, he hath let them paſſe, as I ſuppoſe, for that they be in number infinit. So, it is not like that the Moone ſhould have but one plaine and even ſuperficies in maner of the ſea, but rather reſemble naturally of all things eſpecially the earth, whereof olde *Socrates* in *Plato* ſeemeth to fable, whether it were, that under covert words and œnigmatically he ment this here of the Moone, or ſpake of ſome other. For it is neither incredible nor wonderfull if the Moone in it having no corruption nor muddineſſe but the fruition of pure light from heaven, and being full of heat, not of furious and burning fire, but of ſuch as is milde and harmeleſſe, hath alſo within her faire places and marvellous pleaſant mountaines alſo, reſplendant like bright flaming fire, purple tinctures or zones, gold and ſilver likewiſe good ſtore, not diſperſed heere and there in the bottome thereof, but ariſing up to the upper face of the ſaid planes in great aboundance, or elſe ſpred over the hils and mountaines, even and ſmooth. Now ſay that the ſight of all theſe things commeth unto us through a ſhaddow, and that after divers and ſundry ſorts, by reaſon of the variable and different mutation of the circumſtant aire, yet looſeth not the Moone for all that, the venerable opinion that goeth of her and the reputation of her divinity, being eſteemed among men a celeſtiall earth, or rather a feculent and troubled fire, as the Stoicks would have it, and ſtanding much upon lees or dreggiſh matter. For the very fire it ſelfe hath barbarian honers done unto it among the Medes and Aſſyrians, who for very feare ſerve and adore ſuch things as be noiſome and hurtful, hallowing & conſecrating the ſame above thoſe things which are of themſelves good and honorable. As for the name of the earth, there is not a Greeke but he holdeth it right worſhipfull, ſacred, and venerable: in ſo much as it is an ancient coſtome received throughout all *Greece*, to honour it as much as any other god whatſoever. And far is it from us men, to thinke that the Moone which we take to be a celeſtiall earth, as a dead body without ſoule or ſpirit, and altogether void of ſuch things, which we ought to offer as firſt fruits to the gods. For both by law we yeeld recompence and thankeſgiving unto it, for thoſe good things which we have received, and by nature we adore the ſame, which we acknowledge to be the moſt excellent for vertue, and right honourable for puiſſance, and therefore we thinke it no ſinne at all, to ſuppoſe the Moone to be earth. To come now unto the face that appeareth therein: like as this earth upon which we walke, hath many ſinuoſities and valleis, even ſo as probable it is, that the ſaid heavenly earth, lieth open with great deepe caves, and wide chinks or ruptures, and thoſe conteining either water or obſcure aire: to the bottome thereof the light of the Sunne is not able to pierce and reach, but there falleth, and ſendeth to us hither a certeine divided reflexion. Then *Apollonides:* Now I beſeech you good ſir, even by the Moone herſelfe, thinke you it is poſſible that there ſhould be ſhadowes of caves, gulfes, and chinkes there, and that the ſame ſhould be diſcovered by our ſight heere? or doe you not make reckoning of that which may come thereof? What is that (quoth I:) Mary I will tell you, (quoth he) and albeit you are not ignorant thereof, yet may you give me the hearing. The Diameter of the Moone, according to that bigneſſe which appeareth unto us, in the meane and ordinary diſtances, is twelve fingers bredth long: and every one of thoſe blacke and darke ſhadowy ſtreaks therein, is more than halfe a finger, that is to ſay, above the foure an twentieth part of the ſaid Diameter. Now if we ſuppoſe the whole circumference of the Moone to be thirtie thouſand ſtadia, and according to that ſuppoſition the Diameter to be ten thouſand, every one of thoſe obſcure and ſhadowy marks within her, will not be leſſe than five hundreth Stadia, or thereabout. Conſider then firſt, whether it be poſſible that there ſhould be in the Moone ſo great profundities, and ſuch rugged inequalities, as to make ſo bigge a ſhadow? and then, whether being ſo great, their bigneſſe ſhould not be deſcried and ſeene by us. Heereupon I ſmiling upon him: Now I aſſure you *Apollonides* (quoth I) I con you thanke, you have done it very well, in deviſing ſuch a proper demonſtration, whereby you will proove both me and your ſelfe alſo to be greater than thoſe Giants *Aloïades,* I meane not at every houre of the day, but eſpecially in the morning and evening: doe you thinke that when the Sunne maketh our ſhadowes ſo long, hee yeeldeth unto our ſenſe this goodly collection and augmentation, that if the thing which is ſhadowed be great, then that which maketh the ſhadow muſt needs be exceeding great? Neither of us twaine, I wot well, hath ever beene in the iſle *Lemnos,* and yet both of us have many a time heard this vulgar Iambique verſe ſo riſe in every mans mouth:

ἄθως καλύψει πλευρὰ Λημνίας βοός,

The mountaine Athos *ſhall on either ſide,*
The cow that ſtands in Lemnos *hide.*

For this ſhadow of the hill falleth as it ſhould ſeeme, upon a certeine brazen image of an heifer in that Iſle, reaching in length over ſea no leſſe than 700 *ſtadia*; not becauſe the ſaid mountaine which maketh the ſhadow is of that height, but becauſe the diſtāces of the light cauſeth the ſhadowes of bodies to be by many folds greater than the bodies are. Go to then, conſider that when the Moone is at the full, at what time as ſhe rendreth unto our eie the forme of a viſage moſt expreſly, by reaſon of the profunditie of the ſhadow within, then is ſhe alſo fartheſt diſtant from the Sunne: for the farre recoiling and withdrawing backward of the light, is it that makes the ſhadow great, and not the bigneſſe of thoſe inequalities, which are upon the ſuperficies of the Moone. Moreover you ſee that the exceſſive glittering of the Sunne ſhining all about, will not ſuffer a man to ſee in the day time the very tops of mountaines: but the deepe, hollow, and ſhadowy parts therein, appeare very farre off. It carieth therefore no abſurditie at all, that a man is not able exactly to ſee and diſcerne that full light and illumination of the Moone: but that the oppoſition of darke ſhadowes unto cleare lights, by reaſon of their diverſitie is more exquiſitely ſeene. But this (quoth I) ſeemeth rather to checke and confute that reflexion, and reverberation which is ſaid to rebound from the Moone, for that they who ſtand within the raies or beames that are returned and retorted backe, have meanes to ſee not onely that which is illumined, but that alſo which doeth illuminate. For when, in the reſultation of a light from the water upon ſome wall, the ſight falleth upon the very place it ſelfe, which is thus illuminate by the reflexion, the eie ſeeth three things, to wit, the beames or ſhining light driven backe, the water which maketh that reflexion, and the Sunne it ſelfe, whoſe light hitting upon the ſuperficies of the water, is reflexed and ſent backe. This being generally granted as a thing evidently ſeene, yet by way of objection, they bid thoſe who affirme, that the earth is illuminate from the Moone by the reflection of the Sunnes light from it, to ſhew by night the Sunne appearing in the ſuperficies of the Moone, like as he may be ſeene in the day time within the water upon which ſhe ſhineth, when there is the foreſaid reflexion of his beames: But becauſe he cannot then be ſeene, they inferre, that it muſt be by ſome other manner, and not by reflexion, that the Moone is illuminate; and if there be no ſuch reflexion, then cannot the Moone in any wiſe be earth. How ſhall this be met withall, and what anſwere ſhall be ſhaped unto it (quoth *Apollonides?*) for the reaſon of reflexion ſeemeth all one, and common as well to us as to you. True (quoth I) common it is in ſome ſort, and in ſome ſort not: but firſt marke I beſeech you the compariſon, how they go cleane kim, kam, and againſt the ſtreame, as if rivers ranne up hilles: for the water is heere beneath upon the earth, and the Moone is above and in the heaven: in ſuch ſort as the beames reflected, make the forme of their angles oppoſite and quite contrarie one unto the other; the one carrying the head or point upward againſt the ſuperficies of the Moone, the other downeward to the ground. Let them not then demaund and require that a mirrour ſhould render every forme or face alike, nor that in every diſtance there ſhould be equall, or ſemblable reflexion, for in ſo dooing they would goe againſt apparent evidence. And they who holde the Moone to be a bodie not ſmooth, even ſubtile as water is, but ſolid, maſſy, and terreſtriall, I cannot conceive why they ſhould looke for to ſee the Sunne in it as in a glaſſe. For milke verily doth not yeeld ſuch ſpecularie images nor cauſe reflexion of the ſight, by reaſon of the inequallity and rugged aſperity of the parts: how is it poſſible then, that the Moone ſhould ſend backe from it the ſight as mirrours doe which are more poliſhed? And even this alſo, if any raſe, blur, filth, or confuſed ſpot have caught them in the ſuperficies, from whence the ſight being reflected is wont to receive the impreſſion of ſome figure, may wel be ſeene, but counter-light they yeeld none: and he who requireth, that either the Sunne ſhould appeare in the Moone, or our ſight be redubled againſt the Sunne, let him require withall, that the eie be the Sunne, the ſight thereof the light, and man, heaven. For like it is that the reflexion of the Sunne beames againſt the Moone, for their vehement & exceeding great brightneſſe, ſhould with a ſtroke rebound upon us: but ſeeing our ſight is weake and feeble, what marvel is it, if it neither give ſuch a ſtroke as might rebound, nor maintaine the continuity thereof if it leaped backe againe, but is broken and faileth, as not having that abundance of light, whereby it ſhould not be diſgregate and diſſipated, within thoſe unneven and unnequall aſperities? For it is not poſſible that the reflexion of our ſight upon water, or other ſorts of mirrours, whiles the ſame is yet ſtrong, and able, as being neere unto the ſpring from whence it commeth, ſhould not returne againe upon the eie. But from the Moone, ſuppoſe there may rebound ſome glimmering glances, certes they be all weake and obſcure, failing in the very way, by reaſon of ſo long a diſtance. For otherwiſe arched and hollow mirrors ſend backe their reflected raies with more force, than they came, in ſuch ſort as many times they catch fire and doe burne: whereas the imboſſed and courled mirrours made round and bearing out like a bowle, caſt from them feeble and darke raies, becauſe they beate them not backe on all ſides You ſee certainely when two rainebowes appeare in the heaven, by reaſon that one cloud doth inviron and comprehend another, that the rainebow which compaſſeth the other without forth, yeeldeth dim colours, and not ſufficiently diſtinct & expreſſed, becauſe the outward cloud being farther remote from our ſight, maketh not a ſtrong and forcible reflexion. And what needs there any more to be ſaid? conſidering that the very light of the Sunne returned and ſent backe by the Moone leeſeth all the heat: and of his brightneſſe there commeth unto us with much adoe but a ſmall remnant, and a portion very little and feeble. Is it poſſible then that our ſight running the ſame race there ſhould any percell or reſidue thereof reach from the Moone backe againe to the Sunne? For mine owne part, I thinke not. Conſider alſo I beſeech you (quoth I) even your owne ſelves, that if our eieſight were affected and diſpoſed alike by the water and by the Moone, it could not otherwiſe be but that the Moone ſhould repreſent unto us the images of the earth, of trees, of plants, of men, and of ſtarres, as well as water doth, and all other kinds of mirrors. Now if there be no ſuch reflexion of our eie ſight frõ the Moone, as to bring backe unto us thoſe images, either for the feebleneſſe of it, or the rugged innequallity of her ſuperficies, let us never require that it ſhould leape backe as far as to the Sun. Thus have we reported as much as our memory would carrie away, whatſoever was there delivered: Now is it time to deſire *Sylla* or rather to require & exact of him, to make his narration, for that admitted he was to here this diſcourſe upon ſuch a condition. And therefore if you thinke ſo good, let us give over walking, and ſitting downe here upon theſe ſeates, make him a ſedentarie audience. All the companie liked well of this motion. And when we had taken our places, *Theon* thus began, Certes I am deſirous (quoth he) and none of you all more, to heare what ſhall be ſaid: But before I would be very glad to underſtand ſomewhat of thoſe who are ſaid to dwell in the Moone, not whether there be any perſons there inhabiting, but whether it be poſſible that any ſhould inhabit there. For if this cannot be, then it were mere folly and beſide all reaſon, to ſay, that the Moone is earth: otherwiſe it would be thought to have beene created in vaine and to no end: as bearing no fruits, nor affoording no habitation, no place for nativity; no food or nouriſhment for any men or women, in regard of which cauſe, and for which ends we firmly hold, that this earth wherein we live, as *Plato* ſaith, was made and created, even to be our nourſe and keeper, making the day and night diſtinct one from another. For you ſee and know, that of this matter, many things have beene ſaid aſwell merily and by way of laughter, as ſeriouſly and in good earneſt. For of thoſe who inhabit the Moone, ſome are ſaid to hang by the heads under it, as if they were ſo many *Tantali*; others contrariwiſe, who dwell upon it, are tied faſt, like a ſort of *Ixions*, and turned about with ſuch a violence, that they are in danger to be flung and ſhaken out. And verily ſhe moveth not after one ſingle motion, but three maner of waies; whereupon the Poets call her other-while, τριοδῖτις, or *Trivia*, performing her courſe together, according to length, bredth, and depth in the Zodiak. Of which motions, the firſt is called, A direct revolution; the ſecond, An oblique winding or wheeling in and out; and the third, the Mathematicians call (I wote not how) An inequalitie: and yet they ſee, that ſhe hath no motion at all even and uniforme, nor certeine in all her monthly circuits and reverſions. No marvell therefore, conſidering the impetuoſitie of theſe motions, if there fell a lion ſometimes out of her into *Peloponneſus*: nay rather we are to wonder, why we ſee not every day a thouſand fals of men & women, yea, and as many beaſts ſhaken out from thence, and flung downe headlong with their heeles upward. For it were a meere mockerie, to diſpute and ſtand upon their habitation there, if they neither can breed nor abide there. For conſidering that the Aegyptians and Troglodytes, over whoſe heads the Sunne ſtandeth directly one moment onely of the day in the time of the Solſtices, and then preſently retireth, hardly eſcape burning, by reaſon of the exceſſive ſiccitie of the circumſtant aire; how poſſibly can the men in the Moone endure 12 Summers every yere, when the Sunne once a moneth is juſt in their Zenith, and ſetleth plumbe over head, when ſhe is at the full? As for winds, clouds, and raines, without which the plants of the earth can neither come up nor be preſerved, it paſſeth all imagination, that there ſhould be any there, the aire is ſo ſubtile, drie and hote; eſpecially, ſeeing that even here beneath, the higheſt mountaines doe admit or feele the hard and bitter Winters from yeere to yeere, but the aire about them being pure and cleere, and without any agitation whatſoever, by reaſon of the ſubtilitie and lightneſſe, avoideth all that thickneſſe and concretion which is among us: unleſſe haply we will ſay, that like as *Minerva* inſtilled and dropped into *Achilles* mouth ſome *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*, when he received no other food; ſo the Moone, who both is called and is indeed *Minerva*, nouriſheth men there, bringeth foorth daily for them *Ambroſia*, according as olde *Pherecides* was wont to ſay, that the very gods alſo were fedde and nouriſhed. For as touching that Indian root, which (as *Megaſthenes* ſaith) certeine people of *India*, who neither eat nor drinke, nor have ſo much as mouthes, whereupon they be called *Aſtomi*, do burne and make to ſmoake, with the odor and perfume whereof, they live; how can they come by any ſuch there, conſidering the Moone is never watered nor refreſhed with raine? When *Theon* had thus ſaid: You have (quoth I) very properly and ſweetly handled this point; you have (I ſay) by this mery conceited jeſt, laied ſmooth and even, thoſe bent and knit browes, the auſterity (I meane) of this whole diſcourſe; which hath given us heart and encouraged us to make anſwere: for that, if we faile and come ſhort, we looke not for ſtreight examination, nor feare any ſharpe and grievous puniſhment. For to ſay a trueth, they who take moſt offence at theſe matters, rejecting and diſcrediting the ſame, are not ſo great adverſaries unto thoſe who are moſt perſwaded thereof; but ſuch as will not after a milde and gentle ſort conſider that which is poſſible and probable. Firſt and formoſt therefore, this I ſay, that, ſuppoſe there were no men at all inhabiting the Moone, it doth not neceſſarily follow therefore, that ſhe was made for nothing and to no purpoſe: for we ſee that even this earth here is not thorowout inhabited, nor tilled in all parts: nay, there is but a little portion thereof habitable, like unto certeine promontories or demy-ilands ariſing out of the deepe ſea, for to breed, ingender and bring forth plants & living creatures: for of the reſt, ſome part is deſert, waſte and barren, by reaſon of exceſſive colde and heat; but in trueth, the greateſt portion lieth drowned under the great and maine ſea. But you (for the great love that you beare to *Ariſtarchus*, whom you admire ſo much, and evermore have in your hands) give no eare to *Crates*, notwithſtanding that you reade theſe verſes in *Homer*:

The ocean ſea, from whence both men
and gods were firſt ibred,
With ſurging waves the greateſt part
of earth doth overſpred.

And

And yet God forbid, that theſe parts ſhould be ſaid for to have beene made for nought: for the ſea doth expire and breath forth certeine mild vapours: and the moſt gentle and pleaſant winds which ariſe and blow in the greateſt heat of Summer, come from frozen regions and not inhabited for extreame colde, which the ſnow melting and thawing by little and little do ſend from them and ſcatter over all our countreys. And the earth (as *Plato* ſaith) ariſeth out of the ſea in the mids, as a guardianeſſe and workmiſtreſſe of night and day. What ſhould hinder then, but that the Moone alſo may well be without living creatures in it, and yet give reflexions unto the light diffuſed and ſpred about her; yea, and yeeld a receit or receptacle of the ſtars raies which have their confluence, meeting and temperature in her, whereby ſhe concocteth the evaporations aſcending from the earth, and withall, abateth the over-ardent and firie heat of the Sunne. Over & beſides, attributing as we do very much to the ancient opinion & voice which we have received from our forefathers, we will be bold to ſay, that ſhe hath bene reputed *Diana*, as a virgin, barren and fruitleſſe, but otherwiſe ſalutarie, helpfull and profitable to the world. And of all this that hath bene ſaid (my friend *Theon*) there is nothing that doth proove and ſhew directly, this habitation of men in the Moone to be impoſſible: for her turning about being ſo milde, ſo kinde and calme, poliſheth the aire neere unto it, it diſtributeth and ſpreadeth the ſame all about in ſo good diſpoſition, that there is none occaſion given to feare, that thoſe who live in it ſhould fall downe or ſlide out of her, unleſſe ſhe alſo come downe withall. As for that manifold variety of her motions, it proceedeth not from any inequality, error or confuſion, but the Aſtrologers demonſtratively ſhew thereby an order and courſe moſt admirable, contriving it ſo, that ſhe ſhould be faſt within certeine circles that turne and winde about other circles, ſome deviſing that ſhe herſelfe ſtirreth not, others ſuppoſing that ſhe mooveth alwaies equally, ſmoothly and in conforme celerity: for theſe are the aſcenſions of divers circles, the circumvertions and turnings about, the habitudes in references one to another, yea, and reſpective to us, which make moſt elegantly thoſe orderly elevations and depreſſions in altitude, which appeare in her motion, yea, and her digreſſions in latitude, all jointly with that ordinary and direct revolution of hers in longitude. As touching that exceeding heat and continuall inflamation of the Sunne, you will ceaſe (I am ſure) to be afraid thereof, in caſe, firſt and formoſt, you will lay to thoſe eleven hote and æſtivall conjunctions as it were in exchange, as many oppoſitions when ſhe is at the full; and then oppoſe unto thoſe exceſſive and enormous extremities which holde not long, the continuall change and mutation, which reduceth them into a proper and peculiar temperature, taking from them that which is exceſſive and overmuch in both: for it ſeemeth very probable, that the time betweene is a ſeaſon reſembling the Springtide. Moreover, the Sun ſendeth his beames into us thorow a groſſe and troubled aire, caſting his heat nouriſhed and fed by evaporations: wheras the aire there, about the Moone, being ſubtile & tranſparent, doth diſgregate and diſperſe the ſaid beames, as having no nouriture to mainteine them, nor body to ſettle upon.

To come now unto trees, woods and fruits; here indeed with us, they be the raines that nouriſh them: but in other high countreys with you, namely, about * *Thebes* and *Siene*, it is not the water from heaven; but out of the earth, that feedeth them: for the earth being ſoaked therewith, and beſides refreſhed with coole winds and comfortable dewes, would be loth to compare infertilitie with the beſt watered ground in the world, ſuch is the goodneſſe, vertue and temperature of the ſoile. And verily the trees of the ſame kinde with us, if they have beene well Wintered, that is to ſay, if they have endured a ſharpe and long Winter, bring forth plenty of good fruit; but in *Libya* and with you in *Aegypt*, they are ſoone hurt and offended with colde, and it they feare exceedingly. And whereas the provinces of *Gedroſia* and *Trogloditis*, lying hard upon the ocean ſea, be very barren by reaſon of their drouth, and are altogether without trees: yet within the ſea adjoining thereto, and which beateth upon the continent, there grow trees of a wonderfull bigneſſe, yea & there be that put foorth freſh and greene at the very bottome of the ſea: whereof ſome they call Olive trees, others, Lawrels, and ſome againe *Iſis* haires. As for thoſe plants which be called Anacampſerotes, after they be plucked foorth of the ground where they grow, and ſo hanged up, they doe not onely live as long as a man would have them, but (that which more is) budde and put foorth greene leaves. Moreover, of thoſe plants which are ſet or ſowen, ſome, as namely, Centauri, if they be planted or ſowed in a rich or fat ſoile, and the ſame well drenched and watered, doe degenerate and grow out of their naturall qualitie, yea, and leeſe all their vertue, for that they love to grow drie, and in their proper nature and ſoile agreeable thereto, they thrive paſſing well. Others cannot ſo much as away with any

* In *Aegypt*.

dewes, as the moſt part of the Arabian plants; for wet them once, they miſlike, fade and die. What marvell then if there grow within the Moone, rootes, ſeeds, plants, and trees, that have no need either of ſhewers, or of winter winde and weather, but are appropriate naturally to a ſubtile and dry aire, ſuch as the ſummer ſeaſon doeth affoord? And why may it not ſtand with good reaſon, that the Moone herſelfe ſends certeine warme windes, and that by her ſhaking and agitation, as ſhe ſtill mooveth, there ſhould breath foorth a ſweet and comfortable aire, fine dewes, and gentle moiſtures, ſpred and diſperſed all about, ſufficient to mainteine the plants freſh and greene: conſidering withall, that ſhe of her owne temperature is not ardent, nor exceeding drie, but rather ſoft and moiſt, and engendring all humiditie? For there commeth not from her unto us, any one effect or accident of ſiccity, but of moiſture and of a feminine & ſoft conſtitution, many; to wit, the growing and thriving of plants, the putrefaction of fleſh killed, the turning of wines to be ſowre, flat, and dead, the frumneſſe and tenderneſſe of wood, and the eaſie deliverance of women in childbirth. But I feare me, that I ſhould moove and provoke *Pharnaces* againe, who all this while ſitteth ſtill and ſaieth nought, if I alledge the ebbing and flowing, or the inundations of the great Ocean, as they themſelves ſay, the firthes, ſtreights, and armes of the ſea, which ſwell and riſe by the Moone, naturally given to encreaſe moiſture and breed humours: and therefore I will direct my words toward you rather, friend *Theon*, for you ſay unto us, in expounding theſe verſes of the Poet *Alcman*,

What things on earth the deaw, as nourſe doth feed:
Which Jupiter *and Moone betwixt them breed.*

that in this place he calleth the aire *Jupiter*, and ſaith, that being moiſtened by the Moone, he is converted into dew: for the Moone my good friend, ſeemeth in nature to be quite contrary unto the ſunne, not onely in this, that whatſoever he doeth thicken, drie, and harden, ſhe is woont to reſolve, moiſten, and mollifie, but that which more is, to humect and refrigerate the heat that commeth from him, when the ſame lighteth upon her, or is mingled with her. Therefore as well they who ſuppoſe the Moone to be a firie and ardent body, doe erre, as thoſe who would have the creatures there inhabiting, to have all things neceſſarie for their generation, food and maintenance, like unto them that live heere; never conſidering the great difference and inequality which is in nature, wherein there be found greater and more varieties and diverſities of living creatures, one with another, than with other things: neither would there be men in the world without mouthes, and whoſe lippes are growen up together, and who were nouriſhed alſo with ſmels onely, in caſe men could not live without ſolide and ſubſtantiall food. But that power of Nature which *Ammonius* himſelfe hath ſhewed us, and which *Heſiodus* under covert words hath given us to underſtand by theſe verſes,

In Mallowes and in Aſphodels,
which grow on every ground,
What uſe and profit manifold,
for man there may be found.

Epimenides hath made plaine and evident indeed and effect, teaching us that nature ſuſteineth and preſerveth a living creature with very ſmall food and maintenance: for ſo it may have but as much as an oilive, it needs no more nouriſhment, but may live therewith, and doe full well. Now it is very like & probable, that thoſe who dwel within the Moone, if any els, be light, active and nimble of body, and eaſie to be nouriſhed with any thing whatſoever: alſo that the Moone (as well as the Sunne, who is a living creature, ſtanding much upon fire, and by many degrees greater than the earth) is nouriſhed and mainteined as they ſay, by the humours which are upon the earth, like as all other ſtarres, which are in number infinite. So light and ſlender they imagine thoſe living creatures to be that are above, and ſo ſoone contented and ſatisfied with ſmall neceſſaries. But we neither ſee this, nor yet conſider that a divers region, nature and temperature is meet and agreeable unto them: much like, as if when we could not our ſelves come nere unto the ſea, nor touch and taſte it, but have ſeene it only a farre off, & heard that the water in it is bitter, brackiſh, ſalt, and not potable, one ſhould come and tell us, that it nouriſheth a mightie number of great creatures, of all ſorts & formes, living in the bottome thereof, and that it is full of huge and monſtrous beaſts, which make uſe of the water, as we doe of aire; hee would be thought to tell us tales and monſtrous fables: even ſo it ſeemeth that we ſtand affected and diſpoſed in theſe matters of the Moone, not beleeving that there be any men inhabiting within it. But I am verily perſwaded, that they may much more marvell, ſeeing the earth heere a farre off, as the dregges, ſediment, and grounds as it were of the whole world, appearing unto them through moiſt cloudes, and foggie miſts, a ſmall thing God wot, and the ſame without light, baſe, abject, and unmooveable: how the ſame ſhould breed, nouriſh, maintaine, and keepe living creatures which have motion, breathing, and vitall heat: and in caſe they had ever heard theſe verſes out of *Homer*, as touching certaine habitations,

Ugly and foule, moſt hideous to be ſeene:
Whereof the gods themſelves right fearefull beene.
Alſo:
Under the earth beneath, and hell unſeene,
As farre as heavens from earth remooved beene.

they would thinke verily and ſay, that they had beene ſpoken of this earth heere: and that darke hell and *Tartarus* were heere ſituate, and farre remote: as alſo that the Moone onely was the earth, as being equally diſtant from heaven above and hell beneath. Now before I had well made an end of my ſpeech, *Sylla* taking the words out of my mouth: Stay a while (quoth he) ô *Lamprias*, your ſpeech; and hold off with your boat, as they ſay, for feare you runne an end with your tale upon the ground ere you be aware, and mar all the plaie, which for this preſent hath another ſcene and diſpoſition; and I my ſelfe am the actour: but before I proceed farther, I will bring forth mine author unto you, if there be nothing to impeach me; who beginneth in this maner with a verſe of *Homer*:

Farre from the maine, within the Ocean ſea,
There lies an Iland hight Ogygiæ,

diſtant from great *Britaine* or *England* Weſtward, five daies ſailing: And other three iſles there be, of like diſtance one from the another, and from the ſaid iland, bearing northweſt, whereas the ſun ſetteth in Summer: in one of which the barbarous people of the countrey do fable and feine that *Saturne* was deteined and kept priſoner by *Iupiter*. Now for the keeping as well of it, as of thoſe other iſles, and the whole ſea adjacent, which was called *Saturns* ſea, the gyant *Ogygius*, or *Briareus* was placed: as alſo that the maine and firme land, wherewith the great ſea is bordered round about, is remooved from the othes iſles not ſo farre, but from *Ogygia* five hundred *ſtadia* or there about: unto which men uſe to row in galleis, for that ſea is very ebbe and low, hardly to be paſſed by great veſſels, by reaſon of the huge quantitie of mudde brought thither by a number of rivers, which running out of the maine continent, diſcharge themſelves into it, raiſing mightie ſhelves and barres, whereby the ſea is choked up as it were with earth, and hardly navigable: which gave occaſion of that old opinion which went thereof, that it ſhould be frozen and ſtand all over with an ice. Well, the coaſts along the firme land, which lie upon this ſea, are inhabited by Greeks, all about a mightie bay or gulfe thereof, no leſſe ſpacious than the huge lake *Mæotis*, the mouth or entrance whereof lieth directly oppoſite unto that of the Caſpian ſea: Theſe people are reputed and named to be the inhabitants of the continent or firme land, accounting and calling all us Ilanders, as dwelling in a land environed round about, and waſhed with the ſea. They ſuppoſe alſo, that they in old time who accompanied *Hercules*, and being left by him, abode there, and intermingled afterwards with the people and nations of *Saturne*, cauſed to revive againe the Greeke nation there, well neere extinguiſhed, which being ſubdued and brought under the language, lawes, maners, and faſhions of the Barbarians, flouriſhed againe by theſe meanes, was well peopled, and recovered their ancient puiſſance and greatneſſe. And heereupon it is, that the chiefe and principall honour, they doe unto *Hercules*, but in a ſecond place, to *Saturne*. Now when the ſtarre of *Saturne*, which we call *Phænon*, & there by his ſaying, *Nycturus* is entred into the ſigne *Taurus*, (& that it doth once in the ſpace of 30. yeeres) they having long before prepared al neceſſaries for a ſolemne ſacrifice, & a long voiage or navigation, ſend foorth thoſe upon whom the lot falleth, to row in that huge ſea, and to live a long time in a ſtrange country. Now when they be imbarked & entred once into the wide and open ſea, they take their adventure and fortune, as it falleth out. Such as have paſſed the dangers of the ſea & arived in ſafetie, land firſt in thoſe Ilands lying oppoſite againſt them, being inhabited by Greeke nations, where they ſee the Sunne to be hidden from them not one full houre in thirtie daies (and that is all their night) whereof the darkeneſſe is but ſmall, as having a twilight in the weſt where the Sunne went downe, much like the dawning of the day. Having heere made their abode for ninety daies, during which ſpace they were highly honored and found great entertainment, as being reputed holy men and ſo termed, conducted they are with the mindes and tranſported over into the Iſland of *Saturne* : which is inhabited by no others but themſelves and ſuch as had beene ſent thither before time in this maner. For albeit lawfull it is for them, after they have done ſervice unto *Saturne* the time of thirty yeres, to ſaile home againe into their owne country ; yet for the moſt part they chuſe to remaine there ſtill in peace and reſt, than to returne ſoone, for that they be already inured and accuſtomed to the place : others becauſe without any labor and trouble of theirs, they have plentie of all things, as wel for their ſacrifices, as for the ordinary maintenance of ſuch, as continually are given to their books and to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. For ſurely by their ſaying, the nature of the Iſland and the mildeneſſe of the aire is woonderfull. And whereas ſome of them were willing to depart from thence, they have beene ſtaied and empeached by a divine power; which hath appeared unto them as unto their friends and familiars, not onely in dreames and by way of outward ſignes, but viſibly alſo unto many of them, by the meanes of familiar ſpirits and angels, deviſing and talking with them. For they ſay that *Saturne* himſelfe is perſonally there, within the deepe cave of a great hollow rocke ſhining and glittering like pure gold, where he lieth aſleepe, for that *Jupiter* had deviſed for him ſleepe, in ſtead of other chaines and bonds, to keepe him faſt for ſtirring. But there be certaine birds haunting the top of the ſaid rocke, which flie downe from thence and carry unto him the divine food *Ambroſia*. As for the whole Iſland, it is by report repleniſhed with a moſt fragrant and odoriferous perfume, which out of that cave, as from a lively fountaine doth breath forth continually. And the ſaid demons or angels doe attend and waite upon *Saturne*, ſuch I meane as were his courtiors and minions, at what time as he raigned as ſoveraigne over gods and men ; who having the skill of prophecie and divination, doe of themſelves foretell many future things : howbeit of the greateſt matters and of moſt importance, they make report and relation after they have beene downe below with *Saturne*, as his dreames revealed unto them. For whatſoever *Jupiter* thinketh and deviſeth of before, *Saturne* dreameth: As for his ſodaine wakenings they be Titanicall paſſions and perturbations of the ſpirit in him. But his ſleepe is milde and ſweet, wherein he ſheweth his divine and roiall nature of it ſelfe pure and incontaminate. And thither (quoth he) this ſtranger and friend of mine being brought, where he ſerved god *Saturne* at his eaſe & repoſe, attained unto the skil of Aſtrologie, ſo far forth as it is poſſible for one that had the exact knowledge of Geometry. And among other parts of Philoſophy he gave himſelfe unto that which is called naturall. But having a longing deſire to viſite and ſee the great Iſland (for ſo they call the firme land wherein we are) after the thirtie yeares were paſt, and his ſucceſſors thither arrived, taking his leave of his kinsfolke and friends whom he bad farwell, he tooke ſea in other reſpects lightly and nimbly appointed, but good ſtore he carried with him of voiage proviſion within pots and cups of gold. But to recount unto you in particular what adventures to him befell, how many nations he viſited, through what countries he travelled, how he ſearched into holy writings, and was profeſſed in all religious orders and holy confraternities, one whole day would not be ſufficient (I ſay) to rehearſe, as he himſelfe delivered the ſame unto us, particulariſing very wel of every thing : but as much as concerneth this preſent diſcourſe, liſten and I will relate unto you. For he continued a long time at *Carthage*, where he was greatly honored and reſpected, as alſo among us, for that he found ſacred skinnes of parchment, which at the overthrow and ſaccage of the former city called Great *Carthage* had beene ſecretly conveyed thither and lien hidden a long time under the ground. So he ſaid that of thoſe gods which appeare unto us in heaven, we ought (and ſo he adviſed me alſo) to adore and worſhip eſpecially the Moone, as the principall guide and maiſtreſſe of our life. Whereat when I mervelled and beſought him to expound and declare the ſame more plainely : The Greeks (quoth he) ô *Sylla*, talke very much of the gods ; but in all things they ſay not well. As for example, firſt and formoſt, in naming *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* they doe well and right : but to put them both together, and to thinke that they are both in one and the ſame place, they doe amiſſe : For the one, to wit, *Ceres*, is upon the earth, the very dame and miſtreſſe of all thoſe things that be above the ground ; but the other is in the Moone, and called ſhe is by them that inhabite the moone, *Core* and *Perſerphonie* that is to ſay, *Proſerpina*. *Perſephonie* as one would ſay φωσφόρος, for that ſhe bringeth light and brightneſſe : but *Core*, becauſe the ſight or apple of the eie, in which is ſeene the image of him who looketh into it, like as the brightneſſe of the Sunne appeareth in the Moone, we call *Core*. Now whereas it is ſaid that they goe up and downe wandring and ſeeking one the other, the ſame carieth ſome trueth with it : for they deſire and long after one another when they be parted and aſunder, and they embrace one the other in the darke many times. Moreover, that this *Core* or *Proſerpina* is one while above in heaven and in the light, another while in darkeneſſe and the night, is not untrue; onely there is ſome error in reckoning and numbring the time. For we ſee her not ſix moneths, but every ſixth moneth, or from ſix moneths to ſix moneths, under the earth, as under her mother, caught with the ſhadow: and ſeldome is it found that this ſhould happen within five moneths: for that it is impoſſible that ſhe ſhould abandon and leave *Pluto*, being his wife: according as *Homer*, hath ſignified although under darke and covert wordes, not untruely, ſaying,

But to the fartheſt borders of
the earth and utmoſt end,
Even to the faire Elyſian fields
the gods then ſhall thee ſend.

For looke where the ſhadow endeth and goeth no farther, that is called the limit and end of the earth: and thither no wicked and impure perſon ſhall ever be able to come. But good folke after their death in the world being thither carried, lead there another eaſie life in peace and repoſe; howbeit, not altogether a bleſſed, happie and divine life, untill they die a ſecond death: but what death this is, aske me not, my *Sylla*, for I purpoſe of my ſelfe to declare & ſhew it unto you hereafter. The vulgar ſort be of opinion that man is a ſubject compounded: and good reaſon they have ſo to thinke: but in beleeving that he conſiſteth of two parts onely, they are deceived: for they imagine that the underſtanding is in ſome ſort a part of the ſoule: but the underſtanding is better than the ſoule, by how much the ſoule is better and more divine than the bodie. Now the conjunction or compoſition of the ſoule with underſtanding, maketh reaſon: but with the bodie, paſſion: whereof this is the beginning and principle of pleaſure and paine, the other of vertue and vice. Of theſe three conjoined and compact in one, the earth yeeldeth for her part the body; the Moone, the ſoule; and the Sunne, underſtanding to the generation or creation of man; and underſtanding giveth reaſon unto the ſoule; * * * * even as the Sunne light and brightneſſe to the Moone. As touching the deathes which we die, the one maketh man of 3. two, and the other of 2. one. And the former verily is in the region and juriſdiction of *Ceres*, which is the cauſe that we ſacrifice unto her. Thus it commeth to paſſe that the Athenians called in olde time thoſe that were departed, Δημητρείους, that is to ſay, *Cereales*. As for the other death it is in the Moone or region of *Proſerpina*. And as with the one terreſtriall *Mercury*, ſo with the other, celeſtiall *Mercurie* doth inhabit. And verily *Ceres* diſſolveth and ſeperateth the ſoule from the bodie ſodainly and forcibly with violence: but *Proſerpina* parteth the underſtanding from the ſoule, gently, and in long time. And heereupon it is, that ſhe is called, Μονογενὴς, as one would ſay, begetting one: for that the better part in a man becommeth one and alone, when by her it is ſeparated: and both the one and the other hapneth according to nature. Every ſoule without underſtanding, as alſo endued with underſtanding, when it is departed out of the body, is ordeined by fatall deſtiny to wander for a time, but not both alike, in a middle region betweene the earth and the Moone. For ſuch ſoules as have beene unjuſt, wicked, and diſſolute, ſuffer due puniſhment and paines for their ſinfull deſerts: whereas the good and honeſt, untill ſuch time as they have purified, and by expiration purged foorth of them, all thoſe infections which might be contracted by the contagion of the body, as the cauſe of all evill, muſt remaine for a certeine ſet time, in the mildeſt region of the aire, which they call the meddowes of *Pluto*. Afterwards, as if they were returned from ſome long pilgrimage or wandring exile into their owne countrey, they have a taſte of joy, ſuch as they feele eſpecially, who are profeſſed in holy myſteries, mixed with trouble and admiration, and ech one with their proper and peculiar hope: for it driveth and chaſeth foorth many ſoules, which longed already after the Moone. Some take pleaſure to be ſtill beneath, and even yet looke downward, as it were to the bottome: but ſuch as be mounted aloft, and are there moſt ſurely beſtowed, firſt as victorious, ſtand round about adorned with garlands, and thoſe made of the wings of *Euſtathia*, that is to ſaie, Conſtancie: becauſe in their life time here upon earth, they had bridled and reſtreined the unreaſonable and paſſible part of the ſoule, and made it ſubject and obedient to the bridle of reaſon. Secondly, they reſemble in ſight, the raies of the Sunne. Thirdly, the ſoule thus aſcended on high, is there confirmed and fortified by the pure aire about the Moone, where it doth gather ſtrength and ſolidity, like as iron and ſteele by their tincture become hard. For that which hitherto was looſe, rare and ſpongeous, groweth cloſe,compact and firme,yea,and becommeth ſhining and tranſparent,in ſuch ſort, as nouriſhed it is with the leaſt exhalation in the world. This is that *Heracletus* meant, when he ſaid,that the ſoules in *Plutoes* region have a quicke ſent or ſmelling. And firſt they behold there the greatneſſe of the Moone, her beauty and nature, which is not ſimple nor void of mixture, but as it were a compoſition of a ſtarre and of earth. And as earth mingled with a ſpirituall aire and moiſture, becommeth ſoft, and the blood tempered with fleſh,giveth it ſenſe; even ſo,ſay they, the Moone mingled with a celeſtiall quinteſſence even to the very bottome of it, is made animate,fruitfull,and generative,and withall,equally counterpeiſed,with ponderoſity and lightneſſe. For the whole world it ſelfe, being thus compoſed of things which naturally moove downward and upward, is altogether void of motion locall,from place to place; which it ſeemeth that *Xenocrates* himſelfe by a divine diſcourſe of reaſon underſtood, taking the firſt light thereof from *Plato.* For *Plato* was he who firſt affirmed, that every ſtarre was compounded of fire and earth, by the meanes of middle natures given in certeine proportion; in as much as there is nothing object to the ſenſe of man, which hath not in ſome proportion a mixture of earth and light. And *Xenocrates* ſaid, that the Sunne is compounded of fire and the firſt or primitive ſolid: the Moone of a ſecond ſolid,and her proper aire: in ſumme,throughout, neither ſolid alone by it ſelfe, nor the rare apart, is capable and ſuſceptible of a ſoule. Thus much as touching the ſubſtance of the Moone.As for the grandence & bigneſſe thereof,it is not ſuch as the Geometricians ſet downe, but farre greater by many degrees. And ſeldome doth it meaſure the ſhadow of the earth by her greatneſſe; not for that the ſame is ſmall, but for that it bringeth a moſt fervent and ſwift motion, to the end, that quickly and with ſpeed ſhe might paſſe the darke place, and bring away with her the ſoules of the bleſſed which make haſte and crie: becauſe all the while they are within the ſhade, they can not heare any more the harmonie of celeſtiall bodies: and withall,underneath,the ſoules of the damned which are puniſhed,lamenting, wailing, and howling in this ſhadow, are preſented unto them. And this is the reaſon, that in the eclipſes of the Moone, many were wont to ring baſons and pannes of braſſe, and to make a great noiſe and clattering about theſe ſoules. And affrighted they are to beholde that which they call the face of the Moone, when they approch neere unto it, ſeeming to be a terrible and fearefull ſight, whereas it is no ſuch matter. But like as the earth with us hath many deepe and wide gulfes, as namely,one here,to wit,the Mediterranean ſea, lying betweene *Hercules* pillars, and ſo running into the land hither to us: and another without, that is to ſay, the Caſpian ſea, and that alſo of the red ſea. So there be theſe deepe concavities and vallies of the Moone, and thoſe in number three; whereof the greateſt they call The hole or gulfe of *Hecate,* wherein the ſoules do puniſh and are puniſhed, according as they either did or ſuffred hurt whiles they were here: the other two * be ſmall,to wit,the very paſſages whereby the ſoules muſt go,one while to the tract of the Moone lying toward heaven, and another while to that which regardeth the earth. And verily, that which looketh to heaven, they call the Elyſian field, whereas the other earth-ward to us,the field of *Proſerpina,* not her,I meane,who is under the ground juſt againſt us. Howbeit, the Dæmons do not converſe alwaies in the Moone, but deſcend other-whiles hither below, for the charge and ſuperintendance of oracles: there be aſſiſtant likewiſe to the higheſt myſteries and ceremonies,and thoſe they do celebrate,having an obſervant eie to wicked deeds which they puniſh; and withall, ready they are to preſerve the good in perils aſwell of warre as the ſea. In which charge and function, if they themſelves commit any fault, and heere upon earth do ought either by injuſt favour or envie, they feele the ſmart thereof according to their merits: for thruſt downe they are againe to the earth, and ſent with a witneſſe into mens bodies. But of the number of the better ſort, are they who ſerved and accompanied *Saturne*, as they themſelves report; ſuch as in times paſt alſo were the *Idæi Dactyli* in *Crete*, the Corybants in *Phrygia*,& thoſe of Bœotia in the city of *Lebadia,* named Trophoniades beſides, an infinit number of others in ſundry parts of the earth habitable; whoſe names, temples and honors remaine & continue unto this day, but the powers & puiſſances of ſome do faile and are quite gone, as being tranſlated into another place, & making a moſt happy change: which tranſlation ſome obteine ſooner,other later,after that the underſtanding is ſeparate from the ſoule: and ſeparated it is by the love and deſire to enjoy the image of the Sunne, by which that divine,bleſſed and deſirable beautie which every nature after divers ſorts ſeeketh after, ſhineth. For even the verie Moone turneth about continually for the love of the Sunne, as longing to companie and converſe with him, as the very fountaine of all fertilitie. Thus the nature of the ſoule is ſpent in the

*μικρας,ſome read μακρὰς, that is to ſay, long.

Moone, reteining onely certeine prints, marks and dreames, as it were, of her life: and hereof, thinke it was well and truely ſaid,

The ſoule made haſte, as one would ſay,
Like to a dreame, and flew away.

which it doth not immediatly upon her ſeparation from the bodie, but afterwards, when ſhe is alone by herſelfe and ſevered from the underſtanding. And in trueth, of all that ever *Homer* wrote, moſt divinely he ſeemeth to have written of thoſe who are departed this life, & be among the ſpirits beneath, theſe verſes:

Next him, I knew of Hercules
the ſtrength and image plaine,
Or ſemblance: for himſelfe with gods
immortall did remaine.

For like as every one of us is not ire and courage, nor feare nor yet luſt, no more than fleſh or humours, but that indeed whereby we diſcourſe and underſtand; even ſo, the ſoule it ſelfe being caſt into a forme by the underſtanding, and giving a forme unto the bodie, and embracing it on every ſide, expreſſeth and receiveth a certeine impreſſion and figure, ſo as albeit ſhe is diſtinctly ſeparate both from underſtanding and alſo from the bodie, ſhe reteineth ſtill the forme and ſemblance a long time, inſomuch as well ſhe may be called an image. And of theſe ſoules, as I have already ſaid, the Moone is the element, becauſe ſoules doe reſolve into her, like as the bodies of the dead into the earth. As for ſuch as have bene vertuous and honeſt, and which loved a ſtudious and quiet life, imploied in philoſophie, without medling in troubleſome affaires, ſoone are reſolved, for that being left and rid of underſtanding, and uſing no more corporall paſſions, they vaniſh away incontinently; but the ſoules of ambitious perſons, and ſuch as are buſied in negotiations, of amorous folke alſo given to the love of beautifull bodies, and likewiſe of wrathfull people, calling ſtill to remembrance thoſe things which they did in their life, even as dreames in their ſleepe, walke wandring to and fro, like to that ghoſt of *Endymion*: for conſidering their inconſtancie and aptneſſe to be over ſubject unto paſſions, the ſame tranſporteth and plucketh them from the Moone unto another generation, not ſuffering them quietly there to paſſe and vaniſh away, but ſtil allureth and calleth them away: for now is there nothing ſmall, ſtaied, quiet, conſtant and accordant, after that being once abandoned of the underſtanding, they come to be ſeized with the paſſions of the body: ſo that of ſuch ſoules void of reaſon, came and were bred afterwards the Tityi and Typhons, and namely, that *Typhon* who in times paſt by force and violence ſeized the city *Delphos*, and overturned up-ſide-downe the ſanctuarie of the oracle there; moſt ungracious imps deſtitute of all reaſon and underſtanding, and abandoned to all paſſions upon a proud ſpirit and violence, wherewith they were puffed up. Howbeit, at length, after long time, the Moone receiveth the ſoules, and compoſeth them: the Sunne alſo inſpiring into them againe, and ſowing in their vitall facultie, underſtanding, maketh them new ſoules: yea, and the earth in the third place, giveth them a new bodie: for, nothing doth ſhe give after death, of all that which ſhe taketh to generation. And the ſunne receiveth nothing of others, but taketh againe that underſtanding which he gave. But the Moone giveth and receiveth, joineth and diſjoineth, uniteth and ſeparateth, according to her divers faculties and powers: of which, the one is named *Ilithyia*, to wit, that which joineth: another, *Artonius* or *Diana*, which parteth and diuideth. Of the three fatall ſiſters or deſtinies, ſhe whom they name *Atropos*, is placed within the Sunne, and giveth the beginning of generation. *Clotho* being lodged in the Moone, is ſhe that joineth, mingleth and uniteth. The third and laſt, called *Lacheſis*, is in the earth, who alſo lendeth her helping hand, and doth participate much with Fortune. For, that which is without ſoule, is weake in it ſelfe, and naturally expoſed to all injuries and to ſuffer hurt: but the underſtanding is ſovereigne over all the reſt, and nothing is able to do it injurie.

Now the ſoule is of a middle nature and mixt of them both, like as the Moone was made and created by God, as a compoſition and mixture of things above and things beneath; keeping the ſame proportion to the Sun, as the earth doth to her. And thus you have heard (quoth *Sylla*) what I learned of this ſtranger or traveller; which (as he ſaid himſelfe) he underſtood by thoſe Dæmons, who were chamberlaines and ſevitours to *Saturne*. As for you, ó *Lamprias*, and the reſt, you may take my relation in good or ill part, as you pleaſe.

WHY THE PROPHETESSE *PYTHIA* GIVETH NO ANSWERES NOW FROM THE ORACLE, IN VERSE OR MEETRE.

The Summarie.

They who have ſo highly chanted the excellency of man, extolling the vigor of humane wit and underſtanding; whatſoever they doe alledge to that purpoſe, have ordinarily forgot the principall, which is to ſhew that all the ſufficiencie of his intelligence, is a furious guide; his will, a bottomleſſe gulfe and pit of confuſion; the light of his reaſon, a deepe darke night; his luſts and deſires, ſo many enraged beaſts to rent and teare him in peeces, if God by ſome eſpeciall and ſingular grace, doe not illumine, regenerate and conduct him. Among a million of teſtimonies for the proofe and confirmation hereof, that which preſenteth it ſelfe unto us in this dialogue is moſt ſufficient: for is not this wonderfull, and a certaine ſigne of a marvellous blindeneſſe of mans wiſdome, to ſee thoſe, who all their life time do nothing els but ſeeke after the ſoveraigne good, maintaine vertue, deteſt vices, condemne Athiſts, Epicureans, and Libertines, yet to dread, feare, yea and adore the ſworne enemie of their ſalvation and true life, to wit, ſatan the divell? Yes verily, and that which now we reade, agreeable to certaine diſcourſes heereafter following, and namely, wherein a diſputation is held, wherefore the oracles now doe ceaſe? as alſo what this word EI. ſignifieth, ſheweth not onely the opinion of Plutarch *and ſome other Philoſophers as touching theſe matters: but alſo the miſerable ſtate of all thoſe who are abandoned to their owne ſenſe, and void of the knowledge of the true God. And this ought to be remembred a ſecond time, for feare leſt in reading theſe diſcourſes ſo eloquently penned, we be turned out of the right way: but rather contrariwiſe that we may perceive ſo much the better how vaine and deteſtable all the habit of man is, if it have for the ground and foundation, nothing but the conceits of his corrupt ſpirit. So then in this dialogue, we may behold the wiſdome of the Greeks, running after Satan: and taking great paines for to ſtirre and ſet on foot one matter, which we ought to abhorre and bury in perpetuall oblivion: or to touch withall their might and maine beſide, that which the wiſdome of the fleſh cannot compaſſe. There be heere divers perſonages who revive and ſet a worke the oracles of that prieſtreſſe or propheteſſe at* Delphos, *where was the renowmed temple of* Apollo, *the very cave and den of Satan, and wherein he exerciſed his trade and skill, with impoſtures and illuſions incredible, during the ſpace of many yeares. But to make this diſpoſition of more force and validity,* Plutarch *after his accuſtomed faſhion of broching and introducing his owne opinion by a third, following the ſtile and manner of the Academicks writing, bringeth to* Delphos *a ſtranger, who being together with* Baſilocles, Philinus, *& other amuſed and occupied in beholding the ſtatues which were there in great number, there began a diſcourſe by way of diſputation touching braſſe and the propertie thereof. Which when it was well diſcuſſed and debated,* Diogenianus *demanded, why the ancient oracles were delivered in homely verſe & thoſe in evill faſhion? whereto there were made divers anſweres tending to this point, to make us beleeve, that whereſoever the words be moſt ruſty, and worſt couched, there we are to obſerve ſo much the more the excellencie of the author. And this confirmeth fully, that which we have already ſpoken as touching the illuſions of the divell, who is not content thus to abuſe and deceive his ſlaves, but in this place hath to deale with a ridiculous & moſt apparent audaciouſneſſe, if the eyes of thoſe whom he thus abuſeth, had never ſo little meanes to ſee the thouſand part of his deceitfull guiles, as groſſe and thicke as mountains. Continuing this diſcourſe, they handle afterwards the preſages of theſe ſtatues, and of others reared in divers places for the better authoriſing of the oracles; which when* Boethus *the Epicurean mocked,* Plutarch *replieth and reentreth into a common place, concerning the gravitie of theſe rude and ill faſhioned oracles, conferring them with thoſe of* Sibylla, *and mainteining the authoritie of them with his companions, through all the reaſons they could deviſe. Theſe be in ſumme, the contents of this Dialogue, which comprehendeth divers matters dependant thereof, and thoſe noted in their order: the concluſion whereof is this, That as reprovable they be, who tax the ſimplicity and rudeneſſe of ſuch oracles, as thoſe, who otherwiſe controll them for their ambiguity, obliquity and obſcurity.*

WHY THE PROPHETESSE *Pythia* giveth no anſwers now from the Oracle in verſe or meeter.

BASILOCLES.

You have led this ſtranger, *Philinus*, ſuch a walke in ſhewing him the ſtatues and publike works, that you have made it very late in the evening, and I my ſelfe am weary in ſtaying for you, and expecting when you will make an end.

PHILINUS.

No marvell, we goe ſo ſoftly, and keepe ſo ſlow a pace, ô *Baſilocles*, ſowing and mowing (as they ſay) preſently with all our ſpeeches after fight and combat, which ſprout foorth and yeeld unto us by the way as we go, enemies lying as it were in ambuſh, much like unto thoſe men which in old time came up of teeth ſowen by *Cadmus*.

BASILOCLES.

How then? ſhall we ſend for and intreat ſome one of thoſe who were preſent there, or will you your ſelfe gratify us ſo much, as to take the paines for to deliver unto us, what ſpeeches thoſe were, and who were the ſpeakers?

PHILINUS.

I muſt be the man, I perceive *Baſilocles*, to doe this for your ſake; for hardly ſhall you meet with any other els throughout the whole citie: for I ſaw the moſt part of them going up againe together, with that ſtranger to *Corycium* and *Lycuria*.

BASILOCLES.

What? is this ſtranger ſo curious and deſirous to ſee things, and is he withall friendly and woonderfull ſociable?

PHILINUS.

Yes that he is: but more ſtudious is he, and deſirous to learne: neither is this moſt woorthy of admiration in him; for he hath a kinde of mildneſſe, accompanied with a ſingular good grace: his pregnant wit and quicke conceit miniſtreth unto him matter to contradict, and to propoſe doubts: howbeit the ſame is not bitter and odious in his propoſitions, not leavened with any overthwart frowardneſſe and perverſe ſtubburneſſe in his anſwers; in ſuch ſort as a man having beene but a little acquainted with him, would ſoone ſay of him:

> *Certes a lewd man and a bad,*
> *He never for his father had.*

For you know well I ſuppoſe *Diogenianus*, the beſt man one of them in the world?

BASILOCLES.

I know him not my ſelfe, *Philinus*: howbeit, many there be who report as much of this yong man. But upon what occaſion or cauſe began your diſcourſe and diſputation?

PHILINUS.

Thoſe who were our guides, converſant and exerciſed in the reading of hiſtories, rehearſed and read from one end to the other, all thoſe compoſitions which they had written, without any regard of that which we requeſted them, namely, to epitomize and abridge thoſe narrations, and moſt part of the Epigrams. As for the ſtranger, he tooke much pleaſure to ſee and view thoſe faire ſtatues, ſo many in number, and ſo artificially wrought: But he admired moſt of all, the freſh brightneſſe of the braſſe, being ſuch as ſhewed no filth nor ruſt that it had gathered, but caried the gloſſe and reſplendent hew of azur: ſo as he ſeemed to be raviſhed and aſtonied when he beheld the ſtatues of the amirals and captaines at ſea (for at them he began) as repreſenting naturally in their tincture and colour as they ſtood, ſea men and ſailers in the very maine & deepe ſea. Whereupon: Had the ancient workmen (quoth he) a certaine mixture by themſelves, and a temper of their braſſe, that might give ſuch a tincture to their works? for as touching the Corinthian braſſe, which is ſo much renowmed, it is thought generally, and ſo given out, that it was by meere adventure and chaunce, that it tooke this goodly colour, and not by any art: by occaſion that the fire caught an houſe, wherein there was laid up ſome little gold and ſilver, but a great quantitie of braſſe, which mettals being melted together & ſo confuſed one with another, the whole maſſe thereof was ſtil called braſſe becauſe there was more thereof in it, than of the other mettals. Then *Theon*: We have heard (quoth he) another reaſon, more ſubtile than this, namely, that when a certeine braſſe founder or copperſmith in *Corinth*, had met with a casket or coffer, wherein was good ſtore of golde, fearing leſt hee ſhould be diſcovered, and this treaſure found in his hands, he clipped it by little and little, melted and mixed it gently with his braſſe, which tooke thereupon ſuch an excellent and woonderfull temperature, that he ſolde the pieces of worke, thereof made, paſſing deere, in regard of their dainty colour, and lovely beauty, which every man ſet much by, and eſteemed. But both this and the other is but a lying tale: for by all likelihood this Corinthian braſſe was a certeine mixture and temperature of mettals, ſo prepared by art; like as at this day, artiſans by tempring gold and ſilver together, make thereof a certeine ſingular and exquiſite pale yellow by it ſelfe, howbeit, in mine eie, the ſame is but a wanne and ſickly colour, and a corrupt hue, without any beautie in the world. What other cauſe then might there be (quoth *Diogenianus*) as you thinke, that this braſſe heere hath ſuch a tincture? To whom *Theon* made this anſwere: Conſidering (quoth he) that of theſe primative elements and moſt naturall bodies that are, and ever ſhall be, to wit, fire, aire, water and earth, there is not one which approcheth or toucheth theſe braſſe works, but aire onely, it muſt of neceſſitie be, that it is the aire which doeth the deed, and by reaſon of this aire lying alwaies cloſe upon them, and never parting therefro, commeth this difference that they have from all others. Or rather this is a thing notoriouſly knowen of old, even before *Theognis* was borne, as ſaid the comicall Poet.

But would you know by what ſpeciall propertie and vertue the aire ſhould by touching, ſet ſuch a colour upon braſſe? Yes, very faine anſwered *Diogenianus*. Certes, ſo would I to, my ſonne (quoth *Theon*) let us therefore ſearch into the thing both together in common: and firſt of all, if you pleaſe, what is the cauſe that oile filleth it full of ruſt, more than all other liquor whatſoever? for ſurely it cannot be truely ſaid, that oile of it ſelfe ſetteth the ſaid ruſt upon it, conſidering it is pure and neat, not polluted with any filth when it commeth to it. No verily (quoth the yoong man) and there ſeemeth to be ſome other cauſe elſe, beſide the oile; for the ruſt meeting with oile, which is ſubtile, pure, and tranſparent, appeareth moſt evidently; whereas in all other liquors, it maketh no ſhew, nor is ſeene at all. Well ſaid my ſonne (quoth *Theon*) and like a Philoſopher: but conſider, if you thinke ſo good, of that reaſon which *Ariſtotle* alledgeth. Mary that I will (quoth he againe.) Why then I will tell it you (quoth *Theon*:) *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the ruſt of braſſe lighting upon other liquors, pierceth inſenſibly, and is diſperſed through them, being of a rare ſubſtance, and unequall parts, not abiding cloſe together; but by reaſon of the compact and faſt ſoliditie of oile, the ſaid ruſt is kept in, and abideth thruſt and united together. Now then, if we alſo of our ſelves were able to preſuppoſe ſuch a thing, we ſhould not altogether want ſome meanes to charme as it were and allay ſomewhat this doubt of ours. And when we had allowed very well of his ſpeech, and requeſted him to ſay on and proſecute the ſame: he ſaid; That the aire in the citie of *Delphos* was thicke, faſt, ſtrong and vehement withall, by reaſon of the reflexion and repercuſſion of the mountaines round about it, and beſides, mordicative, as witneſſeth the ſpeedie concoction of meat that it cauſeth. Now this aire by reaſon of the ſubtilty and inciſive qualitie thereof, piercing into the braſſe, and cutting it, forceth out of it a deale of ruſt, and skaleth as it were much terreſtrial ſubſtance from it: the which it reſtreineth afterwards and keepeth in, for that the denſitie and thickneſſe of the aire giveth it no iſſue: thus this ruſt being ſtaied & remaining ſtill, gathering alſo a ſubſtance by occaſion of the quantity thereof, putteth foorth this floure as it were of colour, and there within the ſuperficies contracteth a reſplendent and ſhining hew. This reaſon of his, we approoved very well; but the ſtranger ſaid, that one of thoſe ſuppoſitions alone was ſufficient to make good the reaſon: For that ſubtility (quoth he) ſeemeth to be ſomewhat contrary unto the ſpiſſitude and thickneſſe, ſuppoſed in the aire: and therefore it is not neceſſarie to make any ſuppoſall thereof; for braſſe of it ſelfe as it waxeth old, in tract of time exhaleth and putteth foorth this ruſt, which the thickneſſe of the aire comming upon, keepeth in and doeth ſo incraſſate, as that through the quantitie thereof, it maketh it evident and apparent. Againſt which objection and reply of his, *Theon* inferred thus againe: And what ſhould hinder (quoth he) that one and the ſame thing might not be firme or ſubtile, and withall thicke, both at once: like as his clothes of ſilke, and linnen, of which *Homer* writeth thus:

And from ſaile-web of linnen, ran away,
The oile as moiſt as'tis and would not ſtay.

Whereby he giveth us to underſtand, the fine ſpinning, and cloſe weaving thereof, which would not ſuffer the oile to reſt upon it, and ſoake through, but to glide off and drop downe, ſo neere were the threds, otherwiſe ſmall, driven together, and ſo thicke, that it would not let any liquor to paſſe through. And thus a man may alledge the ſubtilitie of the aire, not onely for to fetch out the ruſt, but alſo to bring it to a more pleaſant and greeniſh colour, by mixing ſplendeur and light together with the ſaid deepe azure. Heereupon enſued a pauſe and ſilence for a pretie while; and then the diſcourſers and hiſtorians aboveſaid, alledged againe the words of a certeine oracle in verſe (which was delivered, if I be not deceived) as touching the roialtie and reigne of *Aegon*, an *Argive* king: Whereat *Diogenianus* ſaid, that it had beene many times in his head to marvell, at the baſe, rude, and homely compoſition of thoſe verſes, which doe conteine oracles: notwithſtanding that the god *Apollo* is reputed the preſident of the Muſes & eloquence; unto whom no leſſe apperteined the beauty & elegancy of ſtile & compoſition, than goodneſſe of voice in ſong & melody, as who ſurpaſſed for ſweet verſifying *Heſiodus* & *Homer*, both very farre: and yet for all that, we ſee many of his oracles, rude, baſe, & faulty, aſwell for the meeter & meaſure, as the bare words. Then *Serapion* the Poet, who being come frō *Athens*, was there preſent: Why (quoth he) beleeve you that thoſe verſes were of god *Apolloes* making? ſhal we ſuffer you to ſay as you do, that they come a great way ſhort of the goodneſſe of thoſe verſes which *Homer* & *Heſiodus* compoſed? and ſhall we not uſe them as paſſing well and excellently made, correcting our owne judgement as foreſtalled and poſſeſſed aforehand with an ill cuſtome? Then *Boethus* the Geometrician (for you wot well that the man hath ranged himſelfe already to the ſect of *Epicurus*:) Heard you never (quoth he) the tale of *Pauſon* the painter: Not I verily, quoth *Serapion*. And yet worth it is the hearing, ſaith *Boethus*. He having bargained & undertaken to paint an horſe wallowing & tumbling on his backe, drew him running on foote with all foure: whereat when the party was angrie and offended, who ſet him a worke, *Pauſon* laughed at him, and made no more adoe, but turned the ends of the painted table; thus when the upper end was ſhifted downward, the horſe ſeemed not to runne, but to tumble with his heeles aloft. Semblably it falleth out (quoth *Boethus*) in certeine ſpeeches, when they are inverted and uttered the contrary way: and therefore ſoone you ſhall have who will ſay, that the oracles are not elegant, becauſe they be of god *Apolloes* inditing: but contrariwiſe, that they be none of his, becauſe they are but rudely made and unſavery: and as for that it is doubtfull and uncerteine: but this is evident and plaine, that the verſes of oracles be not exquiſitely couched, and laborioſly endited, whereof I crave no better judge then your ſelfe *Serapion*: for you are woont to compoſe and write Poems, which as touching the argument and ſubject matter be auſtere and philoſophicall: but for their wit, grace and elegant compoſition otherwiſe, reſemble rather the verſes of *Homer* and *Heſiodus*, than thoſe of the oracles pronounced by *Pythia* the Prieſtres of *Apollo*. With that *Serapion*: We are diſeaſed all of us (ô *Boethus*) in our eies and eares to, being woont (ſuch is our niceneſſe and delicacie) to eſteeme and terme ſuch things ſimply better, which are more pleaſant: and peradventure ere it be long, we will finde fault with *Pythia*, for that ſhe doeth not chaunt and ſing more ſweetly than *Glauce* the profeſſed minſtrell and ſinging wench; and becauſe ſhe is not beſmeared with odoriferous oiles, nor richly araied in purple robes: yea, and ſome haply will take exception at her, for not burning Cinamon, *Ladanum* or Frankincenſe, for perfume: but onely Laurel and barley meale. And ſee you not ſaith one, how great a grace the Sapphik verſes carie with them, and how they tickle the eares, and joy the hearts of the heares? whereas *Sibylla* out of her furious and enraged mouth, as *Heraclitus* ſaith, uttering foorth and reſounding words without mirth, and provoking no laughter, not glorioſly painted and ſet out, nor pleaſantly perfumed and beſpiced, hath continued with her voice a thouſand yeeres, by the meanes of *Apollo*, ſpeaking by her. And

Pindarus ſaith, that *Cadmus* heard from *Apollo*, not loftie and high muſicke, not ſweet, not delicate, nor broken and full of varietie: for an impaſſible and holy nature, admitteth not any pleaſure: but heere together with the baſe muſicke, the moſt part of the delight alſo is caſt downe, and as it ſhould ſeeme, hath runne into mens eares and poſſeſſed them. When *Serapion* had thus ſaid: *Theon* ſmiling: *Serapion*, I ſee well (quoth he) hath done according to his old woont, and followed his owne diſpoſition and maners in this behalfe: for there being offered ſome occaſion to ſpeake of pleaſure, he hath quickly caught at it. But yet for all that, let us *Boethus*, howſoever the verſes of oracles be woorſe than thoſe of *Homer*, not thinke that it is *Apollo* who made them; but when he hath given onely the beginning of motion, then ech propheteſſe is mooved according as ſhe is diſpoſed to receive his inſpiration. And verily if oracles were to be penned downe and written, and not to be barely pronounced, I doe not ſuppoſe that we would reprove or blame them (taking them to be the hand-writing of the god) becauſe they are not ſo curiouſly endited as ordinarily the letters of kings and princes are. For ſurely, that voice is not the gods, nor the ſound, nor the phraſe, ne yet the meeter and verſe, but a womans they be all. As for him, he repreſenteth unto her, fancies onely and imaginations, kindling a light in the ſoule to declare things to come: and ſuch an illumination as this, is that which they call *Enthuſiaſmos*. But to ſpeake in a word to you that are the prieſts and prophets of *Epicurus* (For I ſee well that you are now become one of that ſect) there is no meanes to eſcape your hands, conſidering that yee impute unto the ancient propheteſſes, that they made bad and faultie verſes, yea and reproove thoſe moderne prieſtreſſes of theſe daies, who pronounce in proſe and in vulgar tearmes the oracles, for feare they ſhould be articled againſt by you, in caſe they delivered their verſes headleſſe, without loines and curtailed. Then (quoth *Diogenianus*) jeſt not with us I pray you in the name of God, but rather aſſoile us this common doubt, and rid us of this ſcruple; for there is no man, but deſireth to know the reaſon and cauſe, why this oracle hath given over to make anſwer in verſes and other ſpeeches as it hath done? Whereto *Theon* ſpake thus: But now my ſonne, we may ſeeme to doe wrong and ſhamefull injurie unto our diſcourſers and directours heere, theſe Hiſtorians, in taking from them that which is their office: and therefore let that be done firſt which belongeth to them; and afterwards you may enquire and diſpute at leaſure of that which you deſire. Now by this time were we gon forward as farre as to the ſtatue of king *Hiero*: and the ſtranger albeit he knew well all the reſt, yet ſo courtious he was and of ſo good a nature, that he gave eare withall patience to that which was related unto him: but having heard that there ſtood ſometime a certaine columne of the ſaid *Hiero* all of braſſe, which fell downe of it ſelfe the very day whereon *Hiero* died at *Saracoſe* in *Sicilie*, he wondred thereat: and I thereupon recounted unto him other like examples; as namely, of *Hiero* the Spartan, how the day before that he loſt his life in the battell at *Leuctres*, the eies of his ſtatue fell out of the head: alſo that the two ſtarres which *Lyſander* had dedicated after the navall battell at the river called *Aigos-potamos*, were miſſing and not to be ſeene: and his very ſtatue of ſtone put forth of a ſodden ſo much wilde weedes and greene graſſe in ſo great quantity that it covered and hid the face thereof. Moreover during the time of thoſe wofull calamities which the Athenians ſuſtained in *Sicilie*, not onely the golden dates of a palme tree fell downe, but alſo the ravens came and pecked with their bils all about the ſcutcheon or ſheeld of the image of *Pallas*. The Cnidians coronet likewiſe which *Philomelus* the tyrant of the Phocæans had given unto *Pharſalia* the fine dauncing wench, was the cauſe of her death: for when ſhe had paſſed out of *Greece* into *Italie*, one day as ſhe plaied and daunced about the church of *Apollo* in *Metapontine*, having the ſaid coronet upon her head, the yong men of the city came upon her for to have away the gold of that coronet: and ſtriving about her one with another who ſhould have it, tare the poore woman in peeces among them. *Ariſtotle* was wont to ſay that *Homer* was the onely Poet who made and deviſed words that had motion, ſo emphatical they were & lively expreſſed: but I for my part would ſay that the offrings dedicated in the city, to neat ſtatues, jewels, & other ornaments mooved together with the divine providence, do foreſignifie future things: neither are the ſame in any part vaine and void of ſenſe; but all repleniſhed with a divine power. Then *Boethus*: I would not elſe (quoth he:) for it is not ſufficient belike, to encloſe God once in a moneth within a mortall bodie, unleſſe we thruſt him alſo into every ſtone and peece of braſſe? as if fortune and chance were not ſufficient of themſelves to worke ſuch feates and accidents. What (quoth I) thinke you then that theſe things every one have any affinitie with fortune and chance? and is it probable that your Atomes doe glide, divide, and decline, neither before nor after, but juſt at the very time as each one of them who made theſe offrings, ſhould fare better or worſe? And *Epicurus* belike, as farre as I ſee ſerveth your turne now and is profitable unto you in thoſe things which he hath ſaid or written three hundred yeares paſt: but this god *Apollo*, unleſſe he impriſon and immure himſelfe (as it were) and be mixed within every thing is not able in your opinion, to give unto any thing in the world the beginning of motion, nor the cauſe of any paſſion or accident whatſoever. And this was the anſwere which I made unto *Boethus* for that point: and in like maner ſpake I as touching the verſes of *Sibylla*. For when we were come as farre as to the rocke which joineth to the ſenate houſe of the city, and there reſted our ſelves, upon which rocke by report the firſt *Sibylla* ſat, being new come out of *Helicon*, where ſhe had beene foſtered by the Muſes, although others there be that ſay ſhe arived at *Maleon*, and was the daughter of *Lamia*, who had *Neptune* for her father, *Serapion* made mention of certaine verſes of hers wherein ſhe praiſed her ſelfe ſaying, that ſhe ſhould never ceaſe to propheſie and foretell future things, no not after her death; for that ſhe her ſelfe ſhould then goe about in the Moone, and be that which is called the face therein appearing: alſo that her breath and ſpirit mingled with the aire ſhould paſſe to and fro continually in propheticall words and voices of oracles prognoſticating: and that of her bodie tranſmuted and converted into earth, there ſhould grow herbes, ſhrubs and plants, for the food and paſturage of ſacred beaſts appointed for ſacrifices: whereby they have all ſorts of formes and qualities in their bowels and inwards: and by the meanes whereof men may foreknow and foretell of future events. Hereat *Boethus* made ſemblance to laugh more than before. And when *Zous* alledged, that howſoever theſe ſeemed to be fabulous matters and meere fables, yet ſo it was that many ſubverſions & tranſmigrations of Greeke cities, many expeditions alſo and voiages made againſt them of barbarous armies, as alſo the overthrowes & deſtructions of ſundry kingdomes and dominions, give teſtimonie in the behalfe of ancient propheſies and prædictions. And as for theſe late and moderne accidents (quoth he) which hapned at *Cumes* and *Dicæarchia*, long before chanted and foretolde by way of propheſie out of *Sibyls* books; did not the time enſuing as a debt accompliſh and pay? the breakings forth and eruptions of fire out of a mountaine, the ſtrange ebullitions of the ſea, the caſting up aloft into the aire of ſtones & cinders by ſubterranean windes under the earth, the ruine and devaſtiation of ſo many and thoſe ſo great cities at one time, and that ſo ſuddenly, as they who came but the next morrow thither, could not ſee where they ſtood or were built, the place was ſo confuſed. Theſe ſtrange events (I ſay) and occurrents, as they be hardly beleeved to have hapned without the finger of God, ſo much leſſe credible it is, that foreſeene and foretolde they might be, without ſome heavenly power and divinitie. Then *Boethus*: And what accident (good ſir, quoth he) can there be imagined, that Time oweth not unto Nature; and what is there ſo ſtrange, prodigious and unexpected, aſwell in the ſea as upon the land, either concerning whole cities or particular perſons; but if a man foretold of them, in proceſſe and tract of time the ſame may fall out accordingly? And yet, to ſpeake properly, this is not foretelling, but ſimply telling, or rather to caſt forth and ſcatter at random in that infinity of the aire, words having no originall nor foundation, which wandering in this wiſe, Fortune otherwhiles encountreth and concurreth with them at a very venture. For there is a great difference, in my judgement, betweene ſaying thus, that a thing is hapned which hath bene ſpoken; and a thing is ſpoken that ſhall happen: for that ſpeech which uttereth things that are not extant, conteining in it ſelfe the fault and error, attendeth not by any right, the credit and approbation thereof, by the accidentall event; neither uſeth it any true and undoubted token of prædiction, with a certeine foreknowledge, that happen it will when it hath bene once foretold, conſidering that infinity is apt to produce all things; but he who gueſſeth well, whom the common proverbe pronounceth to be the beſt divinor,

For whoſe conjecture miſſeth leaſt,
Him I account the wiſard beſt.

reſembleth him, who traceth out and followeth by probabilities as it were by tracts and footings, that which is to come. But theſe propheticall *Sibils* and furious *Bacchides*, have caſt at all aventure as it were, into a vaſt ocean, without either judgement or conjecture, the time; yea, and have ſcattered at random the nownes and verbs, the words and ſpeeches of paſſions and accidents of all ſorts. And albeit ſome of them fortune ſo to happen, yet is this or that falſe alike at the preſent time when it is uttered, although haply the ſame may chance afterwards to fall out truely. When *Boethus* had thus diſcourſed, *Serapion* replied upon him in this wiſe: *Boethus* (quoth he) giveth a good verdict and juſt ſentence of thoſe propoſitions which are indefinitly and without a certeine ſubject matter in this maner pronounced. If victorie be foretolde unto a Generall, he hath vanquiſhed: if the deſtruction of a citie, it is overthrowen: but whereas there is expreſſed not onely the thing that ſhall happen, but alſo the circumſtances, how, when, after what ſort, and wherewith, then is not this a bare gueſſe and conjecture of that which peradventure will be; but a præſignification and denouncing peremptorily of ſuch things as without faile ſhall be: as for example, that propheſie which concerned the lameneſſe of *Ageſilaus*, in theſe words:

Though proud and haughtie (Sparta) *now,*
and ſound of foot thou bee,
Take heed by halting regiment,
there come no harme to thee:
For then ſhall unexpected plagues
thy ſtate long time aſſaile,
The deadly waves of feareful warres
againſt thee ſhall prevaile.

Semblably, that oracle as touching the Iſle which the ſea made and diſcovered about *Thera* and *Theraſia*, as alſo the propheſie of the warre betweene king *Philip* and the Romans, which ran in theſe words:

But when the race of Trojan bloud,
Phœnicians ſhall defeat
In bloudy fight, looke then to ſee
ſtrange ſights and wonders great.
The ſea ſhall from amid the waves
yeeld firie tempeſts ſtrong,
And flaſhes thicke of lightning bright,
with ſtony ſtormes among.
With that an Iland ſhall appeare,
that never man yet knew:
And weaker men in battell ſet,
the mightier ſhall ſubdue.

For whereas the Romans in a ſmall time conquered the Carthaginians, after they had vanquiſhed *Aniball* in the field, and *Philip* king of the Macedonians gave battell unto the Aetolians and Romans, wherein he had the overthrow; alſo, that in the end there aroſe an Iland out of the deepe ſea, with huge leames of fire and hideous ghuſts: a man can not ſay, that all theſe things hapned and concurred together by fortune and meere chance: but the very traine and orderly proceding thereof, doth ſhew a certeine preſcience and fore-knowledge. Alſo, whereas the Romans were foretolde the time five hundred yeeres before, wherein they ſhould have warre with all nations at once, the ſame was fulfilled when they warred againſt the ſlaves and fugitives who revolted and rebelled. For in all theſe, there is nothing conjecturall and uncerteine, nothing blinde and doubtfull, that we need infinitly to ſeeke after fortune therefore: whereas many pledges there be of experience, giving us aſſurance of that which is finite aud determinate, ſhewing the very way, whereby fatall deſtinie doth proceed. Neither do I thinke any man will ſay, that theſe things being foretolde with ſo many circumſtances, jumped altogether by fortune. For what els ſhould hinder, but that a man may aſwell ſay (ô *Boethus*) that *Epicurus* wrote not his books of principall opinions and doctrines ſo much approoved of you, but that all the letters thereof were jumbled and hudled together by meere chance and fortune, that went to the compoſing and finiſhing of that volume. Thus diſcourſing in this maner, we went forward ſtill. And when in the Corinthian chapell we beheld the date tree of braſſe, the onely monument there remaining of all the oblations there offered, *Diogenianus* woondred to ſee the frogges and water-ſnakes which were wrought artificially by turners hand about the but and root thereof; and ſo did we likewiſe: becauſe neither the Palme tree is a moorie plant and loving the waters, like as many other trees are: neither doe the frogges any way perteine to the Corinthians, as a marke or enſigne given in the armes of their city: like as the Selinuntians by report, offered ſometimes in this temple, the herbe Smalach or Parſley, called *Solinum*, all of gold: and the Tenedians, an hatchet, taken from the Crabfiſhes bred in their Iſland, neere unto the Promontorie called *Aſterion* : for thoſe Crabs onely (as it is thought) have the figure of an hatchet imprinted upon their ſhell. And verily, for *Apollo* himſelfe, we ſuppoſe that ravens, ſwannes, wolves, hawks, or any other beaſts, be more acceptable than theſe. Now when *Serapion* alledged, that the workman heereby meant and covertly ſignified the nouriture and riſing of the Sunne out of humors and waters, which by exhalation he converteth into ſuch creatures, whether it were that he had heard this verſe out of *Homer*,

Then out of ſea aroſe the Sun,
And left that goodly lake anon.

Or ſeeme the Aegyptians to repreſent the Eaſt or Sun-riſing by the picture of a childe ſitting upon the plant *Lotos*. Thereat I laughed heartily. What meane you thus (good ſir, quoth I) to thruſt hither the ſect of the Stoicks: came you indeed to foiſt ſlily among our ſpeeches and diſcourſes, your exhalations and kindlings of the ſtarres, not bringing downe hither the Sunne and the Moone, as the Theſſalian women doe by their inchantments; but making them to ſpring and ariſe as from their firſt originall out of the earth and the waters? For *Plato* verily, called man a celeſtiall plant, as riſing directly from his root, above which is his head. But you in the meane time mocke and deride *Empedocles*, for ſaying that the Sunne occaſioned by the reflexion of the heavenly light about the earth,

His raies with fearleſſe viſage ſends againe
Vp to the heavens and there doth brightly ſhine.

while your ſelves make the Sunne terreſtriall, animall, or a fenniſh plant, ranging him among the waters and the native place of frogs. But let vs betake all theſe matters to the tragicall and ſtrange monſtruoſities of the Stoicks: meane while treat we curſarily and by the way of theſe acceſſary and by-works of mechanicall artiſans and handicrafts men: for ſurely in many things they be very engenious and witty: mary in every plot they cannot avoid the note of bald devices & affected curioſitie in their inventions. Like as therefore he that painted *Apollo* with a rocke upon his head, ſignified thereby the day-breake, & the time a little before ſunne riſing: even ſo a man may ſay that theſe frogs doe ſymbolize and betoken the ſeaſon of the Spring, at what time as the Sunne begins to rule over the aire and to diſcuſſe the winter: at leaſt waies if we muſt according to your opinion, underſtand the Sunne and *Apollo* to be both, one god, and not twaine. Why? (quoth *Serapion*) are you of another minde? and doe you thinke the Sunne to be one, & *Apollo* another? Yes mary doe I (quoth he) as well, as that the Sunne and Moone do differ. Yea and more than ſo: for the Moone doth not often, nor from all the world hide the Sunne: whereas the Sunne hath made all men together, for to be ignorant of *Apollo*: diverting the minde and cogitation by the meanes of the ſenſe, and turning it from that which is unto that which appeareth onely. Then *Serapion* demanded of thoſe Hiſtorians our guides and conductors, what was the reaſon that the forſaid cell or chappell, was not intitled by the name of *Cypſelus* who dedicated it, but called the Corinthians chappel. And when they held their peace, becauſe as I take it, they knew not the cauſe; I began to laugh thereat: And why ſhould we thinke (quoth I) that theſe men knew or remembred any thing more, being aſtonied and amaſed as they were to heare you fable and talke of the meteors or impreſſions in the aire? For even themſelves we heard before relating, that after the tyranny of *Cypſelus* was put downe and overthrowen, the Corinthians were deſirous to have the inſcription as well of the golden ſtatue at *Piſa*, as of this cell or treaſure houſe, for to runne in the name of their whole city. And verily the Delphians gave and granted them ſo much according to their due deſert. But for that the Elians envied them that priviledge, therefore the Corinthians paſſed a publicke decree, by vertue whereof they excluded them from the ſolemnity of the Iſthmian games: And heereof it came, that never after that, any champion out of the territorie of *Elis*, was knowen to ſhew himſelfe to doe his devoir at thoſe Iſthmicke games. And the maſſacre of the Molionides which *Hercules* committed about the city of *Cleonæ*, was not the cauſe as ſome doe thinke, why the Elians were debarred from thence: for contrariwiſe it had belonged to them for to exclude and put by others; if for this they had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Corinthians. And thus much ſaid I for my part. Now when we were come as far as to the hall of the Acanthians and of *Braſidas*, our diſcourſing Hiſtorians and expoſitours ſhewed us the place, where ſometimes ſtood the obeliſks of iron, which *Rhodopus* the famous courtiſan had dedicated. Whereat *Diogenianus* was in a great chaſe, and brake out into theſe words: Now ſurely (quoth he) the ſame city (to their ſhame be it ſpoken) hath allowed unto a common ſtrumpet a place whether to bring and where to beſtow the tenth part of that ſalarie which ſhe got by the uſe of her body, and unjuſtly put to death *Aeſope* her fellow ſervant. True (quoth *Serapion*:) but are you ſo much offended hereat? caſt up your eie and looke aloft: behold among the ſtatues of brave captaines and glorious kings, the image of *Mneſarete* all of beaten gold, which *Crates* ſaith was dedicated and ſet up for a Trophæ of the Greeks laſciviouſneſſe. The yong gentleman, ſeeing it: Yea, but it was of *Phryne* that *Crates* ſpake ſo. You ſay true (quoth *Serapion*:) for her proper name indeed was *Mneſarete*: but ſurnamed ſhe was *Phryne* in meriment becauſe ſhe looked pale or yellow like unto a kinde of frogge named in Greeke *Phryne*. And thus many times ſurnames doe drowne and ſuppreſſe other names. For thus the mother of king *Alexander* the great, who had for her name at firſt, *Pollyxene*, came afterwards to be as they ſay, ſurnamed *Myrtale*, *Olympias* and *Stratonice*. And the Corinthian lady *Eumetis*, men call unto this day, after her fathers name, *Cleobuline*; and *Herophile*, of the city *Erythre*, ſhe who had the gift of divination and could skill of propheſie; was afterwards in proceſſe of time ſurnamed *Sibylla*. And you have heard Grammarians ſay, that even *Leda* her ſelfe, was named *Mneſinoe*, and *Oreſtes Achæus*. But how thinke you (quoth he) caſting his eie upon *Theon*, to anſwere this accuſation as touching *Phryne*? Then he ſmiling againe: In ſuch ſort (quoth he) as I will charge and accuſe you, for buſying your ſelfe in blaming thus the light faults of the Greeks. For like as *Socrates* reprooved this in *Callias*, that gave defiance onely to ſweet perfumes or pretious odors; for he liked well enough to ſee the daunces and geſiculations of yong boies, and could abide the ſight of kiſſing, of pleaſants, buſfons and jeſters to make folke laugh: ſo me thinks that you would chaſe and exclude out of the temple, one poore ſilly woman who uſed the beauty of her owne body, haply not ſo honeſtly as ſhe might: and in the meane time you can abide to ſee god *Apollo* environed round about with the firſt fruits, with the tenth and other oblations ariſing from murders, warres, and pillage, and all his temple throughout hanged with the ſpoiles and booties gotten from the Greeks: yea, and are neither angry nor take pity when you reade, over ſuch goodly oblations, and ornaments, theſe moſt ſhamefull inſcriptions and titles: *Braſidas* and the Acanthians, of the Athenian ſpoiles: the Athenians of the Corinthians: the Phocæans of the Theſſalians: the Orneates of the Sicyonians: and the Amphyctions of the Phocæans.

But peradventure it was *Praxiteles* alone who was offenſive unto *Crates*, for that he had ſet up a monument there, of his owne ſweet heart, which he had made for the love of her; whereas *Crates* contrariwiſe ſhould have commended him, in that among theſe golden images of kings and princes, he had placed a courtiſan in gold, reproching thereby and condemning riches, as having in it nothing to be admired, and nothing venerable: for it well beſeemeth kings and great rulers, to preſent *Apollo* and the gods with ſuch ornaments and oblations as might teſtifie their owne juſtice, their temperance and magnanimity; and not make ſhew of their golden ſtore and abundance of ſuperfluous delicates, whereof they have their part commonly who have lived moſt ſhamefully. But you alledge not this example of *Crœſus* (quoth another of our hiſtorians & directours) who cauſed a ſtatue in gold to be made & ſet up here, of his woman-baker; which he did not for any proud and inſolent oſtentation of his riches in this temple, but upon an honeſt & juſt occaſion: for the report goeth, that *Alyattes* the father of this *Crœſus*, eſpouſed a ſecond wife, by whom he had other children, whom he reared and brought up. This lady then purpoſing ſecretly to take away the life of *Crœſus*, gave unto the baker aforeſaid, poiſon, willing her, when ſhe had tempered it with dough, and wrought it into bread, to ſerve the ſame up unto *Crœſus*. But the woman gave ſecret intelligence hereof unto *Crœſus*, and withall, beſtowed the poiſoned bread among the children of this ſtep-dame. In regard of which demerit, *Crœſus* when he came to the crowne, would acknowledge and requite the good ſervice which this woman had done, with the teſtimony, as it were, of this god himſelfe; wherein he did well and vertuouſly. And therefore (quoth he) meet it is and ſeemly, to praiſe and honor highly ſuch oblations, if any have beene preſented and dedicated by cities upon ſemblable occaſions, like as the Opuntians did. For when the tyrants of the Phocæans had broken and melted many ſacred oblations both of golde and ſilver, and thereof coined money, which they ſent and diſperſed among the cities; the Opuntians gathered as much ſilver as they could, wherewith they filled a great pot, ſent it hither, and made thereof an offering to *Apollo*. And I verily, for my part, doe greatly comend thoſe of *Smyrna* and *Apollonia* for ſending hither certeine corne-eares of gold, in token of harveſt: and more than that, the Eretrians and Magneſians, for preſenting this god with the firſt fruits of their men & women, recogniſing thereby, him to be the giver, not only of the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, but alſo of children, as being the authour of generation and the lover of mankind. But I blame the Megarians as much, for that they onely in maner of all the Greeks, cauſed to be erected here, the image of this our god, with a lance in his hand, after the battell with the Athenians, who upon the defeature of the Perſians, held their city in poſſeſſion, and were by them vanquiſhed in fight, and diſſeized thereof againe. And yet true it is, that theſe men afterward offered unto *Apollo* a golden plectre wherewith to play upon his Cittern or Viole, having heard (as it ſhould ſeeme) the Poet *Scythinus*, ſpeaking of the ſaid inſtrument:

Which Don Apollo, *faire and lovely ſonne*
Of Jupiter, *doth tune in skilfull wiſe,*
As who is wont of all things wrought and done,
All ends with their beginnings to compriſe:
And in his hand the plectre bright as golde,
Even glittering raies of ſhining Sun doth holde.

Now when *Serapion* would have ſaid ſomewhat els of theſe matters: A pleaſure it were (quoth the ſtranger) to heare you deviſe and diſcourſe of ſuch like things, but I muſt needs demand the firſt promiſe made unto me, as touching the cauſe why the Propheteſſe *Pythia* hath given over to make anſwere any longer by oracle, in verſe and meetre: and therefore, if it ſo pleaſe you, let us ſurceaſe viſiting the reſt of theſe oblations and ornaments, and rather ſit we downe in this place, for to heare what can be ſaid of this matter, being the principall point and maine reaſon which impeacheth the credit of this oracle; for that of neceſſitie one of theſe two things muſt needs be: either that the Propheteſſe *Pythia* approcheth not neere enough to the very place where the divine power is, or els that the aire which was woont to breathe and inſpire this inſtinct, is utterly quenched, and the puiſſance quite gone and vaniſhed away. When we had fetched therefore a circuit about, we ſat us downe upon the tablements on the South ſide of the temple, nere unto the chappell of *Tellus*, that is to ſay, the Earth, where we beheld the waters of the fountaine *Caſtilius*, and the temple of the Muſes, with admiration, in ſuch ſort as *Boethus* incontinently ſaid, that the very place it ſelfe made much for the queſtion and doubt mooved by the ſtranger: For in olde time (quoth he) there was a temple of the Muſes even there, from whence the river ſprings; inſomuch as they uſed this water for the ſolemne libations at ſacrifices, according as *Simonides* writeth in this wiſe:

Where water pure is kept in baſons faire
Beneath, of Muſes with their yellow haire.

And in another place, the ſame *Simonides* with a little more curioſitie of words, calling upon *Cleio* the Muſe, ſaith, ſhe is the holy keeper.

The ſacred ewres, who doth ſuperintend
Whereby from lovely fountaine do deſcend
Thoſe waters pure, which all the world admires,
And thereof for to have a taſte deſires:
As riſing from thoſe caves propheticall,
That yeeld ſweet odors moſt mirificall.

And therefore *Eudoxus* was much overſeene to beleeve thoſe who gave out, that this was called the water of *Styx*. But in trueth, they placed the Muſes as aſſiſtants to divination, and the warders thereof, neere unto that riveret and the temple of *Tellus* aforeſaid, whereunto apperteined the oracle: whereby anſweres were rendred in verſe and ſong. And ſome there be who ſay, that this heroique verſe was firſt heard here:

Συμφέρετε πτερ' οἰωνοὶ, κηρόν τε μέλισσαι.

That is to ſay,

You pretie Bees and birds that ſing:
Bring hither both your wax and wing.

at what time as the oracle being forſaken and deſtitute of the god *Apollo*, loſt all the dignity and majeſty that it had. Then *Serapion*: Theſe things indeed (quoth he) ô *Boethus*, are more meet and convenient for the Muſes. For we ought not to fight againſt God, nor together with propheſie and divination take away both providence and divinitie; but to ſeeke rather for the ſolution of thoſe reaſons which ſeeme to be contrary thereto, and in no wiſe to abandon and caſt off that faith and religious beliefe, which hath in our countrey, time out of minde, paſſed from father to ſonne. You ſay very well and truely (quoth I) good *Serapion*, for we deſpaire not of Philoſophie,

loſophie, as if it were quite overthrowen and utterly gone, becauſe Philoſophers beforetime, pronounced their ſentences, and publiſhed their doctrines in verſe: as for example, *Orpheus, Heſiodus, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, Thales,* and afterwards ceaſed and gave over to verſifie, all but your ſelfe, for you have into Philoſophie reduced Poetrie againe, to ſet up a loud and loftie note, for to incite and ſtirre up yoong men. Neither is Aſtrologie of leſſe credite and eſtimation, becauſe *Ariſtarchus, Timochares, Ariſtyllus,* and *Hipparchus,* have written in proſe: whereas *Eudoxus, Heſiodus,* and *Thales,* wrote before them in verſe of that argument; at leaſtwiſe, if it be true that *Thales* was the author of that Aſtrologie which is aſcribed unto him. And *Pindarus* himſelfe confeſſeth, that he doubted greatly of that maner of melodie, which was neglected in his daies, wondering why it was ſo deſpiſed. For I aſſure you it is no abſurd thing, nor impertinent, to ſearch the cauſes of ſuch mutations: But to aboliſh all arts and faculties, if haply ſomewhat be changed or altered in them, I hold neither juſt, nor reaſonable. Then came in *Theon* alſo with his vie, adding moreover & ſaying, that it could not be denied, but that in truth herein there have bene great changes & mutations: howbeit, no leſſe true it is, that even in this very place there have bene many oracles & anſwers delivered in proſe, & thoſe concerning affaires, not of leaſt conſequence, but of great importance. For as *Thucydides* reporteth in his hiſtorie, when the Lacedæmonians demanded of the oracle, what iſſue there would be of the warre which they waged againſt the Athenians? this anſwer was made: That they ſhould obteine the victorie, and hold ſtill the upper hand: alſo that he would aid and ſuccour them, both requeſted, and unrequeſted: and that unleſſe they recalled home *Pauſanias,* he would gather together * * * of ſilver. Semblably, when the Athenians conſulted with the oracle about their ſucceſſe in that warre which they enterpiſed for the conqueſt of *Sicilie*; this anſwer they received: That they ſhould bring out of the city *Erythræ,* the prieſtreſſe of *Minerva*: now the name of the ſaid woman was *Heſychia,* that it to ſay, repoſe, or quietneſſe. Moreover, at what time as *Dinomenes* the Sicilian, would needs know of the oracle, what ſhould become of his ſonnes? this anſwere was returned: That they ſhould all three be tyrants, and great potentates: whereat when *Dinomenes* replied againe: Yea mary, my good lord *Apollo,* but peradventure they may rue that another day. *Apollo* anſwered: True indeed, & thus much moreover I propheſie unto thee, for to be their deſtiny. And how this was fulfilled you all know: for *Gelon* during his reigne, had the dropſie: *Hiero* was diſeaſed with the ſtone, all the time of his tyrannie: and *Thraſibulus* being overtoiled with warres and civill ſeditions, in ſhort time was diſthroned & driven out of his dominions. Moreover, *Procles* the tyrant of *Epidaurus,* among many others, whom he had cruelly and unjuſtly put to death, murdred *Timarchus,* who fled from *Athens* unto him, with a great quantitie of money, after he had received him into his protection, and ſhewed him many courteſies and kindneſſes at his firſt arrivall: him (I ſay) he ſlew, and afterwards caſt into the ſea his corps, which he had put into a cheſt: and howſoever other knew not of this murder, yet *Cleander* of *Aegina,* was privie thereto, and the miniſter to execute the ſame. After this, in proceſſe of time, when he was fallen into troubles, and that his ſtate began to be diſquieted, he ſent his brother *Cleotimus* hither to the oracle, to enquire ſecretly whether he were beſt to flie and retire himſelfe out of the way. *Apollo* made this anſwer: That he granted *Procles* flight and retreat thither, where as he commanded his hoſt of *Aegina* to beſtow a cheſt, or elſe where the ſtagges caſt their heads. The tyrant underſtanding that *Apollo* willed him either to throw himſelfe into the ſea and there be drowned, or elſe to be enterred in the ground, becauſe ſtagges are woont to bury and hide their hornes within the earth, when they be fallen, made no haſte, but delaied the time: but after a while, when troubles grew more and more upon him, and all things went backward with him, every day woorſe than other, at length he fled: But the friends of *Timarchus* having overtaken him, ſlew him likewiſe, and flung his body into the ſea. Furthermore (which is the greateſt matter of all) thoſe *Rhetræ,* by vertue whereof, *Lycurgus* ordeined the government of the Lacedæmonians common-wealth, were delivered unto him in proſe. What ſhould I ſpeake of *Alyrius, Herodotus, Philochorus,* and *Iſter,* who of all others travelled moſt in gathering of oracles together, which were given in verſe, and yet have penned many of them without verſe. And *Theopompus,* who ſtudied, no man ſo much, to cleere the hiſtory as touching oracles; ſharpely reprooveth thoſe, who thinke that *Pythia* the propheteſſe in thoſe daies, gave no anſwers nor propheſies in meetre: which chalenge of his when he minded to proove and make good, he could alledge but very few examples; for that all the reſt in maner were even then pronounced in proſe, like as at this day, ſome there be that runne in verſe and meeter. By which allegations of his, he made one aboue the reſt notoriouſly divulged, which is this. There is within the province of *Phocis*, a certeine temple of *Hercules*, ſurnamed *Myhogyne*, as one would ſay, hating women: and by the ancient cuſtome and law of that countrey, the prieſt thereof for the time being, muſt not in the whole yeere company with a woman: by occaſion whereof, they chuſe old men to this prieſthood: howſoever not long ſince, a certeine yoong man, who was otherwiſe of no ill behaviour, but ſomewhat ambitious, and deſirous of honour, and who beſides loved a yoong wench, atteined to this prelacie or ſacerdotall dignity: at the firſt he bridled his affection, and forbare the ſaid damoſell: howbeit, one time above the reſt, when he was laid upon his bed, after he had drunke well, and beene a dancing, the wench came to viſit him; and to be ſhort, he dealt carnally with her; whereupon being much troubled in minde, and in fearefull perplexity, he fled unto the oracle, and enquired of *Apollo* as concerning the ſinne which he had committed, whether he might not be aſſoiled for it by praiers or expiatorie ſatisfaction? and this anſwer he received:

ἅπαντα ἀναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεὸς.

* *All things neceſſarie, God permitteth.*

* This is the divels divinitie.

But if a man haply ſhould graunt that no anſwere in theſe daies is delivered by oracle, but in verſe; yet would he be more in doubt of ancient oracles, which ſometime in meetre and otherwhiles in proſe gave anſweres. But neither the one nor the other (my ſonne) is ſtrange and without reaſon, if ſo be you conceive aright and carry a pure and religious opinion of god *Apollo*, and doe not thinke that he himſelfe it was who in old time compoſed the verſes and at this day prompteth unto *Pythia* the propheſies, as if he ſpake through maskes and viſours. But this point is of ſuch moment; that it requireth a longer diſcourſe and farther inquirie into it: mary for this preſent it may ſuffice for our learning, that we call to remembrance and put you in minde briefely, how the body uſeth many organs or inſtruments; that the ſoule emploieth the body and the parts thereof; and that the ſoule is the organ or inſtrument of God. Now the perfection of any organ or inſtrument, is principally to imitate and reſemble that which uſeth it, as much as is in the power thereof: and to exhibit the worke and effect of the intention in it ſelfe, and to ſhew the ſame not ſuch as it is in the workeman, pure, ſincere, without paſſion, without error and faultleſſe, but mixed and expoſed to faults: for of it ſelfe obſcure it is and altogether unknowen unto us; but it appeareth another, and by another, and is repleniſhed with the nature of that other. And here I paſſe over to ſpeake of wax, gold, ſilver, braſſe, and all other ſorts of matter and ſubſtance, which may be caſt and brought into the forme of a mould. For every of theſe verily receiveth one forme of a ſimilitude imprinted therein, but to this reſemblance or repreſentation, one adjoineth this difference, and another that, of it ſelfe: as eaſily is to be ſeene, by the infinit diverſities of formes in images, as alſo by the apparence of one and the ſame viſage in divers and ſundry mirours, flat, hollow, curbed, or embowed, round outwardly, which repreſent an infinit variety. But there is neither mirror that ſheweth and expreſſeth the face better, nor inſtrument of nature more ſupple, obſequent and pliable, than is the Moone: howbeit receiving from the Sunne a light and firy illumination, ſhe ſendeth not the ſame backe unto us, but mingled with ſomewhat of her owne: whereby it changeth the colour, and hath a power or facultie far different, for no heat at all there is in it: and as for the light ſo weake and feeble it is that it faileth before it commeth unto us. And this I ſuppoſe to be the meaning of *Heraclitus*, when he ſaith, that the lord, unto whom belongeth the oracle at *Delphos*, doth neither ſpeake, nor conceale, but ſignifie onely and give ſigne. Adde now to this which is ſo well ſaid and conceived, and make this application: that the god who is heere, uſeth *Pythia* the propheteſſe, for ſight and hearing, like as the Sunne uſeth the Moone. He ſheweth future things by a mortall body, and a ſoule which cannot reſt and lie ſtil, as being not able to ſhew her ſelfe immooveable and quiet to him who ſtirreth and mooveth her, but is troubled ſtill more and more by the motions, agitations, and paſſions, of her owne, and which are in her ſelfe: for like as the turnings of bodies, which together with a circular motion, fall downward, are not firme and ſtrong, but turning as they do round by force, and tending downward by nature, there is made of them both, a certaine turbulent and irregular circumgiration: Even ſo the raviſhment of the ſpirit, called *Enthuſiaſmus* is a mixture of two motions, when the minde is moved in the one by inſpiration, and in the other naturally. For conſidering that of bodies which have no ſoule, and of themſelves continue alwaies in one eſtate quiet, a man cannot make uſe nor moove them perforce,otherwiſe than the quality of their nature will beare,nor move a cylindre like a bal, or in maner of a ſquare cube,nor a lute or harpe,according as he doth a pipe,no more than a trumpet after the order of a cithern or ſtringed inſtrument : ne yet any thing elſe otherwiſe than either by art or nature each of them is fit to be uſed. How is it poſſible then to handle and manage that which is animate, which mooveth of it ſelfe, is indued with will and inclination,capable alſo of reaſon; but according to the precedent habitude, puiſſance and nature? As for example,to move one muſically, who is altogether ignorant and an enemie of muſicke; or grammatically,him who ſkilleth not of grammer,and knoweth not a letter of the booke; or eloquently and rhetorically, one who hath neither ſkill nor practiſe at all in orations. Certes I cannot ſee or ſay how? And herein *Homer* alſo beareth witneſſe with me, who albeit he ſuppoſeth thus much, that nothing (to ſpeake of) in the whole world, is performed and effected by any cauſe,unleſſe God be at one end thereof: yet will not he make God to uſe all perſons indifferently in every thing, but each one according to the ſufficiency that he hath by art or nature. To prove this,ſee you not (quoth he) my frend *Diogenianus*,that when *Minerva* would perſwade the Achæans to any thing ſhe calleth for *Ulyſſes*? when ſhe is minded to trouble and marre the treaty of peace, ſhe ſeeketh out *Pandarus*? when ſhe is diſpoſed to diſcomfit and put to flight the Trojans, ſhe addreſſeth her ſelfe and goeth to *Diomedes*? for of theſe three, the laſt was a valiant man of perſon, and a brave warrior; the ſecond a good archer, but yet a fooliſh and brainſicke man; the firſt right eloquent and wiſe withall: for *Homer* was not of the ſame minde with *Pandarus*, if ſo be it were *Pandarus* who made this verſe,

If God ſo will,in ſea thou maiſt well ſaile
Upon an hurdle or a wicker fraile.

But well he knew, that powers and natures be deſtined to divers effects, according as ech one hath different motions, notwithſtanding that which mooveth them all, be but one. Like as therefore that facultie which moveth a living creature naturally going on foot, can not make it to flie; nor him who ſtutteth and ſtammereth, to ſpeake readily; ne yet him to crie bigge and aloud, who hath a ſmall and ſlender voice : which was the reaſon (as I take it) that when *Battus* was come to * *Rome*, they ſent him into *Afrike*, there to plant a colonie, and people a citie; for howſoever he had a ſtutting and ſtammering tongue, and was otherwiſe of a ſmall voice, yet a princely minde he caried,a politike head he had of his owne, and was a man of wiſedome & government: even ſo impoſſible it is, that *Pythia* ſhould have the knowledge to ſpeake here elegantly & learnedly: for notwithſtanding that ſhe were wel borne and legitimate as any other, & had lived honeſtly and diſcreetly,yet being brought up in the houſe of poore husbandmen, ſhe deſcendeth into the place of the oracle, bringing with her no art learned in ſchoole, nor any experience whatſoever. But as *Xenophon* thinketh, that a yoong bride when ſhe is brought to her husbands houſe,ought to be ſuch an one as hath not ſeene much,and heard as little; ſemblably, *Pythia* being ignorant and unexpert in maner of all things, and a very virgin indeed as touching her minde and ſoule, commeth to converſe with *Apollo*. And we verily are of opinion, that God for to ſignifie future things, uſeth Herons, Wrens, Ravens, Crowes, and other birds,ſpeaking after their maner: neither will we have ſoothſaiers, and prophets, being as they are, the meſſengers and heralds of God, to expound and declare their predictions in plaine and intelligible words: but wee would that the voice and dialect of the propheteſſe *Pythia*, reſembling the ſpeech of a *Chorus* in a tragedie from a ſcaffold, ſhould pronounce her anſwers not in ſimple, plaine, and triviall termes,without any grace to ſet them out, but with Poeticall magnificence of high and ſtately verſes,diſguiſed as it were with metaphors and figurative phraſes, yea, and that which more is, with ſound of flute and hautboies : what anſwere make you then,as touching the old oracles? Surely, not one alone, but many. Firſt,the ancient *Pythia* as hath beene ſaid already, uttered and pronounced moſt of them in proſe: ſecondly, that time affoorded thoſe complexions and temperatures of bodie, which had a propenſe and forward inclination to Poeſie; whereto there were joined incontinently,the alacritie, deſires, affections, and diſpoſitions of the ſoule, in ſuch ſort, as they were ever preſt and ready, neither wanted they ought but ſome little beginning from without, to ſet them on worke,and to ſtirre the imagination and conception; whereby there might directly be drawen unto that which was meet and proper for them, not onely Aſtrologers and Philoſophers as *Philinus* ſaith; but alſo ſuch as were well ſoaked with wine, and ſhaken with ſome paſſion, who either upon pitie ſurpriſing them, or joy preſented unto them, might immediately ſlide as it were,and fall into a melodious

* ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην, or ῥώμην with a ſmall character, that is to ſay, to his full ſtrength.

and ſinging voice; inſomuch as their feaſts were full of verſes, and love ſongs, yea and their books and compoſitions, amatorious, and ſavoring of the like. And when *Euripides* ſaid:

Love makes men Poets, marke it when you will,
Although before in verſe they had no skill.

He meaneth not that love putteth Poetrie or Muſicke into a man in whom there was none before, but wakeneth, ſtirreth and enchafeth that which before was drowſie, idle, and cold. Or elſe my good frend, let us ſay, that now a daies there is not an amorous perſon, and one that skilleth of love, but all love is extinct and periſhed, becauſe there is no man, as *Pindarus* ſaith,

Who now in pleaſant vaine Poeticall
His ſongs and ditties doeth addreſſe,
Which juſt in rhime and meeter fall,
To praiſe his faire and ſweet miſtreſſe,

But this is untrue and abſurd: for many loves there be that ſtirre and moove a man, though they meet not with ſuch minds as naturally are diſpoſed and forward to Muſicke or Poetrie: and well may theſe loves be without pipes, without harpes, violes, lutes, and ſtringed inſtruments: and yet no leſſe talkative nor ardent, than thoſe in old time. Againe, it were a ſhame and without all conſcience to ſay, that the Academie with all the quire and company of *Socrates* and *Plato*, were void of amorous affection (whoſe amatorious diſcourſes are at this day extant, & to be read) although they left no Poems behinde them. And is it not all one to ſay, that there was never any woman but *Sappho* in love, nor had the gift of propheſie, ſave onely *Sibylla*, and *Ariſtonice*, or ſuch as publiſhed their vaticinations and propheſies in verſe? For vertue as *Chæremon* was woont to ſay, is mingled and tempered with the maners of thoſe that drinke it: And this Enthuſiaſme or ſpirit of propheſie, like unto the raviſhment of love, maketh uſe of that ſufficiencie and facultie, which it findeth ready in the ſubject, and mooveth ech one of them that are inſpired therewith, according to the meaſure of their naturall diſpoſition: and yet as we conſider God and his providence, we ſhall ſee that the change is ever to the better. For the uſe of ſpeech, reſembleth properly the permutation and woorth of money; which is good and allowable, ſo long as it is uſed and knowen, being currant, more or leſſe, and valued diverſly, as the times require. Now the time was, when the very marke and ſtampe (as it were) of our ſpeech was currant and approoved, in meeter, verſes, ſongs and ſonets: Foraſmuch as then, all hiſtorie, all doctrine of Philoſophie, all affection; and to be briefe, all matter that required a more grave and ſtately voice, they brought to Poetry and Muſicke. For now, onely few men, hardly, and with much a doe; give eare and underſtand: but then, all indifferently heard, yea, and take great pleaſure to heare thoſe that ſung,

The rurall ploughman with his hine,
The fowler with his nets and line.

as *Pindarus* ſaith: but alſo moſt men for the great aptitude they had unto Poetrie, when they would admoniſh and make remonſtrances, did it, by the meanes of harpe, lute, and ſong withall: if they ment to rebuke, chaſtiſe, exhort, and incite, they performed it by tales, fables, and proverbes. Moreover their hymnes to the honour and praiſe of the gods, their praiers and vowes, their balads for joy of victory, they made in meeter and muſicall rhime: ſome upon a dexterity of wit, others by uſe and practiſe. And therefore neither did *Apollo* envie this ornament and pleaſant grace unto the skill of divination, neither baniſhed he from this threefooted table of the oracle the Muſe ſo highly honored, but rather brought it in, and ſtirred it up as affecting and loving Poeticall wittes: yea, and himſelfe miniſtred and infuſed certeine imaginations, helping to put forward the loftie and learned kinde of language, as being much prized and eſteemed. But afterwards, as the life of men, together with their fortunes and natures came to be changed; thrift and utilitie (which remooveth all ſuperfluity) tooke away the golden luſts, and foretops of perukes, the ſpangled coifes, caules, and attires, it caſt off the fine and deinty robes called *Xyſtides*; it clipped and cut away the buſh of haire growing too long; it unbuckled and unlaced, the trim buskins, acquainting men with good reaſon, to glory in thriftineſſe and frugalitie, againſt ſuperfluous and ſumptuous delicacies, yea, and to honour ſimplicitie and modeſty, rather than vaine pompe and affected curioſitie: And even ſo, the maner of mens ſpeech, changing alſo and laying aſide all glorious ſhew, the order of writing an hiſtorie therewithall, preſently came downe as one would ſay from the ſtately chariot of verſification, to proſe, and went a foot; and by the meanes eſpecially of this faſhion of writing and ſpeaking

king at liberty, and not being tied to meaſures, true ſtories, come to be diſtinguiſhed from lying fables: and Philoſophie embracing perſpicuity of ſtile, which was apt to teach and inſtruct, rather than that which by tropes and figures amuſed and amaſed mens braines. And then *Apollo* repreſſed *Pythia,* that ſhe ſhould not any more call her fellow citizens, *Pyricaos,* that is to ſay, burning fires; nor the Spartanes, *Ophioboros*, that is to ſay, devourers of ſerpents; nor men *Oreanas*; nor river, *Orempotas*: and ſo by cutting off from her, propheſies, verſes, and ſtrange termes, circumlocutions and obſcuritie, he taught and inured her to ſpeake unto thoſe who reſorted to the oracles, as lawes do talke with cities, as kings deviſe and commune with their people and ſubjects, and as ſcholars give eare unto their ſchoole-maſters, framing and applying his maner of ſpeech and language ſo, as it might be full of ſenſe and perſwaſive grace: for this leſſon we ought to learne and know that, as *Sophocles* ſaith:

God to the wiſe in heavenly things,
is ay a lightſome guide,
But fooles ſo briefely he doth teach,
that they goe alwaies wide.

And together with plainneſſe, and diluciditie, beliefe was ſo turned and altered, changing together with other things, that beforetime, whatſoever was not ordinary nor common, but extravagant, or obſcurely and covertly ſpoken, the vulgar ſort drawing it into an opinion of ſome holineſſe hidden underneath, was aſtonied thereat and held it venerable: but afterwards, deſirous to learne and underſtand things cleerely and eaſily, and not with masks of diſguiſed words, they began to finde fault with Poeſie, wherein oracles were clad; not onely for that it was contrary and repugnant to the eaſie intelligence of the truth, as mingling the darkneſſe and ſhadow of obſcurity with the ſentence, but alſo for that they had propheſies already in ſuſpicion; ſaying, that metaphors ænigmaticall, and covert words, yea and the ambiguities which Poetry uſeth, were but ſhifts, retracts, and evaſions to hide and cover all, whenſoever the events fell not out accordingly. And many you may heare to report, that there be certeine Poeticall perſons, practiſed in verſifying, ſit yet about the oracle, for to receive and catch ſome words there delivered; which preſently and *extempore*, they reduce and contrive into verſe, meeter, and rhime, as if they were panniers to beſtow all the anſwers in. And heere I forbeare to ſpeake what occaſion of blame, and matter of calumniation in theſe oracles, theſe *Onomacritoi*, *Prodotæ* and *Cineſones* have miniſtred, by adding unto them a tragicall pompe, and ſwelling inflation of words, when as neither they had need thereof, nor yet received any varietie and alteration thereby. Moreover, certeine it is, that theſe juglers and vagarant circumforanean land-leapers, theſe practiſers of legier de main, theſe plaiers at paſſe and repaſſe, with all the packe of thoſe vagabonds, ribauds, and jeſters who haunt the feaſts of *Cybele* and *Serapis,* have greatly diſcredited and brought into obloquie the profeſſion of Poetrie: ſome by their extemporall facultie and telling fortunes, others by way of lotterie forſooth, and by certeine letters and writings, forging oracles which they would give to poore varlets and ſilly women, who were ſooneſt abuſed thereby, eſpecially when they ſaw the ſame reduced into verſe, and ſo were caried away with Poeticall termes. And from hence it is now come to paſſe, that Poeſie, for that ſhe hath ſuffered herſelfe thus to be prophaned and made common, by ſuch couſiners, juglers, deceivers, enchanters, and falſe prophets, is fallen from the trueth, and rejected from *Apolloes* three-footed table.

And therefore I nothing woonder if otherwhiles in old time, there was ſome need of this double meaning, circumlocution, and obſcuritie: for I aſſure you, there was not woont to come hither one for to enquire and be reſolved about the buying of a ſlave in open market: nor another to know what profit he ſhould have by his traffike or husbandry: but hither came or ſent great and puiſſant cities, kings, princes, and tyrants, who had no meane matters in their heads, to conſult with *Apollo* as concerning their important affaires; whom to provoke, diſpleaſe, and offend, by cauſing them to heare many things contrary to their will and minde, was nothing good and expedient for thoſe who had the charge of the oracle: for this god obeieth not *Euripides* when he ſetteth downe a law as it were for him, ſaying thus:

Phœbus *himſelfe, and none but he,*
Ought unto men the prophet to be.

for he uſeth mortall men to be his miniſters and underprophets: of whom he is to have a ſpeciall care for to preſerve them, that in doing him ſervice, they be not ſpoiled and ſlaine by wicked perſons: in which regard he is not willing to conceale the trueth; but turning aſide the naked declaration thereof, which in poetrie receiveth many reflexions, and is divided into many parcels, he thereby did away the the rigor and odious auſterity therein conteined. And it ſkilled much, that neither tyrants ſhould know it, nor enemies be advertiſed and have intelligence thereof. For their ſakes therefore, he enfolded in all his anſweres, doubts, ſuſpitions and ambiguities, which from others did hide the true meaning of that which was anſwered. But ſuch as came themſelves to the oracle, and gave cloſe and heedfull eare, as whom it concerned particularly, thoſe he deceived not, neither failed they of the right underſtanding thereof. And therefore a very fooliſh man is he, and of no judgement, who doth take occaſion of ſlander and calumniation, if the world and eſtate of mens affaires being changed, this God thinketh that he is not to aide and helpe men any more after his accuſtomed maner, but by ſome other. Furthermore, by the meanes of poetrie and verſification, there is not in a ſentence, any greater commoditie than this, that being couched and compriſed in a certeine number of words and ſyllables meaſured, a man may reteine and remember the ſame better. And neceſſarie it was for thoſe in olde time, to cary away in memory many things, becauſe there were delivered many ſignes and marks of places, many times and opportunities of affaires, many temples of ſtrange gods beyond ſea, many ſecret monuments, and repoſitories of demi-gods hard to be found of thoſe who ſailed farre from *Greece*. For in the voyages of *Chios* and *Candie*, * * * enterpriſed by *Oneſichus* and *Palanthus*, beſide many other captaines and admirals, how many ſignes and conjectures went they by, and were to obſerve, for to finde the reſting ſeat, and place of abode, which was ordeined to every one of them? and ſome of them quite miſſed thereof: as for example, *Battus*: for his propheſie ran thus, That unleſſe he arrived to the right place, he ſhould be baniſhed. Failing therefore of the countrey whereto he was ſent, he returned againe to the oracle in humble maner, craving his favour. And then *Apollo* anſwered him in this wiſe:

Thou knoweſt thy ſelfe, aſwell as I can tell,
That uneth yet in Afrike *thou haſt beene;*
(For thither ſent I thee to build and dwell)
Nor Melibœa, *that place ſo fertile, ſeene:*
If thither now accordingly thou wend,
Thy wiſdome then greatly will I commend.

And ſo he ſent him away the ſecond time. Likewiſe *Lyſander* being altogether ignorant of the little hill *Archeledes*, of the place called *Alopecon*, as alſo of the river *Oplites*.

And of the dragon, ſonne of earth by kinde
Full craftily aſſailing men behinde.

all which hee ſhould have avoided, was vanquiſhed in battell, and ſlaine about thoſe very places, and that by one *Inachion* and *Aliartian*, who had for his device or armes in the target that he bare, a dragon purtraid. But I thinke it needleſſe to recite many other ancient oracles of this kinde, which are not eaſily to be related, and as hardly remembred, eſpecially among you who know them well enough. But now thanks be to God, the ſtate of our affaires and of the world, in regard whereof men were woont to ſeeke unto the oracle is ſetled: for which I rejoice and congratulate with you. For great peace there is and repoſe in all parts; warres be ſtaied, and there is no more need of running and wandring to and fro, from one countrey to another: civill diſſentions and ſeditions be appeaſed: there are no tyrannies now excerciſed: neither doe there raigne other maladies and miſeries of *Greece*, as in times paſt, which had need of ſoveraigne medicins, exquiſit drogues and powerfull confections, to remedy and redreſſe the ſame. Whereas therefore there is no variable diverſity, no matter of ſecrecie, no dangerous affaires, but all demands be of petie & vulgar matters, much like to theſe ſchoole queſtions: Whether a man ſhould marry or no? Whether a man may undertake a voiage by ſea or no? or Whether he is to take up or put forth mony for intereſt? where, I ſay, the greateſt points, about which cities ſeeke unto *Apollo*, are about the fertility of their ground, plenty of corne and other fruits of the earth, the breed and multiplying of their cattell, and the health of their bodies: to goe about for to compriſe the ſame in verſe, to deviſe and forge long circuits of words, to uſe ſtrange and obſcure tearmes, to ſuch interrogatories as require a ſhort ſimple and plaine anſwere, were the part of an ambitious and vainglorious Sophiſter, who tooke a pride in the elegant compoſing of oracles. Over and beſides, *Pythia* of her ſelfe is of a gentle and generous nature: and when ſhe deſcendeth thither and converſeth with the god, ſhe hath more regard of trueth than of glory, ry, neither paſſeth ſhe whether men praiſe or diſpraiſe her. And better iwis it were for us, if we alſo were likewiſe affected. But we now in a great agony (as it were) & fearefull perplexity leſt the place ſhould leeſe the reputation which it hath had for the ſpace of three thouſand yeeres, and doubting that ſome would abandon it and ceaſe to frequent it, as if it were the ſchoole of a Sophiſter, who feared to loſe his credit, and to be deſpiſed, deviſe apologies in defence thereof, faining cauſes and reaſons of things which we neither know, nor is beſeeming us for to learne, and all to appeaſe and perſwade him, who complaineth and ſeemeth to finde fault, whereas we ſhould rather ſhake him off and let him goe.

For with him firſt,
It will be worſt,

who hath ſuch an opinion of this our God, as that he approved and eſteemed theſe ancient ſentences of the Sages written at the entrance of the temple, *Know thy ſelfe*; *Too much of nothing*; principally for their brevity, as containing under few words a pithy ſentence well and cloſely couched, and (as a man would ſay) beaten ſoundly together with the hammer: but reproved and blamed moderne oracles for delivering moſt part of their anſweres, briefely, ſuccinctly, ſimply, and directly. And verily ſuch notable Apophthegmes and ſayings of the ancient Sages, reſemble rivers that runne through a narrow ſtreight, where the water is pent and kept in ſo cloſe, that a man cannot ſee through it, and even ſo unneth or hardly may the bottom of their ſenſe be ſounded. But if you conſider what is written or ſaid by them, who endevour to ſearch unto the very bottom, what every one of theſe ſentences doth comprehend, you ſhall finde that hardly a man ſhall meet with orations longer then they. Now the dialect or ſpeech of *Pythia* is ſuch, as the Mathematicians define a ſtraight and direct line, namely, the ſhorteſt that may be betweene two points: and even ſo it bendeth not, it crookeneth not, it maketh no circle, it carieth no double ſenſe and ambiguity, but goeth ſtraight to the trueth; and ſay it be ſubject to cenſure and examination, and dangerous to be miſconſtured and beleeved amiſſe: yet to this day it hath never given advantage whereby it might be convinced of untrueth: but in the meane time, it hath furniſhed all this temple full of rich gifts, preſents and oblations, not onely of Greeke nations, but alſo of barbarous people, as alſo adorned it with the beautiful buildings and magnificent fabricks of the amphictyons. For you ſee in ſome ſort, many buildings adjoined which were not before, and as many repaired and reſtored to their ancient perfection, which were either fallen to decay and ruined by continuance of time, or elſe lay confuſedly out of order. And like as we ſee, that neere unto great trees that ſpred much and proſper well, other ſmaller plants and ſhrubs grow and thrive: even ſo together with the city of *Delphos*, *Pylæa* flouriſheth, as being fed and maintained by the abundance and affluence, which ariſeth from hence, in ſuch ſort as it beginneth to have the forme and ſhew of ſolemne ſacrifices of ſtately meetings and ſacred waters, ſuch as in a thouſand yeeres before it could never get the like. As for thoſe that inhabited about *Galaxion* in *Bœotia*, they found and felt the gracious preſence and favour of our God by the great plenty and ſtore of milke, For,

From all their ewes thicke milke did ſpin,
As water freſh from lively ſpring:
Their tubs and tunnes with milke therein
Brim full they all, home faſt did bring:
No barrels, bottels, pailes of wood,
But full of milke in houſes ſtood.

But to us he giveth better markes, and more evident tokens and apparent ſignes of his preſence and favour, than theſe be; having brought our countrey (as it were) from drineſſe and penurie, from deſert & waſte wilderneſſe, wherein it was before, to be now rich and plentiful, frequented and peopled, yea and to be in that honor and reputation, wherein we ſee it at this day to flouriſh. Certes, I love my ſelfe much better, for that I was ſo well affected, as to put to my helping hand in this buſineſſe, together with *Polycrates* and *Petræus*: Yea and him alſo I love in my heart, who was the firſt author unto us of this government and policy, and who tooke the paines and endevoured to ſet on foot and eſtabliſh moſt part of theſe things. But impoſſible it was, that in ſo ſmall a time there ſhould be ſeene ſo great and ſo evident a mutation by any induſtry of man whatſoever, if God himſelfe had not bene aſſiſtant to ſanctifie and honour this oracle. But like as in thoſe times paſt, ſome men there were who found fault with the ambiguity, obliquity and obſcurity of oracles; ſo there be in theſe daies, others, who like ſycophants cavill at the overmuch ſimplicitie of them; whoſe humorous paſſion is injurious and exceeding fooliſh. For even as little children take more joy and pleaſure to ſee rainbowes, haloes or garlands about the Sunne, Moone, &c. yea, and comets or blaſing ſtarres, than they do to behold the Sunne himſelfe or the Moone; ſo theſe perſons deſire to have ænigmaticall and darke ſpeeches, obſcure allegories, and wreſted metaphors, which are all reflexions of divination upon the fanſie and apprehenſion of our mortall conceit. And if they underſtand not ſufficiently, the cauſe of this change and alteration, they go their waies, and are ready to condemne the God, and not either us or themſelves, who are not able by diſcourſe of reaſon to reach unto the counſell and intention of the ſaid gods.

OF THE DAEMON OR FAMILIAR SPIRIT OF SOCRATES.

* *A Treatiſe in maner of a Dialogue.*

* Some adde unto this title, [*The deliverie of the citie* Thebes] and in trueth, that narration taketh up a good part of this dialogue.

The Summarie.

THe Thebans having loſt their freedome and liberty by the violent proceedings of Archias, Leontidas *and other tyrants, who baniſhed a great number of good citizens and men of woorth, in which roll and catalogue* Pelopidas *was one (as appeareth in the ſtorie of his life, wherein* Plutarch *writeth of all this matter at large) it fell out at laſt, that the exiled perſons tooke heart, drew to an head, and wrought ſo, as they reentred the city of* Thebes, *ſlew the tyrants, and diſplaced the garriſon of the Spartans. Which done, they diſpatched their ambaſſages to other States and Common wealths of* Greece, *for to juſtifie this their action; and namely, among the reſt, they ſent* Caphiſias *to* Athens: *who being there, at the requeſt of* Archidamus *a perſonage of great authoritie, related and reported the returne of the baniſhed men, the ſurpriſing of the tyrants, and the reſtoring of the citie to their ancient franchiſes; and that with diſcourſes woonderfull patheticall, and ſuch as ſhew the ſingular providence of God in the preſervation of States, and confuſion of ſuch wicked members as diſturbe the publicke peace. But in this recitall, there is inſerted, and that with good grace, a digreſſion as touching the familiar ſpirit of* Socrates, *by occaſion of a Pythagorean Philoſopher newly come out of* Italie *to* Thebes, *for to take up the bones of* Lyſis: *for by occaſion that* Galaxidorus *the Epicurean derided the ſuperſtition of this ſtranger, praiſing withall, the wiſdome and learning of* Socrates, *who had cleered and delivered Philoſophie from all fantaſticall illuſions of ſpirits and ghoſts,* Theocritus *bringeth in an example of a certeine prediction of this familiar ſpirit. But withall, when the other had demanded the queſtion, whether the ſame were an humane and naturall thing or no, the diſputation began to kindle and waxe hote; untill ſuch time as* Epaminondas *and this ſtranger named* Theanor *came in place: and then they fell into a diſcourſe of povertie and riches, by occaſion that* Theanor *offered ſilver unto the Thebans, in recompenſe of their kindneſſe and good enterteinment ſhewed unto* Lyſis. *And as they would have proceeded forward in this argument, there came one who miniſtred occaſion for to returne unto the former narration as touching the enterpriſe and exploit of the ſaid exiled perſons: in which there is intermingled againe a treatiſe concerning the familiar of* Socrates, *with a large recitall of the fable of* Timarchus. *After which,* Caphiſias *rehearſeth the iſſue of the tragœdie of the tyrants, ſhewing thorowout, notable diſcourſes of the divine wiſdome, and joining therewith a conſideration of* Socrates *his wiſedome, guiding and directing to a particular plot for the good of all* Greece. *But in this place the rea-*

der muſt remember and call to minde who this Socrates *was; to wit, a man deſtitute of the true knowledge of God, and therefore he is to holde for ſuſpected and naught this familiar ſpirit of his, if a man would receive and admit the opinion of ſome interloquutors, who ſuppoſe it was a* Dæmon *or ſpirit from without; to the end that we ſhould not reſt upon revelation, inſpirations and guidances of angels, unleſſe it be of ſuch, the teſtimonies whereof are grounded upon the holy ſcripture; but flie from the profane curioſitie of certeine fantaſticall heads, who by their books publiſhed abroad in print, have dared to revive and raiſe up againe this falſe opinion (which ſome in this age of ours have) of familiar ſpirits, by whom they are forſooth as well adviſed and as ſurely taught and inſtructed as by the very ſpirit of God, ſpeaking unto us by his written word.*

OF THE DÆMON OR familiar ſpirit of *Socrates*.

ARCHIDAMUS.

I Have heard (as I remember) ô *Caphiſias*, a prety ſpeech of a certaine painter making a compariſon of thoſe who came to ſee the pictures and tables which he had painted: for he was woont to ſay, that the ignorant beholders and ſuch as had no skill at all in the art of painting, reſembled them who ſaluted a whole multitude of people all at once; but the better ſort and ſuch as were skilfull, were like unto thoſe who uſed to ſalve every one whom they met, ſeverally by name: for that the former had no exquiſit inſight into the works, but a ſuperficiall and generall knowledge onely; whereas the other contrariwiſe, judging every piece and part thereof, will not miſſe one jote, but peruſe, conſider and cenſure that which is well done or otherwiſe. Semblably it falleth out in my judgement, as touching true actions indeed, which are not painted. The conceit and underſtanding of the more idle and careleſſe perſons reſteth in this bare knowledge, in caſe they conceive only the ſummary and iſſue of a thing; but that, of ſtudious and diligent perſons, and lovers of faire and goodly things, like unto a judicious and excellent ſpectator of vertue, as of ſome great and ſingular art, taketh more pleaſure to heare the particularities in ſpeciall: for that the end of matters, ordinarily, hath many things common with fortune; but the good wit is better ſeene in cauſes, & in the vertue of particular occurrences & affaires which are preſented; as when valour ſheweth it ſelfe not aſtonied, but conſiderate and well adviſed in the greateſt perils; where the diſcourſe of reaſon is mingled with paſſion, which the ſudden occaſion of danger preſented doth bring. Suppoſing then, that we alſo are of this kinde of ſpectators, declare you to us now in order from the beginning, how this matter did paſſe and proceed in the execution thereof, as alſo what talke and diſcourſe was held there; for that by all likelihood you were preſent: and for mine owne part, ſo deſirous I am to heare, that I would not faile to go as farre as to *Thebes* for the knowledge thereof, were it not, that I am thought already of the Athenians, to favoriſe the Bœotians more than I ſhould.

CAPHISIAS.

Certes, *Archidamus*, ſince you are ſo earneſt and forward to learne how theſe affaires were managed, I ought in regard of the good will which you beare unto us, before any buſineſſe whatſoever (as *Pindarus* ſaith) to have come hither, expreſly for to relate the ſame unto you: but ſince we are hither come in embaſſage already, and at good leaſure, whiles we attend what anſwere and diſpatch the people of *Athens* will give us, in making it ſtrange and goodly, and refuſing to ſatisfie ſo civill a requeſt of a perſonage ſo kinde and well affectionate to his friends, were as much as to revive the olde reproch imputed upon the Bœotians, to wit, that they hate good letters and learned diſcourſes; which reproch began to weare away with your *Socrates*, and in ſo doing, it ſeemeth that we treat of affaires with two prieſts: and therefore ſee, whether the Seigniors here preſent be diſpoſed to heare the report of ſo many ſpeeches and actions; for the narration will not be ſhort, conſidering that you will me to adjoine thereto the words that paſſed alſo.

ARCHIDAMUS.

You know not the men, ô *Caphiſias*, and yet well woorthy they are to be knowen; for noble perſons they had to their fathers,and thoſe who had beene well affected to our countrey. As for him (pointing to *Lyſithides*) he is (quoth he) the nephew of *Thraſibulus*; but he here, is *Timotheus* the ſonne of *Conon*: thoſe there, be the children of *Archinus*; and the other, our familiar friends. So that you ſhall be ſure to have a well willing auditorie, and ſuch as will take pleaſure to heare this narration.

CAPHISIAS.

You ſay well. But where were I beſt to begin my ſpeech, in regard of thoſe matters that ye have already heard and knowen, which I would not willingly repeat?

ARCHIDAMUS.

We know reaſonably well, in what ſtate the citie of *Thebes* ſtood, before the returne of the baniſhed perſons; and namely, how *Archias* and *Leontidas* had ſecred intelligence, and complotted with *Phœbidas* the Lacedæmonian captaine, whom they perſwaded, during the time of truce, to ſurpriſe the caſtle of *Cadmus*; and how having executed this diſſeigne, they drave ſome citizens out of the city, and put others in priſon, or held the men in awe, whiles themſelves ruled tyrannically and with violence. Whereof I had intelligence, becauſe I was (as you wot well) hoaſt unto *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, with whom (ſo long as they were in exile) I was inwardly acquainted and converſed familiarly. Moreover, we have heard already, how the Lacedæmonians condemned *Phœbidas* to pay a great fine, for that he had ſeized the fort *Cadmia*, and how they put him by, and kept him from the journey and expedition of *Olynthus*, and ſent thither in ſtead of him, *Lyſanoridas* with two other captaines, and planted a ſtronger garriſon within the caſtle. Furthermore, we know very well, that *Iſmenias* died not the faireſt kinde of death, preſently upon I wot not what proceſſe framed, and an action commenſed againſt him, for that *Gorgidas* advertiſed the baniſhed who were heere, by letters, from time to time, of all matters that paſſed; in ſuch ſort, as there remaineth for you to relate, nothing els, but the returne of the ſaid baniſhed men, and the ſurpriſing or apprehenſion of the tyrants.

CAPHISIAS.

About that time (*Archidamus*) all we that were of the confederacie and complotted together, uſed ordinarily to meet in the houſe of *Simmias*, by occaſion that he was retired and in cure of a wound which he had received in his leg, where we conferred ſecretly of our affaires as need required; but in ſhew and openly, diſcourſed of matters of learning and Philoſophy, drawing unto us often times into our companie, *Archias* and *Leontidas*, men who miſliked not ſuch conferences and communications, becauſe we would remoove all ſuſpicion of ſuch conventicles. For *Simmias* having abode long time in forren parts among the Barbarians, being returned to *Thebes* but a little while before, was full of all maner of newes and ſtrange reports as touching thoſe barbarous nations; inſomuch, as *Archias* when he was at leaſure, willingly gaue eare to his diſcourſes and narrations, ſitting in the company of us yong gentlemen, as being well pleaſed that we ſhould give our mindes to the ſtudy of good letters and learning, rather than buſie our heads about thoſe matters which they went about and practiſed in the meane while. And the very day on which late in the evening, and toward darke night following, the exiled perſons aboveſaid were come cloſely under the wall, there arrived from thence unto us a meſſenger, whom *Pherenicus* ſent, one who was unknowen to us all, unleſſe it were to *Charon*, who brought us word, that to the number of twelve yoong gentlemen, and thoſe the braveſt gallants of all the baniſhed conſpiratours, were already with their hounds hunting in the foreſt *Cithæron*, intending to be heere in the evening; and that therefore they had ſent before and diſpatched a vauntcourrier of purpoſe, aſwell to advertiſe us thereof, as to be certified themſelves who it was that ſhould make his houſe ready for them to lie ſecret and hidden therein when they were once come; to the end that upon this foreknowledge they might ſet forward and go directly thither. Now as we ſtudied and tooke ſome deliberation about this point, *Charon* of himſelfe offered his houſe: whereupon, when the meſſenger intended to returne immediatly & with great ſpeed to the exiles, *Theocritus* the ſoothſaier griping me faſt by the hand, & caſting his eie upon *Charon* that went before: This man (quoth he) ô *Caphiſias*, is no Philoſopher nor deepe ſcholar, neither is he come to any excellent or exquiſit knowledge above others, as his brother *Epaminondas*, and yet you ſee how being naturally enclined, and directed withall by the lawes, unto honor and vertue, he expoſeth himſelfe willingly unto danger of death, for the deliverie and ſetting free of his countrey; whiles *Epaminondas*, who hath had better meanes of inſtruction and education to the attaining of vertue, than any other Bœotian whatſoever, is reſtiffe, dull, and backeward, when the queſtion is of executing any great enterpriſe for the deliverance of his native country. And to what occaſion of ſervice ſhall he ever be ſo well diſpoſed, prepared and emploied, than this? Vnto whome I made anſwere in this wiſe: We for our parts, moſt kinde and gently *Theocritus*, doe that which hath beene thought good, reſolved and concluded upon among our ſelves, but *Epaminondas* having not yet perſwaded us, according as he thinketh it better himſelf, not to put theſe our deſignements in execution, hath good reaſon to goe againſt that wherewith his nature repugneth, and ſo he approveth not the deſignement whereunto he is moved and invited. For it were unreaſonable to force & compell a phyſician, who promiſeth & undertaketh to cure a diſeaſe, without lancet & fire, for to proceed to inciſſion, cutting & cauterizing. Why (quoth *Theocritus*) doth not he approve of the conſpiracie? No (quoth I) neither alloweth he that any citizens ſhould be put to death, unleſſe they were condemned firſt judicially by order of law: mary, he ſaith, that if without maſſacre and effuſion of citizens blood they would enterpriſe the deliverance of the city, he would aſſiſt and aide them right willingly. Seeing then that he was not able to enduce us for to beleeve his reaſons, but that we followed ſtill our owne courſe, he requireth us to let him alone pure, innocent, and impolluted with the blood of his citizens, and to ſuffer him for to eſpie and attend ſome better occaſions and opportunities, by meanes whereof with juſtice he might procure the good of the weale publicke. For murder (quoth he) will not containe it ſelfe within limits as it ought: but *Pherenicus* happly and *Pelopedas*, may bend their force principally upon the authors and heads of the tyranny, and wicked perſons: but you ſhall have ſome ſuch as *Eumolpidas* and *Samiadas* hot ſtomacked men, ſet on fire with choler and deſire of revenge, who taking liberty by the vantage of the night, will not lay downe their armes, nor put up their ſwords, untill they have filled the whole city with bloodſhed, and murdered many of the beſt and principall citizens.

As I thus deviſed and communed with *Theocritus*, *Anaxidorus* overhearing ſome of our words (for nere he was unto us:) Stay (quoth he) and hold your peace, for I ſee *Archias* & *Lyſanoridas* the Spartan captaine comming from the caſtle *Cadmia*, and it ſeemeth that they make haſte directly toward us. Heereupon we pauſed and were ſtill: with that *Archias* calling unto *Theocritus*, and bringing him apart by himſelfe unto *Lyſanoridas*, talked with him a long while, drawing him aſide a little out of the way, under the temple of *Amphion*; in ſuch ſort, as we were in an extreame agony & perplexity, for feare leſt they had an inckling or ſuſpition of our enterpriſe, or that ſomthing were diſcovered: & thereupon they examined *Theocritus*. As theſe matters thus paſſed, *Phyllidas* (whom you *Archidamus* know) who was then the principall ſecretary or ſcribe under *Archias*, at that time captaine generall of the armie, being deſirous of the approch of the conſpiratours, & withal both privy and party with us in the complot, came in place and tooke me (as his manner was) by the hand, beginning with open mouth to mocke our exerciſes of the body and our wreſtling: but afterward, drawing me aſide, a good way from the others, asked me whether the baniſhed perſons would keepe that appointed day or no? I made him anſwere, Yea. Then have I (quoth he) to very good purpoſe prepared a feaſt this day for to entertaine *Archias* in my houſe, and ſo to deliver him with eaſe into their hands, when he ſhall have eaten freely, and drunke wine merily. Paſſing well done (quoth I) ô *Phyllidas*: but I beſeech you withall, for to bring together all our enimies, or as many as you can. That is no eaſie matter (quoth he) to compaſſe, but rather altogether impoſſible. For *Archias* hoping that ſome great lady of honor and eſtate will come thither unto him, in no wiſe can abide that *Leontidas* ſhould be there, ſo that of neceſſity we muſt divide them into ſundry houſes. Now if *Archias* and *Leontidas* both, be once apprehended, I ſuppoſe that the reſt will ſoone flie, or elſe remaine quiet, and be very highly contented if any man will grant them ſafety and ſecurity of their lives. Well (quoth I) we will ſo doe: but I pray you, what buſineſſe have they with *Theocritus*, that they are ſo long in talke with him? I know not for a trueth (quoth *Phyllidas*) but I have heard that there be certaine prodigious ſignes of unluckie and unfortunate preſage unto the citie of *Sparta*.

When *Theocritus* was returned unto us againe, *Phidolaus* the Haliertian comming toward us: *Simmias* (quoth he) requeſteth you to ſtay here a while for his ſake: for he is an interceſſor in the behalfe of *Amphiteus* by the meanes of *Leontidas*, that his life may be pardoned, and that inſtead of death, the man might be baniſhed, This is fallen out (quoth *Theocritus*) in very good time and fitly to the purpoſe as a man would have it: for I was minded to enquire of you what things were found within the tombe of *Alcmena*, and what ſhew it caried when it was opened among

mong you: and alſo whether you were preſent when *Ageſilaus* ſent of purpoſe for to tranſlate and carry the reliques unto *Sparta*. Preſent I was not my ſelfe *Phidolaus* in perſon: and I was very much angry and offended with my fellow citizens, in that I was ſo diſcarded and left out. Howbeit found there was with the bones and other reliques of the corps, a certaine carquanet of braſſe, and that of no great bigneſſe, and two earthen pots, containing amphors a piece full of earth which in continuance of time was growen hard and converted into ſtone.

Over the ſepulcher there was a table of braſſe likewiſe, wherein were written many letters, and thoſe of a ſtrange and wonderfull forme, as being of right great antiquity: for nothing could we picke out of them, notwithſtanding the letters appeared very well, after that the braſſe was faire waſhed and ſcoured cleane, the characters were of ſuch a making by themſelves, after a barbarous faſhion, and reſembling neereſt thoſe of the Aegyptians. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* alſo, as men ſay, ſent a copy of them unto the king of *Aegypt*, praying him to ſhew the ſame unto their prieſts, to ſee whether they underſtood them or no? But peradventure of theſe matters *Simmias* alſo is able to tell us ſome newes, becauſe about that time he converſed much with the ſaid prieſts in points of Philoſophie. And thoſe of the citie *Aliartos* are of opinion, that their great ſterility, and ſcarcitie, as alſo the ſwelling and inundation of the lake hapned not by chance, but was the vengeance divine upon thoſe who ſuffered the monument of this ſepulchre to be digged up and opened. Then *Theocritus* after he had pauſed a little: The Lacedæmonians likewiſe (quoth he) ſeeme to have beene threatned by the ire of the gods, as the prodigious ſignes and tokens preſage no leſſe, whereof *Lyſanoridas* ere while talked with me: who even now is gone into the citie *Aliartos*, to cauſe the ſaid monument to be filled up againe, and there to offer certeine funerall effuſions and libaments, to the ghoſt of *Alcmena* and *Aleus*, according to a certeine oracle; but who this *Aleus* ſhould be, he knoweth not: and ſo ſoone as he is from thence returned, he muſt ſearch alſo the ſepulchre of *Dirce*, which none of the Thebanes doe know, unleſſe they be thoſe who have beene captaines of the horſemen. For looke who goeth out of this office, taketh with him his ſucceſſor that entreth into his place, by night, and when they two be alone together, he ſheweth it unto him, and there they performe certeine religious ceremonies without fire, the tokens and marks whereof, they ſhuffle together, and confound ſo, as they be not ſeene; which done, they depart in the darke, and goe divers waies, one from the other. But for mine owne part, ô *Phidolaus*, I beleeve verily he will never finde it out, for the moſt of thoſe who have beene lawfully called to the captainſhip of the cavallerie, or to ſay more truely, even all of them are in exile, except *Gorgidas* and *Plato*, whom they will never aſke the queſtion, becauſe they are afraid of them. And as for thoſe who are now in place, well may they take the launce and the ſignet within the caſtle of *Cadmus*; for otherwiſe they neither know nor can ſhew ought. As *Theocritus* ſpake theſe words, *Leontidas* went foorth with his friends; and we entring in, ſaluted *Simmias*, being ſet upon his bed, but I ſuppoſe he had not obteined his requeſt, for very penſive and heavie he was; and looking wiſtly in the face upon us all, he brake out into theſe words: O *Hercules*, what a world is this, to ſee the barbarous and ſavage maners of men? And was not this then a very good anſwere made by old *Thales*, who being returned home, after a long voiage, from out of a forren countrey, and demanded what was the ſtrangeſt newes that he could make relation of? anſwered: That he had ſeene a tyrant live to be an old man. For thus you ſee, that himſelfe who in his owne particular, had never received wrong by a tyrant, yet in regard of the odious trouble, in converſing and having to doe with them, is offended and become an enemie to all ſoveraigne and abſolute governments, which are not ſubject to render an account unto the lawes. But haply God will ſee to theſe matters, and provide in time convenient. But know you (*Caphiſias*) who this ſtranger may be, that is come unto you? I wot not (quoth he) whom you meane. Why (quoth he) againe, *Leontidas* came and told us of a man, who was ſeene by night to ariſe from about the tombe of *Lyſis*, accompanied in ſtately wiſe, with a great traine of men, in good order; and well appointed, who lodged there and lay upon pallets: for that there were to be ſeene in the morning little beds hard by the ground, made of chaſt tree and of heath or lings. There remained alſo the tokens of fire, and of the libaments and oblations of milke. Moreover betimes in the morning he demanded of all paſſengers whom he met, where he ſhould finde the children of *Polymnis* dwelling in that country? And what ſtranger might this be (quoth I:) for by your report he ſhould be ſome great perſonage, and not a private man and of meane degree. Not ſo (quoth *Phidolaus*) but when he comes welcome he ſhall be, and we will receive him courteouſly,

ouſly. But for this preſent, if peradventure (*Simmias*) you know any thing more than we, concerning thoſe letters whereof we were of late in doubt, declare it unto us: for it is ſaid that the prieſts of *Aegypt* underſtood by conference together the letters of a certaine table of braſſe, which *Ageſilaus* not long ſince had from us, at what time as he cauſed the tombe of *Alcmena* to be opened. I have not (quoth *Simmias*, calling another matter preſently to minde) ſeene this ſaid table, ô *Phidolaus*: but *Agetoridas* the Spartan carrying with him many letters from *Ageſilaus* came to the city *Memphis* and went unto the prophet *Chonuphis*, with whome we conferred as touching Philoſophy, and abode together a certaine time, my ſelfe I meane, and *Plato*, with *Ellopion* the Peparethian. Thither I ſay arrived he as ſent from king *Ageſilaus*, who requeſted *Chonuphis*, that if he underſtood any thing of thoſe letters which were written in the ſaid braſſe, he would interpret the ſame, and ſend it backe unto him incontinently. So this prophet was muſing and ſtudying three daies together by himſelfe, peruſing and turning all ſorts of figures and characters of auncient letters: and in the end wrote backe his anſwer unto king *Ageſilaus*, and by word of mouth told us, that the ſaid writing gave direction and commandement unto the Greeks, to celebrate the feaſt, and ſolemnize the plaies and games in the honor of the Muſes: alſo that the forme of thoſe characters, were the very ſame which had beene uſed at the time when *Proteus* reigned in *Aegypt*, which *Hercules* the ſonne of *Amphitryo* learned: and that God by thoſe letters adviſed and admoniſhed the Greeks to live in peace and repoſe, inſtituting certeine games unto the Muſes, for the ſtudy of Philoſophy and good litterature, and diſputing one againſt another continually, with reaſons and arguments as touching juſtice, laying armes cleane aſide. As for us, we thought verily even then at the very firſt, that *Chonuphis* ſaid well and truely; but much rather, when in our returne out of *Aegypt*, as we paſſed along *Caria*, certeine perſons of the Iſle *Delos*, met us upon the way, who requeſted *Plato* (as he was a man well ſeene and exerciſed in Geometrie) to explane the meaning unto them of a certeine ſtrange oracle, & hard to be underſtood; which god *Apollo* had given them: the tenour whereof was this: That the Delians and all other Greeke nations, ſhould have a ceſſation & end of all their preſent troubles and calamities, when they had once doubled the alter which ſtood in the temple at *Delos*: for they being not able to gueſſe nor imagine what the ſubſtance and meaning ſhould be, of this anſwer delivered by the oracle; and beſides, making themſelves ridiculous, when they thought to double the fabricke and building of the altar (for when they had doubled ech ſide of the foure, they were not ware how by augmentation they made a ſolid bodie, eight times as bigge as it was before, and that by ignorance of the proportion, which in length yeeldeth the duple) they had recourſe unto *Plato*, for to be reſolved of this difficulty. Then he calling to minde the foreſaid Aegyptian prieſt, ſaid unto them: that the god plaied with the Greeks, for deſpiſing good ſciences; reproching them for their ignorance, and commanding them in good earneſt to ſtudy Geometry, and not curſarily after a ſuperficiall maner; for that it was a matter and worke, not of a depravate conceit, nor of a troubled and dimme underſtanding, but ſufficiently exerciſed, and perfectly ſeene in the ſciences of Lines; to find of two lines one middle proportioned, which is the onely means to double the figure of a cubicke body, being augmented equally in all dimenſions: And as for theſe (quoth he) *Eudoxus* the Cnidian, or *Helicon* the Cyzicenian, hath performed ſufficiently unto you: howbeit, we are not to thinke that the god hath need of any ſuch duplication, neither was it, that which he meant, but he commanded the Greeks to give over armes for to converſe with the Muſes; in dulcing their paſſions by the ſtudy of good literature, and the ſciences, and ſo to couple and carie themſelves, as that they might profit, and not hurt one another. But whiles *Simmias* thus ſpake, my father *Polymnis* entred the place, and ſat him downe cloſe unto *Simmias*, beginning thus to ſpeake: *Epaminondas* (quoth he) requeſteth both you, and all the reſt that be heere, unleſſe your buſineſſe otherwiſe be the greater, not to faile, but heere to ſtay; as being deſirous to make you acquainted with this ſtranger, who is of himſelfe a gentle perſon, and withall, is hither come with a generous and honeſt intention (being one of the Pythagorian Philoſophers) from out of *Italy*, and his arrivall into theſe parts, as by occaſion of certeine viſions and dreames as he ſaith, yea, and evident apparitions admoniſhing him to powre and offer unto the good ſeignior *Lyſis*, upon his tombe, thoſe libaments which are due unto men departed: and having brought with him a good quantitie of gold, he ſuppoſeth that he is bound to make recompenſe unto *Epaminondas*, for the charges which he was at in keeping & mainteining good *Lyſis* in his old age, and moſt ready he is, without our requeſt, and againſt our will, to ſuccour our need and povertie.

vertie. *Simmias* taking great pleaſure to heare this: You tell us (quoth he) of a woonderfull man indeed, and ſuch an one as is woorthy of Philoſophy: but what is the reaſon that he came not directly unto us? Becauſe (quoth he) he tooke up lodging laſt night about the ſepulchre of *Lyſis*, and as I take it, *Epaminondas* hath led him to the river *Iſmenus*, for to waſh; but from thence they will come both together unto us: but before that he ſpake with us, he lodged upon the tombe of *Lyſis*, with a purpoſe as I thinke, to take up the bones and reliques of his body, for to cary with him backe into *Italy*, unleſſe there were ſome ſpirit or dæmon empeached him in the night: When my father had thus much ſaid, he held his tongue: and then *Galaxidorus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) how hard a matter is it to finde a man who is altogether free from vanitie, and in whom there is no ſpice of ſuperſtition? For ſome there be, who even againſt their willes are otherwhiles ſurpriſed with theſe paſſions, by reaſon either of ignorance or infirmity: others againe, to the end they might be thought more religious, more devout, and better beloved of the gods, upon a ſingularity, referre all their actions to the gods, as the authors thereof, preferring before all the inventions that came into their minde, dreames and fantaſticall apparitions, and all ſuch fooliſh toies and vanties; which paradventure is not unbeſeeming nor unprofitable for polititians and ſtatiſts, who are forced to frame themſelves to a ſtubberne & diſordinate multitude, for to reclaime and to pull backe the common & vulgar ſort by ſuperſtition, as it were by the bit of a bridle, unto that which is expedient for them. But this maske ſeemeth not onely undecent and unſeemely for Philoſophy, but alſo contrary to the profeſſion thereof, which promiſeth to teach us all that which is good and profitable with reaſon, and afterwards referreth the begining of our actions unto the gods, as if it contemned reaſon and diſgraced the proofe of demonſtration, wherein it ſeemeth to be moſt excellent turning aſide to I wot not what oracles and viſions in dreames, wherein oftentimes the wickedeſt man in the word, findeth as much as the very beſt. And therefore in mine opinion our *Socrates*, ô *Simmias*, uſed that maner of teaching which is moſt worthy and befitting a Philoſopher, to wit, ſimple, plaine, without all fiction, chuſing it as moſt free and frendly unto the trueth, rejecting and turning upon the Sophiſters, all ſuch vanity, as the very fume and ſmoake of Philoſophy. Then *Theocritus* taking his turne to ſpeake: How now (quoth he) *Galaxidorus*, hath *Melitus* perſwaded you, as well as he made the judges beleeve, that *Socrates* diſpiſed the gods and all divine powers? For this is that which he chargeth him with before the Athenians. In no wiſe (quoth he) as touching thoſe heavenly powers: but having received from the hands of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, Philoſophy full of ridiculus fables, fantaſticall illuſions, and vaine ſuperſtition, he acquainted us, playing thus the foole in good earneſt, and being drunke with furie, to take up betimes and wiſely to cleave unto things of ſubſtance, yea and to acknowledge, that in ſober reaſon conſiſteth the trueth. Be it ſo (quoth *Theocritus*,) but as touching the familiar ſpirit of *Socrates*, what ſhall we thinke or ſay of it? was it a cogging lie and mere fable, or what ſhould we call it? For in mine owne conceit, like as *Homer* faigneth that *Minerva* was evermore aſſiſtant in all the travels and perils of *Ulyſſes*, even ſo from the very firſt beginning, this divine ſpirit allotted unto *Socrates* a certaine viſion, which guided him in all the actions of his life, this onely went and walked before him: it was a light unto him in all thoſe affaires wherein nothing could be ſeene, and which poſſibly might not be gathered, nor comprehended by reaſon and wiſedome of man, inſomuch, as many times this ſpirit ſpake with him, inſpiring, directing, and governing, after a heavenly maner, his intentions. Now hee that would know a greater number of proofes, and thoſe more woonderfull, let them heare *Simmias* ſpeake, & others, who lived familiarly with him: as for my ſelfe, I wil relate one example, which I ſaw with mine owne eies, and where I was in perſon preſent: One day when I went to conſult with the divinor or ſoothſaier *Euthyphron*, *Socrates* went up (as you may remember well, ô *Simmias*, for preſent you were there alſo, toward a place called *Symbolon*, and the houſe of *Andocides*, asking all the way as we went, & troubling *Euthyphron* with many queſtions, merily and by way of ſport; but all on a ſudden he ſtaied and reſted, very ſtudious and muſing with himſelfe a good while: then he turned backe and went along the ſtreet where ioyners dwelt, that made coffers and cheſts, and called not thoſe of his familiar friends who were gone before, the other way, for to have them returne: for why, his familiar ſpirit forbad him to go forward as he began: thus the greater part of them, retired and went with him, & among them, I my ſelfe was one, following evermore *Euthyphron* hard at heeles; but ſome other of the yonger ſort, would needs goe ſtreight on ſtill, of a very deliberate purpoſe to croſſe and convince the familiar ſpirit of *Socrates*, and drew along with them *Charillus* the plaier upon the flute, who was then come with me to *Athens*, for to viſit *Cebes*. Now when they went by the ſhops of the imagers, neere the common halles and courts of juſtice, they might ſee before them a mightie heard of hogges, as thicke as one might ſtand by another, full of dirt and mire, and bearing downe all before them, by reaſon of their great number; and for that there was no meanes to turne aſide from them, they overthrew ſome of the yoong men aboveſaid, and laid them along on the ground, yea and all to be raied the reſt of their fellowes. Thus returned *Charillus* home to his lodging, with his legges, his thighes, and all his clothes, fouly bedaubed with filthy dirt; in ſuch ſort, as he maketh us remember many times, and that with good laughing, the familiar of *Socrates*, and cauſeth us to marvell how that divine power never forſooke this man, but had evermore a care and charge of him in all places and occaſions whatſoever. Then (quoth *Galaxidorus*:) Thinke you that this familiar ſpirit of *Socrates* was ſome proper and peculiar power, and not a parcell of that univerſall and common neceſſitie, which confirmed this man by long experience, to give the counterpoiſe and over-weight for to make him encline to or fro, in things obſcure and hard to be conjectured and gueſſed at, by diſcourſe of reaſon? For like as one pound weight by it ſelfe alone draweth not the balance, but when as the poiſe hangeth equally, if a man put it then either to the one ſide or the other, it draweth the whole, and maketh all to incline that way: even ſo a voice or ſome ſmall and light ſigne, is not ſufficient to ſtirre a grave cogitation to proceed unto the execution of a thing, but being put into one of the two contrary diſcourſes, it ſolveth all the doubt and difficultie, taking away the inequall in ſuch ſort, as then it maketh a motion and inclination. Then my father taking his courſe to ſpeake: But I have heard (quoth he) ô *Galaxidorus*, a certeine Megarian ſay, who likewiſe heard as much of *Terpſion*, that this ſpirit was nothing elſe but the ſneeſing either of himſelfe, or of others about him; for if any one of his company ſneeſed on his right hand, whether he were before or behinde, it mattered not, then he enclined to doe that which he intended, and was preſented into his minde; but if it were on the left hand, he gave over; and if it were himſelfe that ſneeſed, when he was in doubt or ſuſpenſe to doe, or not to doe a thing, he then was confirmed, and reſolved to doe it; but if he hapned then to ſneeſe, when a thing was already begun, it ſtaied him, and checked his inclination and purpoſe, to effect and finiſh the ſame. But this is very ſtrange, if it be true that he uſed this obſervation of ſneeſing, how he could ſay, unto his friends, that it was his familiar ſpirit, which either mooved him forward to doe a thing or drew him backe from it: for this my good friend can not chuſe but proceed from a fooliſh vanitie, and preſumptuous oſtentation, and not of truth and franke ſimplicitie, for which we eſteeme this perſonage, to be very great and excellent above others, in caſe for ſome voice comming without foorth, or by reaſon of ſneeſing, he ſhould be troubled and empeached in the continuance of an action which he had commenced already, and ſo relinquiſh his deſſigne and deliberation: whereas it ſeemeth cleane contrary, that the motions and inclinations of *Socrates* caried with them a firmitude and durable vehemence in whatſoever he went about and undertooke, as proceeding from a direct and powerfull judgement, and from a ſtrong motive that ſet him on worke. For he continued voluntarily all his life time in povertie, whereas he might have had wealth enough, if he would have received at his friends hands ſufficient, who were very willing, yea, and tooke joy to beſtow their goods upon him: alſo he would never leave the ſtudie and profeſſion of Philoſophie, for all the great hinderances and empeachments that he met withall: and finally, when he might eaſily have eſcaped and ſaved himſelfe, by the meanes that his friends had prepared and made for him, he would never be remooved, nor yeeld unto their praiers, nor deſiſt from his maner of merie and jeſting ſpeeches, though death were preſented unto him, but held his reaſon firme and unremoveable in the greateſt perill that was. Theſe were not the parts of a man, who ſuffered himſelfe to be tranſported or caried away with vaine voices, or ſneeſings, from any reſolution which he had taken: but of him who was guided and conducted by a greater command, and more puiſſant power, unto his dutie. I heare alſo, that he foretold ſome of his friends, the defeature and overthrow of the Athenians armie in *Sicilie*. And before theſe things, *Pyrilampes* the ſonne of *Antephon*, being taken by us, in the chaſe and execution of victorie about *Delion*, and wounded with a javelin, when he heard by thoſe who were ſent from *Athens* unto us for to treat of peace, that *Socrates* together with *Alcibiades* and *Laches*, being gone downe by the way of *Rhetiſte*, were returned in ſafety, made report unto us, that *Socrates* had many times called him backe, & other of his friends, and of his band, who flying with him for company, along the mountaine *Parnes,* were overtaken and killed by our horſemen, for that they had taken another way of flight from the battell, and not it, that he directed him unto by his angell or familiar ſpirit. And thus much I ſuppoſe that *Simmias* himſelfe hath heard as well as I. True (quoth *Simmias*) I have heard it oftentimes, and of many perſons, for upon this example and ſuch like, the familiar ſpirit of *Socrates* was not a little ſpoken of in *Athens*. Why ſuffer we then, ô *Simmias* (quoth *Phidolaus*) this *Galaxidorus* here, by way of jeſt and meriment, to debaſe ſo much, this ſo great a worke of divination, as to paſſe it away in I wot not what voices and ſneeſings: Which ſignes the vulgar ſort of ignorant perſons made uſe of by jeſt and mockerie, in ſmall matters, and of no conſequence: for when the queſtion is of more greevous dangers, and affaires of greater importance; the ſaying is verified of *Euripides*:

> *No man will play the foole, nor ſuch vaine words*
> *Caſt out, ſo neere the edge and dint of ſwords.*

And *Galaxidorus*: If *Simmias* (quoth he) ô *Phidolaus,* hath hard *Socrates* himſelfe ſay ought of theſe matters, I am willing to give eare and to pardon him with you: but for any thing that you (ô *Polymnis*) have ſaid, an eaſie matter it is to confute the ſame: for like as in Phyſicke, the beating of the pulſe is no great matter in it ſelfe, nor a pimple or whelke: but ſignes they be both of no ſmall things unto the Phyſician: and unto the pilot and maſter of a ſhip, the noiſe of the ſea, the ſight or voice of ſome bird, or a thin cloud running through the aire, ſignifieth ſome great winde or violent tempeſt in the ſea: even ſo unto a propheticall and divining minde, a ſneeſing or a voice ſpoken, in it ſelfe conſidered, is no ſuch great matter, but ſignes theſe may be of moſt important accidents. For in no art nor ſcience whatſoever, men doe deſpiſe the collection or judgement of many things by a few, nor of great matters by ſmall: but like as if an ignorant perſon, who knoweth not the power of letters, ſeeing them few in number, and in forme vile and contemptible, could not beleeve that a learned man was able to read and relate out of them long warres in times paſt, the foundations of cities, the acts of mighty kings, and their variable fortunes; and ſhould ſay that there were ſomething underneath, which tolde and declared unto the ſaid Hiſtorian, every one of thoſe matters in order; he might give good occaſion of laughter & pleaſantly to deride his ignorance unto as many as hard him ſpeake ſo: even ſo take heed and beware, leſt we (for that we know not the vertue and efficacy of every ſigne and foretoken, in as much as they preſage future things) be not fooliſhly angred, if ſome prudent and wiſe man by the ſame ſignes foretell ſomewhat as touching things unknowen, and namely, if he ſay that it is not a voice nor a ſneeſing, but a familiar ſpirit, which hath declared the ſame unto him. For now come I to you *Polymnis,* who eſteeme and admire *Socrates* as a perſonage, who by his plaine ſimplicity, without any counterfet vanity whatſoever, hath humanized as I may ſo ſay, Philoſophy, and attributed it to humaine reaſon, if he called not his ſigne that he went by, a voice or ſneeſing, but after a tragicall maner ſhould name it a ſpirit familiar. For contrariwiſe, I would marvell rather that a man ſo well ſpoken as *Socrates* was, ſo eloquent, and who had all words ſo ready at command, ſhould ſay that it was a voice or a ſneeſing, and not a divine ſpirit that taught him: as if one ſhould ſay that himſelfe was wounded by an arrow, and not with an arrow by him who ſhot it, or that a poiſe was weighed by the balance, and not with a balance, by him that held or managed the balance in his hand: for the worke dependeth not upon the inſtrument, but upon him who hath the inſtrument, and uſeth it for to doe the worke: and even ſo the inſtrument is a kinde of ſigne uſed by that, which doth ſignify and prognoſticate thereby. But as I have ſaid already, we muſt liſten what *Simmias* will ſay, as the man who knoweth this matter more exactly than others doe. You ſay true indeed (quoth *Theocritus*) but let us ſee firſt, who they be that enter heere in place: and the rather becauſe *Epaminondas* is one, who ſeemeth to bring with him hither unto us the ſtranger above ſaid. And when we looked all toward the gates, we might perceive *Epaminondas* indeed going before and leading the way, accompanied with *Iſmenodorus, Bacchilidas* and *Meliſſus,* the plaier upon the flute. The ſtranger followed after, a man of a good and ingenious countenance to ſee to, and who carried in his viſage great mildneſſe and humanity, & beſides went in his apparel very gravely and decently. Now when he had taken his place and was ſet downe cloſe unto *Simmias,* and my brother next unto me, and all the reſt as every one thought good: after ſilence made, *Simmias* addreſſing his ſpeech unto my brother: Go to now *Epaminondas,* (quoth he) what ſtranger is this, from whence commeth he, and what may be his name? for this is the ordinary beginning and uſuall entrance to farther knowledge and acquaintance. His name (quoth my brother) is *Theanor* ô *Simmias*: a man borne in the city *Croton*, one of them who in thoſe parts profeſſe Philoſophy, and diſcrediteth not the glory of great *Pythagoras*: but is come hither from out of *Italy*, a long journey, to confirme by good works, his good doctrine and profeſſion. But you *Epaminondas* your ſelfe (quoth the ſtranger then) hinder me from doing, of all good deeds, the beſt. For if it be an honeſt thing for a man to doe good unto his friends, diſhoneſt it cannot be to receive good at their hands: for in thanks there is as much need of a receiver as of a giver, being a thing compoſed of them both, and tending to a vertuous worke: and he that receiveth not a good turne, as a tennis ball fairely ſent unto him, diſgraceth it much, ſuffring it to fall ſhort and light upon the ground. For what marke is there that a man ſhooteth at which he is ſo glad to hit and ſo ſory to miſſe, as this, that one worthy of a benefit & good turne, he either hath it accordingly, or faileth thereof unworthily? And yet in this compariſon, he that there, in ſhooting at the marke which ſtandeth ſtill, and miſſeth it, is in fault; but heere, he who refuſeth and flieth from it, is he that doth wrong and injury unto the grace of a benifit, which by his refuſall, it cannot attaine to that which it tendeth unto. As for the cauſes of this my voiage hither, I have already ſhewed unto you; and deſirous I am to rehearſe them againe unto theſe gentlemen heere preſent, that they may be judges in my behalfe againſt you. When the colledges and ſocieties of the Pythagorean Philoſophers, planted in every city of our country, were expelled by the ſtrong hand of the ſeditious faction of the Cyclonians, when thoſe who kept ſtill together were aſſembled and held a counſell in the city of *Metapontine*, the ſeditious ſet the houſe on fire on every ſide, where they were met: and burnt them altogether except *Philolaus* and *Lyſis*, who being yet yong, active and able of body, put the fire by and eſcaped through it. And *Phylolaus* being retired into the countrey of the Laconians, ſaved himſelfe among his friends, who began already to rally themſelves and grow to an head, yea, and to have the upper hand of the ſaid Cyclonians. As for *Lyſis*, long it was ere any man knew what was become of him, untill ſuch time as *Gorgias* the Leontine being ſailed backe againe out of *Greece* into *Sicelie*, brought certeine newes unto *Arceſus*, that he had ſpoken with *Lyſis*, and that he made his abode in the city of *Thebes*. Whereupon *Arceſus* minded incontinently to embarke and take the ſea; ſo deſirous he was to ſee the man: but finding himſelfe for feebleneſſe and age together, very unable to performe ſuch a voiage, he tooke order expreſly upon his death bed with his friends to bring him over alive if it were poſſible into *Italie*, or at leaſtwiſe, if haply he were dead before, to convey his bones and reliques over. But the warres, ſeditions, troubles and tyrannies that came betweene and were in the way, empeached thoſe friends, that they could not (during his life) accompliſh this charge that he had laied upon them: but after that, the ſpirit or ghoſt of *Lyſis* now departed, appearing viſibly unto us, gave intelligence of his death, and when report was made unto us, by them who knew the certeine trueth, how liberally he was enterteined and kept with you, ô *Polymnis*, and namely, in a poore houſe, where he was held and reputed as one of the children, and in his old age richly mainteined, and ſo died in bleſſed eſtate, I being a yoong man, was ſent alone from many others of the ancient ſort, who have ſtore of money, and be willing to beſtow the ſame upon you who want it, in recompenſe of that great favor and gracious friendſhip of yours extended to him. As for *Lyſis*, worſhipfully he was enterred by you, and beſtowed in an honourable ſepulchre, but yet more honourable for him will be that courteſie, which by way of recompenſe is given to his friend, by other friends of his and kinsfolke.

Whiles the ſtranger ſpake thus, the teares trickled downe my fathers cheeks, and he wept a good while for the remembrance of *Lyſis*. But my brother ſmiling upon me, as his maner was: How ſhall we do now *Caphiſias*, quoth he; ſhall we caſt off and abandon our poverty for money, and ſo ſay no more, but keepe ſilence? In no wiſe (quoth I) let us not quit and forſake our olde friend, and ſo good a foſtreſſe of yoong folke: but defend you it, for your turne it is now to ſpeake. And yet I (quoth he) my father, feare not that our houſe is pregnable for money, unleſſe it be in regard onely of *Caphiſias*, who may ſeeme to have ſome need of a faire robe, to ſhew himſelfe brave and gallant unto thoſe that make love unto him, who are in number ſo many, as alſo of plenty of viands and food, to the end that he may endure the toile and travell of bodily exerciſes and combats which he muſt abide in the wreſtling ſchooles. But ſeeing this other heere, of whom I had more diſtruſt, doth not abandon povertie, nor raſeth out the hereditary indigence of his father and houſe, as a tincture and unſeemly ſtaine; but although he be yet a yoong man, reputeth himſelfe gaily ſet out and adorned with frugality, taking a pride therein, and reſting contented with his preſent fortunes: Wherein ſhould we any more employ our gold and ſilver, if we had it, and what uſe are we to make of it? What, would you have us to gild our armor, and cover our ſhields as *Nicias* the Athenian did, with purple and gold intermingled therewith? And ſhall we buy for you, father, a faire mantle of the fine rich cloth of *Miletus*, and for my mother, a trim coat of ſcarlet coloured with purple? For ſurely we will never abuſe this preſent, in pampering our bellie, in feaſting our ſelves, and making more ſumptuous cheere than ordinary, by receiving riches into our houſe as a coſtly and chargeable gueſt? Fie upon that, my ſonne (quoth my father) God forbid I ſhould ever ſee ſuch a change in mine houſe. Why (quoth he againe) we will not ſit ſtil in the houſe, keeping riches with watch and ward idle: for ſo the benefit were not beneficiall, but without all grace, and the poſſeſſion thereof diſhonorable. To what end then ſhall we receive it, quoth my father. It ſeemed of late (quoth *Epaminondas*) unto *Jaſon* a captaine of the Theſſalians, that I made him an uncivill and ruſticall anſwere, when he ſent hither a great maſſe of gold, and requeſted me to take it as a gift: for I charged him plainly, that he did me great wrong, and began to picke a quarrell with me, in that he affecting and aſpiring to a monarchie, came with money to tempt & ſolicit me a plaine citizen, of a free city, and living under the lawes. But as for you ſir, who are come unto us as a ſtranger, I approove your good will, for it is honeſt, vertuous and beſeeming a Philoſopher, yea, and I love and embrace it ſingularly well: but this I muſt needs ſay unto you, that you bring medicines and phyſicke drogues to men that are not ſicke and aile nothing. Like as therefore, if you hearing that our enemies warred upon us, were come to bring us harneſſe, armes and weapons as well defenſive as offenſive for our ſuccour; and being arrived and landed in theſe parts, ſhould finde all quiet, and that we lived in peace and amitie with our neighbours, you would not thinke that ye ought to give or leave the ſaid armes among them that had no need nor deſire thereof: even ſo, come you are to aide us againſt povertie, as if we were afflicted and diſtreſſed thereby: but it is cleane contrary, for we can beare it with eaſe, and well content we are to have it dwell with us ſtill in the houſe: and therefore we feele no want either of money or munition, againſt her that doth us no diſpleaſure. But this meſſage you ſhall cary backe unto your fellowes and brethren in the ſame profeſſion beyond ſea, that as they uſe their goods and riches moſt honeſtly and in the beſt maner, ſo they have friends here alſo, that can make uſe of their poverty as well. Now for the keeping, funerals & ſepulture of *Lyſis*, he hath himſelfe ſufficiently paied us therefore and diſcharged all, in that among many other good inſtructions, he taught us, not to be afraid of povertie, nor to take it in ill part. To this, *Theanor* replied in this maner: Doeth it (I pray you) bewray a baſe minde and want of courage, to feare povertie? and is it not as abſurd and as great a default in judgement, to dread and eſchue riches? in caſe (I ſay) a man, not upon any ſound reaſon, but for outward diſguiſed ſhew, and in a fooliſh humor of vanitie, refuſe and reject it. And what reaſon is there, to diſſwade and debarre the getting and poſſeſſion of goods, by all juſt and honeſt meanes, as *Epaminondas* uſeth? But rather, foraſmuch as you are ready enough in your anſweres, as appeareth by that which you made as touching this point, unto *Jaſon* the Theſſalian, I demand of you firſt, *Epaminondas*, whether you thinke any kinde of giving money to be juſt and lawfull; but no maner of taking? or that ſimply, both givers and takers do offend and ſinne? Not ſo, quoth *Epaminondas*: but of this opinion I am, that as of other things, ſo of riches likewiſe, there is one giving and poſſeſſing, that is civill and honeſt; and another, diſhoneſt and ſhamefull. Well then, quoth *Theanor*; what ſay you of him who giveth willingly and with a good heart, that which he ought: doeth he not give it well? The other granted and confeſſed it. Go to then, quoth *Theanor*, he who receiveth that which is given well and honeſtly, doth he not take it honeſtly alſo? or can there be a more juſt and lawfull taking of money, than that which is received of him who giveth righteouſly? I ſuppoſe (quoth *Epaminondas*) there can not be. Betweene two friends therefore (quoth he) ô *Epaminondas*, if the one may give, the other likewiſe may juſtly take: for in battels I confeſſe, a man ought to turne away and decline from that enemie of whom he hath received ſome pleaſure; but in the caſe of benefits and good turnes, it is neither ſeemly nor honeſt, either to avoid or to reject that friend that giveth well and honeſtly. No in trueth, quoth *Epaminondas*; but you are to conſider with us, thus much, That there being in us many luſts and deſires, and thoſe of ſundry things; ſome are naturall and (as they ſay) inbred, budding and breeding in our fleſh and about our bodies, for the enterteinment of thoſe pleaſures which be neceſſary; others be ſtrangers, proceeding from vaine opinions, which gathering ſtrength and force by tract of time and long cuſtome in bad nouriture, grow to ſuch an head, that many times they plucke downe and holde our ſoules in ſubjection more forcibly and with greater violence, than doe thoſe naturall before ſaid. Now reaſon, by good uſe and vertuous exerciſe, miniſtreth meanes, that a man may draw away and ſpend many of thoſe very paſſions which are inbred within us; but he had need to employ all the power and ſtrength of cuſtome and exerciſe againſt thoſe other concupiſcences which be forreners and come from without forth, for to conſume, cut off and chaſtice them, by all means of repreſſions and retentions that be reaſonable. For if the reſiſtance which reaſon maketh againſt the appetite of eating and drinking, forceth many times and conquereth both hunger and thirſt; far more eaſie is it, to cut off avarice and ambition, by forbearing and abſteining thoſe things which the ſame do covet, ſo farre forth, as in the end they will be diſcomfited and ſubdued. How ſay you, thinke you not that it is ſo? The ſtranger confeſſed no leſſe. See you not then, quoth he againe, that there is a difference betweene an exerciſe, and the worke unto which the exerciſe is addreſſed? And like as of the art which teacheth how to exerciſe the body, a man may ſay, that the worke is the emulation, ſtrife and contention to win the prize of the crowne againſt the concurrent or adverſarie; but the exerciſe thereof, is the preparation that the champion makes, for to have his body apt, nimble and active thereto by continual trials of maſteries: even ſo you will grant, that a difference there is betweene vertue and the exerciſe of vertue. The ſtranger ſaid yea unto it. Then tell me firſt and formoſt, quoth he, To abſteine from vile, filthy and unlawfull luſts, what thinke you, is it an exerciſe unto continency, or rather the very worke it ſelfe, and proofe of continency? The very worke and proofe, I take it to be, quoth he againe: and the exerciſe and accuſtomance to ſobriety, temperance and continency, is not that which you all practiſe, when after you have travelled your bodies, and like brute beaſts provoked your appetites, you ſit downe to meat, and there continue a long time, having your tables before you furniſhed with exquiſit viands of all ſorts, but touch not one diſh, leaving them afterwards for your ſervants to engorge themſelves therewith and make merry; when you the while preſent ſome little thing, and that plaine and ſimple, unto your appetites, which are already dulled and quenched: for the abſtinence from pleaſures and delights permitted, is it not an exerciſe againſt ſuch as are forbidden? Yes verily, quoth the ſtranger. There is then (quoth he) my friend, a certeine exerciſe of juſtice againſt avarice and covetouſneſſe of money; and that is not, to forbeare in night ſeaſon to rob and ſpoile our neighbours houſes, or to ſtrip paſſengers out of their clothes: no, nor if a man doe not betray his countrey or friends for a piece of money, is he truely ſaid to inure and exerciſe himſelfe againſt avarice: for haply the law and feare doth bridle and reſtraine his covetous deſire from doing wrong or hurt to another: but he, who many times abſteineth from taking juſt gaines, and ſuch as are granted and permitted him by the lawes, he willingly exerciſeth and woonteth himſelfe to keepe farre from any unjuſt and unlawfull taking of money. For neither is it poſſible, that in great pleaſures, and thoſe wicked and pernicious, the ſoule ſhould conteine herſelfe from the appetite thereof, if many times before, being in full libertie to enjoy them, ſhe did not deſpiſe the ſame: nor eaſie for a man to paſſe over & contemne wicked takings & great gaines preſented, who long before hath not chaſtiſed and tamed his covetous deſire to have and gaine, which by other habitudes enough is nouriſhed & bred up impudently & without all ſhame to lucre: for it ſwelleth againe, & is puffed up with injuſtice, ſo as hardly & with much ado it can abſteine frō doing outrage to any one, for to win private profit therby: but never will it aſſault a perſonage who hath not abandoned & given himſelfe over to receive gifts & largeſſes of his friends, or to take preſents & rewards of kings, but hath renoũced the very benefits allotted unto him by fortune: who alſo hath retired & removed himſelfe far from avarice, and a leaping deſire after a treaſure diſcovered and ſeen: It will never (I ſay) tempt him to commit any injuſtice, nor trouble his thoughts & cogitations: but ſuch an one, wil quietly and peaceably frame himſelfe to do that which is honeſt, as having his heart more hauty, than to ſtoupe to law, and being privy to himſelfe of all good things ſetled in his ſoule. Loe, what men they be, upon whom *Caphiſias* and my ſelfe be enamoured: and this is the reaſon friend *Simmias*, why we requeſt this honeſt gentleman heere, the ſtranger, to ſuffer us to be ſufficiently exerciſed in povertie, that we may attaine unto ſuch vertue. After that my brother had finiſhed this ſpeech, *Simmias* having twiſe or thrice nodded with his head: A great man no doubt (quoth he) is this *Epaminondas*, and a verie great man indeed: and well may he thanke his good father heere *Polymnis* for all; who from the firſt beginning, hath given his children the beſt education and bringing up in Philoſophie: but as touching theſe matters, agree and accord with them, good ſtranger and friend. As for you *Lyſias*, let me demaund of you (if we may be ſo bold, as to heare and know of you) whether you purpoſe to remoove him out of his ſepulchre, and ſo tranſport him over into *Italy*? or rather to leave him behinde you, to tary among his friends and wel-willers, who no doubt will be glad of us to lodge with him, when we ſhall be there. *Theanor* ſmiling upon him: It ſeemeth *Simmias* (quoth he) that *Lyſis* liketh well of the place where he is, and is not willing to remoove, for that he had no want of any good things heere, by the meanes of *Epaminondas*: for there be certeine particular ſacred ceremonies, which we obſerve in the ſepulture of our fellow profeſſours in this confraternitie of the Pythagoreans, which if they have not when they be dead, me thinke they have not atteined to that happy end which we deſire. When as therefore we knew by dreames, that *Lyſis* was departed this life (for we have an infallible ſigne, appearing unto us in our ſleepe, whereby (we can diſcerne whether it be the ghoſt and image of one alive or dead) many had this conceit, that being departed in a forren and farre countrey, he had beene otherwiſe enterred than he ought, and therefore we were to tranſlate him from thence where he was, to the end, that being tranſported, he might have the due ſervice, and accuſtomed obſequies belonging to our ſocietie. Being therefore come with this minde and cogitation into theſe parts, and incontinently conducted by thoſe of this country to his ſepulchre; about the evening I powred out the libaments for mortuaries, for to call foorth his ſpirit, that it might come and inſtruct me how I might proceed in this action: and this laſt night paſſed, I ſaw nothing; but me thought I heard a voice ſaying unto me: That I ſhould not remove that which ought not to be ſtirred; becauſe the corps of *Lyſis* had beene by his friends in holy maner enterred, and his ſoule having her dome already, had her conge and paſport to go unto another generation and nativity, accompanied and coupled with another dæmon. And verily this morning when I had conferred with *Epaminondas*, and heard the maner how he had buried *Lyſis*, I underſtood that he himſelfe had beene inſtructed by him, in the moſt ſecret points of our religion, and how he uſed the ſame ſpirit or dæmon for the guidance of his life, unleſſe I be ſo unexpert, that I cannot conjecture what the pilot is by his maner of navigation: for broad be the waies of this life, but few they are, which theſe angels doe direct and lead men in. When *Theanor* had thus ſaid, he caſt his eie upon *Epaminondas*, as if once againe he would behold his nature and maners, by the inſpiration of his countenance and viſage. And heereupon came in the Phyſician, and looſed the band wherewith *Simmias* his wound was bound up, as purpoſing to dreſſe him. Then *Phyllidas* who came in afterwards with *Hippoſthenidas*, willing me and *Charon*, and *Theocritus* to ariſe, drew us apart into a certeine corner or angle of the porch, woonderfully troubled as it might ſeeme by his countenance. With that, I ſpake unto him and ſaid: What newes *Phyllidas*? No newes *Caphiſias* (quoth he to me) for I foreſaw my ſelfe, and foretold you as much, namely, the ſlackneſſe and cowardiſe of *Hippoſthenidas*, requeſting you not to communicate unto him your enterpriſe, nor admit him into your company. Now whiles we were much amazed and aſtonied at theſe words: Say not ſo good *Phyllidas* (quoth he) for gods ſake; neither be you a cauſe both of our undoing and of the ruine of this city, by thinking raſhneſſe to be hardineſſe: but have patience, and ſuffer theſe men to returne in ſafetie, in caſe it be ſo by fatall deſtiny appointed. *Phyllidas* being chafed heerewith, and ſet in a choler: Tell me (quoth he) *Hippoſthenidas*, how many thinke you be privy to our ſecrets in this deſignment? I know my ſelfe (quoth he) to the number of thirty at the leaſt. If there be ſo many (quoth he) how commeth it to paſſe, that you onely croſſe and gainſay, yea, and hinder that which hath beene concluded and agreed upon by us all? and to this purpoſe have diſpatched a light-horſeman, to ride in poſte unto the baniſhed perſons, (who had put themſelves in their journey hitherward) charging them to returne backe, and that in no wiſe they ſhould goe forward this day? conſidering that the moſt part of thoſe things which went to this journey, fortune it ſelfe had procured & prepared fit for their hands? upon theſe words of *Phyllidas*, we were all much troubled and perplexed: but *Charon* aboue the reſt, faſtning his eie upon *Hippoſthenidas*, and that with a ſowre and ſterne countenance: Moſt wicked wretch that thou art, quoth he, what haſt thou done unto us? No harme, ſaid *Hippoſthenidas*, in caſe, leaving this curſt & angrie voice of yours, you can be content and have patience, to heare and underſtand the reaſons of a man as aged as your ſelfe, and having as many gray haires as you have: for if this be the point, to ſhew unto our fellow citizens how hardy and couragious we are, that we make no reckoning of our lives, and care not for any perill of death, ſeeing we have day enough *Phyllidas*, let us never ſtay for the darke evening, but preſently, and immediately from this place run upon the tyrants with our ſwords drawen, let us kill and ſlay, let us die upon them, and make no ſpare of our ſelves: for it is no hard matter to do and ſuffer all this: mary to deliver the citie of *Thebes* out of the hands of ſo many armed men as hold it, to diſſeize and expell the garriſon of the Spartanes, with the murder of two or three men, is not ſo eaſie a thing, (for *Phyllidas* hath not provided ſo much wine for his feaſt and banquet, as will be ſufficient to make fifteene hundred ſouldiers of *Archias* guard drunken: and ſay we had killed him, yet *Crippidas* and *Arceſus*, are ready at night, both of them ſober enough to keepe the corps du guard) why make wee ſuch haſte then, to draw our friends into an evident and certeine danger of preſent death, eſpecially, ſeeing withall, that our enemies be in ſome ſort advertiſed of their comming and approch; for if it were not ſo, why was there commandement given by them to thoſe of *Theſpiæ*, for to be in their armes upon the third day, which is this, and readie to goe with the Lacedæmonian captaines, whenſoever they gave commandement? And as for *Amphitheus*, this very day as I underſtand, after their judiciall proceeding againſt him, they minded to put to death, upon the comming of *Archias*. And are not theſe pregnant preſumptions, that the plot and enterpriſe is to them diſcovered? Were it not better then to deferre the execution of our deſignments a while longer, untill ſuch time as the gods be reconciled and appeaſed? for our divinors and wiſards having ſacrificed a beeſe unto *Ceres*, pronounce that the fire of the ſacrifice denounceth ſome great ſedition and danger to the common weale: and that which you *Charon* particularly ought to take good heed of is this: Yeſterday, and no longer ſince, *Hippathodorus* the ſonne of *Erianthes*, a man otherwiſe of good ſort, and one who knoweth nothing at all of our enterpriſe, had this ſpeech with me: *Charon* is your familiar friend, *Hippoſthenidas*, but with me not greatly acquainted; advertiſe him therefore, if you thinke ſo good, that he beware and looke to himſelfe, in regard of ſome great danger & ſtrange accident that is toward him: for the laſt night, as I dreamed, me thought I ſaw that his houſe was in travell as it were of childe; that he and his friends being themſelves in diſtreſſe, praied unto the gods for her delivery, ſtanding round about her during her labour and painfull travell; but ſhe ſeemed to loow and rore, yea, and to caſt out certeine inarticulate voices, untill at the laſt there iſſued out of it a mightie fire, wherewith a great part of the citie was immediately burnt, and the caſtle *Cadmea* covered all over with ſmoke onely, but no part of the fire aſcended thereto. Loe, what the viſion was, which this honeſt man related unto me, *Charon*: which I aſſure you, for the preſent, ſet me in a great quaking and trembling; but much more when I once heard ſay, that this day the exiled perſons were to returne and be lodged here within an houſe of the citie. In great anguiſh therefore I am, and in a wonderfull agonie, for feare leaſt we engage our ſelves within a world of calamities and miſeries, without being able to execute any exploit of importance upon our enemies, unleſſe it be to make a garboile, and ſet all on a light fire: for I ſuppoſe that the citie when all is done, will be ours, but *Cadmea* the caſtle as it is already, will be for them. Then *Theocritus* taking upon him to ſpeake, and ſtaying *Charon* who was about to reply ſomewhat againſt this *Hippoſthenidas*: I interpret all this (quoth he) cleane contrary: for there is not a ſigne that confirmeth me more in following of this enterpriſe (although I have had alwaies good preſages in the behalfe of the baniſhed, in all the ſacrifices that I have offred) than this viſion which you have rehearſed: if it be ſo as you ſay, that a great and light fire ſhone over all the citie, and the ſame ariſing out of a friends houſe, and that the habitation of our enemies, and the place of their retreat was darkned and made blacke againe with the ſmoke, which never brings with it any thing better than teares and troubleſome confuſion: and whereas from among us there aroſe inarticulate voices, (in caſe a man ſhould conſtrue it in evill part, and take exception thereat, in regard of the voice) the ſame will be when our enterpriſe, which now is enfolded in obſcure, doubtfull, and uncerteine ſuſpicion, ſhall at once both appeere, and alſo prevaile: as for the ill ſignes of the ſacrifices, they touch not the publike ſtate, but thoſe who now are moſt powerfull and in greateſt authoritie. As *Theocritus* thus was ſpeaking yet ſtill, I ſaid unto *Hippoſthenidas*: And whom I pray you have you ſent unto the men? for if he be not too farre onward on his way, we will ſend after to overtake him. I am not able to ſay of a trueth *Caphiſias*, whether it be poſſible to reach him, (quoth *Hippoſthenidas*) for he hath one of the beſt horſes in all *Thebes* under him; and a man he is, whom yee all know very well, for he is the maſter of *Melons* chariots, and his chariot men, one unto whom *Melon* himſelfe from the very firſt diſcovered this plot, and made privie unto it. With that, I conſidering and thinking with my ſelfe what man he ſhould ſpeake of: It is not *Chlidon* (quoth I) ô *Hippoſthenidas*, he who no longer ſince than the laſt yeere, wanne the priſe in the horſe running, at the ſolemne feaſt of *Juno*? The ſame is the man quoth he. Who then is he whom I have ſeene this long while ſtanding at the hall doore and looking full upon us? It is *Chlidon* himſelfe I aſſure you quoth he. Now by *Hercules* I ſweare, could any thing have hapned woorſe? And with that, the man perceiving how we looked upon him, approched faire and ſoftly from the dore unto us. Then *Hippoſthenidas* beckned unto him, and nodded with his head, as willing him to ſpeake unto us all, for that there was no danger becauſe they were all honeſt men, and of our ſide. I know them all wel enough quoth he, (*Hippoſthenidas*) and not finding you at home nor in the market place, I gueſſed by and by that you were gone toward them, and therefore I made as great haſte as I could hither, to the end that you might not be ignorant of all things how they goe: For ſo ſoone as you commanded me in all ſpeed to meet with our baniſhed citizens in the foreſt, I went preſently to my houſe for to take horſe, & called unto my wife for my bridle, but ſhe could not give it me; and to mend the matter, ſtaied a great while in the chamber or ſtore-houſe where ſuch things uſe to be: now after ſhe had made a ſeeking & puddering in every corner within the roome, & could not find it, at length when ſhe had plaid long enough with me, & made a foole of me, ſhe confeſſed & told me plainly, that ſhe had lent it forth to one of our neighbors, whoſe wife the evening before came to borrow it of her: whereupon I was in a great chafe, and gave her ſome curſt words; but ſhe like a ſhrew, paied me with as good as I lent her, and made no more adoe, but curſed me in abominable tearmes, wiſhing my forth going might be unhappie, and my home comming worſe: which execrations I pray god may all light upon her owne head. To be ſhort, ſhe provoked me ſo farre, that in my choler I dealt her ſome blowes for her ſhrewd tongue: with that comes out a number of the neighbors and women eſpecially, where after I had given and taken one for another with ſhame inough, at laſt with much adoe I got away from them and came hither to pray you for to ſend ſome other meſſenger to the parties you wot of: for I aſſure you at this preſent I am ſo much out of temper that I am not mine owne man, but in maner beſide my ſelfe. This wrought in us all a mervellous alteration of our wils and affections: For whereas a little before we were offended that our deſignments were croſſed, and their comming impeached, now againe upon this ſudden occurrence & the ſhortnes of time, which allowed us no leaſure to put of, & to procraſtinate the matter, we were driven into an agony and fearefull perplexity. Howbeit ſetting a good countenance upon the matter, ſpeaking alſo cheerefully unto *Hippoſthenidas*, and taking him frendly by the hand, I encouraged him, and gave him to underſtand, that the very gods themſelves ſeconded our intentions and invited us to the execution of the enterpriſe. This done, *Phyllidas* went home to his houſe for to give order about his feaſt, and withall to draw on *Archias* to drinke wine liberally and to make mery: *Charon* departed alſo to make ready his houſe for the intertainment of the baniſhed men, againſt their returne. Meane while *Theocritus* and I went againe to *Simmias*: to the end that finding ſome good occaſion and opportunity for the purpoſe, we might talke with *Epaminondas* againe, who was well entred already into a prety queſtion, which *Galaxidorus* and *Phidolaus* a little before had begun, demanding of what ſubſtance, nature and puiſſance was the familiar ſpirit of *Socrates*, ſo much ſpoken of? Now what *Simmias* had alledged againſt *Galaxidorus* upon this point, we hard not: mary thus much he ſaid, that when he demanded upon a time of *Socrates* himſelfe concerning the ſaid matter, he never could get of him any anſwer, & therefore he never after would aſke him the queſtion, but he ſaid, that oftentimes he had bene preſent when *Socrates* gave out that he reputed thoſe men for vaine perſons, who ſaid they had ſeene with their eie any divine power, and ſo communed therewith: but contrariwiſe that he could hold better with thoſe, who ſaid they tooke knowledge of ſuch a thing by hearing a voice, ſpeaking unto one that gave attentive eare thereto, or earneſtly enquired thereof: whereupon he ſet our heads on worke when we were apart by our ſelves, and made us to gueſſe and conjecture, that this dæmon of *Socrates*, was no viſion, but a ſenſe of ſome voice, and an intelligence of words, which came unto him, by an extraordinary maner. Like as in our dreames, it is not a voice indeed that men heare lying faſt aſleepe, but the opinion of ſome words that they thinke they heare pronounced: but this intelligence of dreames commeth in truth, to men aſleepe, by reaſon of the repoſe and tranquillity of the body: whereas they that be awake cannot heare, but very hardly, theſe divine advertiſements, being troubled and diſquieted with tumultuous paſſions, and the diſtraction of their affaires, by occaſion whereof they cannot wholy yeeld their minde and thought to heare the revelations that the gods deliver unto them. Now *Socrates* having a pure and cleare underſtanding not toſſed and turmoiled with any paſſions nor mingled with the body, unleſſe it were very little, for things neceſſary and no more, was eaſie to be touched, and ſo ſubtile that ſoone it might be altered with whatſoever was objected and preſented to it: now that which met with it, we may conjecture that it was not ſimply a voice or ſound, but a very articulate ſpeech of his dæmon, which without any audible voice touched the intellectuall part of his ſoule, together with the thing that it declared and revealed unto him. For the voice reſembleth a blow or ſtroke given unto the ſoule, which by the eares is conſtrained to receive ſpeech, when we ſpeake one unto another: but the intelligence or underſtanding of a divine and better nature, leadeth and conducteth a generous minde by a thing that cauſeth it to underſtand without need of any other ſtroake: and the ſame minde or ſoule obeieth and yeeldeth thereto accordingly, as it either ſlaketh looſe or ſtretcheth hard the inſtincts and inclinations, not violently by reſiſtance which the paſſions make, but ſupple and pliable, as ſlacke and gentle raines. And hereof we ſhall not need to make any wonder, conſidering that we ſee how little helmes turne about and winde the greateſt hulks and caraques that be: and againe the wheeles that potters uſe, being never ſo little touched with the hand, turne very eaſily: for although they be inſtruments without life, yet being as they are counterpeiſed and framed even on every ſide, by reaſon of their poliſhed ſmoothneſſe, they are apt to ſtirre and yeeld unto the mooving cauſe with the leaſt moment that is. Now the ſoule of man being bent and ſtretched out ſtiffe with innumerable inclinations as it were with ſo many cords, hath more agility than all the ingins or inſtruments in the world, if a man hath the skill to manage and handle it with reaſon, after it hath taken once a little motion, that it may bend to that which conceived it: for the beginnings of inſtincts and paſſions, tend all to this intelligent and conceiving part, which being ſtirred and ſhaken, it draweth, pulleth, ſtretcheth and haleth the whole man: Wherein we are given to underſtand, what force and power hath the thing that is entred into the conceit and intelligence of the minde. For bones are ſenſeleſſe, the ſinewes and fleſh full of humors, and the whole maſſe of all theſe parts together, heavie and ponderous, lying ſtill without ſome motions: but ſo ſoone as the ſoule putteth ſomewhat into the underſtanding, and that the ſame moveth the inclinations thereto, it ſtarteth up and riſeth all at once, and being ſtretched in all parts, runneth a maine, as if it had wings unto action. And ſo the maner of this moving, direction, and promptitude, is not hard, and much leſſe, impoſſible to comprehend: whereby the ſoule, hath no ſooner underſtood any object, but it draweth preſently with it, by inſtincts and inclinations, the whole maſſe of the body. For like as reaſon conceived and compriſed without any voice, moveth the underſtanding: even ſo in mine opinion, it is not ſuch an hard matter, but that a more divine intelligence and a ſoule more excellent, ſhould draw another inferior to it, touching it from without, like as one ſpeech or reaſon may touch another, and as light, the reflection of light: For we in trueth, make our conceptions and cogitations knowen one to another, as if we touched them in the darke, by meanes of voice: but the intelligences of Dæmons having their light, doe ſhine unto thoſe who are capable thereof, ſtanding in need neither of nownes nor verbs which men uſe in ſpeaking one to the other, by which markes they ſee the images and reſemblances of the conceptions and thoughts of the minde: but the very intelligences & cogitations indeed they know not, unleſſe they be ſuch as have a ſingular and divine light, as we have already ſaid: and yet that which is performed by the miniſtery of the voice, doth in ſome ſort helpe and ſatisfie thoſe who otherwiſe are incredulous. For the aire being formed and ſtamped as it were by the impreſſion of articulate ſounds, and become throughout, all ſpeech and voice, carieth a conception and intelligence into the minde of the hearer: and therefore according to this ſimilitude and reaſon, what marvell is it if that alſo which is conceived by theſe ſuperior natures altereth the aire, and if the aire being by reaſon of that quallity which it hath, apt to receive impreſſions, ſignifieth unto excellent men and ſuch as have a rare and divine nature, the ſpeech of him who hath conceived ought in is minde? For like as the ſtroks that light upon targuits or ſheelds of braſſe, be heard a farre off, when they proceed from the bottome in the mids within, by reaſon of the reſonance and rebound: whereas the blowes that fall upon other ſheelds are drowned and diſperſed, ſo as they be not heard at al: even ſo the words or ſpeeches of Dæmons and ſpirits, although they be carried and flie to the eares of all indifferently, yet they reſound to thoſe onely, who are of a ſettled and ſtaied nature, and whoſe ſoules are at quiet, ſuch as we call divine and celeſtiall men. Now the vulgar ſort have an opinion, that ſome Dæmon doth communicate a kinde of divinitie unto men in their ſleepes: but they thinke it ſtrange and a miracle incredible, if a man ſhould ſay unto them, that the gods doe move and affect them ſemblably when the be awake, and have the full uſe of reaſon: As if a man ſhould thinke that a muſician may play well upon his harpe or lute, when all the ſtrings be ſlacked and let downe: but when the ſaid inſtruments be ſet in tune, and have their ſtrings ſet up, he cannot make any ſound, nor play well thereupon. For they conſider not the cauſe which is within them, to wit, their diſcord, trouble and confuſion, whereof our familiar friend *Socrates* was exempt, according as the oracle propheſied of him before, which during his infancie was given unto his father: for by it, commanded he was, to let him doe all that came into his minde, and in no wiſe either to force or divert him, but to ſuffer the inſtinct and nature of the child to have the reines at large, by praying onely unto *Jupiter Agoræus* that is to ſay eloquent, and to the Muſes for him: and farther than ſo, not to buſie himſelfe nor to take care for *Socrates*, as if he had within him a guide and conductor of his life better than ten thouſand maſters and pædagogues. Thus you ſee, *Philolaus,* what our opinion and judgement is as touching the Dæmon or familiar ſpirit of *Socrates* both living and dead, as who reject theſe voices, ſneeſings and all ſuch fooleries. But what we have hard *Timarchus* of *Chæronea* to diſcourſe of this point, I wot not well whether I were beſt to utter and relate the ſame, for feare ſome would thinke, that I loved to tell vaine tales. Not ſo quoth *Theocritus,* but I pray you be ſo good as to rehearſe the ſame unto us: For albeit fables doe not very well expreſſe the trueth, yet in ſome ſort they reach thereto. But firſt tell us, who this *Timarchus* was? For I never knew the man. And that may well be ô *Simmias* (quoth *Theocritus)* for he died when he was very yong, and requeſted earneſtly of *Socrates* to be buried, nere unto *Lamprocles Socrates* his ſonne who departed this life but few daies before, being a deere friend of his, and of the ſame age. Now this yong gentleman, being very deſirous (as he was of a generous diſpoſition, and had newly taſted the ſweetneſſe of Philoſophy) to know what was the nature and power of *Socrates* familiar ſpirit, when he had imparted his mind and purpoſe unto me only and *Cebes,* went downe into the cave or vault of *Trophonius*, after the uſuall ſacrifices and accuſtomed complements due to that oracle performed: where having remained two nights and one day, inſomuch as many men were out of all hope that ever he would come forth againe, yea and his kinsfolke and frends bewailed the loſſe of him, one morning betimes he iſſued forth very glad and jocand: And after he had given thanks unto the god and adored him, ſo ſoone as he was gotten through the preſſe of the multitude, who expected his returne, he recounted uuto us, many wonders ſtrange to be heard and ſeene: for he ſaid, that being deſcended into the place of the oracle, he firſt met with much darknes, & afterwards when he had made his praiers, he lay a long time upon the ground, neither knew he for certaine whether he was awake, or dreamed all the while? Howbeit, he thought that he heard a noiſe which light upon his head, and ſmot it, whereby the ſutures or ſeanes thereof were disjoined and opened, by which he yeelded forth his ſoule; which being thus ſeparat, was very joious, ſeeing it ſelfe mingled with a tranſparent & pure aire. And this was the firſt time that it ſeemed to breathe at liberty, as if long time before untill then, it had beene drawen in and pent, for then it became greater and larger than ever before, in maner of a ſaile ſpred and diſplaied to the full. Then he ſuppoſed that he heard (though not cleerely and perfectly) as it were a noiſe or ſound turning round about his head, and the ſame yeelding a ſweet and pleaſant voice. And as he then looked behinde him he could ſee the earth no more, but the Iſles all bright and illuminate with a mild and delicate fire, and thoſe exchanged their places one with another, and withall, received ſundry colours, as it were divers tinctures, according as in that variety of change the light did alter: and they all ſeemed unto him in number infinite, and in quantity exceſſive: and albeit they were not of equall pourpriſe and extent, yet round they were all alike: alſo, to his thinking, by their motion which was circular, the skie reſounded, becauſe unto the uniforme equality of their mooving, the pleaſant ſweetneſſe of the voice and harmonie compoſed and reſulting of them all, was correſpondent and conformable. Amid theſe Iſlands there ſeemed a ſea or great lake diffuſed and ſpred, ſhining with divers mixt colours, upon a ground of grey or light blew. Moreover, of theſe Iſles ſome few ſailed as one would ſay, and were caried a direct courſe downe the water beyond the current; but others, and thoſe in number many, went aſide out of the chanell, and were with ſuch a violence drawen backe, that they ſeemed to be ſwallowed under the waves. Now this ſea or lake, was (as hee thought) very deepe toward the South; but on the North ſide full of ſhelves and ſhallow flats;

in many places it ſwelled and overflowed the land; in others it retired and gathered in, as much for it againe, and aroſe not to any high tides: as for the colour, in ſome place it was ſimple and ſea-like; in another, not pure, but troubled and confuſed with mud, like unto a meere or lake. As concerning the force of the waves about theſe Iſles which are caried together, the ſame bringeth them backe a little, but never conjoineth the end to the beginning: ſo as they make at no time a circle entire and perfect, but gently divert the application and meeting of their ends, ſo as in their revolution they winde in and out, and make one crooked obliquity. To the mids of theſe, and toward the greateſt part of the ambient aire, is enclined the ſea, ſomewhat leſſe than eight parts of the univerſall continent, as he thought. And the ſame ſea hath two mouthes or entrances, whereby it receiveth two rivers of fire breaking into it, oppoſite one to the other, in ſuch ſort, as the blewneſſe thereof became whitiſh, by reaſon that the greateſt part was repelled and driven backe. And theſe things he ſaid, that he beheld with much delight. But when he came to looke downward, he perceived a mighty huge hole or gulfe all round, in maner of an hollow globe cut thorow the mids, exceeding deepe and horrible to ſee to, full of much darkeneſſe, and the ſame not quiet and ſtill, but turbulent and often times boiling and walming upward, out of which there might be heard innumerable roarings and gronings of beaſts, cries and wrawlings of an infinite number of children, with ſundry plaints and lamentations of men and women together, beſides many noiſes, tumults, clamors and outcries of all ſorts, and thoſe not cleere, but dull and dead, as being ſent up from a great depth underneath, wherewith he was not a little terrified, untill ſuch time as after a good while, there was one whom he ſaw not, who ſaid thus unto him, O *Timarchus*, What is your deſire to know? Who made anſwere: Even all, for what is there here, not admirable? True, quoth he; but as for us, litle have we to do, & a ſmall portion in thoſe ſuperiour regions, becauſe they apperteine to other gods: but the diviſion of *Proſerpina* being one of the foure, and which we diſpoſe and governe, you may ſee if you will, how it is bounded with *Styx*. And when he demanded againe of him, what *Styx* was: It is (quoth he) the way which leadeth unto hell and the kingdome of *Pluto*, dividing two contrary natures of light and darkneſſe with the head and top thereof; for as you ſee, it beginneth from the bottome of hell beneath, which it toucheth with the one extremity, and reacheth with the other to the light all about, and ſo limiteth the utmoſt part of the whole world, divided into foure regiments. The firſt, is that of life; the ſecond, of moving; the third, of generation; and the fourth, of corruption. The firſt, is coupled to the ſecond, by unity, in that which is not viſible; the ſecond, to the third, by the minde or intelligence, in the Sun; the third, to the fourth, by nature, in the Moone. And of every one of theſe copulations, there is a friend, or Deſtiny the daughter of Neceſſity, that keepeth the key. Of the firſt, ſhe that is named *Atropos*, as one would ſay, Inflexible; of the ſecond, *Clotho*, that is to ſay, the Spinſter; of the third in the Moon, *Lacheſis*, that is to ſay, Lot, about which is the bending of geniture or nativity. As for all the other Iſles, they have gods within them; but the Moone apperteining to the terreſtriall Dæmons, avoideth the confines of *Styx*, as being ſomewhat higher exalted, approching once only in an hundred ſeventie ſeven ſecond meaſures: and upon the approch of this precinct of *Styx*, the ſoules cry out for feare. And why? hell catcheth and ſwalloweth many of them, as they glide and ſlip about it: and others, the Moone receiveth and taketh up, ſwimming from beneath unto her; ſuch I meane, as upon whom the end of generation fell in good and opportune time, all ſave thoſe which are impure and polluted: for them, with her fearefull flaſhing and hideous roaring, ſhe ſuffereth not to come neere unto her; who ſeeing that they have miſſed of their intent, bewaile their wofull ſtate, and be caried downe againe as you ſee, to another generation and nativity. Why, quoth *Timarchus*, I ſee nothing but a number of ſtarres leaping up and downe about this huge and deepe gulfe, ſome drowned and ſwallowed up in it, others appearing againe from below. Theſe be (quoth he) the dæmons, that you ſee, though you know them not. And marke withall, how this comes about. Every ſoule is endued with a portion of minde or underſtanding; and of man, there is not one void of reaſon: but looke how much thereof is mingled with fleſh and with paſſions, being altered with pleaſures and dolours, it becommeth unreaſonable. But every ſoule is not mixed after one ſort, one as much as another; for ſome are wholly plunged within the bodie, and being troubled and diſquieted with paſſions, runne up and downe all their life time: others partly are mingled with the fleſh, and in part leave out that which is moſt pure, and not drawen downward to the contagion of that groſſe part, but remaineth ſwimming and floating as it were aloft, touching the top or crowne onely of mans head: (whereas the reſt is depreſſed downward to the bottome, and drowned there) and is in maner of a cord hanging up aloft juſt over the ſoule which is directly and plumbe under, to upholde and raiſe it up, ſo farre forth as it is obeiſant thereto, and not overruled and ſwaied with paſſions and perturbations: for that which is plunged downe within the bodie, is called the ſoule; but that which is entire and uncorrupt, the vulgar ſort calleth the underſtanding, ſuppoſing it to be within them as in mirrours that which apppeareth by way of reflexion: but thoſe that judge aright and according to the trueth, name it Dæmon, as being cleane without them.

Theſe ſtars then which you ſee as if they were extinct and put out, imagine and take them to be the ſoules which are totally drowned within bodies: and ſuch as ſeeme to ſhine out againe, and to returne lightſome from beneath, caſting and ſhaking from them a certeine darke & foggy miſt, as if it were ſome filth and ordure, eſteeme the ſame to be ſuch ſoules, as after death are retired and eſcaped out of the bodies: but thoſe which are mounted on high and move to and fro in one uniforme courſe throughout, are the Dæmons or ſpirits of men, who are ſaid to have intelligence and underſtanding. Endevour now therefore and ſtraine your ſelfe to ſee the connexion of each one, whereby it is linked and united to the ſoule. When I heard this, I began to take more heed, and might ſee ſtarrs leaping and floting upon the water, ſome more, ſome leſſe, like as we obſerve pieces of corke, ſhewing in the ſea where fiſhers nets have beene caſt: and ſome of them turned in maner of ſpindles or bobins, as folke ſpin or twiſt therewith, yet drawing a troubled and unequall courſe and not able to direct and compoſe the motion ſtraight. And the voice ſaid that thoſe which held on a right courſe and order by motion, were they whoſe ſoules were obeiſant to the raines of reaſon, by the meanes of good nurture and civill education, and ſuch as ſhewed not upon the earth their beaſtly, groſſe and ſavage brutiſhneſſe: but they that eftſoones riſe and fall up and downe unequally and diſorderly, as ſtruggeling to breake out of their bounds, are thoſe which ſtrive againſt the yoke, with their diſobedient and rebellious maners, occaſioned by want of good bringing up, one while getting the maiſtry and bringing them about to the right hand, another while curbed by paſſions and drawen away by vices, which notwithſtanding they reſiſt another time againe, and with great force ſtrive to withſtand. For that bond which in maner of a bridle-bit is put into the mouth as it were of the brutiſh and unreaſonable part of the ſoule, when it pulleth the ſame backe, bringeth that which they call repentance of ſins, & the ſhame after unlawfull and prohibited pleaſures, which is a griefe and remorſe of the ſoule reſtrained and brideled by that which governeth and commandeth it, untill ſuch time as being thus rebuked and chaſtiſed, it become obedient and tractable like unto a beaſt made tame without beating or tormenting, as quickely and readily conceiving the ſignes and markes which the Dæmon ſheweth. Theſe therefore, at the laſt (long and late though it be) are ranged to the rule of reaſon. But of ſuch as are obedient at the firſt, and preſently from their very nativity hearken unto their proper Dæmon, are all the kind of prophets and divinors, who have the gift to foretell things to come, likewiſe holy and devout men: Of which number you have hard how the ſoule of *Hermodorus* the Clazomenian, was wont to abandon his body quite, and both by day and night to wander into many places: and afterwards to returne into it againe, having beene preſent the while to heare and ſee many things done and ſaid a farre off: which it uſed ſo long, untill his enimies by the treachery of his wife, ſurpriſed his body one time when the ſoule was gone out of it, and burnt it in his houſe. Howbeit, this was not true: for his ſoule never departed out of his body: but the ſame being alwaies obedient unto his Dæmon, and ſlacking the bond unto it, gave it meanes and liberty to run up and downe, and to walke to and fro in many places, in ſuch ſort, as having ſeene and hard many things abroad, it would come and report the ſame unto him: But thoſe that conſumed his body as he lay aſleepe, are tormented in *Tartarus* even at this day for it: which you ſhall know your ſelfe, good yong man, more certainely within theſe three moneths (quoth that voice) and for this time ſee you depart. When this voice had made an end of ſpeaking, *Timarchus*, as he told the tale himſelfe, turned about to ſee who it was that ſpake; but feeling a great paine againe in his head, as if it had bene violently preſſed and cruſhed, he was deprived of all ſenſe and underſtanding, and neither knew himſelfe nor any thing about him: But within a while after when he was come unto himſelfe, he might ſee how he lay along at the entry of the foreſaid cave of *Trophonius*, like as he had himſelfe at the beginning. And thus much concerning the fable of *Timarchus*: who being returned to *Athens*, in the third moneth after, juſt as the voice foretold him, departed this life. And then we woondred heereat, and made report thereof backe to *Socrates*; who rebuked and chid us, for ſaying nothing to him of it, whiles *Timarchus* was alive; for that he would willingly himſelfe have heard him more particularly, and examined every point at the full. Thus you have heard, *Theocritus*, a mingled tale and hiſtorie together of *Timarchus*: But ſee whether we ſhall not be faine to call for this ſtrangers helpe, to the deciſion of this queſtion: for verie proper and meet it is for to be diſcuſſed by ſuch devout and religious men. And why (quoth *Theanor*) doth not *Epaminondas* deliver his opinion thereof, being a man trained up, and inſtituted in the ſame diſcipline and ſchoole with us. Then my father ſmiling at the matter: This is his nature (quoth he) my good friend, he loveth to be ſilent, and wary he is what he ſpeaketh, but woonderfull deſirous to learne, and inſatiable of hearing others. And heereupon *Spintharus* the Tarentine, who converſed familiarly with him heere a long time, was woont to give out this ſpeech of him; That he had never talked with a man, who knew more, and ſpake leſſe than he. But tell us now what you thinke your ſelfe, of that which hath beene ſaid. For mine owne part (quoth he) I ſaie, that this diſcourſe and report of *Timarchus*, as ſacred and inviolable, ought to be conſecrated unto God: and marvell I would, if any ſhould diſcredit and hardly beleeve that which *Simmias* himſelfe hath delivered of him; and when they name ſwans, dragons, dogs, and horſes, ſacred, beleeve not that there be men celeſtiall and beloved of the gods, conſidering they hold and ſay, that God is never φιλορνις, that is to ſay, a lover of birds, but φιλανθρωπος, that is to ſay, a lover of mankinde. Like as therefore a man who is ſaid to be *Phylippos*, that is to ſay, a lover of horſes, taketh not a fancie, nor regardeth alike all horſes, compriſed under the whole kinde, but chuſing alwaies ſome one more excellent than the reſt, rideth, cheriſheth, and maketh much of him eſpecially: even ſo, thoſe divine ſpirits which ſurmount our nature, make choiſe and take as it were out of the whole flocke the beſt of us, upon whom they ſet their brand or marke, and them they thinke woorthy of a more ſingular and exquiſite education, and thoſe they order and direct not with reines and bridles, but with reaſon and learning, and that by ſignes, whereof the common and raſcall ſort have no knowledge nor experience. For neither doe ordinary hounds underſtand the ſignes that huntſmen uſe, nor every horſe, the ſiſling and chirting of the eſcuirry, but ſuch onely as have beene taught and brought up to it; for they with the leaſt whiſtling and houping that is, know preſently what they are commanded to do, and quickly be ordered as they ought. And verily, *Homer* ſeemeth not to be ignorant of this difference, whereof we ſpeake: for of divinors and ſoothſaiers, ſome he calleth οἰωνοπόλους, that is to ſay, authours, or obſervers of birds; others, ἱερεῖς, that is to ſay, bowel-priers, that ſpie into the inwards of ſacrifices; and ſome againe there be, who hearing and knowing what the gods themſelves do ſpeake, are able to declare ſecretly and foretell things to come; as may appeare by theſe verſes:

> *King* Priams *deere ſonne* Helenus,
> *their minde ſoone underſtood,*
> *And what this god and goddeſſe both*
> *in counſell deemed good.*

And a little after:

> *For thus I heard the gods to ſay,*
> *Who as immortall live for ay.*

For like as they who are without, and not of the domeſticall and neere acquaintance of kings, princes and generall captaines, do know and underſtand their willes & minds by the meanes of certeine firelights, ſound of trumpets and proclamations; but to their faithfull, truſty and familiar friends they ſpeake by word of mouth: even ſo, God communeth and talketh with few, and that very ſeldome; but unto the common ſort he giveth ſignes, and of theſe conſiſteth the arte of divination: for the gods receive very few men in recommendation for to adorne their lives, but thoſe onely whom they are diſpoſed to make exceeding happy and divine indeed: and thoſe ſoules which be delivered from farther generation, and are for ever after at libertie and diſmiſſed free from the bodie, become afterwards Dæmons, and take the charge and care of men, according as *Heſiodus* ſaith. For like as champions, who otherwiſe heretofore have made profeſſion of wreſtling and other exerciſes of the bodie, after they have given over the practiſe thereof, by reaſon of their olde age, leave not altogether the deſire of glorie by that meanes, nor caſt off the affection in cheriſhing the bodie, but take pleaſure ſtill to ſee other yoong men to exerciſe their bodies, exhorting and encouraging them thereto, yea, and enforcing themſelves to runne in the race with them: even ſo, they that are paſt the combats & travels of this life, and through the vertue of their ſoules come to be Dæmons, deſpiſe not utterly the affaires, the ſpeeches and ſtudies of thoſe that be here, but being favorable unto them who in their good endevors aſpire to the ſame end that they have atteined to, yea, and after a ſort, banding and ſiding with them, do incite and exhort them to vertue, eſpecially when they ſee them neere unto the ends of their hopes, and ready in maner to touch the ſame. For this divine power of Dæmons, will not ſort and be acquainted with every man indifferently, but like as they who ſtand upon the ſhore, can do no other good unto them who ſwim farre within the ſea, and a great way from the land, but looke upon them and ſay nothing; but to ſuch as are neere to the ſea ſide, they runne, and for their ſakes, wading a little into the ſea, helpe both with hand and voice, and ſo ſave them from drowning: even ſo (*Simmias*) dealeth the Dæmon with us; for ſo long as wee are plunged and drowned within mundane affaires, and change many bodies, as it were ſo many waggons and chariots, paſſing out of one into another, it ſuffereth us to ſtrive and labour of our ſelves, yea, and by our owne patience and long ſufferance to ſave our ſelves, and gaine the haven: but when there is a ſoule, which hath already by innumerable generations ſupported and endured long travels, and having in maner performed her courſe and revolution, ſtraineth all her might and maine, with much ſwet to get forth and aſcend up: to it God envieth not her owne proper Dæmon and familiar ſpirit to be aſſiſtant, yea, and giveth leave to any other whatſoever, that is willing thereto. Now one is deſirous and ready alwaies to helpe and ſecond another, yea, and forward to promote the ſafetie thereof: the ſoule alſo for her part, giveth good eare, becauſe ſhe is ſo nere, and in the end is ſaved; but ſhe that obeieth not nor hearkeneth to her owne familiar & proper dæmon as forſaken of it, ſpeedeth not wel in the end. This ſaid, *Epaminondas* looking toward me: It is high time, *Caphiſias*, for you (quoth he) to go into the wreſtling ſchoole and place of exerciſe, to the end that you diſappoint not your companions: meane while, we (when it ſhall be thought good to diſſolve and diſmiſſe this meeting) will take the charge of *Theanor*. Then ſaid I, Be it ſo: but I ſuppoſe, that *Theocritus*, together with *Galaxidorus* & my ſelfe, is willing to commune and reaſon with you a little. In good time (quoth he) let them ſpeake their minde and what they will. With that, he roſe up and tooke us apart into a winding and turning corner of the gallery, where we came about him, and began to perſwade and deale with him for to take part with us in the enterpriſe. He made us anſwere, That he knew well enough the day when the baniſhed perſons were to returne; and had taken order with his friends to be ready againſt the time with *Gorgidas*, and to embrace the opportunity thereof: howbeit, they were not determined to take away the life of any one citizen, not condemned by order of law, unleſſe ſome urgent neceſſitie enforced them thereto. And otherwiſe, it were very meet and expedient for the comminaltie of *Thebes*, that there ſhould be ſome not culpable of this maſſacre, but innocent and cleare of all that then ſhall be committed; for ſo theſe men will be leſſe ſuſpected of the people, and be thought to counſell and exhort them for the beſt. We thought very well of this advice of his, and ſo he repaired againe to *Simmias*; and we went downe to the place of publicke exerciſes, where we met with our friends; and there we dealt one with another apart, as we wreſtled together, queſtioning about one thing or another, and telling this or that, every one preparing himſelfe to the execution of the deſſigne: and there we might ſee ***Archias*** and ***Philippus*** all anointed and oiled going toward the feaſt. For ***Phyllidas*** fearing that they would make haſte and put *Amphitheus* to death, ſo ſoone as ever hee had accompanied *Lyſanoridas* and ſent him away, tooke *Archias* with him, feeding him with hope to enjoy the lady whom he deſired, and promiſing that ſhe ſhould be at the feaſt: whereby he perſwaded him to minde no other thing, but to ſolace himſelfe and make merry with thoſe who were woont to roiſt and riot with him. By this time it drew toward night, the weather grew to be colde, and the winde roſe high, which cauſed every man with more ſpeed to retire and take houſe. I for my part, meeting with *Damoclidas*, *Pelopidas* and *Theopompus*, enterteined them; and others did the like to the reſt. For after that theſe baniſhed perſons were paſſed over the mountaine ***Cythæra***, they parted themſelves; and the coldneſſe of the weather gave them good occaſion (without all ſuſpition) to cover their faces, and ſo to paſſe along the city undiſcovered. And ſome of them there were, who as they entred the gates of the city, perceived it to lighten on their right hand without thunder, which they tooke for a good preſage of ſafetie and glorie in their proceedings, as if this ſigne betokened, that the execution of their deſignment ſhould be lightſome and honourable, but without any danger at all. Now when we were all entred in, and ſafe within houſe, to the number of eight and fortie, as ***Theocritus*** was ſacrificing apart in a little oratorie or chappell by himſelfe, he heard a great rapping and bouncing at the doore: and anon there was one came and brought him word, that two halberds of *Archias* guard knocked at the outward gate, as being ſent in great haſte to *Charon*, commanding to open them the doore, as greatly offended that they had ſtaied ſo long. Whereat *Charon* being troubled in minde, commanded that they ſhould be let in preſently: who meeting them within the court with a coronet upon his head, as having newly ſacrificed unto the gods, and made good cheere, demanded of theſe halberds, what they would. *Archias* and *Philippus* (ſay they) have ſent us, willing and charging you with all ſpeed to repaire unto them. Why, what is the matter (quoth *Charon*) that they ſhould ſend for me in ſuch haſte at this time of the night, and what great newes is there? We know not, ſaid theſe ſergeants; but what word would you have us to carry backe unto them? Mary, tell them (quoth he) that I will caſt off my chaplet, and put on another robe, and preſently follow after: for if I ſhould goe with you, it might be an occaſion of trouble, and moove ſome to ſuſpect that you lead me away to priſon. You ſay wel, anſwered the officers againe, do even ſo; for we muſt goe another way to thoſe ſouldiers that watch and ward without the city, and deliver unto them a commandement from the head magiſtrates and rulers. Thus departed they. With that, *Charon* returned to us, and made relation of theſe newes; which ſtrucke us into our dumps, and put us in a great affright, ſuppoſing for certeine, that we were betraied, and our plot detected: moſt of the company ſuſpected *Hippoſthenidas*, for that he went about to impeach the returne of the exiled perſons, by the meanes of *Chlidon*, whom he meant to ſend unto them: who ſeeing that he miſſed of his purpoſe, by all likelihood, upon a fearefull and timorous heart, might reveale our conſpiracie, now when it was come to the very point of execution: for come hee was not with others into the houſe where we were all aſſembled: and to be ſhort, there was not one of us all, that judged better of him than of a wicked and trecherous traitor: howbeit, we agreed all in this, that *Charon* ſhould go thither as he was commanded, and in any wiſe obey the magiſtrates who had ſent for him.

Then he commanding (ô *Archidamus*) his owne ſonne to be preſent, a ſtripling about fifteene yeeres of age, and the faireſt youth in all the city of *Thebes*, very laborious and affectionate to bodily exerciſes; and for ſtature and ſtrength, ſurpaſſing all his fellowes and companions of that age; made this ſpeech unto us: My maſters and friends, this is my ſonne and onely child, whom I love entirely, as you may well thinke; him I deliver into your hands, beſeeching you in the name of the gods and all ſaints in heaven, that if you finde any perfidious treacherie by me againſt you, to doe him to death and not ſpare him. And now I humbly pray you, moſt valiant and hardy knights, prepare your ſelves reſolutely againſt the laſt feaſt that ever theſe tyrants ſhall make: abandon not, for want of courage, your bodies to be villanouſly outraged and ſpoiled by theſe moſt leud and wicked perſons, but be revenged of them, and now ſhew your invincible hearts, in the behalfe of your countrey. When *Charon* had delivered theſe words, there was not one of us all but highly commended his magnanimitie and loialtie; but we were angry with him, in that he doubted of us that we had him in ſuſpition and diſtruſt; and therefore willed him to have away his ſonne with him. And more than that, me thinks (quoth *Pelopidas*) you have not done well and wiſely for us, in that you ſent him not before to ſome other houſe: for what reaſon or neceſſitie is there, that he ſhould either periſh or come into perill, being found with us? and yet it is time enough to convey him away, that in caſe it fall out with us otherwiſe than well, he may grow up after his kinde, for to be revenged of theſe tyrants another day. It ſhall not be ſo, quoth *Charon*; he ſhall even ſtay here, and take ſuch part of fortune as we ſhall do: and beſides, it were no part of honeſty or honour, to leave him in danger of our enemies: And therefore, my good ſonne (quoth he) take a good heart and a reſolute, even above theſe yeeres of thine, enter in Gods name into theſe hazzards and trials that be thus neceſſarie, together with many valiant and hardy citizens, for the maintenance of liberty and vertue. And even yet, great hope we have, that good ſucceſſe will follow, and that ſome bleſſed angell will regard and take in protection thoſe who adventure thus for righteouſneſſe and juſtice ſake. Many of us there were (*Archidamus*) whoſe teares trickled downe their cheeks, to heare *Charon* deliver theſe words; but himſelfe being inflexible and not relenting one jote, with an undanted heart, a ſetled countenance, and eies ſtill drie, put his ſonne into *Pelopidas* hands, embraced every one of us, ſhooke us by the hands, and ſo encouraging us to proceed, went forth of the doores. Woonderfull was this; but much more you would have woondred, to have ſeene the alacrity, cheerefull and conſtant reſolution of his ſonne, as if he had beene another *Neoptolemus*, who never looked pale, nor changed colour for the matter, notwithſtanding ſo great danger preſented; neither was he one jote aſtond: but contrariwiſe, drew forth *Pelopidas* ſword out of his ſcabberd, to ſee and trie whether it was keene enough.

Whiles theſe matters thus paſſed, there comes towards us *Diotonus*, one of *Cephiſodorus* friends, with a ſword by his ſide, and a good cuiraſon of ſteele under his robe, who having heard that *Charon* was ſent for to come to *Archias*, blamed much our long delay, & whetned us on to go forthwith to the tyrants houſes: For in ſo doing (quoth he) we ſhall prevent them, by comming ſuddenly upon them: if not, yet better were it for us, to ſet upon them without dores, ſeparate one from another, and not all in one plumpe, than to ſtay for them, encloſed all within one parlour, and be there taken by our enemies, like a ſwarme of bees, and have all our throats cut. In like maner *Theocritus* the divinor, urged us to make haſte, ſaying, that all the ſignes of ſacrifices were good, and preſaged happy ſucceſſe with all ſecurity. Whereupon we began on all hands to take armes, and to prepare our ſelves: by which time, *Charon* was returned to us, with a merrie and cheerefull countenance: who ſmiling and looking upon us: Be of good chere (quoth he) my maſters and friends, all is well: there is no danger, and our affaire proceedeth well: for *Archias* and *Philippus*, ſo ſoone as they heard that I was come, upon their ſending for me, being already well cup-ſhotten, and halfe drunke with wine, ſo as both their minds and bodies were very farre out of tune; with much adoe they roſe from the boord, and came foorth to the dore unto me: Now *Charon*, quoth *Archias*, we heare that our baniſhed men lie lurking here within the citie, being ſecretly and by ſtealth entred into it. Whereat I ſeeming to be much amazed: Where (quoth I) are they ſaid to be, and who? That we know not (quoth *Archias*, and that is the cauſe why we ſent for you, to come before us, if haply you have heard any thing of it more certeinly. Heereupon I remaining for a while as one ſomewhat aſtonied and penſive, comming againe to my ſelfe, began thus to thinke, that this muſt needs be ſome headleſſe rumour, and ariſing from no good ground, nor certeine author; neither was it like to be any one of them that were privy to the complot who had diſcovered it, becauſe they would not then have beene ignorant of the houſe where they were aſſembled, and therefore it could not chuſe but be ſome blinde brute blowen abroad through the citie, and come to their eares. So I ſaid unto him, that during the life of *Androclides*, we had heard many ſuch flying tales, and vaine falſe rumors that ranne about the city and troubled us. But now (quoth he) ô *Archias*, I have heard no ſuch thing: howbeit, if it pleaſe you to command me, I will enquire and hearken farther into the thing, and if I find any matter of importance, I will come and enforme you of it. It is well ſaid of you (quoth *Phyllidas*: and it were very good *Charon*, that in theſe caſes you be very inquiſitive, and leave nothing unſearched: for why ſhould we be careleſſe and negligent in any thing, but rather it behooveth us to be circumſpect, and to looke about us on every ſide: providence in theſe caſes is very requiſite, and good it is to make all ſure: and when he had ſo ſaid, he tooke *Archias* and had him into the parlour, where they be now drinking hard: and therefore my good friends, let us ſtay no longer; but after we have made our praiers unto the gods, for our good ſpeed, go about our buſineſſe. *Charon* had no ſooner ſaid this, but we praied unto the gods for their aſſiſtance, and encouraged one another to the enterpriſe. It was the very juſt time, when all men uſe to be at ſupper: and the whiſtling winde ariſing ſtil more & more, had brought ſome ſnow or ſleet, mingled with a driſling raine, ſo as there was not one perſon to be ſeene in the ſtreets as we paſſed along. Thoſe therefore who were appointed to aſſaile *Leontidas* and *Hippates*, who dwelt neere together, went out in their cloakes, having no other armes or weapons, but ech of them their ſwords, and thoſe were *Pelopidas*, *Democlidas*, and *Cephiſodorus*: But *Charon*, *Melon*, and others, ordeined to ſet upon *Archis*, had their breſtplates or demy-cuiraces before them, and upon their heads thicke chaplets, ſome of firre, others of the pine or pitch tree branches: and part of them were clad in womens apparell, counterfeiting drunken perſons, as if they were come in a maſke and mummerie with their women. And that which more is, ô *Archidamus*, fortune alſo making the beaſtly cowardiſe and ſottiſh ignorance of our enemies equall to our hardineſſe, and reſolute preparations, and having diverſified and diſtinguiſhed even from the beginning our enterpriſe, like a plaie or enterlude, with many dangerous intercurrents, was aſſiſtant & ran with us, at the very point and upſhot of the execution thereof, preſenting unto us, even then a doubtfull & dangerous occurrent, of a moſt ſudden & unexpected accident: for when *Charon* after he had talked with *Archias* & *Philippus*, was returned to the houſe, and had diſpoſed us in order, for to go in hand with the execution of our deſſignment; there was brought from hence a letter written by *Archias* the high-prieſt heere among you, unto that *Archias* his old hoaſt and friend, which declared unto him (as it ſhould ſeeme) by all likelihood, the returne of the baniſhed, and the ſurpriſe which they were about, the houſe alſo wherein they were aſſembled, and all the complices who were of the conſpiracy. *Archias* being by this time drenched and drowned in wine, and beſides that, tranſported and paſt himſelfe, with the expectation of the women, whoſe comming he attended, albeit the meſſenger that brought the letter, ſaid it contained ſerious affaires, of great conſequence, yet he onely received it, and made no other anſwer but this: What telleſt thou me of ſerious affaires; we ſhall thinke of them to morrow; and with that, put the letters under the pillow, whereon he leaned, calling for the pot againe, and commanding that it ſhould be filled; ſending *Phyllidas* ever and anon to the dore, to ſee if the women were yet comming. Thus whiles this hope enterteined and held the feaſt, we came upon them, and paſſed along through the ſervitours unto to the very hall or parlour, where they were at ſupper, and there we ſtaied a while at the dore, eying and viewing every one of them as they ſat about the table. Now the ſight of thoſe chaplets and garlands which we ware upon our heads, and of the womens apparell, which ſome of us were dreſſed in, deceived them a little upon our firſt comming, in ſuch ſort, as for a while there enſued ſilence, untill ſuch time as *Melon* firſt laying hand upon his ſword hilt, ruſhed into the middes of the place: with that, *Cabirichus Cyamiſtos* who was Archon for the time, tooke him by the arme as he paſſed by, and held him backe, crying out withall: *Phyllidas*, Is not this *Melon*? but *Melon* ſhaking him off ſo, as he left his hold, drew foorth his ſword withall, and ranne upon *Archias*, who being hardly able to riſe, he gave not over untill he had killed outright in the place. *Charon* then ſet upon *Philippus*, whom he wounded in the necke, and notwithſtanding that he defended himſelfe with the pots that ſtood about him upon the table, yet *Lyſitheus* mounting upon the boord, laied him along on the floore, and there under-foot diſpatched him. As for *Cabirichus* we ſpake him faire, and entreated him not to take part with the tyrants, but to joine with us, in delivering our native countrey from tyranny, as he was a ſacroſaint magiſtrate, and conſecrated unto the gods for the good and ſafetie of the commonwealth. But being not eaſily induced to hearken unto reaſon, and that which was moſt expedient for him, becauſe he was little better than halfe drunke; he hanging ſtill in doubtfull ſuſpence and perplexitie, aroſe up on his feet, and preſented unto us his javelin, with the head forward, which by the cuſtome of the place, the Provoſts with us, ever goe withall: whereupon I caught hold of the javelin in the middes, and held it over my head, crying unto him, to let it goe, and ſave himſelfe; or elſe he ſhould die for it. In this meane while, *Theopompus* ſtanding on his right ſide, ranne him through with his ſword, ſaying withall: There lie thou alſo together with them whom thou haſt flattered and ſoothed up: for it were not beſeeming thee to weare a coronet and garland when *Thebes* is ſet free, nor to offer any more ſacrifice to the gods, before whom thou haſt curſed thy countrey, by making praiers ſo often for the proſperity of her enemies. When *Cabirichus* was fallen downe dead, *Theocritus* who ſtood by, caught up the ſacred javelin, and drew it out of the bloud that there was ſhed. This maſſacre being done, ſome few of the ſervants, who durſt interpoſe themſelves, and come betweene for the defence of thoſe uſurpers, we ſlew; but as many as were quiet, and ſtirred not, we ſhut up within a chamber, where men are wont to keepe; being not willing that they ſhould get foorth, and goe to publiſh throughout the city what was done, before we knew how the world went with others.

Thus you heare how this chare was done. As for *Pelopidas* and his traine, they came to the utmoſt gate of *Leontidas*, where they knocked as ſoftly, as they thither came gently and with ſilence, and to one of the ſervants who heard them knocke, & demanded who was there, they anſwered, That they were come from *Athens*, and brought letters unto *Leontidas* from *Caliſtratus*. The ſervitour went and told his maſter ſo much, who being commanded to ſet open the gate, unbarred and unbolted it; the gate no ſooner yeelded from them a little, but they ruſhed in all at once with violence, bare downe the man and laid him along, ran a pace through the court and hall and ſo directly paſſed to the bed chamber of *Leontidas*: who preſently ſuſpecting what the matter was, drew his dagger, & put himſelfe forward to make reſiſtance & to ſtand upon his defence. unjuſt he was no doubt & tyrannicall, howbeit otherwiſe a tall man of his hands, and of a couragious ſtomacke: yet forgat he to overthrow the lampe, & put out the light, and in the darke to intermingle himſelfe with thoſe who came to aſſault him, and ſo haply to get a way from them; but being eſpied by them, ſo ſoone as ever the doore was open, he ſtabbed *Cephiſodorus* in the very flanke under the ſhort ribs: and then incountring with *Pelopidas* who would have entred ſecond into the chamber, he cried out aloud and called to his ſervants for helpe: but *Samidas* with others about him kept them backe, and otherwiſe of themſelves they durſt not meddle nor hazard their lives to deale with the nobleſt perſons of the city, and thoſe who for ſtrength and valour were knowen to ſurpaſſe the reſt. So there was a ſcuffling and ſtiſe combat betweene *Pelopidas* and *Leontidas*, in the very portall of the chamber dore, which was but narrow, where *Cephiſodorus* fell downe in the midſt betweene them ready to die, ſo that others could not come in to ſuccor *Pelopidas*: At the laſt when our friend *Pelopidas* had received a little wound in his head, but given *Leontidas* many a one, he overthrew him and ſlew him upon the body of *Cephiſodorus*, who being yet warme and not fully dead, ſaw his enimy fall, and therewith putting forth his right hand to *Pelopidas*, and bidding all the reſt adew, he joifully yeelded up his breath. When they had diſpatched this buſineſſe, they turned immediately from thence to *Hypates* houſe, and when the doore was likewiſe ſet open for them, the killed him alſo, as he thought to eſcape, and fled by the roofe of the houſe unto his neighbours. Which done, they returned with ſpeed directly unto us, whom they found abroad at a gallery called *Polyſtylon*. After we had ſaluted and embraced one another & talked a litle all together, we went ſtraight to the common goale; where *Phyllidas* having called forth the goaler: *Archias* (quoth he) and *Philippus* command you with all ſpeed to bring your priſoner *Amphitheus* unto them. The goaler conſidering that it was an unreaſonable houre, and withall perceiving that *Phyllidas* in his ſpeeches was not very well ſtaied, but that he was yet chafed and panted ſtill unquietly upon the freſh fray that he had beene at, doubting and ſuſpecting a skirmiſh: When was it ever ſeene (quoth he) ô *Phyllidas*, that the Polemarchy or chiefe captaines ſent for a priſoner at this time of the night? when by you? and what token or watchword bring you from them? As the goaler reaſoned thus, *Phyllidas* made no more adoe, but with an horſemans ſtaffe or launce that he had in his hand, ranne him through the ſides, and laied him dead on the ground, wicked wretch that he was, whom the next morrow, many a woman trampled under their feet, and ſpit in his face as he lay. Then brake we the priſon dore open, and firſt called by name unto *Amphitheus*, and afterwards to others, according as each of them was of our acquaintance and familiarity; who hearing and knowing our voices leapt out of their pallets upon their feete, and willingly drew their chaines and irons after them: but ſuch as had their feet faſt in the ſtockes, ſtretched forth their hands and cried unto us, beſeeching they might not be left behinde: and whiles we were buſie in ſetting them looſe, many of the neighbours by this time who dwelt neere and perceived what was done, were run forth already into the ſtreets with glad and joifuil hearts. The very women alſo, as any of them heard ought of their acquaintance, without regard of obſerving the cuſtome and maner of the Bœotians, ran out of dores one unto another, and demanded of every one whom they met in the ſtreet, what newes? And as many of them as light either upõ their fathers or husbands, followed them as they went, and no man impeached them in ſo doing: for the pitifull commiſeration, the teares, praiers, and ſupplications, eſpecially of honeſt and chaſt wives, were in this caſe very effectuall, and moved men to regard them. When things were brought to this paſſe, ſo ſoone as we heard, that *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* with other friends, were now aſſembled within the temple of *Minerva*, we went directly unto them, and thither repaired alſo many honeſt citizens and men of quality, flocking ſtill more and more in great frequencie. Now after relation was made unto them how al things ſped, & that they were requeſted to aſſiſt us in the performance and execution of that which was behind, and for that purpoſe to meet all together in the common market place, incontinently they ſet up a ſhout, and cried unto the citizens, *Liberty, liberty*, diſtributing armes and weapons among as many as came to joine with them: which they tooke forth of the temples and halles, being full of the ſpoiles of al ſorts, won from enimies in times paſt, as alſo out of the armorers, furbuſhers, and cutlers ſhops there adjoining. Thither came *Hippoſthenidas* likewiſe with a troupe of friends and ſervants, bringing thoſe trumpetters with him, who were by chaunce come to the city againſt the feaſt of *Hercules*: and immediatly ſome ſounded the al'arm in the market place, and others in all parts of the city beſides, and all-to aſtoniſh and affright thoſe of the adverſe part, as if the whole city were revolted, and had riſen againſt them: who making a great ſmoake, for the nonce in the ſtreets, becauſe they would not be deſcried, put themſelves within the caſtle *Cadmea*, drawing with them thoſe choiſe ſoldiers called Κρειττονες, that is to ſay, the better, who were wont uſually to ward all night and keepe a ſtanding corps de guard about the ſaid caſtle. Now thoſe who were above in the ſaid fort, ſeeing their owne captaine to run ſo diſorderly and in great affright, and to make haſt to get in, perceiving alſo from above, how we were gathered together about the market place in armes; and no part of the city quiet, but full of tumult, uprores and garboiles, whereof the noiſe aſcended up unto them, durſt not adventure to come downe, though they were to the number of five thouſand, as fearing the preſent danger: but pretended for their excuſe the abſence of *Lyſanoridas* their captaine, who was ever wont to remaine with them, but onely that day, which was the cauſe that afterwards as we have heard, the Lacedæmonians making meanes by a peece of money, to apprehend him in *Corinth*, whether he was retired, and immediately put him to death: but upon compoſition and ſafe conduct, they delivered up the caſtle into our hands, and departed with all the ſoldiers in it.

OF THE MALICE OF *HERODOTUS.*

The Summarie.

Plutarch *conſidering in what credit and requeſt* Herodotus *the Hiſtoriographer was, who in many places of his bookes, which are at this day extant in our hands, defameth divers ſtates and honorable perſons of* Greece, *is minded heere in this treatiſe to arme as it were and prepare the readers againſt all ſuch falſe ſuggeſtions and imputations: and in the very entry of his diſcourſe, accuſeth* Herodotus *of malice and leaſing. For proofe of this challenge he ſetteth downe certaine markes, whereby a man may diſcerne a ſlanderous writer from a ſage and diſcreet Hiſtoriographer. Which done, he applieth the ſaid markes unto* Herodotus, *ſhewing by a number of examples drawen out of his ſtories and narrations, that often times he uſeth odious words, when as others more milde and gentle were as ready for him to uſe: that he deſcribeth an evill matter, when as there was no need to make mention thereof: that he taketh pleaſure to ſpeake ill & to raile: that among praiſes, he inſerteth the bitter blames of one and the ſame perſonage: and in recounting one thing two maner of waies and more, he reſteth alwaies in the worſe, and imputeth worthy deeds and brave exploits unto diſordinate and irregular paſſions, and ſo after an oblique maner doth the perſons injury. So that this treatiſe teacheth as well the writers of hiſtories, to looke well about themſelves, and ſtand upon their guard, leſt they be eſteemed, ſlanderous, fooliſh and impudent: as alſo the readers to carry with them a pure and ſincere judgement, for to make their profit by thoſe bookes, which they take in hand to read.*

OF THE MALICE of *Herodotus*

Many men there be, ô *Alexander*, whom the ſtile & phraſe of *Herodotus* the Hiſtoriographer (becauſe it ſeemeth unto them plaine, ſimple, naturall, and running ſmoothly upon the matters which he delivereth) hath much deceived: but more there are, who have bene caught and brought into the ſame errour, by his maners and behaviour. For it is not onely extreame injuſtice, as *Plato* ſaid, to ſeeme juſt and righteous, when a man is nothing leſſe, but alſo an act of malice in the higheſt degree, to counterfait mildeneſſe and ſimplicity, and under that pretence and colour, to be covertly moſt bitter and malicious. Now for that he ſheweth this ſpight of his againſt the Bœotians and Corinthians eſpecially, although he ſpareth not any others whatſoever, I thought it my part and duty doe defend heerein the honor of our anceſters in the behalfe of trueth, againſt this onely part of his writings, and no more. For to purſue and goe thorow all other lies and forged tales of his, diſperſed in that hiſtorie, would require many great volumes. But as *Sophocles* ſaid:

Of eloquence the flattering face,
Prevaileth much and winneth grace,

eſpecially when it meeteth with a tongue which is pleaſant, and carieth ſuch a force, as to cover among other vices, the malicious nature of an Hiſtoriographer. *Philip* king of *Macedonie* was woont to ſay unto thoſe Greeks who revolted from his alliance, and ſided with *Titus Quintius*, that they had changed their former chaines, and given them for others, that were indeed more poliſhed; howbeit longer a faire deale. Even ſo a man may ſay, that the malignitie of *Herodotus* is ſmoother and more delicate than that of *Theopompus*, but it toucheth neerer to the quicke, and ſtingeth more; like as the windes are more ſharpe and piercing, which blow through a narrow ſtreight or cloſe glade, than ſuch as are ſpred more at large. I thinke therefore that I ſhall doe very well, firſt to deſcribe generally, and as it were in groſſe, the tracts and marks as it were of a narration which is not pure, ſincere, and friendly, but ſpightfull and malicious, for to apply the ſame afterwards to ech point that we ſhall examine, and ſee whether they doe agree fitly thereto.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, he that uſeth the moſt odious nownes and verbs, when there be others at hand more milde and gentle, for to expreſſe things done: as for example; whereas he might ſay, that *Nicias* was very ceremonious, and ſomewhat ſuperſtitiouſly given; reporteth that he was fanaticall; and chuſeth rather to chalenge *Cleon* for raſh audacitie, and furious madneſſe, than for light and vaine ſpeech: ſurely he carieth not a good and gentle minde, but taketh pleaſure to make a narration in the woorſt maner.

Secondly, when there is ſome vice otherwiſe in a man, which apperteineth not unto the hiſtory, and yet the writer catcheth hold thereof, and will needs thruſt it into the narration of thoſe affaires which require it not, drawing his hiſtorie from the matter, fetching a compaſſe about, after an extravagant maner, and all to bring in either the infortunitie or unhappy accident, or elſe ſome abſurd and ſhamefull act of a man: it is very evident that ſuch an one delighteth in reprochfull and evill language. And therefore contrariwiſe, *Thucydides*, howſoever *Cleon* committed an infinite number of groſſe and foule faults, yet he never traduced him openly for them in his writings. And as touching the buſie oratour *Hyperbolus*, he glanced at him onely by the way, terming him a naughtie man, and ſo let him goe. *Philiſtus* likewiſe paſſed over all the outrages and wrongs (many though they were) of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, which he offered unto the barbarous nations, ſo long as they were not interlaced among the affaires of the Greeks. For the digreſſions & excurſions of an hiſtory, are allowed, principally for ſome fables or antiquities. Moreover, he who amõg the praiſes of ſome great perſonages, thruſteth in ſome matter tending to reproch & blame, ſeemeth to incurre the malediction of the tragicall Poet,

Curſed be thou, that lov'ſt a roll to have,
Of mens miſhaps, who now lie dead in grave.

Furthermore, that which is equipollent and reciprocall thereto, every man knoweth, that the leaving out and paſſing over quite of ſome good qualitie, or laudable fact, ſeemeth not to be a thing reprehenſible and ſubject to account, though done it were maliciouſly, and the ſame were left out in ſome ſuch place as perteined well to the traine of the hiſtorie: for to commend a man coldly and after an unwilling maner, ſavoreth no more of civilitie, than to blame him affectionately; and beſides that, it is nothing more civill, it ſmelleth haply more of malice, and of the twaine is woorſe.

The fourth ſigne of a malicious nature in an hiſtorian, in my account is this: when one and the ſame thing is interpreted or reported two waies, or more, to encline unto the harder conſtruction. For permitted it is unto Sophiſters and Rhetoricians, either for to gaine their fee, or to winne the name and reputation of eloquence, otherwhiles to take in hand for to defend and adorne the woorſe cauſe; becauſe they imprint not deepely any credit or beliefe of that which they deliver: and they themſelves doe not deny, that they undertake to proove things incredible, even againſt the common opinion of men. But he that compoſeth an hiſtorie, doeth his part and devoir, if he writeth that which he knoweth to be true: but of matters doubtfull, obſcure, and uncerteine, thoſe which are better ſeeme to be reported more truely alwaies, than the worſe. And many there be, who omit quite and overpaſſe the worſe: as for example;

Ephorus having ſaid as touching *Themiſtocles*, that he was privy to the treaſon that *Pauſanias* plotted and practiſed, and what he treated with the lieutenants of the king of *Perſia*: Howbeit, he conſented not (quoth he) nor never could be induced to take part with him of thoſe hopes, whereto he did ſollicite him. And *Thucydides* left this matter wholly out of his ſtorie, as not acknowledging it to be true. Againe, in matters confeſſed to have beene done, but yet not knowen, for what cauſe, and upon what intention; he that gueſſeth and caſteth his conjecture in the woorſe part, is naught and maliciouſly minded: and thus did the comicall Poets, who gave out, that *Pericles* kindled the Peloponneſian warre, for the love the of courtiſan *Aſpaſia*, or elſe for *Phidias* ſake, and not rather upon an high minde and contention to take downe the pride of the Peloponneſians, & in no wiſe to give place unto the Lacedæmonians. For of arts approoved and laudable affaires, he that ſuppoſeth and ſetteth downe a leud and naughty cauſe, and by calumniations draweth men into extravagant ſuſpicions, of the hidden and ſecret intention of him who performed the act, which he is not able to reproove or blame openly: as they who report of *Alexander* the tyrants death, which dame *Thebe* his wife contrived, that it was not a deed of magnanimity, nor upon the hatred of wickedneſſe and vice, but proceeding from the paſſionate jealouſie of a woman: as alſo thoſe who ſay; that *Cato Uticenſis* killed himſelfe, fearing leſt *Cæſar* would execute him ſhamefully: theſe (I ſay) are envious and ſpightfull in the higheſt degree. Semblably, an hiſtoricall narration ſmelleth of malice, according as the maner of a worke or act done is related: as if it be put downe in writing, that it was by the meanes rather of money and corruption, than of vertue & valour, that ſome great exploit was performed, (as ſome there were who did not ſticke to ſay as much of *Philip*:) or elſe, that it was executed without any travel and danger, as others gave out of *Alexander* the Great: alſo not by forecaſt and wiſedome, but by the favour of fortune; like as the enviour and ill willer of *Timotheus*, who in painted tables repreſented the pourtrature of divers cities and townes, that of themſelves fell within the compaſſe of his net and toile, when he lay faſt aſleepe: evident it is, that it is that it tendeth to the empairing of the glorie, beautie, and greatneſſe of thoſe acts, when they take from them the magnanimity, vertue, and diligence of the authors, and give out they were not done and executed by themſelves. Over and beſides, thoſe who profeſſedly and directly ſpeake evill of one, incurre the imputation of quarrellers, raſh-headed and furious perſons, in caſe they keepe not within a meane: but ſuch as doe it after an oblique maner, as if they diſcharged bullets, or ſhot arrowes at one ſide from ſome blinde corner, charging ſurmiſes and ſuſpicions; and then to turne behinde and ſhift off all, by ſaying, they doe not beleeve any ſuch thing, which they deſire moſt of all to be beleeved, howſoever they diſclame all malice and evill will: over and beſides their cancred nature, they are ſteined with the note of notorious impudencie. Next neighbours unto theſe, are they, who among imputations and blames, adjoine certaine praiſes: as in the time of *Socrates*, one *Ariſtoxenus* having given him the termes of ignorant, untaught, diſſolute; came in with this afterwards: but true it is that he doeth no man wrong, and is woorſt to himſelfe: for like as they, who will cunningly and artificially flatter otherwhiles, among many and unmeaſurable praiſes, mingle ſome light reprehenſions, joining with their ſweet flatteries, (as it were ſome tart ſauce to ſeaſon them) certeine words frankly and freely ſpoken: even ſo the malicious perſon, becauſe he would haue that beleeved which he blameth, putteth thereto ſome little ſprinkling of a few praiſes. There may be exemplified and numbered many other ſignes and marks of malice: but theſe may ſuffice to give us to underſtand the nature and intention of this author whom now we have in hand.

Firſt and formoſt therefore to begin at heavenly wights, and as they ſay at *Veſta*, *Io* the daughter of *Inachus*, whom all the Greeks thinke to have bene deified and honored with divine honors by the barbarous nations, in ſuch ſort as that ſhe hath left her name to manie ſeas, and noble ports, in regard of her great glory and renowme; and opened the ſource (as it were) and original beginning of many right noble, moſt famous and roiall families; this our gentle Hiſtoriographer ſaith, that ſhe yeelded her ſelfe unto certaine marchants of *Phœnicia*, to be caried away, for that ſhe having bene defloured not againſt her will, by a maſter of a ſhip, feared leſt ſhe ſhould be ſpied great with child; and withall belieth the Phœnicians themſelves, as if they gave out as much of her. He reports himſelfe alſo to the teſtimony of the ſages and wiſe men of *Perſia*, that the Phœnicians raviſhed and caried her away with other women: ſhewing withall directly his opinion a little after, that the moſt noble and braveſt exploit that ever the Greeks atcheived, to wit, the war of *Troy*, was an enterpriſe begone in folly, for a leawd and naughty woman: for it is very apparent quoth he, that theſe women if they had not bene willing themſelves, they had never bene ſo raviſhed, and had away as they were. And therefore we may as well ſay that the gods did fooliſhly to ſhew themſelves angry and offended, with the Lacedæmonians for the abuſing of the daughters of *Scedaſus* the Leuctrian; as alſo to puniſh *Ajax*, for that he forced lady *Caſſandra*: for certeine it is according to *Herodotus*, that if they had not bene willing, they had never beene defloured: and yet himſelfe ſaith that *Ariſtomenes* was taken alive, and carted away by the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards *Philopœmen* captaine generall of the Achæans taſted the ſame fortune, and *Atilius Regulus* the conſull of the Romans, fell likewiſe into the hands of his enimies: all of them ſuch perſonages as hardly may be found more valiant and hardy warriors in the world. But what marvell is this, conſidering that men doe take leopards, and tygres alive? Now *Herodotus* blameth the poore women, who were by force abuſed, and defendeth thoſe wicked men who offered them that abuſe. Beſides, ſo much affected he is in love unto the Barbarous nations, that he will acquite & cleere *Buſirides* of that ill name which went of him, for ſlaying of his gueſts & ſacrificing men, and attributing unto all the Aegyptians by all his teſtimonies, much godlineſſe, religion and juſtice, returneth upon the Greeks this inhumaine and abhominable cruelty. For in his ſecond booke he writeth that *Menelaus* having received *Helena* at the hands of king *Proteus* his wife, and bene by him honored with great and rich preſents, ſhewed himſelfe againe a moſt unjuſt and wicked man. For when the winde and weather ſerved him not for to embarke and ſaile away, he wrought by his report, a moſt curſed and deteſtable fact, in taking two of the inhabitants male children of that countrey, and cut them in peeces for ſacrifice: by occaſion whereof being hated of the Aegyptians, and purſued, he fled directly with his fleet, and departed into *Libya*. For mine owne part, I wot not what Aegyptian hath given out this report of *Menelaus*: but contrariwiſe I know full well, that in *Aegypt* they retaine ſtill to this day many honors in the memoriall, both of him and alſo of his wife *Helena*. Moreover this writer holding on ſtill his courſe, reporteth that the Perſians learned of the Greeks, to abuſe boies carnally and contrary to kinde. And yet how is it poſſible that the Perſians ſhould learne this vilany and filthineſſe of the Greeks, conſidering that the Perſians in maner all doe confeſſe, that the children were there guelded, before they had ever ſeene the Greeks ſea. Alſo he writeth, that the Greeks were taught by the Aegyptians, their ſolemne pompes, feſtivall proceſſions, and publicke aſſemblies: likewiſe to adore the twelve gods: yea & that *Melampus* had learned of the ſame Aegyptians the very name of *Dionyſus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus*, who taught it the other Greeks. As touching the ſacred myſteries, and ſecret ceremonies of *Ceres*, that they were brought out of *Aegypt* by the daughters of *Danaus*: as alſo that the Aegyptians beat themſelves and are in great ſorrow, yet will themſelves name nothing why they ſo doe, but remaine cloſe and keepe ſilence in the religious ſervice of the gods. As touching *Hercules* and *Bacchus* whom the Aegyptians eſteeme as gods, and the Greeks very aged men, he maketh mention in no place of this preciſe obſervation and diſtinction: howſoever he ſaith that this Aegyptian *Hercules*, was reckoned and ranged in the ſecond order of the gods, and *Bacchus* in the third, as thoſe who had a beginning of their eſſence, and were not eternall: and yet he pronounceth thoſe other to be gods, but unto theſe, he judgeth that we ought to performe anniverſarie funerals, as having beene ſometime mortall, and now canonized demi-gods, but in no wiſe to ſacrifice unto them as gods. After the ſame maner ſpake he of *Pan*, overthrowing the moſt holy and venerable ſacrifices of the Greeks by the vanities and fables which the Aegyptians deviſed. Yet is not this the woorſt, nor ſo intollerable; for deriving the pedegree of *Hercules* from the race of *Perſeus*, he holdeth, that *Perſeus* was an Aſſyrian, according to that which the Perſians ſay: But the captaines and leaders of the Dorians (ſaith he) ſeeme to be deſcended in right line from the Aegyptians, and fetch their genealogie and anceſtours from before *Danae* and *Acriſius*: for as concerning *Epaphus*, *Io*, *Iaſus* and *Argus*, he hath wholly paſſed over and rejected, ſtriving to make, not onely the other two *Herculees* Aegyptians and Phœnicians, but alſo this whom himſelfe nameth to be the third, a meere ſtranger from Greece, and to enroll him among Barbarians, notwithſtanding that of all the ancient learned men, neither *Homer*, nor *Heſiodus*, ne yet *Archilochus*, *Piſander*, *Steſichorus*, *Alcman*, nor *Pindarus*, do make mention of any *Hercules* an Aegyptian or Phœnician, but acknowledge one alone, to wit, our Bœotian and Argien. And that which more is, among the ſeven ſages, whom he termeth by the name of Sophiſters, he will needs beare us downe, that *Thales* was a Phœnician borne, extracted from the ancient ſtocke of the Barbarians. And in one place, reproching in ſome ſort the gods, under the viſard and perſon of *Solon*, he hath theſe words: O *Crœſus*, thou demandeſt of me as touching humane things, who know full well, that the deitie is envious and full of inconſtant incertitude: where attributing unto *Solon*, that opinion which himſelfe had of the gods, he joineth malice unto impiety and blaſphemy. And as for *Pittachus*, uſing him but in light matters, and ſuch as are of no conſequence, he paſſeth over in the meane while, the moſt worthy and excellent deed that ever the man did: for when the Athenians and Mitylenians were at warre about the port *Sigæum*, *Phrynon* the captaine of the Athenians having given defiance, and challenged to combat hand to hand, the hardieſt warriour of all the Mitylenians, *Pittachus* advanced forward and preſented himſelfe to his face for to performe his devoir, where he bare himſelfe with ſuch dexterity, that he caught this captaine, as mighty a man as he was and tall of ſtature, and ſo entangled him, that he ſlew him outright. And when the Mitylenians, for this proweſſe of his, offered unto him goodly rich preſents, he launced his javelin out of his hand as farre as ever he could, and demanded ſo much ground onely as he raught with that ſhot. And thereupon, that field, even at this day, is called *Pittacium*. But what writeth *Herodotus*, when he comes to this place? In lieu of reciting this valiant act of *Pittachus*, he recounteth the flight of *Alcæus* the Poet, who flung from him his armour and weapons, and ſo ran away out of the battell: whereby it appeareth, that in avoiding to write of vertuous and valiant acts, but in not concealing vicious and foule facts, he teſtifieth on their ſide who ſay, that envie, to wit, a griefe for the good of another, and joy in other mens harmes, proceed both from one root of malice.

After all this, the Alcmęonidæ who ſhewed themſelves brave men and generous; and namely, by delivering their countrey from tyranny, are by him challenged for treaſon: for he ſaith, That they received *Piſiſtratus* upon his baniſhment, and wrought meanes for his returne again, upon condition, that he ſhould eſpouſe and marry the daughter of *Megacles*: and when the maiden ſaid thus unto her mother, See my good mother, *Piſiſtratus* doth not company kindly with me, as he ſhould, and according to the law of nature and marriage; heereupon the ſaid Alcmæonidæ tooke ſuch indignation againſt the tyrant for his perverſe dealing, that they chaſed him into exile. Now, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould taſte aſwell of his malice as the Athenians had done before them, ſee how he defaceth and traduceth *Othryadas*, a man eſteemed and admired among them above all others, for his valiance: He only (ſaith he) remaining alive of thoſe three hundred, aſhamed to returne to *Sparta*, when all the reſt of that company and conſort of his were ſlaine and left dead in the field, preſently overwhelmed himſelfe in the place under an heape of his enemies ſhields reared for a Trophæ, and ſo died: for a little before, he ſaid, that the victory betweene both ſides reſted doubtfull in even ballance; and now he witneſſeth, that through the ſhame and baſhfulneſſe of *Othryadas*, the Lacedæmonians loſt the day: for as it is a ſhame to live being vanquiſhed, ſo it is as great an honor to ſurvive upon a victorie. I forbeare now to note and obſerve, how in deſcribing *Crœſus* every where for a fooliſh, vainglorious and ridiculous perſon in all reſpects, yet nevertheleſſe he ſaith, that being priſoner he taught and inſtructed *Cyrus*, a prince who in prudence, vertue and magnanimitie ſurpaſſed all the kings that ever were. And having by the teſtimonie of his owne hiſtorie, attributed no goodneſſe unto *Crœſus*, but this onely, that he honoured the gods with great offerings, oblations and ornaments, that he preſented unto them; which very ſame (as himſelfe declareth) was the moſt wicked and profaneſt act in the world: for whereas his brother *Pantaleon* and he were at great variance and debate, about ſucceſſion in the kingdome during the life of their father; after that he came once to the crowne, he caught one of the nobles, a great friend and companion of his brother *Pantaleon*, who had before-time beene his adverſarie, and within a fullers mill all to beclawed and mangled him with tuckers cards and burling combs, ſo as he died therewith; and of his money which he did confiſcate and ſeize upon, he cauſed thoſe oblations and jewels to be made which he ſent as a preſent to the gods. Concerning *Deïoces* the Median, who by his vertue and juſtice atteined to the kingdome, he ſaith, that he was not ſuch an one indeed, but an hypocrite, and by ſemblance of juſtice was advanced to that regall dignitie. But what ſhould I ſtand upon the examples of Barbarous nations; for he hath miniſtred matter enough in writing onely of the Greeks. He ſaith, that the Athenians and many other Ionians, being aſhamed of that name, were not only unwilling, but alſo denied utterly to be called Ionians: alſo, as many of them as were of the nobleſt blood, and deſcended from the very Senate and *Prytaneum* of the Athenians, begat children of Barbarous women, after they had killed their fathers and former children: by occaſion whereof thoſe women made an ordinance among themſelves, which they bound with an oth, and miniſtred the ſame unto their daughters, never to eat nor drinke with their husbands, nor to call them by their names: and that the Mileſians at this day be deſcended from the ſaid women. And having cleanly delivered thus much under hand, that thoſe onely who celebrated the feaſt named *Apalutia*, were indeed true Jonians: And all (quoth he) doe keepe and obſerve that ſolemnity, ſave onely the Epheſians and Colophonians. By this ſlie device he doth in effect deprive theſe ſtates, of the noble antiquity of their nation. He writeth likewiſe, that the Cumæans and Mitylenæans, were compacted and agreed withall, for a peece of mony, to deliver into the hands of *Cyrus*, *Pactyas*, one of his captaines, who had revolted from him: But I cannot ſay (quoth he) certainly, for how much, becauſe the juſt ſumme is not exactly knowen. But he ought not by his leave to have charged upon any city of *Greece* ſuch a note of infamy, without he had bene better aſſured thereof. And afterwards he ſaith, that the inhabitants of *Chios* pulled him, being brought unto them out of the temple of *Minerva Poliuchos* that is to ſay, Tutelar and protectreſſe of the city, for to deliver him unto the Perſians; which the Chians did after they had received for their hire, a peece of land called *Atarnes*. Howbeit, *Charon*, the Lampſacinian, a more ancient writer, when he handleth the ſtory of *Pactyas*, taxeth neither the Mitylenæans, nor the Chians, for any ſuch ſacriledge: but writeth of this matter, thus word for word: *Pactyas* (quoth he) being advertiſed that the Perſian army approched, fled firſt to *Mitylena*, and afterwards to *Chios*: and there he fell into the hands of *Cyrus*. Moreover this our author in his third booke, deſcribing the expedition or journey of the Lacedæmonians againſt *Polycrates* the tyrant, ſaith that the Samians, both are of opinion and alſo report, that it was by way of recompence and requitall, becauſe they had ſent them aid in their warre againſt *Meſſene*, that the Lacedæmonians entred into armes and warred upon the tyrant, for to reduce the exiled perſons home againe, and reſtore them to their livings and goods: but he ſaith, that the Lacedæmonians deny flatly this to have bene the cauſe: ſaying it was neither to ſet the Iſle *Samos* at liberty, nor to ſuccour the Samians, that they enterpriſed this warre: but rather to chaſtice the Samians, for that they had intercepted and taken away a faire ſtanding cup of gold, ſent by them as a preſent unto king *Crœſus*: and beſides a goodly cuirace or breſtplate, ſent unto them from king *Amaſis*. And yet we know for certaine, that in all thoſe daies, there was not a city in *Greece* ſo deſirous of honour, nor ſo infeſt and deadly bent againſt tyrants, as *Lacedæmon* was: for what other cuppe of gold, or cuirace was there, for which they chaced out of *Corinth* and *Ambracia* the uſurping race of the Cypſelidæ; baniſhed out of *Noxos*, the tyrant *Lygdamis*; expelled out of *Athens*, the children of *Piſiſtratus*; drave out of *Sicyone*, *Aeſchines*; exiled from *Theſes*, *Symmachus*; delivered the Phocæans from *Aulis*; and turned *Ariſtogenes* out of *Miletus*: as for the lordly dominions over *Theſſaly*, they utterly ruinated and rooted out, which *Ariſtomedes* and *Angelus* uſurped, whom they ſuppreſſed and defaited by the meanes of *Leotychidas* their king? But of theſe things I have written elſe where more exactly and at large. Now if *Herodotus* ſaith true, what wanted they of extreame folly and wickedneſſe in the higheſt degree, indiſavowing and denying a moſt juſt and honorable occaſion of this warre, to confeſſe that they made an invaſion upon a poorer and miſerable nation oppreſſed and afflicted under a tyrant, and all in remembrance of a former grudge, to be revenged for a ſmall wrong upon a baſe minde and mechanicall avarice. Now haply he had a fling at the Lacedæmonians and gave them a blur with his pen, becauſe in the traine and conſequence of the ſtory, they came ſo juſt under it; but the city of the Corinthians, which was cleane out of his way, he hath notwithſtanding taken it with him and beſpurted and daſhed as he paſſed by, with a moſt grievous ſlander and heavy imputation. The Corinthians alſo (quoth he) did favor and ſecond with great affection this voiage of the Lacedæmonians, for to requite an hainous outrage and injury, which they had received before time at the Samians handes: And that was this? *Periander* the tyrant of *Corinth*, ſent three hundred yoong boies, that were the ſonnes of the moſt noble perſons in all *Corfu*, to king *Aliattes* for to be guelded. Theſe youths arrived in the Iſle *Samos*, whõ being landed the Samians taught how to ſit as humble ſuppliants within the temple and ſanctuary of *Diana*, & ſet before them for their nouriſhment certaine cakes made of Seſain ſeed & hony. And this forſoth was it that our trim hiſtoriographer calleth ſo great an outrage & abuſe offred by the Samians unto the Corinthians; for which he ſaith, the Lacedæmonians alſo were ſtirred up and provoked againſt them, becauſe they had ſaved the children of Greeks from eviration. But ſurely he that faſteneth this reproch upon the Corinthians, ſheweth that the city was more wicked than the tyrant himſelfe. As for him, his deſire was to be revenged of the inhabitants of

Corfu, who had killed his ſonne among them: but the Corinthians, what wrong received they of the Samians, for which they ſhould in hoſtile maner ſet upon them, who oppoſed themſelves and empeached ſo inhumane and barbarous crueltie to be committed? and namely, that they ſhould revive and raiſe up againe an old cankred grudge and quarrels, that had lien dead and buried the ſpace of three generations; and all in favour and maintenance of tyranny, which had laine very grievous and unſupportable upon them, and whereof, being overthrowen and ruined as it is, they ceaſe not ſtill to aboliſh and doe out the remembrance for ever. Loe, what outrage it was, that the Samians committed upon the Corinthians; but what was the revenge and puniſhment that the Corinthians deviſed againſt the Samians? For if in good earneſt they tooke indignation and were offended with the Samians, it had beene meet, not to have incited the Lacedæmonians, but to have diverted them rather, from levying warre upon *Polycrates,* to the end that the tyrant not being defaited and put downe, they might not have beene freed nor delivered from tyrannicall ſervitude. But that which more is, what occaſion had the Corinthians to bee angrie with the Samians, who though they deſired, yet could not ſave the Corcyreans children, conſidering they tooke no diſpleaſure againſt the Cnidians, who not onely preſerved, but alſo reſtored them to their parents? And verily the Corcyreans, make no great regard, nor ſpeake ought, of the Samians in this behalfe: mary the Cnidians, they remembred in the beſt maner; for the Cnidians they ordeined honours, priviledges, and immunities, and enacted publicke decrees to ratifie and confirme the ſame. For theſe Cnidians ſailing to the Iſle of *Samos,* arrived there, drave out of the foreſaid temple the guard of *Periander,* tooke the children foorth, and brought them ſafe to *Corfu,* according as *Antenor* the Candiot, and *Dionyſius* the Chalcidian in the booke of Foundations have left in writing. Now that the Lacedæmonians undertooke this expedition, not for to be quit with the Samians, and to puniſh them, but to deliver them rather from the tyrant, and for to ſave them; I will beleeve no other teſtimonie but the Samians themſelves. For they affirme, that there is among them now ſtanding, a tombe or monument by them erected at the publike charges of the citie, for the corps of *Archias* a citizen of *Sparta,* whoſe memoriall they doe honour, for that in the ſaid ſervice he fought valiantly, and loſt his life: for which cauſe the poſteritie deſcended from that man, doe yet unto this day, beare ſingular affection, and do all the pleaſures they can unto the Samians, as *Herodotus* himſelfe beareth witneſſe. Furthermore, in his fifth booke he writeth, that *Cliſthenes,* one of the moſt noble and principall perſonages of all *Athens,* perſwaded the prieſtreſſe *Pythia,* to be a falſe propheteſſe, in mooving the Lacedæmonians alwaies by her anſwers that ſhe gave out, for to deliver the citie of *Athens* from the thirtie tyrants: and thus unto a moſt glorious peece of worke and right juſt, he adjoineth the imputation of ſo great an impietie, and a damnable device of falſhood; and withall, bereaveth god *Apollo* of that propheſie which is ſo good and honeſt, yea and beſeeming *Themis,* who alſo as they ſay aſſiſteth him in the oracle. He ſaith alſo, that *Iſagoras* yeelded his wife unto *Cleomenes,* for to uſe her at his pleaſure, whenſoever he came unto her: and then, as his ordinary maner is, intermingling ſome praiſes among blames, becauſe he would be the better beleeved: This *Iſagoras* (quoth he) the ſonne of *Tiſander,* was of a noble houſe; but I am not able to ſay of what antiquitie before-time his pedegree was; but onely that his kinsfolke and thoſe of his bloud, doe ſacrifice unto *Jupiter,* ſurnamed *Carius.* Now I aſſure you, this our Hiſtorian is a proper and pleaſant conceited fellow, to ſend away *Iſagoras* thus to the Carians, as it were to ravens, in a miſchiefe. And as for *Ariſtogiton,* he packeth him away not by a backe doore or poſterne, but directly by the broad & open gate, as far as unto *Phœnice;* ſaying, that his firſt originall came long ſince from the Gephyrians: but what Gephyrians trow yee: not thoſe in *Eubœa,* or in *Eretria,* as ſome doe thinke: but he ſaith plainly they be Phœnicians, and that he is ſo perſwaded of them by heare-ſay. And not being able to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their glory, for delivering the city of *Athens* from the ſervitude of the thirty tyrants, he goeth about to obliterate quite, or at leaſtwiſe in ſome ſort to diſgrace and diſhonor that moſt noble act, with as foule a paſſion, and as villanous a vice: for hee ſaith, that they repented incontinently, as if they had not well done, by the induction of falſe and ſuppoſed oracles, thus to have chaced out of their countrey the tyrants their friends, gueſts, and allies, who promiſed to deliver *Athens* into their hands, and to have yeelded the city unto an unthankfull people; and that anon they ſent for *Hippias,* as farre as to *Sigæum,* for to reduce him to *Athens:* but the Corinthians oppoſed themſelves, and diverted them, whiles *Soſicles* diſcourſed and ſhewed how many miſeries and calamities the citie of *Corinth* had endured whiles *Periander* & *Cypſelus* held them under their tyrannicall rule: and yet of all thoſe enormous outrages which *Periander* committed, they could not name any one more wicked and cruell, than that of the three hundred children which he ſent away for to be gelded: Howbeit, this man dareth to ſay, that the Corinthians were mooved and provoked againſt the Samians, who had ſaved the ſaid youthes, and kept them from ſuffering ſuch an indignity, and caried the remembrance thereof for revenge, as if they had done them ſome exceeding great injurie: ſo full is his malice and gall of inconſtancie, of repugnance and contradiction in all his ſpeeches, which ever and anon is ready to offer it ſelfe in all his narrations. After all this, comming to deſcribe the taking of the citie *Sardis*, he diminiſhed, deformeth, and diſcrediteth the exploit all that ever he can, being ſo armed with ſhameleſſe audacitie, that he termeth thoſe ſhippes which the Athenians ſet out, and ſent to ſuccor the king, and to plague the Ionians, who rebelled againſt him, the originall cauſes of all miſchiefe, for that they aſſaied to ſet at liberty and deliver out of ſervitude, ſo many goodly and faire cities of the Greeks, held forcibly under the violent dominion of the barbarous nations. As touching the Eretrians, he maketh mention of them onely by the way, & paſſeth in ſilence a moſt woorthy and glorious piece of ſervice, which they performed at that time: for when all *Ionia* was now already in an uprore & hurliburly, and the kings armada neere at hand, they put out their navie, and in the maine ſea of *Pamphylia*, defeated in a navall battell the Cyprians: then returning backe, and leaving their navie in the rode before *Epheſus*, they went by land to lay ſiege unto the capitall citie of *Sardis*, where they beleagured *Artaphernes* within a caſtle, into which he was fledde, intending thereby to raiſe the ſiege before the citie *Miletus*: which ſervice they put in execution and performed; cauſing their enemies to remoove their campe, and diſlodge from thence, in a woonderfull great feare and affright: but ſeeing a greater number of enemies to preſſe hard upon them, they returned. Many Chroniclers report the hiſtorie in this maner; and among the reſt *Lyſanias Mallotes*, in his chronicle of the Eretrians. And verily it would have beſeemed well, if for no other reaſon, yet after the taking and deſtruction of their citie, to have added this their act of valour and proweſſe. Howbeit, this good writer, contrariwiſe ſaith, that being vanquiſhed in the field, the Barbarians followed in chaſe, and purſued them as farre as to their ſhippes: and yet *Charon* the Lampſacenian, maketh no mention thereof, but writeth thus, word for word: The Athenians (quoth he) put to ſea with a fleet of twentie gallies, for to aid the Ionians, and made a voiage as farre as to *Sardeis*, where they were maſters of all, except the kings fortreſſe or wall; which done, they returned to *Miletus*. In the ſixth booke, our *Herodotus*, after he had related thus much of the Platæans, that they had yeelded and committed themſelves to the protection of the Lacedæmonians, who made remonſtrance unto them, that they ſhould doe farre better to raunge and ſide with the Athenians their neighbours, and able to defend them: he addeth moreover and ſaith afterwards, not by way of opinion and ſuſpicion, but as one who knew it was ſo indeed, that the Lacedæmonians thus adviſed and counſelled them at that time, not for any good will and loving affection that they bare unto them, but becauſe they were all very well appaied to ſee the Athenians to have their hands full, and to be matched with the Bæotians. If then *Herodotus* be not malicious, it cannot chuſe, but that the Lacedæmonians were very cautelous, fraudulent, and ſpightfull; and the Athenians as blockiſh and ſenſeleſſe, not to ſee how they were thus deluded and circumvented. The Platæans likewiſe were thus poſted from them, not for any love or honor entended unto them, but becauſe they might be the occaſion of war. Furthermore, he is convinced to have falſly deviſed, and colourably pretended the excuſe of the full moone againſt the Lacedæmonians, which whiles they attended and ſtaied for, he ſaith, they failed and went not in that journey of *Marathon*, to aid the Athenians: for not onely they began a thouſand voiages, and fought as many battels in the beginning of the moneth and new of the moone, but alſo at this very battell of *Marathon*, which was fought the ſixth day of the moneth *Boedromion*, that is to ſay, November, they miſſed very little, but they had arrived in due time: for they came ſoone enough to finde the dead bodies of thoſe that were ſlaine in the field, and lying ſtill in the place: and yet thus hath he written of the full moone. It was impoſſible for them to doe this out of hand, being as they were, not willing to breake the law; for that as yet it was but the ninth day of the moneth: and they made anſwere, that they might not ſet foorth, unleſſe the moone were at the full. And thus theſe men waited for the full moone. But you good ſir transferre the ful moone into the beginning of the halfe moone or ſecond quarter, confounding the courſe of heaven, and the order of daies, yea, and ſhuffling every thing together. Over and beſides, promiſing in the forefront and inſcription of your hiſtorie, to write the deeds and affaires of the Greekes, you employ all your eloquence to magnifie and amplifie the acts of the Barbarians; and making ſemblance to be affectionate to the Athenians, yet for all that, you make no mention at all of that ſolemne pompe and proceſſion of theirs at *Agræ*, which they hold even at this day, in the honour of *Hecate*, or *Proſerpina*, by way of thankeſgiving for the victorie, the feaſt whereof they do celebrate. But this helpeth *Herodotus* verie much to meet with that improperation and ſlander that went of him, namely, that he flattered the Athenians in his ſtorie, for that he had received a great ſumme of money of them for that purpoſe: for if he had read this unto the Athenians, they would never have neglected nor let paſſe that wicked *Philippides*, who went to moove and ſollicite the Lacedæmonians to be at that battell, from which himſelfe came, and he eſpecially, who as he ſaith himſelfe, within two daies was in *Sparta*, after he had beene at *Athens*, if the Athenians after the winning of the field did not ſend for the aide of their confederates and allies. But *Diyllus* an Athenian, none of the meaneſt Chroniclers, writeth, that he received of the Athenians, the ſumme of ten talents of ſilver, by vertue of an an act that *Anytus* propounded.

Moreover, many are of opinion, that *Herodotus* in his narration of the battell of *Marathon*, himſelfe marred the whole grace and honour of the exploit, by the number that he putteth downe of them who there were ſlaine: for he ſaith, that the Athenians made a vow to ſacrifice unto *Proſerpina* or *Diana* ſurnamed *Agrotera*, as many yeere-old goats as they ſlew of the Barbarians: but when after the diſcomfiture and overthrow, they ſaw that the number of the dead bodies was infinit, they made ſupplication to the goddeſſe for to be diſpenſed for their vow and promiſe, and to acquit them for five hundred every yeere to be killed in ſacrifice for her. But to paſſe over this, let us ſee what followed after the battell. The Barbarians (quoth he) with the reſt of their ſhips drawing backe and retiring into the open ſea, and having taken a ſhip boord thoſe ſlaves of *Eretria*, out of the Iſle where they had left them, doubled the point of *Sunium*, with a full purpoſe to prevent the Athenians before they could recover the citie. And the Athenians were of opinion, that they were adviſed thus to do by a ſecret complot betweene them and the Alcmæonidæ who had appointed and agreed with the Perſians to give them a ſignall ſo ſoone as they were all embarked, by holding up aloft and ſhewing them a ſhield afarre off. And ſo they fetched a compaſſe about the cape of *Sunium*. And here I am content that he ſhould go cleere away with this, that he called thoſe priſoners of *Eretria* by the name of ſlaves, who ſhewed as much courage and valour in this warre, yea, and as great a deſire to win honour, as any Greeks whatſoever, although their vertue ſped but ill, and was unworthily afflicted. And leſſe account I make alſo of this, that he defameth the Alcmæonidæ, of whom were the greateſt families and nobleſt perſons of all the citie. But the worſt of all is this, that the honour of this brave victorie is quite overthrowen, and the iſſue or end of ſo woorthy and renowmed a piece of ſervice is come juſt to nothing in a maner, neither ſeemeth it to have beene any ſuch battell or ſo great an exploit, but onely a ſhort ſcuffling or light skirmiſh with the Barbarians when they were landed, as evill willers, carpers and envious perſons give out to deprave the ſervice, if it be ſo, that after the battell, they fled not when they had cut the cables of their ſhips, permitting themſelves to the winde, for to cary them as far as poſſibly might be frō *Attica*, but that there was a ſhield or targuet lifted up aloft in the aire as a ſignall unto them of treaſon, and that of purpoſe they made ſaile toward the city of *Athens*, in hope to ſurpriſe it; and having without any noiſe in great ſilence doubled the foreſaid point of *Sunium*, and were diſcovered a float, hovering about the port *Phaleræ*, inſomuch as the principall and moſt honourable perſonages of the Athenians, being out of all hope to ſave the citie, betraied it into their hands: for afterwards he diſchargeth and cleereth the Alcmæonidæ, and attributeth this treaſon unto others: And certeine it is (quoth he) that ſuch a targuet or ſhield was ſhewed. And this he ſaith ſo confidently, as if himſelfe had ſeene the thing. But impoſſible it is that it ſhould be ſo, in caſe the Athenians won the victorie cleere: and ſay it had ſo beene, the Barbarians never could have perceived it, flying ſo as they did in great affright and danger, wounded alſo as they were, and chaſed both with ſword and ſhot into their ſhips, who left the field every man, and fled from the land as faſt as ever he could. But afterwards againe, when he maketh ſemblance to anſwere in the behalfe of the Alcmæonidæ, and to refute thoſe crimes which himſelfe broched, and charged upon them: I woonder (quoth he) and I can not beleeve the rumour of this imputation, that ever the Alcmæonidæ, by any compact with the Barbarians, ſhewed them the ſignall of a ſhield, as willing that the Athenians ſhould be in ſubjection to the Barbarians under *Hippias*. In thus doing, he putteth me in mind and remembrance of a certeine clauſe running in this maner: Take him you will; and having taken him, let him goe you will. Semblably, firſt you accuſe, and anon you defend: write you do and frame accuſatorie imputations againſt honourable perſons, which afterwards you ſeeme to cancile, diſcrediting herein (no doubt) and diſtruſting your ſelfe: for you have heard your owne ſelfe to ſay, that the Alcmæonidæ ſet up a targuet for a ſignal to the Barbarians vanquiſhed and flying away; but in relieving them againe and anſwering in their defence, you ſhew your ſelfe to be a ſlanderous ſycophant: for if that be true which you write in this place, that the Alcmæonidæ were worſe, or at leaſtwiſe, as badly affected to tyrants, as *Callias* the ſonne of *Phenippus* and father of *Hipponicus*, where will you beſtow and place that conſpiracie of theirs againſt the common wealth, which you have written in your former books? ſaying, that they contracted alliance and affinitie in marriage with *Piſiſtratus*; by meanes whereof, they wrought his returne from exile to exerciſe tyrannie: neither would they ever have baniſhed him againe, had it not beene that their daughter had complained and accuſed him, that he uſed her not according to law of marriage & of nature. Thus you ſee what confuſed variations, contradictions and repugnances there be in that imputation and ſuſpicion of the Alcmæonidæ: but in ſounding out the praiſes of *Callias* the ſonne of *Phenippus*, with whom he joineth his ſonne *Hipponicus*, who by the report of *Herodotus* himſelfe, was in his time the richeſt man in all *Athens*, he confeſſeth plainly, that for to inſinuate himſelfe into the favor of *Hipponicus*, and to flatter him, without any reaſon or cauſe in the world ariſing out of the matter of the ſtory, he brought *Callias*. All the world knowes, that the Argives refuſed not to enter into that generall confederacy and aſſociation of the Greeks, requiring onely, that they might not be ever at the Lacedæmonians command, nor forced to follow them, who were the greateſt enemies, & thoſe who of all men living hated them moſt: when it would not otherwiſe be, he rendereth a moſt malicious and ſpightfull cauſe and reaſon thereof, writing thus: When they ſaw (quoth he) that the Greeks would needs compriſe them in that league, knowing full well, that the Lacedæmonians would not impart unto them any prerogative to command, they ſeemed to demand the communion thereof, to the end that they might have ſome colourable occaſion and excuſe to remaine quiet and ſit ſtill: which he ſaith, that *Artaxerxes* long after, remembred unto the embaſſadors of the Argives, who came unto him at *Suſa*, and gave this teſtimonie unto them, That he thought there was not a city in all *Greece* friended him more than *Argos*. But ſoone after, as his accuſtomed maner is, ſeeming to retract all, and cleanly to cover the matter, he comes in with theſe words: Howbeit, as touching this point, I know nothing of certeinty; but this I wot wel, all men have their faults; and I doe not beleeve, that the Argives have caried themſelves woorſt of all others: but howſoever (quoth he) I am bound to ſay that which is commonly received, yet I beleeve not all: and let this ſtand thorowout the whole courſe of mine hiſtorie. For this alſo is given out abroad, That they were the Argives who ſollicited and ſent for the king of *Perſia* to levie warre upon all *Greece*; becauſe they were not able in armes to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians, and cared not what became of them, to avoid the preſent diſcontentment and griefe wherein they were. And may not a man very well returne that upon himſelfe, which he reporteth to be ſpoken by an Aethiopian, as touching the ſweet odours and rich purple of the Perſians? * *Deceitfull are the Perſian ointments, deceitfull are their habilliments.* For even ſo a man may very well ſay of him: *Deceitfull are the* * *phraſes, deceitfull are the figures of* Herodotus *his ſpeeches*;

So intricate and tortuous,
ſo winding quite throughout,
As nothing ſound is therin found,
but all turn's round about.

* *Græcè melius,* δολερὰ μὲν τὰ χρίματα δολερὰ δὲ τὰ εἵματα τῶν περσικῶν ἐστι.

* δολερὰ μὲν τὰ ῥήματα δολερὰ δὲ τὰ σχήματα τῶν Ἡροδότου λόγων.

And like as painters make their light colours more apparent and eminent, by the ſhadowes that they put about them; even ſo *Herodotus* by ſeeming to denie that which he affirmeth, doth enforce and amplifie his calumniations ſo much the more; and by ambiguities and doubtfull ſpeeches, maketh ſuſpicions the deeper. But if the Argives would not enter into the common league with all other Greeks, but held off and ſtood out upon a jelouſie of ſovereigne command or emulation of vertue and valour againſt the Lacedæmonians; no man will ſay the contrary, but that they greatly diſhonoured the memorie of their progenitour *Hercules*, and diſgraced the nobilitie of their race. For better it had beene, and more beſeeming, for the Siphnians and

Cithnians, the inhabitants of two little Iſles, to have defended the libertie of *Greece*, than by ſtriving thus with the Spartans, and conteſting about the prerogative of command, to ſhift off and avoid ſo many combats and ſo honourable pieces of ſervice. And if they were the Argives, who called the king of *Perſia* into *Greece*, becauſe their ſword was not ſo ſharpe as the Lacedæmonians was, and for that they could not make their part good with them; what is the reaſon, that when the ſaid king was arrived in *Greece*, they ſhewed not themſelves openly to band with the Medes and Perſians? And if they were unwilling to be ſeene in the field and campe with the Barbarian king; why did they not, when they ſtaied behinde at home, invade the territory of the Laconians? why entred they not againe upon the Thurians countrey, or by ſome other meanes prevented & impeached the Lacedæmonians? for in ſo doing, they had beene able greatly to have endamaged the Greeks, namely, by hindring them from comming into the field at *Platea* with ſo puiſſant a power of armed footmen. But the Athenians verily in this ſervice, he highly extolleth and ſetteth out with glorious titles, naming them, The ſaviours of *Greece*; which had beene well done of him and juſtly, if he had not intermingled with theſe praiſes, many blames and reprochfull termes. Howbeit now, when he ſaith, that the Lacedæmonians were abandoned of the other Greeks, and nevertheleſſe, thus forſaken and left alone, having undertaken many woorthy exploits, died honourably in the field, foreſeeing that the Greekes favouring the Medes, complotted and combined with king *Xerxes*; is it not evident heereby, that he gave not out thoſe goodly words directly to praiſe the Athenians, but rather, that he commended them, to the end that he would condemne and defame all other Greeks? For who can now be angrie and offended with him, for reviling and reproching in ſuch vile and bitter termes the Thebans and Phoceans continually as he doth, conſidering that he condemneth of treaſon (which never was, but as he gueſſeth himſelfe might have ſo fallen out) even thoſe who were expoſed to all perils of death for the liberties of *Greece*? And as for the Lacedæmonians themſelves, he putteth a doubt into our heads, Whether they died manfully in fight, or rather yeelded? making ſlight arguments, God wot, and frivolous conjectures, to impaire their honour, in compariſon of others that fought at *Thermopylæ*.

Moreover, in relating the overthrow and ſhipwracke which hapned to the king of *Perſias* fleet, wherein a mighty and infinit maſſe of money and money worth was caſt away: *Aminocles* a Magneſian citizen (quoth he) and ſonne of *Cretines*, was mightily enriched; for he met with infinit treaſure aſwell in coine as in plate both of ſilver and gold. But he could not paſſe over ſo much as this, and let it go, without ſome biting nip ſavouring of malice: For this man (quoth he) who otherwiſe before-time was but poore and needy, by theſe windfalles and unexpected cheats became very wealthy: but there befell unto him alſo an unhappy accident, which troubled him and diſgraced his other good fortune, for that he killed his owne ſonne. For who ſeeth not, that he inſerteth in his hiſtorie theſe golden words of wrecks, and of great treaſure found floating or caſt upon the ſands by the tides of the ſea, of very purpoſe, to make a fit roume and a convenient place, wherein he might beſtow the murder committed by *Aminocles* upon the perſon of his owne ſonne. And whereas *Ariſtophanes* the Bœotian wrote, that having demanded money of the Thebans, he could receive none of them; and that when he went about to reaſon and diſpute ſcholaſtically with the youth of the city in points of learning, the magiſtrates (ſuch was their ruſticitie and hatred of good letters) would not ſuffer him: other proofe and argument thereof he putteth downe none: but *Herodotus* gave teſtimonie with *Ariſtophanes*, whiles thoſe imputations wherewith he chargeth the Thebans, hee putteth downe ſome falſely, others ignorantly, and ſome againe upon hatred, as one that had a quarrell againſt them: for he affirmeth, that the Theſſalians combined and ſided with the Medians at the firſt upon meere neceſſitie, wherein he ſaith true. And propheſying as it were of other Greeks, as if they minded to betray and forſake the Lacedæmonians, he commeth in afterwards with this ſhift, that this was not voluntarily and with their good liking, but upon conſtraint and neceſſity, becauſe they were ſurpriſed city by city, one after another. But yet he alloweth not unto the Thebans the excuſe of the ſame compulſion, albeit they had ſent a band of five hundred men under the conduct of captaine *Mnamias*, for to keepe the ſtreights of *Tempe*, and likewiſe unto the paſſe of *Thermopylæ*, as many as king *Leonidas* demanded, who onely together with the Theſpians ſtucke to him and remained with him, when he was forſaken of all other, after they ſaw how he was environed round about on every ſide. But after that the Barbarous king, having gotten all the Avennes, was entred upon their confines, and *Demaratus* the Spartan, being in right of mutuall hoſpitalitie friendly affected to *Apaginus* a chiefe upholder and principall pillar of the Oligarchie, or faction of ſome few, uſurping principalitie, wrought ſo, as that he brought him firſt acquainted and afterwards into familiar friendſhip with the Barbarian king, whiles all other Greeks were embarked and at ſea, and none ſeene upon the land to encounter the enemies. By this meanes, at the laſt driven they were to accept conditions of peace, and to grow into a compoſition with the Barbarians, finding themſelves brought to ſo hard termes of neceſſitie: for neither had they ſea at hand, nor a navy at command as the Athenians, neither dwelt they farre off from the heart of *Greece* in a moſt remote angle thereof, as did the Lacedæmonians, but were not above one daies journey and an halfe from the Medians roiall campe, and had already encountred in the ſtreight paſſages with the kings power, aſſiſted onely with the Spartans and Theſpians, where they had the worſe and were defaited. And yet this our hiſtoriographer is ſo juſt and equall, that he ſaith, The Lacedæmonians ſeeing themſelves forſaken and abandoned of all their allies, were faine to give eare unto any compoſition whatſoever, & to accept at aventure what was offered: and ſo being not able to aboliſh nor utterly blot out ſo brave and ſo glorious an act, nor to denie, but that it was atchieved; he goeth about to diſcredit and deface it with this vile imputation and ſuſpicion, writing thus: The allies then and the confederats being ſent backe, returned into their countreys and obeied the commandement of *Leonidas*: only the Theſpians and Thebans remained ſtill with the Lacedæmonians: and as for the Thebans, it was full againſt their willes, for that *Leonidas* kept them as hoſtages; but the Theſpians were willing thereto, for they ſaid, they would never forſake *Leonidas* nor his company. Sheweth he not apparently heerein, that he carrieth a ſpightfull and malicious minde particularly againſt the Thebans, whereby not onely he ſlandereth the city falſly and unjuſtly, but alſo careth not ſo much, as to make the imputation ſeeme probable, no nor to conceale at leaſtwiſe unto few men, that he might not be eſpied to have beene privie unto himſelfe of contradictions: for having written a little before, that *Leonidas* ſeeing his confederates and allies out of heart and altogether diſcouraged to hazard the fortune of the field, commanded them to depart: a little after, clean contrary he ſaith, that he kept the Thebans perforce with him and againſt their wils, whom by all likelihood he ſhould have driven from him, if they had bene willing to ſtay, in caſe that he had them in jelouſie and ſuſpition, that they tooke part with the Medians: for ſeeing he would not have thoſe about him who were cowardly affected, what boot was it to keepe among his ſoldiers men ſuſpected? For being as he was, a king of the Spartans, and captaine generall of all the Greeks, he had not beene in his right wits nor ſound in judgement, if he would have ſtaied with him in hoſtage foure hundred men well armed, when his owne company were but three hundred in all, eſpecially at ſuch a time when as he ſaw himſelfe hardly beſted and beſet with enimies, who preſſed upon him at once, both before and behind. For howſoever before time he had led them about with him as hoſtages, probable it was that in ſuch an extremity they would either have had no regard of *Leonidas* and ſo departed from him, or elſe that *Leonidas* might have feared to be environed by them rather then by the Barbarians. Over and beſides, had not king *Leonidas* bene ridiculous and worthy to be laughed at, to bid other Greeks to depart, as if by tarying they ſhould ſoone after loſe their lives: and to forbid the Thebans, to the end that he might keepe them for the behalfe of other Greekes, he I ſay who was reſolved anon to die in the field; for if he led the men about with him in trueth as hoſtages, or no better than ſlaves, he never ſhould have kept them ſtill with thoſe who were at the point to periſh and be ſlaine, but rather delivered them unto other Greeks who went from him. Now whereas there remaineth one cauſe yet, that a man may alledge, why he retained them ſtill with him, for that peradventure they ſhould all die with him, this good writer hath overthrowen that alſo, in that he writeth thus of the honorable mind & magnanimity of *Leonidas*, word for word in this wiſe: *Leonidas* (quoth he) caſting and conſidering all theſe matters in his minde, & deſiring that this glory might redound unto the Spartans alone, ſent away his friendly allies every one into their owne countries, therefore rather than becauſe they were of different minds & opinions: for exceeding folly it had bene of his part, to keepe his enemies for to be pertakers of that glory, frō which he repelled his friends. It appeareth then by the effects, that *Leonidas* diſtruſted not the Thebans, nor thought amiſſe of them, but reputed them for his good and loiall friends: For he marched with his army into the city of *Thebes*, and at his requeſt obtained that which to no other was ever granted, namely to be lodged all night and ſleepe within the temple of *Hercules*, and the next morning related unto the Thebans, the viſion which appeared unto him: For he ſaw as he thought, all the greateſt and moſt principall cities of *Greece* in a ſea, troubled and diſquieted with rough windes and violent tempeſts, wherein they floted and were toſſed to and fro. But the city of *Thebes* ſurpaſſed all the reſt, for mounted it was on high up to heaven, & afterwards ſuddenly the ſight therof was loſt, that it would no more be ſeene. And verily theſe things as a type reſembled that which long time after befell unto that city. But *Herodotus* in writing of this conflict, burieth in ſilence the braveſt act of *Leonidas* himſelfe, ſaying thus much barely: They all loſt their lives in the ſtraights, about the top of a certaine hill. But it was far otherwiſe. For when they were advertiſed in the night that the enimies had inveſted them round about, they aroſe and marched directy to their very campe, yea and advanced ſo far forth as they came within a little of the kings roiall paviſſion, with a full reſolution there to kill him, and to leave their lives all about him. And verily downe they went withall before them, killing, ſlaying and putting to flight, as many as they met, even as farre as to his tent. But when they could not meet with *Xerxes*, ſeeking as they did for him in ſo vaſt and ſpacious a campe, as they wandred up and downe ſearching for him with much adoe, at the laſt hewed in peeces they were by the Barbarians, who on every ſide in great number came about them. And albeit we will write in the life of *Leonidas*, many other noble acts and worthy ſayings of his, which *Herodotus* hath not once touched; yet it ſhall not be amiſſe to quote heere alſo by the way, ſome of them. Before that he and his noble troupe departed out of *Sparta* in this journey, there were exhibited ſolemne funerall games for his and their ſakes, which their fathers and mothers ſtood to behold: & *Leonidas* himſelfe, when one ſaid unto him, That he led forth very few with him to fight a battell: Yea but they are many enough (quoth he) to die there. His wife asked him when he tooke his leave of her, what he had elſe to ſay? No more (quoth he) turning unto her but this, that thou marry againe with ſome good man, and beare him good children. When he was within the vale or paſſe of *Thermopylæ*, and there invironed, two there were in his company of his owne race and family, whom he deſired to ſave: So he gave unto one of them a letter to carry whether he directed it, becauſe he would ſend him away: but the party would not take it at his hands, ſaying in great cholar and indignation, I am come hither to fight like a warrior, and not to conveigh letters as a carrier. The other he commanded for to goe with credence, and a meſſage from him unto the magiſtrates of *Sparta*: but he made anſwere not by word of mouth, but by his deed: for he tooke up his ſhield in hand and went directly to his place, where he was appointed to fight. Would not any man have blamed another for leaving out theſe things? But this writer having taken the paines to collect and put in writing the baſon and cloſe ſtoole of *Amaſis*, and how he brake winde over it; the comming in of certaine aſſes which a theefe did drive; the congiary or giving of certaine bottles of wine, and many other matters of ſuch good ſtuffe; can never be thought, to have omitted through negligence, nor by overſight and forgetfullneſſe, ſo many worthy exploits, and notable ſayings: but even of peeviſhneſſe, malice and injuſtice, to ſome. And thus he ſaith, that the Thebans at firſt being with the Greeks, fought indeed, but it was by compulſion, becauſe they were held there by force. For it ſhould ſeeme forſooth, that not only *Xerxes*, but *Leonidas* alſo, had about him a company that folowed the campe with whips, to ſcourge thoſe I trow, who lagged behinde, and theſe good fellowes held the Thebans to it, and made them to fight againſt their willes: And thus he ſaith that they fought perforce, who might have fled and gone their waies: and that willingly they tooke part with the Medes, whereas there was not one came in to ſuccor them. And a little after, he writeth, that when others made haſt to gaine the hill, the Thebans being diſbanded and divided aſunder, both ſtretched forth their hands unto the Barbarians, and as they approched neere unto them, ſaid that which was moſt true, namely, that they were Medians in heart, and ſo in token of homage and fealty, gave unto the king water and earth: that being kept by force they were compelled to come into this paſſe of *Thermopylæ*, and could not doe withall, that their king was wounded, but were altogether innocent therof: By which allegations they went clere away with their matter: For they had the Theſſalians witneſſes of theſe their words and reaſons. Lo how this apologie and juſtification of theirs, had audience among thoſe barbarous outcries of ſo many thouſand men, in thoſe confuſed ſhouts and diſſonant noiſes, where there was nothing but running and flying away of one ſide, chaſing and purſuit of another: See how the witneſſes were depoſed, heard and examined. The Theſſalians alſo amid the throng and rout of thoſe that were knocked downe and killed, and over thoſe heapes of bodies which were troden under foot (for all was done in a very gullet and narrow paſſage) pleaded no doubt very formally for the

Thebans: for that a little before they having conquered by force of armes all *Greece*, chaſed them as far as to the city *Theſpiæ*, after they had vanquiſhed them in battell, and ſlaine their leader and captaine *Lattamias*. For thus much paſſed even at that very time betweene the Thebans and the Theſſalians: whereas otherwiſe there was not ſo much as civill love and humanity, that appeared by mutuall offices from one to the other. Beſides, how is it poſſible that the Thebans were ſaved, by the teſtimony of the Theſſalians? For the Barbarous Medes, as himſelfe ſaith, partly killed outright ſuch as came into their hands: and in part whiles their breath was yet in their bodies, by the commandement of *Xerxes*, ſet upon them a number of the kings markes, beginning firſt at the captaine himſelfe *Leontiades*. And yet neither was *Leontiades* the generall of the Thebans at *Thermopylæ*, but *Anaxander* as *Ariſtophanes* writeth out of the Annals, and records in the arches of *Thebes*, as touching their ſoveraigne magiſtrates: and ſo *Nicander* likewiſe the Colophonian hath put downe in his cronicle: neither was there ever any man before *Herodotus* who knew that *Xerxes* marked & branded in that maner any Theban: for this had bin an excellent plea in their defence againſt the foreſaid calumniation, and a very good meanes for this city to vaunt and boaſt of ſuch markes given them, as if king *Xerxes* meant to puniſh and plague as his greateſt and moſt mortall enimies, *Leonidas* and *Leontiades*. For he cauſed the one to be ſcourged, and his body to be hanged up when he was dead; and the other to be pricked whiles he was alive. And this our Hiſtoriographer hath uſed this cruelty which they ſhewed unto *Leonidas* dead, for a manifeſt proofe that the Barbarous king hated *Leonidas* in his life time above all men in the world. And in avouching that the Thebans who ſided with the Medes at *Thermopylæ* were thus branded & marked as ſlaves, and afterwards, being thus marked, fought egerly in the behalfe of the ſame Barbarians before *Plateæ*, me thinks he may well ſay as *Hippoclides* the feat moriske dancers, unto whom, when at a feaſt he beſtirred his legges, and hopped artificially about the tables, one ſaid unto him, Thou danceſt truly. *Hippoclides* anſwered againe, *Hippoclides* careth not greatly for the trueth. In his eighth booke he writeth that the Greeks being affrighted like cowards, entred into a reſolution for to flie from *Artemiſium* into *Greece*: and that when thoſe of *Eubœa* beſought them to tarry ſtill awhile, untill ſuch time as they might take order how to beſtow their wives, children and familie, they were nothing moved at their praiers, nor gave any eare unto them, untill ſuch time as *Themiſtocles* tooke a peece of mony of them, and parted the ſame betweene *Eurybiades* and *Adimantus* the Pretour or captaine of the Corinthians. And then they ſtaied longer, and fought a navall battell with the Barbarians. And verily *Pindarus* the Poet, albeit he was not of any confederate city, but of that which was ſuſpected and accuſed to hold of the Medians ſide, yet when he had occaſion to make mention of the battell at *Artemiſium*, brake forth into this exclamation:

This is the place where Athens *youth,*
ſometime as writers ſay,
Did with their bood, of liberty
the glorious groundworke lay.

But *Herodotus* contrariwiſe, by whom ſome give out that *Greece* hath bene graced and adorned, writeth that the ſaid victory was an act of corruption, bribery and mere theft, and that the Greeks fought againſt their wils, as being bought and ſold by their captaines, who tooke mony therefore. Neither is here an end of his malice. For all men in maner doe acknowledge and confeſſe, that the Greeks having gotten the upper hand in ſea fight upon this coaſt, yet abandoned the cape *Artemiſium*, and yeelded it to the Barbarians, upon the newes that they heard of the overthrow received at *Thermopylæ*. For it had bene no boot nor to any purpoſe, for to have ſitten ſtill there, and kept the ſea for the behoofe of *Greece*, conſidering that now the warre was hard at their dores within thoſe ſtraights, and *Xerxes*, maſter of all the Avenies. But *Herodotus* feigneth, that the Greeks, before they were advertiſed of *Leontidas* death, held a counſell and were in deliberation to flie: For theſe be his words: Being in great diſtreſſe (quoth he) and the Athenians eſpecially, who had many of their ſhips, even the one halfe of their fleet ſhrewdly bruſed and ſhaken, they were in conſultation to take their flight into *Greece*. But let us permit him thus to name or to reproch rather this retrait of theirs before the battell: but he termed it before, a flight: and now at this preſent he calleth it a flight: and hereafter he will give it the name of flight, ſo bitterly is he bent to uſe this vile word, flight. But (quoth he) there came to the Barbarians preſently after this, in a barke or light pinnace a man of *Eſtiæa*, who advertiſed them, how the Greeks had quit the cape *Artemiſium* and were fledde: which becauſe they could not beleeve, they kept the meſſenger in ward and ſafe cuſtody, and thereupon put forth certaine ſwift foiſts in eſpiall to diſcover the trueth. What ſay you *Herodotus*? What is it you write? That they fled as vanquiſhed, whom their very enimies themſelves after the battell could not beleeve that they fled, as ſuppoſing them to have had the better hand a great deale? And deſerveth this man to have credit given him, when he writeth of one perticular perſon, or of one city apart by it ſelfe, who in one bare word, ſpoileth all *Greece* of the victory? He overthroweth and demoliſheth the very Trophæe and monument, that all *Greece* erected. He aboliſheth thoſe titles and inſcriptions, which they ſet up in the honor of *Diana*, on the Eaſt ſide of *Artimiſium*, calling all this but pride and vaineglory. And as for the Epigram, it ran to this effect.

From Aſia *land, all ſorts of nations ſtout*
When Athens *youth, ſometime in navall fight*
Had vanquiſhed, and all theſe coaſts about
Diſperſt their fleet; and therewith put to flight
And ſlaine the hoſt of Medes*: Loe heere in ſight*
What monuments to thee with due reſpect,
Diana *virgin pure, they did erect.*

He deſcribed not the order of the battels, and how the Greeks were ranged, neither hath he ſhewed what place every city of theirs held, during this terrible fight at ſea: but in that retrait of their fleet, which he termeth a flight, he ſaith, that the Corinthians ſailed formoſt, and the Athenians hinmoſt: he ſhould not then have thus troden under foot, and inſulted too much over thoſe Greeks, who tooke part with the Medes: he (I ſay) who by others is thought to be a Thurian borne, and reckoneth himſelfe in the number of the Halicarnaſſeans, and they verily being deſcended from the Dorians, come with their wives and children to make warre againſt the Greeks. But this man is ſo farre off from naming and alledging before the ſtreights and neceſſities whereto thoſe ſtates were driven, who ſided with the Medians, that he reporteth thus much of the Medians, how notwithſtanding the Phocæans were their capitall enemies, yet they ſent unto them aforehand, that they would ſpare their countrey, without doing any harme or damage unto it, if they might receive from them as a reward, fiftie talents of ſilver. And this wrote he as touching the Phocæans in theſe very termes: The Phocæans (quoth he) were the onely men who in theſe quarters ſided not with the Medians, for no other cauſe as I finde upon mature conſideration, but in regard of the hatred which they bare againſt the Theſſalians: for if the Theſſalians had bene affected to the Greeks, I ſuppoſe the Phocæans would have turned to the Medes. And yet a little after, himſelfe wil ſay, that thirteene cities of the Phocæans were ſet on fire, and burnt to aſhes by the Barbarian king, their countrey laid waſte, the temple within the citie *Abes* conſumed with fire, their men and women both put to the ſword, as many as could not gaine the top of the mount *Pernaſſus*: Neverthelesſe he rangeth them in the number of thoſe that moſt affectionatly tooke part with the Barbarians, who indeed, choſe rather to endure all extremities and miſeries that warre may bring, than to abandon the defence and maintenance of the honour of *Greece*. And being not able to reproove the men for any deeds committed, he buſied his braines to deviſe falſe imputations, forging and framing with his pen divers ſurmiſes and ſuſpicions againſt them, not willing that their intentions ſhould be judged by their acts, if they had not beene of the ſame minde and affection with the Theſſalians, as if they would have renounced the treaſon, becauſe their countrey was already ſeized by others. If then, a man, who would goe about to excuſe the Theſſalians for ſiding with the Medes, ſhould ſay, that they were not willing thereto, but for the hatred which they bare unto the Phocæans, ſeeing them adhere and allied to the Greeks, therefore they tooke the contrary ſide, and clave to the Medes, even againſt their will and judgement: might not he ſeeme to be an egregious flatterer, who thus in favour of others, ſearching honeſt pretenſes to colour and cover foule facts, perverteth the trueth? Yes verily, as I thinke. How then can it otherwiſe be, but that he ſhall be taken for a plaine ſycophant, who ſaith; that the Phocæans followed not the better for vertue, but becauſe they knew the Theſſalians were of a contrary minde and judgement? For he doeth not turne and father this ſlander and calumniation upon others, as his maner is elſe where to doe, ſaying, that he heard ſay, &c. but he affirmeth, that in conferring all things together, himſelfe found no other occaſion thereof. He ought then to have alledged withall, his preſumptions and proofes; whereby he was perſwaded, that they who performe all actions ſemblable to the beſt, are yet in will and intention all one with the woorſt. For the occaſion which he alledgeth, to wit,enmitie, is frivolous, and to be laughed at, becauſe neither the enmitie that was betweene thoſe of *Aegina* and the Athenians; nor that which the Chalcidians bare againſt the *Eretrians*; nor the Corinthians againſt the Megarians; was a barre to empeach them for joining together in the league of *Greece*, for the defence of common libertie: like as on the contrary ſide, the Macedonians moſt bitter and mortall enemies unto the Theſſalians, and thoſe who plagued them moſt, diverted them not from the confederacie and alliance with the Barbarians. For the publicke perill, covered and hidde their private quarrels: inſomuch as abandoning and baniſhing their paſſions, they gave their conſent,either to honeſty for vertue, or to profit for neceſſitie. And yet beſide this neceſſitie, wherewith they found themſelves overtaken, yea, and forced to ſubmit themſelves to the Medes, they returned againe to the Greeks ſide: and heereof *Leocrates* the Spartane, giveth direct teſtimonie in their behalfe. Yea and *Herodotus* himſelfe being forced and compelled thereto, confeſſeth in the deſcription of the affaires that paſſed at *Plateæ*, that the Phocians ſided with the Greeks. And no marvell is it, if he be ſo rough and violent with ſuch as have beene infortunate; when as, even thoſe who were preſent in the action,and hazarded their whole eſtate for the good of the common-wealth, he tranſpoſeth into the ranke of enemies and traitors. For the men of *Naxos* ſent three gallies or ſhippes of warre to aide the Barbarians in their ſervice: but one of the captaines of thoſe veſſels named *Democritus*, perſwaded his other two fellowes, to turne, and range rather on the Greeks ſide. See how he can not for his life, praiſe, but he muſt withall diſpraiſe: but looke when ſome particular perſon is commended, he muſt needs by and by condemne a whole citie and nation: Witneſſe heereof, among ancient writers, *Hellanicus*,and of our moderne authors, *Ephorus*: for the one ſaith, that the Naxians came to ſuccour the Greekes with ſixe gallies, and the other ſaith with five: yea and *Herodotus* himſelfe is convinced to have feigned and falſified this: For the particular chroniclers of the Naxians write, that before time they had repulſed *Megabetes* the lieutenant of the kings,who with two hundred ſaile arrived at their Iſle,& there ridde at anchor: afterwards drave away *Datis* another generall of his,who as he paſſed by, burnt their cities. And if it be ſo as *Herodotus* ſaith elſewhere,that they themſelves deſtroied their city, by ſetting it on fire,but the people ſaved themſelves, by flying into the mountaines, had they good cauſe to ſend aid unto thoſe, who were the cauſe of the ruin and deſtruction of their owne country, and not to joine with them who fought for the common liberty? But that it was not ſo much to praiſe *Democritus*, as to blame the Naxians, that he deviſed this lie, he ſheweth evidently by this, that he concealeth and omitteth to ſpeake of the valiant feats of armes, which at that time captaine *Democritus* exploited,according as *Simonides* ſhewed by this Epigram.

Democritus *in third place gave*
the charge with all his might,
What time as Greeks nere Salamis,
with Medes at ſea did fight,
Five ſhips of enimies he tooke:
a ſixth there chanc'd to be,
One of the Greeks in Barbarous hands,
and that recovered he.

But why ſhould any man be angry with him about the Naxians? For if their be any *Antipodes*, as ſome ſay there are, who dwell in the other Hemiſphære and goe oppoſit unto us, I ſuppoſe that they alſo have heard of *Themiſtocles*, and the counſell that he gave unto the Greeks for to fight a navall battel before *Salamis*, who afterwards cauſed a temple to be built in the Iſle of *Melite*,unto *Diana* the wiſe counſeller, after that the Barbarous king was diſcomfited. Now this kinde and gentle cronicler of ours,refuſing as much as lieth in him to avow this exploit, and to transfer the glory thereof unto another, writeth expreſly thus. When things ſtood upon theſe termes, as *Themiſtocles* went a boord into his owne gally, there was a citizen of *Athens* named *Mneſiphelus*, who demanded of him what they had reſolved upon in their councell? And when he heard that concluded it was to retire with their fleet unto *Iſthmus* or the ſtreights, there to fight a battell at ſea even before *Peloponneſus*: I ſay unto you(quoth he) againe that if they remoove the navy from *Salamis*,you ſhall never fight more upon the ſea for any country of your owne: for every man will preſently returne home to his owne city. And therefore if there be any device and meanes in the world,goe your waies and indevor to breake this reſolution,and if it be poſſible deale ſo with *Eurybiades*,that he may change his minde and tarry here ſtill: And a little after, when he had ſaid that this advice pleaſed *Themiſtocles* wondrous much, & that without making any anſwere at all he went directly to *Eurybiades*, he writeth againe in theſe very tearmes: And ſitting neere unto him, he relateth what counſell he had heard *Mneſiphilus* to give, taking it upon himſelfe, and addeth more things beſides. Thus ſee you not how in ſome ſort he brings *Themiſtocles* unto an ill name and opinion of leaudneſſe, in that he attributeth unto himſelfe a counſell which was none of his owne, but the invenſion of *Mneſiphilus*? And afterwards deriding ſtill the Greeks more and more, he ſaith that *Themiſtocles* was no ſuch wiſe man, as to ſee what was good and expedient, but failed in his foreſight, notwithſtanding that for his prudence and cunning he caried the ſurname of *Uliſſes*. Mary, lady *Artemiſia* borne in the ſame city that *Herodotus* was, without the prompting or teaching of any perſon, but even of her own head, fortold *Xerxes* that the Greeks could not hold out long, nor make head againſt him, but would disband and diſperſe themſelves, & every one flie home unto his owne city: Neither it is like (quoth ſhe) if you march with your army by land unto *Peloponneſus*, that they will be quiet and ſit ſtill, and take no care to fight at ſea for the Athenians: Whereas, Sir, if you make haſt to give them a navall battell, I feare me greatly that if your armada receive any foile or damage, it wil greatly prejudice your land forces. But here *Herodotus* wanted nothing but his propheticall verſes, to make *Artemiſia* another *Sibylla*, propheſying of things to come ſo exactly. Well in regard of this advertiſement *Xerxes* gave her commiſſion to carry his children with her to the city of *Epheſus*: for he had fogotten belike, to bring any women with him from his roiall city of *Suſa*, in caſe his children needed a convoy of women to conduct them. But I make no account of ſuch lies as theſe which he hath deviſed againſt us: yet let us onely examine a little what ſlanders he hath raiſed upon others. He ſaith that the Athenians give out, how *Adimantus* the captaine of the Corinthians, when the enimies were at the point of giving the charge, and joining battell, in great feare and aſtoniſhment fled, not by ſhoving the ſhip backeward at the poupe by little and little after a ſoft maner of retreat, nor yet making way of evaſion and eſcape cloſely and with ſilence through his enimies; but hoiſing up and ſpreding full ſaile, and turning the proes and beake heads about of all his veſſels at once. And then there was a fregat or ſwift pinnace ſent out after him, which overtooke him about the coaſts of *Salamis*, out of which one cried out unto him: What *Adimantus*, doe you flie indeed, and have you abandoned and betraied the Greeks? And yet they have the better hand, according as they made their praiers unto the gods for to vanquiſh their enemies. Now this fregat, we muſt thinke verily came downe from heaven: for what need had he to uſe any ſuch tragique engine, or fabricke to worke ſuch feats, who every where elſe ſurpaſſeth all the Poets tragicall in the world, for lying and vanity. Well *Adimantus* beleeving the ſaid voice, was reclaimed and returned againe to the armada, when all was done, and the buſineſſe diſpatched by others to his hands. Thus goes the bruit and ſpeech among the Athenians. But the Corinthians confeſſe not ſo much, ſaying that they themſelves were the formoſt who in the vaward gave the firſt onſet and charged the enimies in this battell at ſea: and on their ſide beare witneſſe all the other Greeks. And thus dealeth this man in many other places: He ſoweth ſlanders here and there upon one or other, to the end that he may not miſſe but light upon ſome, fall it out as it will, who may appeare moſt wicked. Like as in this place he ſpeedeth very well in his purpoſe. For if his ſlander and accuſation be beleeved, the Corinthians ſhall ſuſtaine infamie: if diſcredited, the Athenians ſhall beare the diſhonor: or if the Athenians have not lied upon the Corinthians, yet himſelfe hath ſpared neither of them, but told a lie of them both. For proofe hereof, *Thucydides* who bringeth in an embaſſador of *Athens*, to conteſt againſt a Corinthian at *Lacedæmon*, and ſpeake bravely of their owne worthy exploits againſt the Medes, and namely, of the navall battell of *Salamis*, chargeth upon the Corinthians no matter of treaſon nor cowardiſe in abandoning their colours: for there is no likelihood, that the Athenians would have reproched the city of *Corinth* in ſuch termes, conſidering that they ſaw it ingraven in the third place after the Lacedæmonians, and thoſe inſcriptions of ſpoiles which woon from the Barbarians, were conſecrated to the gods. And at *Salamis*, they permitted them to interre and bury their dead neere to the citie ſide, as who were brave warriours, and had borne themſelves moſt valiantly in that ſervice, with an inſcription in Elegick verſes to this effect:

Once (paſſenger) we dwelt in Corinth *towne,*
Well watered with ſea on either ſide:
And now our bones thu Iſle of renowme,

Hight Salamis*, within drie mould doth hide:*
Phœnician ſhips we ſunke, that here did ride:
The Medes ſo ſtout we ſlew and Perſians brave,
That ſacred Greece *from bondage we might ſave.*

But their Cenotaph or imaginary tombe which was erected in *Iſthmus*, carieth this Epitaph:

Loe heere we lie, who with our lives ſet free
All Greece*, neere brought to ſhamefull ſlaverie.*

Likewiſe over the offerings which *Diodorus* one of the captaines of the Corinthian gallies, cauſed to be ſet up in the temple of *Latona*, there was this ſuperſcription:

From cruell Medes, theſe armes which hang in ſight,
The mariners of Theodorus *won:*
And as memorials of their navall fight,
To dame Latona *offred them anon.*

Adimantus himſelfe, whom *Herodotus* evermore doth revile and reproch, ſaying, That he alone of all the captaines, went away with a full purpoſe to flie from *Artemiſium*, and would not ſtay untill the conflict; ſee what honour he had:

Friend paſſenger, heere lies ſir Adimant
Entombed, by whoſe proweſſe valiant,
All Greece *is crown'd with freedome at this day,*
Which els had beene to thraldome brought for ay.

For neither is it like that ſuch honour ſhould have beene done unto him after his death, if hee had beene a coward and a traitour; neither would he ever have dared to name one of his daughters *Nauſinice*, that is to ſay, Victorie in battell at ſea; another, *Acrothinion*, which is as much, as the Firſt fruits of ſpoiles won from enemies; and a third, *Alexibia*, that is to ſay, Aide againſt force: alſo to give unto his ſonne the name of *Ariſteus*, which ſignifieth a brave warriour: if he had not won ſome glory and reputation by worthy feats of armes. Moreover, it is not credible, I will not ſay, that *Herodotus*, but the meaneſt and moſt obſcure Carian that is, was ignorant of that glorious and memorable praier which in thoſe daies the Corinthian dames alone of all other Grecian wives made, That it might pleaſe the goddeſſe *Venus* to inſpire their husbands with the love and deſire to give battell unto the Barbarians. For this was a thing commonly knowen and divulged abroad, inſomuch as *Simonides* made an Epigram engraven over thoſe their images of braſſe, which are ſet up in the temple of *Venus*, which by report was founded in times paſt by *Medea*, as ſome ſay, to this end, that ſhe herſelfe might ceaſe to love her husband; but as others, that *Jaſon* her husband might give over the love of one *Thetis*. And the ſaid Epigram goeth in this maner:

Theſe ladies here, whoſe ſtatues ſtand in place,
Did whilom praiers to goddeſſe Venus *make,*
In Greeks behalfe; that it might pleaſe her grace
Them to incite, the warres to undertake.
Dame Venus *then, for thoſe good womens ſake*
To Median archers expos'd not as a pray
The Greeks, nor would their Citadel betray.

Such matters as theſe, he ſhould have written and made mention of, rather than inſerted into his hiſtorie, how *Aminocles* killed his owne ſonne. Over and beſides, after he had ſatisfied himſelfe to the ful with moſt impudent imputations which he charged upon *Themiſtocles*, accuſing him, that he ceaſed not ſecretly to rob and ſpoile the Iſles, without the knowledge of the other captaines joined in commiſſion with him; in the end, taketh from the Athenians the crowne of principall valiance, and ſetteth it upon the head of the Aeginets, writing thus: The Greeks having ſent the firſt fruits of their ſpoiles and pillage unto the temple at *Delphos*, demanded of *Apollo* in generall, whether he had ſufficient, and ſtood content with that portion of the bootie: unto whom he anſwered, that of all other Greeks, he had received enough, & wherewith he was well pleaſed: but of the Aeginets not ſo; at whoſe hands he required the chiefe priſe and honor of proweſſe, which they woon at the battell of *Salamis*. Thus you ſee he fathereth not upon the Scythians, the Perſians or Aegyptians his lying tale, which he coggeth and deviſeth, as *Aeſope* doth upon crowes, ravens and apes; but he uſeth the very perſon of god *Apollo Pythius*, for to diſappoint and deprive the Athenians of the firſt place in honor, at the battell of *Salamis*; as alſo

Themiſtocles of the ſecond, which was adjudged unto him at *Iſthmus* or the ſtreights of *Peloponneſus*; for that ech captaine there, attributed the higheſt degree of proweſſe to himſelfe, and the next unto him: and thus the judgement heereof growing to no end and concluſion, by reaſon of the ambition of the ſaid captaines, he ſaith, All the Greeks weighed anchor and departed, as not being willing to conferre upon *Themiſtocles* the ſovereigne honour of the victorie. And in his ninth and laſt booke, having nothing left to wreake his teene upon, and to diſcharge his malicious and ſpightfull ſtomacke, but onely the Lacedæmonians, and that excellent piece of ſervice which they performed againſt the Barbarians before the city of *Platea*, he writeth, That the Lacedæmonians, who aforetime feared greatly, that the Athenians being ſollicited and perſwaded by *Mardonius*, would forſake all other Greeks: now that the Streights of *Iſthmus* were mured up & their country ſafe enough, they tooke no further care of others, but left them at ſix and ſeven, feaſting & making holiday at home, deluding the embaſſadors of the Athenians, and holding them off with delaies, and not giving them their diſpatch. And how is it then, that there went to *Platea* a thouſand and five Spartans, having every one of them ſeven Ilotes about him, for the guard of his perſon? How is it (I ſay) that they taking upon them the adventure of ſo great a perill, vanquiſhed and diſcomfited ſo many thouſands of Barbarians? But hearken what a probable cauſe hee alledgeth: There was (quoth he) by chance, a man at *Sparta*, named *Chileus*, who came from *Tegæa* thither, and ſojourned there, for that among the Ephori he had ſome friends, as betweene whom and him there was mutuall hoſpitalitie: He it was who perſwaded them to bring their forces into the field, ſhewing unto them that the bulwarke and wall for the defence of *Peloponneſus* would ſerve in ſmall ſtead or none, if the Athenians joined once with *Mardonius*; and this was it that drew *Pauſanias* forth with his power to *Platea*: ſo that if ſome particular buſineſſe haply had kept *Chileus* at home ſtill in *Tegea*, *Greece* had never gotten the victorie. Againe, not knowing another time what to doe with the Athenians: one while he extolleth their city on high, and another while he debaſeth it as low, toſſing it to and fro, ſaying, that being in queſtion about the ſecond place of honor with the Tegeats, they made mention of the Heraclidæ, alledging their valiant acts, which before time they had atchieved againſt the Amazones: the ſepultures alſo of the Peloponneſians, who died under the very wals of the caſtle *Cadmea*; and finally that they went downe to *Marathon* vaunting glorioſly in words, and taking great joy that they had the conduct of the left wing or point of the battell. Alſo a little after, he putteth downe, that *Pauſanias* & the Spartans willingly yeelded the ſuperioritie of command to them, and deſired them to take the charge of the right wing themſelves, to the end they might confront the Perſians, and give them the left; as if they had excuſed themſelves by their diſuſe, in that they were woont to encounter with the Barbarians. And verily, albeit this is a meere mockerie, to ſay, that they were unwilling to deale with thoſe enemies, who were not accuſtomed to fight with them: yet he ſaith moreover, that all the other Greeks, when their captaines ledde them into another place for to encampe in, ſo ſoone as ever their ſtanderds marched & advanced forward: The horſemen (quoth he) in generall fled, and would willingly have put themſelves within the city *Platea*, but they fledde indeed as farre as to the temple of *Juno*. Wherein he accuſeth all the Greeks together of diſobedience, cowardiſe, and treaſon. Finally, he writeth that there were none but the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeates who charged the Barbarians; nor any beſides the Athenians, who fought with the Thebans; depriving all other cities equally of their part in the glory of that ſo noble an exploit: for that there was not one of them who laid hand to worke, but ſitting all ſtill, or leaning upon their weapons hard by, abandoning and betraying in the meane time, without doing ought, thoſe who fought for their ſafetie, untill that the Phliaſians, and the Megarians, though long it were firſt, hearing that *Pauſanias* had the upper hand, ranne in with more haſte than good ſpeed, and falling upon the cavallerie of the Thebanes, where they were preſently defaited and ſlaine, without any great adoe: But the Corinthians (quoth he) were not at this fray, but after the victorie, keeping above on the high ground among the mountaines, by that meanes met not with the Thebanes horſemen. For the cavallery of the Thebanes, ſeeing the Barbarians to fly all in a rout, put themſelves foorth before them, to make them way, and by this meanes very affectionately aſſiſted them in their flight, and all in recompence and by way of thankeſgiving, forſooth, (for ſo you muſt take it) for thoſe marks which were given them in their faces, within the ſtreight of *Thermopilæ*. But in what ranke and place of this battell the Corinthians were raunged, and how they did their devoir, and quit themſelves againſt the Barbarians before *Pla-*

tea, you may know by that which *Simonides* writeth of them in theſe verſes:

Amid the hoſt arraunged ſtood,
and in the battell maine,
Thoſe who inhabit Ephyra,
waterd with many a vaine
Of lively ſprings: Men who in ſeats
of martiall armes excell:
And joinct with them, they that in old
ſir Glaucus *citie dwell,*
Faire Corinth *hight: and theſe their deeds*
of proweſſe to expreſſe,
A ſtately gift of precious gold,
did afterwards addreſſe,
And conſecrate to gods above
in heav'ns: and by the ſame
Much amplified their owne renowme,
and their forefathers fame.

For this wrote he of them, not by way of a ſcholaſticall exerciſe, as if he taught a ſchoole in *Corinth*: nor as one who of purpoſe made a ſong or balad in praiſe of the city, but as a chronicler penning the hiſtorie of theſe affaires in elegiack verſes to that effect. But this writer heere of ours, preventeth the conviction of a loud lie, leſt he might be taken therewith, by thoſe that ſhould demaund of him in this maner: How commeth it then to paſſe that there be ſo many ſepulchres, tombes, graves, and monuments of the dead, upon which the Plateans even to this day doe ſolemnly celebrate the anniverſarie effuſions, to the ghoſts and ſoules of thoſe that are departed, in the preſence of other Greeks aſſiſtant with them? And verily in mine opinion he ſeemeth yet more ſhamefully to charge theſe nations with the crime of treaſon, in theſe words following: And theſe ſepultures or places of burial which are ſeene about *Platea*, thoſe I meane which their poſteritie and ſucceſſors, being aſhamed of this foule fault, that their progenitours were not at this battell, or came too late, caſt up, and raiſed on high, every man for his part in generall, for the poſteritie ſake. As for *Herodotus* he is the onely man of all others who hath heard of this abſence from the battell, which is reputed treaſon: But *Pauſanias*, *Ariſtides*, the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, never knew of thoſe Greeks who made default, and would not be at this dangerous conflict: And yet the Athenians neither impeached the Aeginetes though they were their adverſaries, that they were not compriſed within the inſcription, nor yet charged and convinced the Corinthians for flying from the battell at *Salamis*, conſidering that *Greece* beareth witneſſe againſt them. And verily as *Herodotus* himſelfe doth teſtifie, ten yeeres after this warre of the Medes, *Cleadas* a citizen of *Platea*, to gratifie and pleaſure the Aeginetes as a friend, raiſed a great mount bearing their name, as if they had bene interred therein. What ailed then the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, or what moved them, being ſo jealous one of another about this glory as they were, that they had like to have gone together by the eares preſently upon the exploit performed, for erecting of a Tropæe or monument of victory, not to deprive them of the price of honor, who upon cowardly feare were either away or elſe fled from the ſervice, but to ſuffer their names to be written upon the Tropæes, Colopes and giantlike ſtatues erected in memoriall of them, allowing them their part in the ſpoiles and pillage, yea and in the end cauſing this Epigram or ſuperſcription to be engraven upon a publicke alter?

The Greeks in ſigne of noble victory,
Which they ſometimes wan of the Perſians hoſt,
And to retaine the thankefull memory
That they them drave away from Gretian coaſt,
(So reſolute they were or elſe all had bene loſt)
This common alter built to Jupiter
Surnamed hereupon Deliverer.

How now *Herodotus*, was it *Cleades*, or ſome other I pray you, who in flatterie of the Greeks, made this Epigram or Inſcription? What need had they then to take ſuch paines & trouble thẽſelves in digging the ground in vain, & by caſting up of earth raiſe ſuch mounts & monuments for the age to come, when as they might ſee their glory conſecrated and immortalized in theſe moſt conſpicuous and famous memorials, dedicated to the honor of the gods? And verily *Pauſanias*, when as he intended, as men ſay to uſurpe tyrannicall government, in a certaine oblation which he offred in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, ſet this inſcription;

Pauſanias *the captaine generall*
Of all the Greeks: when he had conquered
The Medes in fight, for a memoriall
This monument to Phœbus *offered.*

And albeit in ſome ſort he communicated the glory of this execution with the Greeks, whoſe ſovereigne captaine he termed himſelfe, yet the Greeks being not able to endure it, but utterly miſliking him therefore, the Lacedæmonians above the reſt ſent their embaſſadors unto *Delphos*, and cauſed the ſaid Epigram to be cut out with a chizzell, and in lieu thereof, the names of the cities, as good reaſon was, to be engraven: And yet what likelihood is there, that either the Greeks ſhould take offence and diſcontentment for being left out in this inſcription, in caſe they were culpable, and privy to themſelves, that they were not with others at the battell? or the Lacedæmonians when they raced out and defaced the name of their generall and chiefe commander, cauſe to be written and engraved their names, who had forſaken and left them in the middeſt of danger? For this were a manifeſt indignity, and moſt abſurd, if when *Socharus Dipniſtus*, and all thoſe that performed the beſt ſervice in that journey, never grieved nor complained that the Cythnians and Melians had their names recorded in thoſe Tropæes, *Herodotus* in attributing the honor of this battell unto three cities onely, ſhould daſh all others out, and not ſuffer their names to ſtand upon any Tropæes or conſecrated places: For whereas there were foure battels given then unto the Barbarians, he ſaith, that the Greeks fled from the cape *Artemiſium*: And at the paſſe or ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, whiles their king and ſoveraigne captaine expoſed himſelfe to the hazzard of his life, they kept themſelves cloſe at home and ſat ſtill, taking no thought for the matter, but ſolemnized their Olympicke games and Carnian feats.

Moreover when he commeth to diſcribe the battell at *Salamis*; he ſpeaketh ſo much of *Artemiſia*, that he ſpendeth not ſo many words againe, in all the narraton of that navall battell, and the iſſue thereof. Finally as touching the journey of *Platea*, he ſaith that all other Greeks, ſitting idly at their eaſe, knew nothing of the field fought, before all was done, according as *Pigres Artimiſias* being pleaſantly diſpoſed to jeſt, writeth merily in verſe, that there was a battell betweene frogs and mice, wherein they were agreed to keepe ſilence, & make no noiſe al the whiles they fought; to the end that no others might take any knowledge thereof: alſo that the Lacedæmonians were no better warriors nor more valiant than the Barbarians: but their hap was to defait and vanquiſh them, becauſe they were naked men and diſarmed: For *Xerxes* himſelfe being preſent in perſon, if they had not beene followed with whips & ſcourged forward, had never bene able to have made them fight with the Greeks; mary in this journey of *Platea*, having changed their hearts and courages (for needs it muſt be ſo) they were nothing inferior in boldneſſe of heart, ſtrength of body, and reſolution to the Greeks; but it was the apparell, which wanting armes upon it, hurt them ſo much & marred al, for being themſelves lightly appointed and in maner naked, thay had to deale with the Lacedæmonians that were heavily armed at all pieces. What honor then or great matter of glory could redound unto the Greeks out of theſe foure battels, in caſe it be ſo that the Lacedæmonians encountred naked and unarmed men? And for the other Greeks although they were in thoſe parts preſent, yet if they knew not of the combat, untill the ſervice was done to their hands: and if the tombs honored yeerely by the ſeverall cities belonging to them, be emptie, and mockeries onely of monuments and ſepulchres; and if the trevets and altars erected before the gods, be full of falſe titles and inſcriptions; and *Herodotus* onely knew the trueth; and all men in the world beſides, who have heard of the Greeks, and were quite deceived by the honorable name and opinion that went of them for their ſingular proweſſe and admirable vertue; what is their then to be thought or ſaid of *Herodotus*? Surely that he is an excellent writer, and depainteth things to the life: he is a fine man; he hath an eloquent tongue: his diſcourſes are full of grace, they are pleaſant, beautifull, and artificiall: and as it was ſaid of a Poet or Muſician in telling his tale; how ever he hath pronounced his narration and hiſtory not with knowledge and learning, yet ſurely he hath done it elegantly, ſmoothly, and with an audible and cleare voice. And theſe I wis be the things that move delight and doe affect all that reade him. But like as among roſes we muſt beware of the venimous flies *Cantharides* : even ſo we ought to take heed of detractions and backebiting of his baſe penning likewiſe of things deſerving great praiſe, which inſinuate themſelves and creepe under his ſmooth ſtile, poliſhed phraſe and figurative ſpeeches: to the end, that ere we be aware we intertaine not, nor foſter in our heads, falſe conceits and abſurd opinions of the braveſt men and nobleſt cities of *Greece*.

OF MVSICKE.

A Dialogue.

The perſons therein diſcourſing: ONESICRATES, SOTERICHUS, LYSIAS.

This treatiſe, little or nothing at all concerneth the Muſicke of many voices according and interlaced together, which is in uſe and requeſt at this day; but rather apperteineth to the ancient faſhion, which conſiſteth in the accord and conſonance of ſong with the ſenſe and meaſure of the letter, as alſo with the good grace of geſture: and by the ſtile and maner of writing, it ſeemeth not to be of *Plutarchs* doing.

The wife of that good man *Phocion*, was wont to ſay, that the jewels and ornaments wherein ſhe joied, were thoſe ſtratagemes and worthy feats of armes which her huſband *Phocion* had atchieved: but I for my part may well and truely avouch, that the ornaments not onely of my ſelfe in particular, but alſo of all my friends and kinſfolke in generall, is the diligence of my ſchoolemaſter and his affection in teaching me good literature. For this we know full well, that the nobleſt exploits and braveſt pieces of ſervice performed by great generals and captaines in the field, can doe no more but onely ſave from preſent perill or imminent danger, ſome ſmall armie, or ſome one citie, or haply at the moſt, one entire nation and countrey; but are not able to make either their ſouldiers, or citizens, or their countreymen, better in any reſpect: whereas on the other ſide, good erudition and learning, being the very ſubſtance indeed of felicitie, and the efficient cauſe of prudence and wiſdome, is found to be good and profitable not onely to one family, city and nation, but generally to all mankinde. By how much therefore the profit and commodity enſuing upon knowledge and good letters is greater than that which proceedeth from all ſtratagemes or martiall feats; by ſo much is the remembrance and relation thereof more worthy and commendable. Now it fortuned not long ſince, that our gentle friend *Oneſicrates* invited unto a feaſt in his houſe, the ſecond day of the Saturnall ſolemnities, certeine perſons very expert and ſkilfull in Muſicke, and among the reſt, *Soterichus* of *Alexandria*, and *Lyſias*, one of thoſe who received a penſion from him: and after the ordinary ceremonies and complements of ſuch feaſts were performed, he began to make a ſpeech unto his company after this maner: My good friends (quoth he) I ſuppoſe, that it would not beſeeme a feaſt or banquet, to ſearch at this time what is the efficient cauſe of mans voice; for, a queſtion it is, that would require better leaſure and more ſobrietie: but foraſmuch as the beſt Grammarians define voice, to be the beating or percuſſion of the aire, perceptible unto the ſenſe of hearing, and becauſe

cauſe that yeſterday we enquired and diſputed as touching Grammar, and found it to be an art making profeſſion and very meet, to frame and ſhape voices according to lines and letters, yea, and to lay them up in writing, as in the treaſury and ſtorehouſe of memorie; let us now ſee what is the ſecond ſcience next to it, that is meet and agreeable to the voice: and this I take to be Muſicke. For a devout and religious thing it is, yea, and a principall duty belonging unto men, for to ſing the praiſes of the gods, who have beſtowed upon them alone this gift of a diſtinct and articulate voice: which *Homer* alſo by his teſtimonie hath declared in theſe verſes:

Then all day long the Grecian youth
in ſongs melodious
Beſought god Phœbus *of his grace,*
to be propitious:
Phœbus *I ſay, who from afarre*
doth ſhoot his arrowes nie,
They chaunt and praiſe; who takes great joy,
to heare ſuch harmony.

Goe to therefore my maſters, you that are profeſſed Muſicians, relate unto this good company here that are your friends, who was the firſt inventour of Muſicke; what it is that time hath added unto it afterwards; who they were that became famous by the exerciſe and profeſſion of this ſcience; as alſo, to how many things and to what, is the ſaid ſtudy and practiſe profitable. Thus much as touching that which *Oneſicrates* our maſter moved and propounded; whereupon *Lyſias* inferred againe, and ſaid: You demand a queſtion, good *Oneſicrates*, which hath alreadie beene handled and diſcuſſed: for the moſt part of the Platonique Philoſophers, and the beſt ſort of the Peripateticks have emploied themſelves in the writing of the ancient Muſicke, and of the corruption that in time crept into it. The beſt Grammarians alſo and moſt cunning Muſicians, have taken great paines and travelled much in this argument; and yet there is no ſmall diſcord and jarre among them, as harmonicall otherwiſe as they be about theſe points. *Heraclides* in his Breviarie, wherein he hath collected together all the excellent profeſſours of Muſicke, writeth that *Amphion* deviſed firſt the maner of ſinging to the Lute or Citherne, as alſo the Citharædian poëſie; for being the ſonne of *Antiope* and *Jupiter*, his father taught him that skill. And this may be proved true, by an olde evidence or record enrolled, and diligently kept in the city *Sicyone*, wherein he nameth certeine Prieſtreſſes in *Argos*, as alſo Poets and Muſicians. In the ſame age, he ſaith, there lived *Linus* alſo of *Eubœa*, who compoſed certeine lamentable and dolefull ditties; *Anthes* likewiſe of *Anthedon* in *Bœotia*, who made hymnes; and *Pierius* borne in *Pieria*, who wrote poëmes upon the Muſes: he maketh mention beſides of *Philammon* a Delphian, who reduced into ſongs and canticles the nativity of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*; and he it was who inſtituted firſt the quires and dances about the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*. And as for *Thamyris* a Thracian borne, he reporteth, that of all men living in thoſe daies, he had the ſweeteſt breſt, and ſung moſt melodiouſly, inſomuch as if we may beleeve Poets, hee challenged the Muſes, & contended with them in ſinging. It is written moreover, that this *Thamyris* compiled in verſe the warre of the Titans againſt the Gods; as alſo, that *Demodocus* of *Corcyra* was an ancient Muſician, who endited a poeme of the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the marriage betweene *Venus* and *Vulcane*: Semblably, that *Phemius* of *Ithaca* wrote in verſe of the returne of thoſe Greeks from *Troy*, who came home againe with *Agamemnon*. Furthermore, it is ſaid, that the ſtile of thoſe poemes aboveſaid, was not looſe and in proſe, without metricall numbers, but like unto that of *Steſichorus* and other old Poets and ſong-makers, who firſt made naked ditties in verſe, and afterwards arraied them with Muſicall tunes and notes: for the ſame author reporteth, that *Terpander* a maker of ſongs with notes and meaſures to be ſung unto the Lute or Cithern, according to ech law and rule of the ſaid meaſures, adorned both his owne verſes and thoſe of *Homer* alſo, with harmonicall tunes, and ſung them accordingly at the ſolemne games, wherein Muſicians ſing one againſt the other for the priſe: he affirmeth likewiſe, that the ſame *Terpander* was the firſt who impoſed names and termes to thoſe tunes which are to be ſung to the foreſaid ſtringed inſtruments: and in imitation of *Terpander*, *Clonas* firſt compoſed ſongs and ſet tunes to the fluit and other winde inſtruments, as alſo the Proſodies and ſonets ſung at the entrie of ſacrifices, and that he was a Poet who made Elegiack and Hexameter verſes; alſo, that *Polymneſtus* the Colophonian, who came after him, uſed likewiſe the ſame poemes. Now the Metricall lawes and ſongs in meaſures, called in Greeke Νόμοι, which theſe Poets and Muſicians uſed to the pipe, were termed (good *Oneſicrates*) in this ſort, namely, *Apothetos, Elegi, Comarchios, Schœmon, Cepion, Dios* and *Trimeles*: but in proceſſe of time, were deviſed others beſide, called *Polymnaſtia*. As for the Muſicall lawes or tunes to be ſung unto the ſtringed inſtrument, they were invented long time before thoſe other belonging to pipes, by *Terpander*; for he beforetime named thoſe of the ſtringed inſtruments, *Bœotius, Aeolius, Trochæus, Oxys, Capion, Terpandrios* and *Tetraœdios*. Furthermore, the ſaid *Terpander* made certeine proœmes or voluntary ſongs to the Lute, in verſe. Now, that the ſongs or ditties to be ſung unto ſtringed inſtruments, were compoſed in olde time of Hexamiter verſes, *Timotheus* giveth us to underſtand; for mingling the firſt metricall rules in his verſes, he ſung the Dithyrambick ditty, to the end, that he might not ſeeme immediatly at the firſt, to breake the lawes of the ancient Muſicke. This *Terpander* ſeemeth to have beene excellent in the art of playing upon the Lute and ſinging to it; for wee finde upon record in ancient tables written, that foure times together, one after another, he caried the priſe away at the Pythian games: and no doubt, of great antiquitie he was. Certes, *Glaucus* the Italian writer, will have him to be more ancient than *Archilochus*; for ſo he writeth in a certeine treatiſe as touching the olde Poets and Muſicians, ſaying, that he followed in the ſecond place after thoſe who inſtituted firſt ſongs unto the flute and other pipes. And *Alexander* in his Breviarie of the Poets and Muſicians of *Phrygia*, recordeth *Olympus* to be the firſt man who brought into *Greece* the feat and skill of ſtriking the ſtrings of inſtruments, and beſides, thoſe that are called *Idæi Dactyli*. But *Hyagnis* was the firſt by his ſaying, who plaied upon pipes: after him, his ſonne *Marſyas*, and then *Olympus*: alſo, that *Terpander* imitated *Homer* in verſes, and *Orpheus* in ſong: as for *Orpheus*, it ſhould ſeeme, that he imitated none, conſidering that before him there was not one, but thoſe Poets who made ditties and ſongs to pipes, wherewith the works of *Orpheus* have no reſemblance at all. Touching this *Clonas* a compoſer of ſongs and tunes for the pipe, who lived ſomewhat after the time of *Terpander*, he was a Tegeæan borne, as the Arcadians ſay, or rather as the Bœotians give out, a Theban. After *Terpander* and *Clonas*, *Archilochus* is ranged in a third place, howſoever other Chroniclers write, that *Ardalus* the Trœzenian ordeined the Muſicke of pipes before *Clonas*, as alſo, that there was one *Polymneſtus* a Poet the ſonne of *Meles* a Colophonian, who made thoſe tunes and ſongs which carie the name of *Polymneſtos* and *Polymneſte*. True it is, that thoſe who compiled the tables and records of Muſicians, make mention that *Clonas* deviſed theſe two ſongs or tunes named *Apothetos* and *Schœmos*. And as for the above named *Polymneſtus*, *Pindarus* and *Alcman*, both ſong-makers, made mention of him; and they report beſides, that olde *Philammon* of *Delphos* compoſed ſome of thoſe ſongs and tunes to the Lute and Harpe, which be attributed unto *Terpander*. In ſumme, the ſong and muſicke to the Lute and Harpe, deviſed by *Terpander*, continued very plaine and ſimple, unto the daies of *Phrynis*: for in olde time, it was not lawfull to ſing voluntary, as now they do at their pleaſure, to ſtringed inſtruments; nor to transferre either harmonies or muſicall numbers and meaſures: for according to every ſong and tune, they kept a proper and peculiar tenſion or ſtretching of the ſtrings; which is the reaſon that they be called Νόμοι, as one would ſay, Lawes, becauſe it was not lawfull to trangreſſe in any of theſe ſongs or tunes, that ſeverall kinde of tenſion & ſtretching the ſtrings, which was uſuall and ordinary. For after that they had performed thoſe ſongs which apperteine to the pacifying of Gods wrath, they leapt immediatly to the Poetrie of *Homer* and of others, at their pleaſure, which may evidently appeare, by the proœmes and voluntarie tunes of *Terpander*. And verily, about this time, according as *Capion* the ſcholar of *Terpander* reporteth, was firſt formed that maner of Lute or Cithern which was called *Aſias*, for that the Lesbian Minſtrels and Muſicians, who bordered hard upon *Aſia*, uſed ſuch a forme: and it is ſaid, that *Periclitus* was the laſt plaier upon ſuch an inſtrument, who wan the priſe at the Carnian games at *Lacedæmon*, of all thoſe who were Lesbians borne: after whoſe death ever after, there failed in *Lesbos*, that continuall ſucceſſion of ſuch Muſicians. But ſome there be, who are greatly deceived, to thinke that *Hipponax* was of the ſame time with *Terpander*: and it ſeemeth that even *Periclitus* was more ancient than *Hipponax*.

Having thus declared the olde metricall ſongs and tunes jointly together, of Muſicians to ſtringed inſtruments and pipes, let us turne now to ſuch as properly concerne thoſe that perteine to plaiers upon pipes alone: for it is ſaid, that the above-named *Olympus* being a plaier of the flute and other pipes, and came out of *Phrygia*, ſet a ſong to his inſtrument in the honor and praiſe of *Apollo*, and the ſame was called *Polycephalus*: and by report, this *Olympus* deſcended lineally from that firſt *Olympus* the ſcholar of *Marſyas*, who compoſed ditties, and ſet tunes for the worſhip of the gods: for this *Olympus* being the derling of *Marſyas*, and ſingularly loved of him, learned likewiſe of him to play upon the flute and other pipes, and by that meanes brought into *Greece* thoſe harmonicall tunes and ſongs, which at this day the *Greeks* uſe at the ſolemne feaſts of the gods. Others are of opinion, that the foreſaid ſong or tune *Polycephalus*, is to be aſcribed unto *Crates* a ſcholar of *Olympus*: but *Pratinas* writeth, that this ſong came from another *Olympus* of later time; and as for that other kinde of ſong or tune, named *Harmation*, the firſt *Olympus*, diſciple to *Marſyas*, by report, compoſed it. And ſome there be who holde, that *Marſyas* was named *Maſſes*: others ſay no, and that he was called *Marſyas* onely, being the ſonne of *Hyagnis*, who firſt deviſed the art of playing upon the flute. And that this *Olympus* was the authour of the muſicke or tune, named *Harmatias*, appeareth by the table or regiſter of the ancient Poets, collected by *Glaucus*: and by the ſame, a man may alſo learne, that *Steſichorus* borne in *Himera*, propoſed to himſelfe for to imitate, neither *Terpander*, nor *Antilochus*, ne yet *Thaletos*, but *Olympus*; uſing altogether the law of Muſicke *Harmatias*, and that forme of meaſure which is according to *Dactylus*: and that, ſome ſay, ariſeth from the loud muſicke called *Orthios*, but others hold, that it was an invention of the Myſians, for that there were certeine ancient pipers of the Myſians. Moreover, there is another antique ſong or tune, called *Cradias*, according to which (as *Hipponax* ſaith) *Mimnermus* plaied: for at the beginning, the minſtrels and plaiers of pipes, ſung certeine Elegies, reduced into meaſures and metricall lawes, which appeareth by the tables and regiſters, that teſtifie what Muſicians they were, that contended at the games of priſe, in the feſtivall Panathenacke ſolemnities. Moreover, there was one *Sacadas* of *Argos*, a Poet that made ſongs and elegies or ditties, reduced into meaſures, for to be ſung: and reckoned hee is among the better ſort of Poets, and as it appeareth upon record in thoſe regiſters, hee wanne the beſt game three times at the Pythian ſolemnities. And *Pindarus* himſelfe maketh mention of him. And whereas there be three kindes of tunes and meaſures in Muſicke, according to *Polymneſtus* and *Sacadas*, to wit, the Prygian, Dorian, and the Lydian, they ſay, that in every one of them *Sacadas* made a certeine flexion or tune, called Strophe, and taught the Chorus to ſing the firſt according to the Dorian tune; the ſecond after the Phrygian meaſures; and the third, to the Lydian muſicke: and that this maner of ſong was thereupon called *Trimeres*, by reaſon of the three changes or parts: Howbeit, in the tables and regiſters of the auncient Poets, which are to be ſeene at *Sicyone*; it is obſerved and noted, that it was *Clonas* who deviſed this melody or muſicke *Trimeres*. Now the firſt maner of muſicke, ordeined and inſtituted in the city of *Sparta*, by *Terpander*, was in ſuch ſort. The ſecond was appointed as it is moſt generally received, by *Thaletas* the Gortynian, by *Xenodamus* the Cytherian, *Xenocritus* the Locrian, *Polymneſtus* the Colophonian, and *Sacadas* the Argive; as the principall authors and directors: for as theſe were they who inſtituted firſt at *Lacedæmon* the naked daunces called *Gymnopedia*, ſo in *Arcadia* they ordeined thoſe that were termed *Apodixes*; and in *Argos* the *Endymaties*. As for *Thaletas*, *Xenodamus*, and *Xenocritus*, they were the Poets that compoſed the ſongs of victorie, named Pæanes: *Polymneſtus*, of the Orthian canticles; and *Sacadas* of the elegies. Others ſay, that *Xenodamus* was the Poet who invented the ſongs entituled Hyporchemata, at the ſound whereof, folke danced at the feaſts of the gods: but he deviſed not the Pæanes aforeſaid, as *Pratinas* did. And even at this day, there is a ſonet extant of this very ſame *Xenodamus*, which is evidently an Hyporchema; and this kind of poeſie *Pindarus* uſeth. Now that there is a difference betweene a Pæan and an Hyperchema, the works of *Pindarus* ſufficiently do ſhew, for he hath written as wel the one as the other. *Polymneſtus* alſo made ſongs and ditties to the flute: and in Orthian canticles, uſed meaſures and melodie, according as our harmonicall Muſicians give it out: As for us, we know not the trueth, becauſe our ancients have left nothing in writing thereof. There is ſome doubt alſo, whether *Thaletas* of *Candie* were a Poet that made Pæans: For *Glaucus* in ſaying, that he was after *Archilochus*, writeth indeed, that he imitated his ſongs; but he extended them farther, and made them longer, inſerting the meaſures Maron and Creticus into his melodie, which *Archilochus* never uſed, nor *Orpheus*, nor yet *Terpander*: for it is ſaid, that *Thaletas* learned this from *Olympus* his playing and piping, and was reputed a good Poet. As touching *Xenocritus* of *Locres* in *Italy*, it is not yet reſolved and for certeine knowen, that he was a maker of Pæanes. Certes, it is confidently ſaid, that he tooke for the ſubject matter and argument of his Poeſie heroicke deeds, inſomuch as ſome terme his arguments Dithyrambes. *Glaucus* aſſureth us, that *Thaletas* was more ancient than *Xenocritus*. And *Olympus* as *Ariſtocritus* writeth, is reputed by Muſicians to have beene the inventor of the Muſicke called Euharmonian: for before his time, al Muſicke was either Diatonique, or Chromatique: and it is conjectured to have beene invented in this maner: For *Olympus* practiſing the Diatonique Muſicke, and extending his ſong otherwhiles as farre as to the note Parhypate Diatonique, ſometimes from Parameſa, and ſometime from Meſe, and ſurpaſſing Lichenos Diatonique, obſerved the ſweetneſſe and beautie of ſuch an affection, and the compoſition ariſing of that proportion, and allowing it to be good, inſerted it in the Dorian Muſicke: for he touched nothing of that which properly perteineth to the Diatonique or Chromatique kinde, neither medled he with that which concerned harmony. And theſe were the beginnings of the euharmonique Muſicke: For firſt of them they put a Spondæus, wherein no diviſion ſheweth that which is proper, unleſſe a man having an eie unto a vehement Spondiaſme, will conjecture and ſay the ſame to be a kinde of Diatonos. But manifeſt it is, that he will put a falſitie and diſcord, who thus ſetteth it downe: A falſity (I ſay) in that it is by one Dieſus leſſe than the tone or note that is next unto the prime, and a diſcord or diſſonance: for that if a man doe ſet in the power of a Toniæum, that which is proper unto a vehement Spondiaſme, it will fall out that he ſhall place jointly together, two Diatoniques, the one ſimple, and the other compound, for this euharmonique reenforced, and comming thicke upon the Meſe, which now adaies is ſo much uſed, ſeemeth not to be deviſed by the Poet. Thus may a man ſoone perceive, if he obſerve and marke one very well, who plaieth upon a pipe after the old maner: For by his good will, the Hemitone in the Meſe, will be incompounded. Thus you ſee what were the firſt rudiments and beginnings of Euharmoniques: But afterwards the demi-tone, was divided and diſtracted as well in Lydian as in Phrygian Muſicke: and it ſeemeth that *Olympus* hath amplified and augmented Muſicke, becauſe he brought in that which never yet was found, and whereof his predeceſſors all were ignorant; ſo that he may very well be thought the Greekiſh and elegant Muſician. Semblably we are to ſpeake of the numbers and meaſures in Muſicke called Rhythmi: for deviſed there were and found out to the reſt, certeine kinds and ſpeciall ſorts of Rhythmi, as alſo there were thoſe who ordeined and inſtituted ſuch meaſures and numbers. For the former innovation of *Terpander*, brought one very good forme into Muſicke: *Polymneſtus* after that of *Terpander* another: which he uſed, and yet he adhered alſo to that good forme and figure before. Semblably did *Thaletas* and *Sacadas*: And theſe men verily were ſufficient in making of theſe Rhythmi, and yet departed not from that good and laudable forme: But *Crexus*, *Timotheus*, and *Philoxenus*, and thoſe about their age, were overmuch addicted to new devices, and loved novelties, in affecting that figure which in theſe daies is called *Philanthropon*, that is to ſay, humane; and *Thematicon*, that is to ſay, poſitive. For antiquitie embraced few ſtrings, ſimplicitie alſo, and gravity of Muſicke. Thus having according to my skill & ability diſcourſed of the primitive Muſicke, and of the firſt authors who invented it, and by what inventions in proceſſe of time it grew to ſome meane perfection, I will breake off my ſpeech, and make an end, giving leave to our friend *Soterichus* for to ſpeake in his turne, who is a man not onely well ſtudied in Muſicke, and as well practiſed therein, but alſo throughly ſeene in all other learning, & liberall literature. For mine owne part I am better acquainted with the fingring Muſicke & manuall practiſe than otherwiſe.

When *Lyſias* had thus ſaid, he held his peace: and then *Soterichus* after him began thus: You have heere good *Oneſicrates* mooved and exhorted us to diſcourſe of Muſicke, a venerable ſcience, and a profeſſion right pleaſing to the gods: and for mine owne part, I greatly approove of my maſter *Lyſias*, as well for his good conceit and knowledge, as for his memotie, whereof he hath given us a ſufficient proofe, by reciting the authors and inventors of the firſt Muſicke, and the writers alſo thereof. This will I put you in minde by the way, that in all his proofes he hath reported himſelfe, to the regiſters and records of thoſe who have written thereof, and to nothing elſe. But I am of a farre other minde, and thinke verily that no earthly man was the inventour of this ſo great good, which Muſicke bringeth with it unto us, but even god *Apollo* himſelfe, who is adorned with all maner of vertues. For neither *Marſyas*, nor *Olympus*, ne yet *Hyagnis*, as ſome doe thinke, deviſed the uſe of the flute and pipe, no more than both of the one and the other: the lute or harpe onely was the invention of *Apollo*: for this god deviſed the play which may eaſily be knowen by the daunces, and ſolemnities of ſacrifices, which were brought in with the ſound of hautboies and flutes, to the honour of that god: according as *Alcæus* among many others, hath left written in one of his hymnes: moreover, his very image in the Iſle of *Delos* teſtifieth as much, where he is portraied ſtanding thus; holding in his right hand a bow, and in his left the Graces, and every one of them hath an inſtrument of Muſicke; the one an harpe or lute; another the ſhaulme or hautboies; and ſhe in the middes a flute or ſhrill fife neere unto her mouth. And becauſe I would not have you to thinke, that I have picked this out of mine owne fingers ends; both *Anticles* and *Hiſter* in their Commentaries, and *Elucidaries*, of theſe things doe quote and alledge as much. As for the image aforeſaid, and the dedication thereof, ſo auncient it is, that by report, it was made and erected in the time that *Hercules* lived. Moreover, the childe that bringeth the lawrell out of the valley of *Tempe* to the citie of *Delphos*, is accompanied with a piper or plaier of the hautboies: yea and the ſacrifices which were woont in old time to be ſent from the Hyperboreans into the Iſle of *Delos*, went with a ſort of hautboies, flutes, pipes, and lutes or ſtringed inſtruments about them. And ſome there be who ſay more than this, namely, that god *Apollo* himſelfe plaied upon the flute and hautboies. And thus writeth *Alcman* an excellent Poet, and maker of ſonnets. And *Corinna* ſaith furthermore, that *Apollo* was taught by *Minerva*, for to pipe. See how honourable and ſacred every way Muſicke is, as being the very invention of the gods. And in olde time they uſed it with great reverence, and according to the dignitie thereof, like as they did all other ſuch exerciſes and profeſſions: whereas in theſe daies men rejecting and diſdaining the majeſtie that it hath, in ſtead of Muſicke, manly, holy and acceptable to the gods, bring that into the theaters, which is effeminate, enervate, broken, puling and deceitfull. And therefore *Plato* in this third booke of his Common-weath, is offended with ſuch Muſicke, and utterly rejecteth the Lydian harmonie, which is meet for mones and lamentations, like as it is ſaid, that the firſt inſtitution and making thereof was lamentable: for *Ariſtoxenus* in his firſt booke of Muſicke reporteth, that *Olympus* ſounded with the hautboies a dolefull and funerall dumpe in Lydian Muſicke, upon the death of *Python*. And others there be who affirme, that *Melanippides* began firſt this tune. *Pindarus* in his Pæans ſaith, that this Lydian Muſicke began firſt to be taught at the wedding of *Niobe*: others, that one *Torebus* uſed firſt this harmonie, according as *Dionyſius Iambus* writeth. The Myxolydian Muſicke alſo, is full of affection, and in that regard meet for tragedies. *Ariſtoxenus* writeth, that *Sappho* invented firſt this Myxolydian harmonie, of whom the tragedie makers learned it, and joined it with the Dorian: for that as the one giveth a certeine dignitie and ſtately magnificence, ſo the other mooveth affections: and a tragedy you wot well is mixed of them both: Howbeit, in their rolles and regiſters, who have written of Muſicians, it is ſaid, that *Pythoclides*, the plaier of the hautboies, was the firſt inventer of this Muſicke. But *Lyſis* referreth the invention thereof to *Lamprocles* the Athenian, who having found and perceived, that the disjunction is not there where in maner all others thinke it is, but toward that which is high and ſmall, made ſuch a forme and figure thereof, as is from Para-meſe to Hypate Hypaton. Likewiſe the Sublydian Muſicke, if it be contrary unto the Myxolydian, and in reſemblance comming neere unto the Ionique, was by report deviſed by *Damon* the Athenian: Nowe becauſe of theſe two harmonies, the one is mournfull and lamentable, the other diſſolute and enervate; *Plato* had good reaſon to reject them both: andtherefore he choſe the Dorian, as that which is moſt beſeeming valiant, ſober and temperate men: not, I aſſure you becauſe hee was ignorant (as *Ariſtoxenus* ſaith, in his ſecond booke of Muſicians and Muſicke) that in the other there was ſome thing good for a common-wealth, and circumſpect pollicie: (for *Plato* had much applied his minde unto Muſicke, as having beene the ſcholar of *Draco* the Athenian, & *Metellus* the Agrigentine) but conſidering as we have ſaid before, that there was more gravity and dignitie in the Dorian Muſicke, he preferred the ſame before the reſt. And yet he wiſt well enough, that *Pindarus*, *Alcman*, *Simonides*, and *Bacchylides*, had written and ſet many other Parthenies to the Dorian Muſicke: beſides Proſodies and Pæans alſo. Neither was he ignorant, that tragicall plaints, and dolefull mones, yea, and amatorious ditties, were compoſed for to be ſung in this Dorian tune. But he ſtood ſufficed and contented with thoſe which were endited to the praiſe of *Mars* and *Minerva*, and with *Spondaes*; for theſe are ſufficient to fortifie & confirme the minde of a temperate and ſober man. Neither was he unskilfull in the Lydian Muſicke, nor the Ionian; for he knew well enough that the tragœdie uſed this kinde of melodie. Moreover, all our ancients before time, being not unexpert of all other kinds of Muſicke, yet contented themſelves with the uſe of one. For ignorance or want of experience, was not the cauſe that they ranged themſelves into ſo narrow a ſtreight, & were contented with ſo few ſtrings: neither are we to thinke that *Ter-*

pander and *Olympus,* and they that followed their ſect; for default of skill and experience, cut off the multiplicitie of ſtrings, and their varietie. Witneſſe heereof the Poems of *Terpander, Olympus,* and all their followers, and ſuch as tooke their courſe: for being but ſimple, and having no more than three ſtrings, yet are they more excellent than thoſe which conſiſt of manie ſtrings, and be full of varietie; in ſuch ſort, as no man is able to imitate the maner of *Olympus*; and all thoſe who uſe many ſtrings and varietie, be farre ſhort, and come behinde him. Now that our ancients in old time abſteined from the third, in that Spondeaik kinde, not upon ignorance, they ſhew ſufficiently in the uſe of ſtriking the ſtrings: for never would they have uſed the accord and conſonance with Pare-hypate, if the uſe thereof had beene unknowen unto them: but certeine it is, that beauty of affection which is in the Spondeaik kinde, by the third, was it that led their ſenſe to raiſe & exalt their note and ſong to Paranete: and the ſame reaſon alſo there is of Nete: For this verily they uſed to their ſtroke of the inſtrument, to wit, unto Paranete in diſcord, & unto Meſe in accord. But in ſong they ſeemed not unto them, proper and fit for the Spondeaik kinde. And not onely in theſe, but alſo in Nete of the Tetrachord conjunct, all uſed ſo to doe: For in the very ſtoake of the ſtrings, they diſaccorded with Paranete, Parameſe, and Lichanos, but in ſong, they were aſhamed thereof, for the very affection that reſulted thereupon. Moreover, it appeereth manifeſtly by the Phrygians, that this was not for any ignorance of *Olympus,* or his ſectaries: for they uſed it not onely in fingring, and in the ſtroake of the ſtringes, but alſo in ſinging at the ſolemne feaſts of the great mother of the gods, *Cybile,* and in ſome other Phrygian ſolemnities. It appeareth alſo manifeſtly, by the Hypates, that it was not for ignorance that in the Dorian tunes they forbare this Tetrachord, for incontinently in other tunes they uſed it: ſo that it is evident that they did it wittingly but to avoide affection they tooke it out of the Dorique Muſicke, honoring the beauty and honeſty thereof: as we may obſerve ſome ſuch like thing in tragicall Poets. For never yet to this very day, did the tragœdy uſe Chromaticke muſicke, nor rhyme: whereas the citherne or lute, which by many ages is more ancient than the tragœdy uſed it even from the very beginning. And evident it is that Chroma is of greater antiquity than is Harmony. For we muſt account this antiquity, whereby the one is ſaid to be more ancient than another, according to the uſe & practiſe of men, becauſe in regard of the nature of theſe kinds one is not elder than another. If then ſome one would ſay, that *Aeſchylus* or *Phrynichus* forbare to uſe Chromaticke Muſicke upon ignorance, & for that they knew it not, were he not thinke you very abſurd and much deceived? For the ſame man might as well ſay that *Pancrates* alſo was ignorant of this Chromaticke kind, becauſe for the moſt part he forbare to uſe it: and yet in ſome places he uſed it. So that it was not for want of knowledge, but of ſet purpoſe, and upon judgement that he abſtained from it. He imitated then, as he ſaith himſelfe, the maner of *Pindarus* and *Simonides*, and in one word, that which the moderne Muſicians call the ancient Muſicke. The like reaſon there is of *Tyrtæus* the Mantinean, of *Andreas* the Corinthian, *Thraſyllus* the Phliaſian, and of many others whom we know upon good conſideration to have abſteined from the Chromaticke, from change and multiplicity of ſtrings, yea and many other things interſerted which are in common uſe, namely rhymes, harmonies, ditties, ſongs, and interpretations. And not to goe far for proofe hereof, *Telephanes* the Megarian was ſo great an enimy to flutes, fiſes, and ſmall pipes, that he would never abide the artificers and pipe-makers ſo much as to ſet them to the ſhawme and hautboies; and for this cauſe eſpecially, he forbare to come unto the Pythicke or Apollican games of priſe. In ſumme, if a man will conjecture, that if a thing be not uſed, it is long of ignorance, he might condemne of ignorance many of thoſe who live in theſe daies; as for example the Dorioneans, becauſe they deſpiſe the Antigenidian kinde of Muſicke, for that they uſed it not. To the Antigenidians likewiſe they might impute ignorance of the Dirionian Muſicke, for the ſame cauſe, as alſo the minſtrels & harpers, as ignorant of the maner of *Timotheus* his Muſicke. For they have in maner all betaken themſelves to patcheries and fallen to the Poëmes of *Polydius*. On the other ſide, if a man conſider aright, and with experience make compariſon betweene that which then was and that which now is, he ſhall finde that variety and diverſity was in uſe and requeſt even in thoſe daies alſo. For the ancient Muſicians uſed in their numbers and meaſure, their variety, much more diverſe & different than now it is. So that we may boldly ſay that the varietie of rhymes, the difference alſo and diverſitie of ſtrokes was then more variable. For men in theſe daies love skill and knowledge, but in former times they affected numbers and meaſures. So that it appeareth plainely that the ancients abſtained from broken Muſicke and ſong, not becauſe they had no skill, but for that they had no will to approve thereof. And no mervell: for many faſhions there be in the world and this our life, which are well enough knowen, though they be not practiſed: mary ſtrange they be by reaſon of diſuſe, which grew upon occaſion that ſome thing was obſerved therein, not decent & ſeemly. But, that it was not for ignorance, nor want of experience, that *Plato* rejected other kindes of Muſicke, but onely becauſe they were not beſeeming ſuch a common wealth of his, we will ſhew hereafter: and withall that he was expert and skilfull in harmony: For in that procreation of the ſoule which he deſcribeth in the booke of *Timæus*, he declareth what ſtudy he had emploied in other Mathematicall ſtudies and in Muſicke beſides, writing after this maner: Thus in maner (quoth he) did God at the firſt: And after that, he filled the double and treble intervals, in cutting off one portion from thence, and putting it betweene both of them: in ſuch ſort as in everie intervall or diſtance, there were two moities. Certes, this Exordium or Proœme, is a ſufficient proofe of skill and experience in harmonie, according as wee will ſhew heereafter. Three ſorts of primitive medieties there be, out of which all other bee drawen, to wit, Arithmeticall, Geometricall, and Harmonicall. Arithmeticall is that which ſurmounteth, and is ſurmounted in equall number: Geometricall, in even proportion: and Harmonicall neither in reaſon and proportion nor in number. *Plato* therefore intending to declare harmonically, the harmony of the foure elements of the ſoule, and the cauſe why things ſo divers accorded together: in each intervall hath put downe two medieties of the ſoule, and that acording to muſical proportion. For in the accord Diapaſon in Muſicke, two intervals there are betweene two extremities, whereof we will ſhew the proportion. For the accord Diapaſon conſiſteth in a double proportion: as for example, ſix and twelve, will make a double proportion in number: And this intervall, is from Hypate Meſon, unto Nete Diezeugmenon: Now ſix and twelve being the two extremities: Hypate Meſon conteineth the number of ſix, and Nete Diezeugmenon that of twelve. It remaineth now, that we ought to take unto theſe the meane numbers betweene theſe two extremities; the extreames whereof will be found, the one in proportion Epitritos or ſerſquitertian, the other Hemiotios, or ſeſquialterall. And theſe be numbers eight and nine. For eight is ſerquitertian to ſix and nine, ſeſquialterall. Thus much as touching one of the extreames. As for the other which is twelve, it is above nine in ſeſquitertian proportion, and above eight in ſeſquialterall. Theſe two numbers then, being betweene ſix and twelve, and the intervall Diapaſon compounded and conſiſting of Diateſſeron and Diapente, it appeareth that Meſe ſhall have the number of eight, and Parameſe, the number of nine: which done there will be the ſame habitude, from Hypate and Meſe, that is from Parameſe to Nete, of a disjoint Tetrachord. The ſame proportion is found alſo in numbers, for the ſame reaſon that is from ſix to eight, is from nine to twelve, and looke what reaſon there is betweene ſix and nine, the ſame is betweene eight and twelve. Now betweene eight and ſix the proportion is ſeſquitertian, as alſo betweene twelve and nine. But betweene nine and ſix, ſeſquialterall, like as betweene twelve and eight. Thus much may ſerve to ſhew that *Plato* was well ſtudied and very expert in the Mathematicks.

Now that harmony is a venerable, worthy and divine thing, *Ariſtotle* the deſciple of *Plato* teſtifieth in theſe words: Harmony (quoth he) is celeſtiall, of a beautifull and wonderfull nature and more than humaine: which being of it ſelfe divided into foure, it hath two medieties, the one arithmeticall, the other harmonicall; and of the parts thereof the magnitudes and extremities are ſeene according to number and equality of meaſure: for accords in ſong are appropriat and fitted in two Tetrachords. Theſe be the words of *Ariſtotle*: who ſaid that the body of harmony is compoſed of parts diſlike, and accordant verily one with the other, but yet the medieties of the ſame agree according to reaſon arithmeticall: for that Nete according to Hypate, by double proportion maketh an accord and conſonants of Diapaſon: For it hath as we have before ſaid, Nete of twelve unities, and Hypate of ſix, & Parameſe according with Hypate, in proportion ſeſquialterall of nine unities. But of Meſe, we ſay, that it hath eight unities: & the principal intervals of Muſicke are compoſed of theſe: to wit, Diateſſaron, which conſiſteth of a proportion ſeſquitertian, & of Diapente, which ſtandeth upon a ſeſquialterall: and Diapaſon of a duple: For ſo is preſerved the proportion ſeſquioctave, which is according to the proportion Toniæus. Thus you ſee how the parts of harmony doe both ſurmount and alſo are ſurmounted of other parts, by the ſame exceſſe: and the medieties of medieties, as well according to expreſſe in numbers, as Geometricall puiſſance. Thus *Ariſtotle* declareth them to

Hypate

have theſe and ſuch like powers, namely that Nete ſurmounteth Meſe by a third part, and that Hypate is ſemblably ſurmounted of Parameſe : in ſuch ſort as theſe exceſſes, are of the kinde of Relatives, which have relation to another : for they ſurmount and be ſurmounted by the ſame parts. And therefore by the ſame proportion the two extreames of Meſe and Parameſe, doe ſurmount, and be ſurmounted, to wit ſeſquitertian and ſeſquialterall. And after this ſort is the harmonicall exceſſe. But the exceſſe of Nete and Meſe by arithmeticall proportion, ſheweth the exuperances in equall partie: and even ſo Parameſe in proportion to Hypate : for Parameſe ſurmounteth Meſe in proportion ſeſquioctave : Like as againe Nete is a double proportion of Hypate : and Parameſe of Hypate in proportion ſeſquialterall : and Meſe ſeſquitertian in regard of Hypate. See then how harmony is compoſed according to *Ariſtotle* himſelfe, of her parts and numbers. And ſo verily by him it is compoſed moſt naturally of a nature as well finit as infinit : both of even and alſo of od, it ſelfe and all the parts thereof : for it ſelfe totally and whole is even, as being compoſed of foure parts or termes : the parts whereof and their proportions, be even, od, and even not even. For Nete it hath even of twelve unities : Parameſe od of nine unities : Meſe even of eight unities, and Hypate even not even of ſix unities. So that harmony thus compoſed both it ſelfe and the parts thereof one to the other, as well in exceſſe as in proportions, the whole accordeth with the whole and the parts together. And that which more is, the very ſenſes being inſerted and ingraffed in our bodies by harmony, but principally thoſe which are celeſtiall and divine, namely ſight and hearing, which together with God give underſtanding and diſcourſe of reaſon unto men with the voice and the light, doe repreſent harmony : yea and the other inferrior ſenſes which follow them, in as much as they be ſenſes, are likewiſe compoſed by harmony : for all their effects they performe not without harmony, and howſoever they be under them and leſſe noble, yet they yeeld not for all that : for even they entring into the body accompanied with the preſence of a certaine divinity, together with the diſcourſe of reaſon, obtaine a forcible and excellent nature. By theſe reaſons evident it is that the ancient Greeks, made great account, and not without good cauſe, of being from their infancie well inſtructed and trained up in Muſicke : for they were of opinion, that they ought to frame and temper the mindes of yoong folke unto vertue and honeſty by the meanes of Muſicke, as being right profitable to all honeſt things, and which wee ſhould have in great recommendation, but eſpecially and principally for the perillous hazzards of warre : In which caſe ſome uſed the Hautboies, as the Lacedæmonians, who chaunted the ſong called *Caſtorium*, to the ſaid inſtruments, when they marched in ordinance of battell, for to charge their enimies. Others made their approch, for to encounter and give the firſt onſet, with the noiſe of the *Lyra* that is to ſay, the harpe or ſuch like ſtringed inſtruments. And this we finde to have bene the practiſe of the Candiots for a long time, for to uſe this kinde of Muſicke, when they ſet forth and advanced forward to the doubtfull dangers of battell. And ſome againe continue even to our time in the uſe of Trumpets ſound. As for the Argives, they went to wreſtle at the ſolemne games in their city called *Sthenia* with the ſound of the Hautboies. And theſe games, were by report inſtituted at firſt in the honor and memory of their king *Danaus* : and afterwards againe were conſecrated to the honor of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Sthenius*. And verily even at this day, in the Pentathlian games of priſe, the maner and cuſtome is to play upon the Hautboies, and to ſing a ſong thereto, although the ſame be not antique nor exquiſite, nor ſuch as was wont to be plaied and ſung in times paſt as that Canticle compoſed ſometime by *Hierax*, for this kinde of combat, and named it was *Eudrome*. Well though it be a faint and feeble maner of ſong, yet ſomewhat, ſuch as it was, they uſed with the Hautboies. And in the times of greater antiquity it is ſaid that the Greeks did not ſo much as know Theatricall Muſicke, for that they emploied all the skill & knowledge thereof in the ſervice and worſhip of the gods, & in the inſtitution and bringing up of youth, before any Theater was built in *Greece* by that people : but all the Muſicke that yet was, they beſtowed to the honor of the gods and their divine ſervice in the temples, alſo in the praiſes of valiant and woorthy men : So that it is very probable that theſe termes Theater afterwards, and θεωρεῖν, long before were derived of θεος, that is to ſay, God. And verily in our daies, Muſicke is growen to ſuch an heigth of difference and diverſity, that there is no mention made, nor memory remaining of any kinde of Muſicke for youth to be taught, neither doth any man ſet his minde thereto, or make profeſſion thereof : but looke whoſoever are given to Muſicke, betake them ſelves wholy to that of Theaters for their delight. But ſome man may haply ſay unto me : What good ſir, thinke you that in old time they deviſed no new Muſicke and added nothing at all to the former? Yes I wis, I confeſſe they did adjoine thereto ſome new inventions, but it was with gravity and decency. For the hiſtorians who wrote of theſe matters, attributed unto *Terpander* the Dorian Nete, which before time they uſed not in their ſongs and tunes: And even ſo it is ſaid that the Myxolidien tune was wholly by him deviſed to the reſt: as alſo the note of the melody Orthien: and the ſong named Orthius, by the Trochæus, for ſounding the al'arme and to encourage unto battell.

And if it be true as *Pindarus* ſaith, *Terpander* was the inventour of thoſe ſongs called *Scolia*, which were ſung at feaſts. *Archilochus* alſo adjoined thoſe rhymes or Iambicke meaſures called *Trimetra*: the tranſlation alſo and change into other number and meaſures of a different kinde, yea, and the maner how to touch and ſtrike them. Moreover, unto him, as firſt inventour, are attributed the Epodes, Tetrameter, Iambicks, Procritique and Proſodiacks; as alſo, the augmentation of the firſt, yea, and as ſome thinke, the Elegie it ſelfe: over and beſides, the intenſion of Iambus unto Pæan Epibatos, & of the Herous augmented both unto the Proſodiaque & alſo the Creticke. Furthermore, that of Iambique notes, ſome be pronounced according to the ſtroke, others ſung out. *Archilochus* was the man, by report, who ſhewed all this firſt, and afterwards, tragicall Poets uſed the ſame: likewiſe it is ſaid, that *Crexus* receiving it from him, tranſported it to be uſed at the Bacchanall ſongs, called Dithyrambs. And he was the firſt alſo, by their ſaying, who deviſed the ſtroake after the ſong; for that beforetime they uſed to ſing, and ſtrike the ſtrings together. Likewiſe unto *Polymneſtus* is aſcribed all that kinde of note or tune which now is called *Hypolydius*, and of him they ſay, that he firſt made the drawing out of the note longer, and the diſſolution and ejection thereof much greater than before. Moreover, that *Olympus*, upon whom is fathered the invention of the Greeke muſicke, that is tied to lawes and rules, was hee who firſt brought, by their ſaying, all the kinde of harmonie, and of rhymes or meaſures, the Proſodiaque, wherein is conteined the tune and ſong of *Mars*; alſo the *Chorios*, whereof there is great uſe in the ſolemnities of the great mother of the gods: yea, and ſome there be, who make *Olympus* the authour alſo of the meaſure *Bacchius*. And thus much concerning every one of the ancient tunes and ſongs. But *Laſus* the harmonian, having transferred the rhymes into the order of Dithyrambs, and followed the multiplicitie in voice of hautboies, in uſing many ſounds and thoſe diffuſed and diſperſed to and fro, brought a great change into Muſicke, which never was before. Semblably, *Melanippides* who came after him, conteined not himſelfe in that maner of Muſicke which then was in uſe, no more than *Philoxenus* did & *Timotheus*: for he, whereas beforetime unto the daies of *Terpander* the Antiſſæan, the harpe had but ſeven ſtrings, diſtinguiſhed it into many more ſounds and ſtrings: yea, and the ſound of the pipe or hautboies, being ſimple and plaine before, was changed into a Muſicke of more diſtinct varietie. For in olde time, unto the daies of *Melanippides* a Dithyrambicke Poet, the plaiers of the hautboies were wont to receive their ſalaries and wages at the hands of Poets, for that Poetrie you muſt thinke, bare the greateſt ſtroke, and had the principal place in Muſicke and acting of plaies, ſo as the Minſtrels beforeſaid were but their miniſters: but afterwards, this cuſtome was corrupted; upon occaſion whereof, *Pherecrates* the Comicall Poet bringeth in Muſicke in forme and habit of a woman, with her bodie piteouſly ſcourged and mangled all over: and he deviſeth beſides, that Dame Juſtice demandeth of her the cauſe why, and how ſhe became thus miſuſed; unto whom Poëſie or Muſicke maketh anſwere in this wiſe:

MUSICKE.

I will gladly tell, ſince that we pleaſure take
You for to heare, and I to anſwere make:
One of the firſt, who did me thus diſpleaſe
And worke my woe, was Melanippides;
He with twelve ſtrings my bodie whipt ſo ſore,
That ſoft it is, and looſer than before.
Yet was this man unto me tolerable
And not to theſe my harmes now, comparable.
For one of Athick *land,* Cyneſias *he,*
Shame come to him, and curſed may he be,
By making turnes and winding cranks ſo ſtrange
In all his ſtrophes, and thoſe without the range

Of harmony; hath me perverted ſo,
That where I am, unneth I now do kno.
His Dithyrambs are framed in ſuch guiſe,
That left ſeeme right, in ſhield and targuet wiſe.
And yet of him, one can not truly ſay,
That cruelly he meant me for to ſlay.
Phrynis *it was who ſet to me a wreſt*
(His owne device) that I could never reſt:
Wherewith he did me winde and writhe ſo hard,
That I well neere for ever was quite marr'd.
Out of five ſtrings forſooth he would deviſe
No fewer than twelve harmonies to riſe:
Well, of this man I cannot moſt complaine,
For what he miſt, he ſoone repair'd againe.
Timotheus *ſweet Lady (out alas)*
Hath me undone: Timotheus *it was,*
Moſt ſhamefully who wrought me all deſpite,
He hath me torne, he hath me buried quite.

JUSTICE.

And who might this Timotheus *be (deere hart)*
That was the cauſe of this thy wofull ſmart?

MUSICKE.

I meane him of Miletus, Pyrrhias
Surnam'd, his head and haire ſo ruddy was.
Thus fellow brought upon me ſorrowes more
Than all the reſt whom I have nam'd before.
A ſort he of unpleaſant quavers brings,
And running points, when as he plaies or ſings:
He never meets me when I walke alone
Upon the way, but me aſſailes anone.
Off go my robes, and thus deveſted bare
He teawes me with twelve ſtrings, and makes no ſpare.

Ariſtophanes alſo the Comicall Poet maketh mention of *Philoxenus,* and ſaith, that he brought ſongs into the dances called Rounds: and in this maner he deviſeth, that Muſick ſhould ſpeake and complaine:

What with his Exharmonians,
Niglars and Hyperbolians,
And ſuch loud notes, I wot not what,
He hath me ſtuft ſo full, as that
My voice is brittle when I ſpeake,
Like radiſh root that ſoone will breake.

Semblably, other Comicall Poets have blaſoned and ſet out in their colours, our moderne Muſicians, for their abſurd curioſitie, in hewing and cutting Muſicke thus by peace-meale, and mincing it ſo ſmall. But that this ſcience is of great power and efficacie, aſwell to ſet ſtrait and reforme, as to pervert, deprave and corrupt youth in their education and learning, *Ariſtoxenus* hath made very plaine and evident: for he ſaith, that of thoſe who lived in his time, *Teleſias* the Theban happened when he was yoong, to be brought up and inſtructed in the moſt excellent kinde of Muſicke, and to learne many notable ditties and ſongs; among which, thoſe alſo of *Pindarus,* of *Dionyſius* the Theban, of *Lamprus, Pratinas* and other Lyricall Poets, ſingular men in their facultie, and profeſſion of playing cunningly upon the harpe and other ſtringed inſtruments. He had learned likewiſe to ſound the hautboies paſſing well, and was ſufficiently exerciſed and practiſed in all other parts of good literature: but when he was once paſt the flower and middle of his age, he became ſo farre riviſhed and caried away with this Scenicall muſicke ſo ful of varietie, that he deſpiſed that excellent muſicke and poeſie wherein he was nourtred, & all for to learne the ditties and tunes of *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus,* and principally ſuch of them as had moſt varietie and noveltie: and when he betooke himſelfe to compoſe ditties and ſet ſongs, making triall what he could do in both kinds, aſwell in that of *Pindarus* and this of *Philoxenus*, he was able to performe nothing wel and to the purpoſe in that Muſicke of *Philoxenus*: the reaſon whereof, was his excellent education from his infancie. If then a man be deſirous to uſe muſicke well and judiciouſly, let him imitate the olde maner: and yet in the meane while furniſh the ſame with other ſciences, learne Philoſophie, as a miſtreſſe to guide and leade; for ſhee is able to judge what kinde of meaſures is meet for muſicke, and profitable. For whereas three principal points and kinds there be, unto which all muſicke is univerſally divided, to wit, Diatonos, Chroma and Harmonie, he ought to be skilfull in Poetrie, which uſeth theſe ſeverall kinds, who commeth to learne Muſicke; and withall, he muſt atteine to that ſufficiencie, as to know how to expreſſe and couch in writing his poeticall inventions. Firſt and formoſt therefore he is to underſtand, that all muſicall ſcience is a certeine cuſtome and uſage, which hath not yet atteined ſo farre as the knowledge to what end every thing is to be learned by him that is the ſcholar. Next to this it would be conſidered, that to this teaching and inſtruction, there be not yet adjoined preſently the enumeration of the meaſures & maners of muſicke. But the moſt part learne raſhly and without diſcretion, that which ſeemeth good & is pleaſant either to the learner or the teacher; as the Lacedæmonians in old time, the Mantineans likewiſe and the Pellenians: for theſe, making choiſe of one maner above the reſt, or els of very few, which they tooke to be meet for the reformation and correction of maners, uſed no other muſicke but it: which more evidently may appeare, if a man will enquire and conſider, what it is that every one of theſe ſciences taketh for the ſubject matter to handle: for certaine it is, that the Harmonique skill conteineth the knowledge of intervals, compoſitions, ſounds, notes and mutations of that kinde which is named *Hermoſmenon*, that is to ſay, well befitting and convenient: neither is it poſſible for it to proceed farther. So that, we muſt not require nor exact of her, that ſhe ſhould be able to diſcerne whether a Poet hath well, properly and fitly uſed (for example ſake in muſicke) the Hyperdorian tune in his entrance; the Mixolydian and the Dorian at his going forth; and the Phrygian or Hypophrygian in the mids: for this perteineth not at all to the ſubject matter of the Harmonicke kinde, and hath need of many other things: for he knoweth not well the force of the proprietie. And if he be ignorant of the Chromaticke kinde and Enharmonian, he ſhall never atteine to have the perfect and abſolute power of the proprietie, according to which, the affection of the meaſures that are made are ſeene: for this is the office and part of the artificer. And manifeſt it is, that the voice of the compoſition called *Syſtema*, is one thing; and the melodie or ſong which is framed in the ſaid compoſition, another: which to teach and whereof to treat, perteineth not to the facultie of the Harmonicke kinde. Thus much alſo we are to ſay as touching Rhythme; for no Rhythme will ever come to have in it the power of perfect proprietie: for that alwaies which is ſaid to be proper, is in regard and reference to the affection; whereof we affirme the cauſe to be either compoſition or mixtion, or els both together: like as with *Olympus*, the Enharmonian kinde is put in the Phrygian tune, and Pæon mixed with Epibatos: for this affection of the beginning hath it ingendred and brought forth in the ſong of *Minerva*. For when the melody and rhythme or meaſure was artificially ſet to, & the number or rhythme alone cunningly tranſmuted, ſo as a Trochæus was put in ſtead of a Pæon. Hereof came the Harmonicke kinde of *Olympus* to be compoſed. Yet neverthelеſſe, when both the Enharmonicke kinde and the Phrygian tune remaine, and beſide theſe, the whole compoſition alſo, the affection received a great alteration: for that which is called Harmonie in the ſong of *Minerva*, is farre different from the affection which is in common uſe and experience. If he then, who is expert and skilfull in Muſicke, had withall, the facultie to judge, certeine it is, that ſuch an one would be a perfect workman, and a paſſing good maſter in Muſicke. For he who is skilfull in the Dorique muſicke, and knoweth not how to judge and diſcerne the proprietie, he ſhall never know what he doth, nor be able to keepe ſo much as the affection, conſidering there is ſome doubt as touching the judgement of Dorian melodies and tunes, whether they apperteine to the ſubject matter of Harmonie or no? as ſome Dorians are of opinion. The like reaſon there is of all the Rhythmike skill; for he who knoweth Pæon, ſhall not incontinently know the property of the uſe thereof, foraſmuch as there is ſome doubt as concerning the making of Pæonik rhythmes, to wit, whether the Rhythmetique matter is able to judge with diſtinct knowledge of them? or whether as ſome ſay, it doe not extend ſo farre? Of neceſſitie therefore it foloweth, that there muſt be two knowledges at the leaſt in him, who would make diſtinction and be able to judge betweene that which is proper and that which is ſtrange: the one of maners and affections,

fections, for which all compoſition is made; the other, of the parts and members of which the compoſition doth conſiſt. Thus much therefore may ſuffice, to ſhew that neither the Harmonique, nor the Rhythmicke, nor any one of theſe faculties of Muſicke, which is named particular, can be ſufficient of it ſelfe alone to judge of the affection, or to diſcerne of other qualities. Whereas therefore, Hermoſmenian, which is as one would ſay, the decent and elegant temperature of voices and ſounds, is divided into three kinds, which be equall in the magnitudes of compoſitions, in puiſſances of ſounds, and likewiſe of Tetrachords; our ancients have treated but of one: for thoſe who went before us, never conſidered, either of Chroma, or Diatonos, but onely of Enharmonios, and that onely in a magnitude of a compoſition, called Diapaſon: for of the Chroma they were at ſome variance and difference: but they all in maner did accord to ſay, that there was no more but this Harmonie alone. And therefore he ſhall never underſtand that which perteineth unto the treatiſe of Harmonie, who hath proceeded ſo farre as to this onely knowledge: but apparent it is that he ought to follow both other partitular ſciences, and alſo the totall body of Muſicke; yea & the mixtions and compoſitions of the parts: for he that is onely Harmonicall, is confined within one kinde and no more. To ſpeake therefore generally and once for all, it behooveth that both outward ſenſe and inward underſtanding concurre to the judgement of the parts in Muſicke: Neither is one to prevent & runne before another, as the ſenſes doe, which are more forward and haſtie than their fellowes; nor to lagge behinde and follow after, as thoſe ſenſes doe which are ſlowe and heavy of motion. And yet otherwhile in ſome ſenſes it falleth out upon a naturall inæquallitie which they have, that both happen at once, to wit, they draw backe, and haſt forward together: wee muſt therefore cut off theſe extremities from the ſenſe, if we would have it runne jointly with the underſtanding: for neceſſarie it is, that there be alwaies three things at the leaſt meet together in ſenſe of hearing, to wit, the ſound, the time, and the ſyllable or letter. And come to paſſe it will, that by the going of the ſound, will be knowen the proportionable continuitie, called Hermoſmenon; by the gate of time, the Rhythme, and by the paſſing and proceeding of the ſyllable or letter, the dittie: Now when they march altogether, there muſt needs be an incurſion of the ſenſe. This alſo is evident, that the ſenſe not being able to diſtinguiſh and diſcerne every one of theſe three things, and accompany them ſeverally, impoſſible it is, that it ſhould know or judge that which is well or amiſſe, in ech of them particularly. Firſt and foremoſt therefore, we are to take knowledge of the coherence and continuation; for neceſſarie it is, that there ſhould be in the facultie and power of judging, a certaine continuall order, for as much as good and bad be not determinately in ſuch ſounds, times, letters or ſyllables, ſevered one from the other, but in the continued ſuit and conherence of them, for there is a certeine mixture or parts which cannot be conjoined in uſage. And thus much may ſuffice for the conſequence. After this we are to conſider, that men, ſufficient otherwiſe, and ſkilfull maſters in Muſicke, are not by and by able to judge: for impoſſible it is to be a perfect Muſician, and a judge withall, of thoſe which ſeeme to be the parts of totall Muſicke, as the ſcience and skill of inſtruments; likewiſe of ſong, as alſo of the exerciſe of the ſenſes, I meane that which tendeth to the intelligence & knowledge of the well proportioned Hermoſmenon, and of Rhythme. Over and beſides, of the Rhythmick and Harmonique treatiſe, and of the ſpeculation, touching the ſtroke and the dittie, and what other ſoever there are beſides. But what the cauſes ſhould be, that it is not poſſible for one to be a Critick and able to judge, by meanes of theſe things by themſelves, let us endevour to ſearch and know. Firſt, by this ſuppoſall, That of thoſe things which are propoſed unto us for to be judged of, ſome be perfect, others imperfect: Perfect, for example, every Poeticall worke, that is either chaunted, or plaied upon the pipe, or ſounded on the lute and ſtringed inſtrument; or elſe the interpretation or elocution of the ſaid Poemes, which they call ερμηνωςα: as is the noiſe of the pipe, or of the voice, and ſuch like: unperfect, as thoſe which tend heereto, and are for them ordeined, as by the parts of that which is called interpretation. Secondly, by Poeſie or fiction, whereof the caſe is alike; becauſe a man may as well judge if hee heare the minſtrell play or ſing, whether his pipes accord or no, and whether his dialect or dittie be cleere, or contrariwiſe obſcure; for ech of theſe is a part of the foreſaid interpretation of pipes, not the end it ſelfe, but that which reſpecteth the end; for the affection of the interpretations ſhall be judged heerby, and by all ſuch cauſes, whether they be well fitted & accommodate to the Poeme compoſed, which the agent hath taken in hand to treat of, to handle, to expreſſe and interpret. Semblable is the reaſon alſo of the affections and paſſions, which are ſignified in the Poemes, by Poeſie. Our ancients then, as thoſe who made principall account of the affection, preferred and eſteemed beſt that faſhion of antique Muſicke, which was grave, not curious nor much affected. For it is ſaid that the Argives did ſet downe in times paſt a puniſhment for thoſe who brake the lawes of Muſicke, yea, and condemned him to pay a good fine, who firſt uſed more than ſeven ſtrings, & who went about to bring in the uſe of the Myxolydian Muſicke. But *Pythagoras* that grave and venerable perſonage, reproved all judgement of Muſicke which is by the eare, for he ſaid, that the intelligence and vertue thereof, was verie ſubtile & ſlender, and therfore he judged thereof, not by hearing, but by proportionall harmonie: and he thought it ſufficient to proceed as farre as to Diapaſon, and there to ſtay the knowledge of Muſicke: Whereas Muſicians in theſe daies diſeſteeme and reject wholly that kinde of Muſicke which was in greateſt reputation among our anceſtors, for the gravitie thereof: inſomuch as the moſt part of them make no reckoning of any apprehenſion of Euharmonian intervals and ſpaces. So idle and lazie they be, that they thinke and ſay, the harmonicall dieſis giveth no apparence at all, nor repreſentation of thoſe things that fall under the ſenſe of hearing; yea, and baniſh it quite out of their tunes and ſongs, counting thoſe no better than prating, vaine, and toyiſh perſons, who have either written or ſpoken thereof, or uſed that kinde: and for proofe heereof, that they ſay true, they ſuppoſe they have found a doubty good argument and demonſtration, drawen from their owne groſſe ſtupiditie and ſenſeleſſeneſſe, as if all that which their ſenſe apprehended not, muſt needs incontinently have no ſubſiſtence at all in nature, and be altogether unprofitable. And then moreover they hold, that there can no magnitude be apprehended by ſymphonie and conſonance of voice, as the note, the halfe note, and other ſuch intervals. Meane while they doe not perceive (ſuch is their ignorance) that they may as well baniſh the third magnitude, the fifth, and the ſeventh; whereof the firſt conſiſteth of three, the ſecond of five, and the third of ſeven Dieſes: and generally they ſhould reject and reproove all the intervals that be odde, as ſuperfluous and good for nothing: inaſmuch as none of them can be found by conſent or ſymphonie. And theſe they may be, which the leaſt Dieſis doeth meaſure in odde number: whereupon it followeth neceſſarily, that no diviſion of the Tetrachord, is profitable, but this onely, by which we may uſe all even intervals: and this verily were that of Syntonos, Diatonos, and Toniæan Chroma. But to give out, or to conceive ſuch things, were the part not of thoſe onely who contradicted that which is apparent and evident, but alſo of ſuch as went againſt themſelves: for they uſe more than any other ſuch partitions of Tetrachords, wherein all the intervals be either odde or elſe proportionable to thoſe that be odde: for evermore they mollifie all the notes, called Lichani, and Paranete: yea, and they let downe a little, thoſe very notes which are ſtedfaſt and firme, by I wot not what intervall, without al reaſon; and together with them, they let ſlacke alſo very abſurdly, the Thirds and the Paranetæ, & they ſuppoſe that the uſe of ſuch compoſitions is moſt commendable, wherein the moſt part of the intervals, be without al reaſon & proportion, by letting downe not onely thoſe ſounds which naturally are woont to ſtir & be mooved, but alſo ſome of them which are innumerable: as appeareth manifeſtly to thoſe who are ſufficient and able to judge of ſuch things.

To come now to the uſe of Muſicke, how meet and ſeemely it is for a valiant man; gentle *Homer* hath given us very well to underſtand: for to proove unto us how commodious Muſicke is in many reſpects, he feigned and deviſed *Achilles* to concoct his anger which he had conceived againſt *Agamemnon*, by the meanes of Muſicke, which he had learned of that moſt prudent and wiſe *Chiron*: for thus he writeth:

They found him then, within his tent,
with ſound of lute ſo ſhrill,
His heart that was now diſcontent,
to ſolace and to ſtill:
An inſtrument right faire in ſight
this was, and trimly wrought:
The necke with ſilver richly dight,
which he himſelfe had caught
Out of the ſpoiles then lately won
of Thebes, *that ſtately towne,*
And citie of Eetion,
when it was raſed downe:

Heerewith I ſay, he paſs'd his time,
this was his hearts delight,
He ſung withall the praiſe in rhyme
of many a valiant knight.

Note heereby and learne (quoth *Homer*) what uſe we ought to make of Muſicke: for he ſung unto the lute, the noble exploits of brave men, and the glorious acts of woorthies and demigods: a thing that full well beſeemed *Achilles* the ſonne of moſt righteous *Peleus*. Over and beſides, *Homer* teaching us the proper and convenient time of uſing Muſicke, found out an exerciſe, both profitable and pleaſant for a man at leiſure, and not occupied otherwiſe in affaires. For *Achilles* being a martiall man of action, yet for the anger that he had conceived againſt *Agamemnon*, had no hand in the perils and hazards of warre: *Homer* thought therefore that it became very well this heroique and hardy knight, to whet his courage by theſe excellent ſongs, to the end that he might be provided and ready againſt that ſallie and skirmiſh which ſoone after he undertooke: and this no doubt he performed very well, by calling to remembrance the doubty deeds and feats of armes achieved by others in times paſt. Such verily was the ancient Muſicke, and for this purpoſe it ſerved. For we doe heare that both *Hercules* made uſe of Muſicke, and alſo *Achilles*, with many other valourous knights, whom *Chiron* that moſt ſage and learned maſter and bringer up of youth taught, who was a teacher not of Muſicke onely, but of juſtice beſide and Phyſicke. In ſumme, a man of wiſedome and ſound judgement, will thus deeme, that good ſciences are not to be blamed, if haply they be not well uſed, but impute all the fault unto them that abuſe the ſame. And therefore if any one from his childhood, ſhall be well inſtructed and trained up in Muſicke, and withall employ his labour and diligence therein, he will receive and approove that which is honeſt and commendable: blame alſo he will and reject the contrary: not in muſicke onely, but in all things elſe: and ſuch a one will decline all unhoneſt and unwoorthy actions, and thus reaping from muſicke the greateſt and beſt contentment that can be, he may benefit exceeding much, as well himſelfe as his whole countrey, uſing no word nor deed unſeemely, but obſerving at all times and in every place, that which is befitting, decent, temperate and elegant. Moreover, that cities and ſtates beſt governed by pollicie and good lawes, have alwaies had a ſpeciall regard of generous and good muſicke, many and ſundry teſtimonies may be alledged: and namely, a man may very well cite to this purpoſe *Terpander*, who ſuppreſſed in times paſt, the great ſedition and civill diſcord that was in *Lacedæmon*: *Thales* alſo the Candiot, who went as it is ſaid, by the commandement and oracle of *Apollo*, to *Lacedæmon*, and there cured the citizens and delivered them from that great peſtilence, which reigned in that citie, and all by the meanes of muſicke, as writeth *Pratinas*. *Homer* alſo himſelfe ſaith, that the plague which afflicted the Greeks, was by muſicke ſtaied and appeaſed:

Then all day long, the Grecian youth
in ſongs melodious,
Beſought god Phœbus *of his grace,*
to be propitious:
Phœbus *I ſay, who from a farre*
doth ſhoot his arrowes nie
They chaunt and praiſe, who takes great joy,
to heare ſuch harmonie.

with theſe verſes as with Corollarie, good maſter I will conclude this my diſcourſe of Muſicke, and the rather, becauſe you firſt by the very ſame verſes commended unto us the force and power of Muſicke: for in very trueth, the principall and moſt commendable worke thereof, is thankſgiving unto the gods, and the acknowledgement of their grace and favour: the ſecond, and that which next followeth, is a ſanctified heart, a pure, conſonant and harmonicall eſtate of the ſoule. When *Soterichus* had ſaid: Thus you have (quoth he) my good maſter heard us diſcourſe of Muſicke round about the boord as we ſit. And verily *Soterichus* was highly admired for that which he had delivered: for he ſhewed evidently both by his voice and viſage, how much he was affected unto Muſicke, & what ſtudy he had emploied thereto. Then my maſter: Over and above other things, this alſo I commend in you both, that you have kept your owne courſe and place, the one as well as the other. For *Lyſias* hath furniſhed our feaſt with thoſe things which are proper and meet for a Muſician, who knoweth onely to handle the lute or harpe, and hath no farther skill than manuall practiſe. *Soterichus* alſo hath taught us whatſoever concerneth both the profit and alſo the ſpeculation thereof, yea and withall comprehendeth therein the power and uſe of Muſicke, whereby he hath mended our fare and feaſted us moſt ſumptuouſly. And I ſuppoſe verily that both of them, have of purpoſe and that right willingly, left thus much unto me, as to draw Muſicke unto feaſts and banquets: neither will I condemne them of timidity, as if they were aſhamed ſo to doe: For if in any part of mans life, certes in ſuch feaſts and mery meetings it is right profitable. For according as good *Homer* ſaith:

Both ſong and daunce, delight affoord,
And things that well beſeeme the boord.

Neither would I have any man to inferre heereupon, that *Homer* thought Muſicke good for nothing elſe but to delight and content the company at a feaſt: conſidering there is in thoſe verſes couched and hidden a more deepe and profound meaning. For he brought Muſicke to thoſe times and places wherein it might profit and helpe men moſt, I meane the feaſts and meetings of our ancients: and expedient it was to have her company there, for that ſhe is able to divert and temper the heat and ſtrength of wine, according as our *Ariſtoxenus* alſo elſe where ſaith: Muſicke (quoth he) is brought in thither, becauſe that whereas wine is wont to pervert & overturne as well the bodies as the minds of thoſe who take it immoderatly, Muſicke by that order, ſymmetry, and accord which is in it, reduceth them againe into a contrary temperarure, and dulceth all. And therefore *Homer* reporteth that our ancients uſed Muſicke as a remedy and helpe, at ſuch a time. But that which is principall and maketh Muſicke above all things moſt venerable, you have my good friend let paſſe and omitted. For *Pythagoras*, *Archias*, *Plato*, and all the reſt of the old Philoſophers doe hold that the motion of the whole world, together with the revolution of the ſtarres, is not performed without Muſicke: For they teach that God framed all things by harmonie. But to proſecute this matter more at large, this time will not permit: and beſides it is a very high point and moſt Muſicall to know in every thing how to keepe a meane and competent meaſure. This ſaid, he ſung an hymne, and after he had offered a libation of wine unto *Saturne*, and to all the gods his children, as alſo to the Muſes, he gave his gueſts leave to depart

OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. *Alexander*.

The Summarie.

IN *this treatiſe and that which followeth, framed both in forme of a declamation,* Plutarch *magnifieth* Alexander, *a praiſe worthy prince, for many good parts that were in him: wherein he ſheweth alſo, that we ought to attribute unto vertue and not to fortune, thoſe brave exploits which he performed. By fortune, he meaneth that courſe of the affaires in this world, whereby it falleth out many times that the wiſeſt men are not alwaies moſt happy and beſt advanced. To proove therefore, that* Alexander *was endued with exquiſit qualities for execution of thoſe enterpriſes which by him were atchieved afterwordes and brought to an end, he compareth him in the beginning of this treatiſe, with the kings of* Perſia *raiſed up to their greatneſſe by fortune: and then ſheweth, that* Alexander *being an excellent Philoſopher, we ought not to wonder or be aſtoniſhed, if by his vertue he ſaw the end of many things which the moſt fortunate princes of the world durſt never take in hand and begin. Now the better to ſet out the excellencie of this Philoſophy of* Alexander, *he compareth his ſcholars with the diſciples of* Plato *and*

Socrates: *proving that thoſe of this prince ſurpaſſed the others, as much as a good deed or benefit done to an infinit number of men ſurmounteth a good ſpeech or inſtruction given to ſome perticular perſons; the moſt part of whom make no account thereof. He proceedeth forward and diſcribeth the wiſdome and ſufficiencie of* Alexander *in politicke government, which he amplifieth by the conſideration of his amiable behaviour and lovely cariage toward thoſe nations which by him were ſubdued: alſo by the recitall of ſome notable ſayings of his: likewiſe by the love and affection which he caried unto wiſdome, and men of knowledge. In briefe his acts; be evident proofes of his vertue, and in no wiſe of the temerity and raſhneſſe of fortune. But even in this very place,* Plutarch *hath broken off his treatiſe, leaving the end thereof defectuous: namely where he began to diſcourſe of the contempt of death, and of the conſtant reſolution of* Alexander *againſt the moſt churliſh and boiſterous aſſaultes of fortune.*

OF THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. *Alexander*.

THeſe are the ſayings and allegations of fortune, affirming and proving that *Alexander* was her owne peculiar peece of worke, and to be aſcribed unto her alone. But we muſt gaineſay her in the name and behalfe of Philoſophy, or rather of *Alexander* himſelfe: who taketh it not wel, but is highly diſpleaſed, that he ſhould be thought to have received his empire at fortunes hand *gratis*, and as a meere gift and benefit which he had bought and purchaſed with ſheding much of his owne blood, and receiving many a wound one upon another.

Who many reſtleſſe nights did paſſe
Without all ſleepe full broad awake:
And many a bloody day there was,
Whiles he in field did skirmiſh make.

Whiles he fought againſt forces and armies invincible, againſt nations innumerable, rivers impaſſable, rocks inacceſſible, and ſuch as no ſhot of arrow could ever reach; accompanied alwaies with prudent counſell, conſtant patience, reſolute valour, and ſtaied temperance. And verily I am perſwaded, that himſelf would ſay unto fortune, chalenging unto herſelfe the honor of his hautie & worthy acts, in this maner: Come not heere either to deprave my vertue, or to deprive me of my due honor, in aſcribing it unto thy ſelfe. *Darius* was indeed a peece of worke made by thee, whom of a baſe ſervitor, no better than a currior or lackey to a king, thou diddeſt advance and make the lord of the Perſians. *Sardanapalus* likewiſe was thy handy worke, upon whoſe head, when he was carding and ſpinning fine purple wooll among women, thou diddeſt ſet the imperiall diademe. As for me, I mounted up and aſcended as farre as to *Suſa* with victory after the battell at *Arbela*. The conqueſt of *Cilicia* made the way open for me to enter into *Aegypt*: and the field that I wan at the river *Granicus*; which I paſſed over going upon the dead bodies of *Mithridates* and *Spithridates* leutenants to the king of *Perſia*, gave me entrance into *Cilicia*. Vaunt now and boaſt as much as thou wilt of thoſe kings, who never were wounded in fight, nor loſt one drop of their blood. Theſe I ſay may well be counted fortunate and thy derlings, *Ochus* I meane & *Artaxerxes*, whom immediately from the very day of their nativity, thou haſt enſtalled in the roial throne of *Cyrus*. But this body of mine carieth the markes & tokens of fortune not favourable and gracious, but contrariwiſe adverſe and oppoſit unto me. Firſt in *Illyricum*, I had my head broken with a great ſtone, and my necke bruſed and cruſhed with a peſtill. Afterwards in the journey and battell of *Granicus*, my head was cloven with a Barbarians cimeter. At the field fought neere *Iſſus*, my thigh was run through with a ſword: before the city of *Gaza*, I was ſhot through the ancle above my foot with one arrow, and into the ſhoulder with another, whereupon I was unhorſed, and falling heavy in mine armour out of my ſaddle, I lay there for dead upon the ground. Among the Maracadarts, my ſhin bone was cut in ſunder with ſhot of quarels and arrowes. Beſides many a knocke & wound which I gat among the Indians: and every where I met with hot ſervice among them, untill I was ſhot quite through the ſhoulder. Another time as I fought againſt the Gandridæ I had the bone of my leg cut in twaine, with another ſhot likewiſe in a skirmiſh with the Mallotæ, I caught an arrow in my breſt and boſome, which went ſo farre and ſtucke ſo faſt that it left the head behinde: and with the rap and knocke of an iron peſtill my necke bone was cruſhed. And at what time as the skaling ladders reared againſt the wals brake, fortune encloſed and ſhut me up alone to fight and maintaine combate, not againſt noble concurrents and renowmed enimies, but obſcure and ſimple Barbarous ſoldiers, gracing and gratifying them thus farre forth, as that they went with in a little of taking away my life: And had not *Ptolemæus* come betweene and covered me with his targuet; had not *Limnæus* in defence of me oppoſed his owne body and received many a thouſand darts, and there loſt his life in the place for me; had not I ſay the Macedonians by force of armes and reſolute courage broken downe the wall and laid it along, certes that baſe village, that Barbarous burrow of no name, had bene at this day the ſepulcher of *Alexander*. Furthermore, all that journey and expedition of mine, what was it elſe but tempeſtuous ſtormes, extreame heat and drought, rivers of an infinit depth, mountaines ſo exceeding high, as no bird could flie over them, monſtrous beaſts and ſo huge withall, as they were hideous and terrible to be ſeene, ſtrange and ſavage faſhions of life, revolts of diſloiall ſtates and governours, yea and afterwards their open treaſons and rebellions? And as for that which went before his voiage: all *Greece* panting ſtill and trembling for remembrance of the warres which they endured under his father *Philip*, now put up their head. The city of *Athens* now ſhaking off from their armour the duſt of the battell at *Chæronea*, began to riſe againe and recover themſelves after that overthrow. To it joined *Thebes* and put forth their helping hand. All *Macedonia* was ſuſpected, and ſtood in doubtfull termes, as enclining to *Amyntas* and the children of *Acropus*. The Illyrians brake out into open warres and made hoſtile invaſions. The Scythians hung in equall ballance uncertaine which ſide to take, expecting what their neighbours would doe, that began to ſtir and revolt. Beſides the good gold of *Perſia* which had found the way into the purſes of orators and governors of every citie, made all *Peloponneſus* to riſe in armes. The coffers of *Philip* his father were emptie and had no treaſure in them: but inſteed thereof they were indebted and paid intereſt as *Oneſicritus* writeth for * two hundred talents. In theſe great wants, in ſuch poverty and ſo troubled a ſtate, ſee a yong man newly come out of his infancie and childhood, durſt hope and aſſuredly looke, for to be lord of *Babylon* and *Suſa*: nay to ſpeake more truely and in a word, he intended in his deſignements the conqueſt of the whole world; and that with a power onely of thirty thouſand footmen, and foure thouſand horſe: for no greater forces brought he into the field as *Ariſtobulus* reporteth: or according as king *Ptolemæus* writeth, they were thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand men of armes: or as *Anaximenes* putteth it downe, his army amounted to forty thouſand three hundred footmen and five thouſand five hundred horſemen. Now all the glorious meanes and great proviſion for the maintenance and entertainment of this power more or leſſe, which fortune had prepared for him, came to ſeventy talents: as *Ariſtobulus* hath ſet it downe in writing, or as *Duris* recordeth he was furniſhed with mony and victuals to ſerve for thirty daies and no longer. How then? was *Alexander* ſo inconſiderate, raſh and void of counſell, as to enterpriſe warre with ſo ſmall meanes, againſt ſo puiſſant an armie of the Perſians? No I wis: for never was their captaine, that went forth to warre better appointed and with greater and more ſufficient helpes than he, to wit, magnanimity, prudence, temperance, & fortitude, wherewith Philoſophy had furniſhed him, as with munition for his voiage: as being better provided for this enterpriſe againſt the Perſians by that which he had learned of his maſter and teacher *Ariſtotle*, than by all the patrimonie and revenewes which his father *Philip* had left him. Well, to beleeve thoſe who write, that *Alexander* himſelfe would otherwhiles ſay, that the Ilias and Odyſſæa of *Homer* accompanied him alwaies as his voiage proviſion to the warres, we may be eaſily enduced, for the reverence and honor which we owe unto *Homer*: but if a man ſhould ſay, that *Homers* Ilias and Odyſſæa, were unto him an eaſement of his travels, or an honeſt paſtime and recreation at his leaſure, and that the true municion and voiage proviſion indeed for the maintenance of his wars, were the diſcourſes & precepts which he had learned out of Philoſophy, and the treatiſes or commentaries as touching confidence & fearleſſe reſolution of proweſſe, valour, magnanimity and temperance, we are ready to mocke and deride him: and why ſo? becauſe forſooth he hath written nothing of Syllogiſmes, of Axiomes, or of the elements and principles of Geometry; becauſe he hath not uſed to walke in the ſchoole of *Lycen*, nor held poſitions and diſputed of queſtions in the Academie: for theſe be the things whereby they meaſure and define Philoſophy, who thinke that it conſiſteth in words and not in

* That is to ſay, 120000 French-crownes.

deeds. And yet *Pythagoras* never writ ought, nor *Socrates*, nor *Arceſilaus*, no nor *Carneades*: who all, no doubt, were moſt renowmed Philoſophers: neither were they imploied and occupied in ſo great warres, in reducing Barbarous kings to civillity, or in founding and building great cities, among ſavage nations: neither travelled they through the world viſiting lawleſſe and cruell people, to teach them to live peaceably and in order, who had never heard of peace or of lawes: but theſe great and famous perſonages, for all the leaſure and reſt that they had from ímploiments and buſie affaires, left all writing for Sophiſters onely. How came it then, that they were reputed Philoſophers? Surely it aroſe either upon their ſayings which they delivered, or the maner of life that they led, and the actions which they did, or elſe the doctrine which they taught. Let us now therefore judge of *Alexander* alſo accordingly, by the ſame: for it will be found and ſeene by the words which he ſaid, the deeds that he wrought, and the leſſons which he taught, that he was ſome great Philoſopher: and in the firſt place, if you thinke good, conſider (which at firſt ſight may ſeeme moſt ſtrange and wonderfull) what diſciples *Alexander* had; and compare them with the ſcholars of *Plato* or of *Socrates*. Theſe men taught thoſe, who were of quicke wit, and ſpake the ſame language that they did; and if they had nothing elſe, yet underſtood they at leaſtwiſe the Greeke tongue: howbeit for all this, many of their auditours and diſciples there were whom they could never perſwade to their rules and precepts: but ſuch as *Crittas, Alcibiades* and *Cleſtiphon*, rejected and ſhoke off all their doctrine, as the bitte of a bridle, and turned another way. Whereas, if you marke and conſider the diſcipline of *Alexander*, you ſhall finde, that he taught the Hyrcanians to contract mariage and live in wedlocke; the Arachoſians to till the ground and follow husbandrie; the Sogdians he perſwaded to nouriſh their aged fathers, and not to kill them; the Perſians to reverence and honour their mothers, and not to mary them as they did before. O the admirable Philoſophie of this prince! by meanes whereof, the Indians adore and worſhip the gods of *Greece*: the Scythians burie their dead and eate them not. We woonder at the powerfull and effectuall ſpeech of *Carneades*, for that he knew how to make *Clitomachus*, named before *Aſdrubal*, and a Carthaginian borne, to conforme himſelfe to the Greekes faſhions and language. Wee admire the emphaticall gift of *Zeno*, who was able to perſwade *Diogenes* the Babylonian, to give himſelfe to the ſtudie of Philoſophie. But while *Alexander* conquered *Aſia*, and reduced it to civilitie, *Homer* was read ordinarily: the ſonnes of the Perſians, Suſians, and Gedroſians, chaunted the tragœdies of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*. As for *Socrates*, condemned hee was and put to death by the Athenians, at the ſute of ſycophants and promoters, who enformed againſt him, that he had brought into *Athens* new gods: whereas by the meanes of *Alexander*, the inhabitants of *Bactra* and the mountaine *Caucaſus*, even at this preſent, adore the gods of *Greece*. *Plato* hath left in writing one forme of policie and government of common-wealth, but he could never perſwade ſo much as one man to uſe and follow it, ſo harſh and auſtere it was found to be. But *Alexander* having founded above threeſcore and ten cities among the barbarous nations, and ſowen throughout all *Aſia*, the myſteries, ſacrifices, and ceremonies of Divine ſervice which were uſed in *Greece*, reclaimed them from their ſavage and brutiſh life. And verily, few there be among us, who read and peruſe the lawes of *Plato*: whereas there be infinit thouſands and millions of men, who have uſed, and doe at this day practiſe thoſe of *Alexanders* ordeining: and ſuch nations were much more happy whom he conquered and ſubdued, than they that eſcaped his puiſſance. For theſe had never any perſon who eaſed and delivered them out of their miſerable life, but the other were forced by the conquerour to lead a bleſſed life; in ſuch ſort, as that which *Themiſtocles* ſometime ſaid, when being baniſhed out of *Athens*, and fled to the king of *Perſia*, at whoſe hands having received rich gifts, and the donation beſides of three cities which paid him yeerely tribute, one for bread, another for wine, and the third for his meat and other viands; he ſpake thus unto his ſonnes: Oh, how had we bene undone, if we had not beene undone! The ſame may more juſtly be verified of thoſe who were then ſubdued by *Alexander*: Never had they beene civilized, if by him they had not beene vanquiſhed and brought under his ſubjection: there had beene no citie *Alexandria* built in *Aegypt*, no *Seleucia* in *Meſopotamia*; no *Prophthaſia* in the Sogdians countrey; no *Bucephalia* among the Indians; neither ſhould the mountaine *Cacauſus* have had neere unto it the citie *Hellas*, inhabited and peopled: by the meanes of which cities, their rude beſtiality being firſt ſtaied and held under, by little and little was extinct, and by cuſtome of the better, changed the woorſe. To conclude therefore, if Philoſophers ſtand moſt upon this point, and beare themſelves aloft, for that they are able to dulce and reforme rude maners, and not poliſhed before by any doctrine. And if it be ſeene that *Alexander* hath altered and brought into order an infinite number of wilde nations, and beaſtly natures; good reaſon there is, that he ſhould be eſteemed an excellent Philoſopher.

Moreover, that pollicie and forme of government ſo highly eſteemed, which *Zeno* the firſt founder of the Stoicks ſect deviſed, tendeth to this one principall point, that we who are men, ſhould not live divided by cities, towns & divers countries, ſeparated by diſtinct laws, rights, & cuſtoms in ſeverall, but thinke all men our felow-citizens, & of the ſame country: alſo that there ought to be but one kind of life, like as there is but one world, as if we were all of the ſame flocke under one herdman, feeding in a common paſture. *Zeno* hath ſet this downe in writing, as a very dreame & imaginarie Idea, of a common-wealth well governed by Philoſophicall lawes; but *Alexander* hath put that in reall execution and practiſe, which the other had figured and drawen out in words: for he did not as his maſter *Ariſtotle* gave him counſell to doe: namely, to cary himſelfe toward the Greeks as a father; and toward the Barbarians as a lord: likewiſe, to have regard and care of ſome, as of his friends and kinsfolke; but to make uſe of others, as if they were brute beaſts or plants, and no better: for in ſo doing, he ſhould have peſtered his dominions and empire with baniſhments; which are evermore the ſecret ſeeds of warre, of factions and ſidings moſt dangerous: but taking himſelfe to be ſent downe from heaven, as a common reformer, reconciler, and governour of the whole world; ſuch as he could not draw to accord and agreement, by reaſon and ſpeech, he compelled by force of armes, and ſo from every ſide reduced all into one; cauſing them to drinke round (as one would ſay) of one and the ſame cup of amitie and good fellowſhip, wherein he tempered and mixed together, their lives and maners, their mariages and faſhions of life, commanding all men living to thinke the whole earth habitable, to be their countrey; his campe their citadell and caſtle of defence; all good men to be their kinsfolke and allies; all leud perſons, ſtrangers and aliens. He commanded them moreover, to diſtinguiſh Greeks and Barbarians, not by their mantle, round targuet, cemeter turbants, or high crowned chaplets; but to marke and diſcerne *Greece* by vertue; *Barbarie* by vice: in reputing all vertuous folke Greeks, and all vicious perſons Barbarians: to thinke alſo their habilliments and apparell common, their tables common, their mariages beſides and maner of life common, as being united all, by the mixture of bloud and communion of children. *Demaratus* verily the Corinthian, one of the friends that uſed to give interteinment to king *Philip*, when he ſaw *Alexander* in the citie of *Suſa*, greatly rejoiced thereat, inſomuch as for very joy of heart, the teares ranne downe his cheeks, and he brake foorth into theſe words: That the Greeks, before departed out of this life, were deprived of exceeding contentment, and hearts delight; in that they had not ſeene *Alexander* ſitting upon the regall throne of *Darius*. For mine owne part verily, I would not repute them very happy, for ſeeing ſuch a ſight as that, conſidering it is the gift of fortune, and as much as that befalleth ordinarily to meaner kings: but I aſſure you, much pleaſure could I have taken, if I had beheld thoſe goodly and ſacred eſpouſals, when under the roofe of one pavilion, ſeeled all over, and wrought with gold, he enterteined at once, all at one common feaſt and table, a hundred Perſian Brides, maried to an hundred Bridegromes of *Greece* and *Macedonie*: at which ſolemnitie himſelfe being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, was the firſt that began to ſing the nuptiall ſong Hymenæus, as a canticle of generall amitie, when two of the greateſt and moſt puiſſant nations of the world came to be joined in alliance together by mariage, being himſelfe ſpouſe unto one, but the maker of all their mariages, yea, and the common father and mediator to them all, being the meanes of that knot and conjunction. For willingly I would have ſaid; O barbarous, ſenſeleſſe and blockiſh *Xerxes*, that tookeſt ſo great paines, and all to no purpoſe, about making a bridge over *Helleſpont*. For after this maner ſhould wiſe kings and prudent princes, conjoine *Europe* and *Aſia* together, not with wood and timber; not with boates and barges, nor with thoſe linkes and bonds which have neither life nor mutuall affection; but by lawfull love, by chaſte and honeſt wedlocke, by communication alſo of children, to unite and aſſociate two nations together. To this comely ornament *Alexander* had an eie, when he would not admit the habiliments and robes of the Medes, but the attire and apparell of the Perſians, as being farre more ſobre, modeſt and decent than the other: for rejecting & caſting aſide that outlandiſh, unuſuall pompeous and tragical exceſſe in the barbarous habit, to wit, the copped turbant Tiara, the ſide and ſuperfluous purple mantell Candys, their wide breeches and ſlacke ſloppes Anaxyridæ;

he wore himſelfe a certeine kinde of robe, compoſed partly of the Macedonian, and in part of the Perſian habit, according as *Eratoſthenes* hath written. As a Philoſopher he made uſe of things indifferent, neither good ſimply, nor ill: and as a gracious ruler and courteous king, he wanne the love and heart of thoſe whom he had ſubdued, by gracing and honouring upon his owne perſon their apparell: to the end that they ſhould continue faſt unto him, and firme in loialtie; loving the Macedonians as their naturall lords, and not hating them, as tyrannizing enemies. For it would have bewraied a fooliſh minde, and withall diſdainfull and proud, to have made great account of a ſelfe-coloured homely mantell, and withall, to have taken offence at a rich coate, embrodered all over with purple; or contrariwiſe, to have had this in admiration, and the other in contempt; like unto ſome infant or little childe, keeping ſtill preciſely to that apparell, which the cuſtome of the countrey as a nurſe or foſter-mother hath once put on: whereas we ſee, that huntſmen who uſe to chooſe deere, are wont to clad themſelves with the skinnes and hides of thoſe wilde beaſts which they have taken; as for example, of ſtagges and hindes: foulers alſo, that lie for to catch birds, caſt upon themſelves, gabardines, and coates of fetherworke, or beſet with wings and fethers. Thoſe who weare red clothes, beware how they come in the way of buls: and ſuch as be clothed in white, are as carefull not to be ſeene of elephants; for that theſe beaſts fare as though they were wood and mad at the ſight of ſuch colours. Now if ſo great a king as *Alexander* was, minding to tame warlike nations, like unto wilde beaſts, or to dulce and keepe them gentle, who were ſo fierce and untractable, uſed thoſe robes and habilliments which were proper, uſuall, and familiar to them; and all to gaine their hearts by little and little, mollifying by that meanes the fierceneſſe of their courage, pacifying their diſpleaſure, and dulcing their grimneſſe and auſteritie: would any man blame or reproove, and not rather honour and admire his politicke wiſdome, in that with a little change and altering of his garments, he had the dexteritie and skill to gaine all *Aſia*, and lead it as he would, making himſelfe, thus by his armour, maſter and lord of their bodies; and by his apparell alluring and winning their hearts. And yet theſe men commend *Ariſtippus* the Philoſopher, and diſciple of *Socrates*, for that one while wearing a poore, thinne and thred-bare cloke, and another while putting on a rich mantell of tiſſew wrought and died at *Miletus*, he knew how to keepe *decorum*, and decently to behave himſelfe, as well in the one garment as the other: meane while, they blame and condemne *Alexander*, in that as he honored the habit of his owne countrey, ſo he diſdained not the apparell of another, which he had conquered by armes, intending therby to lay the ground-worke & foundation of greater matters: for his deſſeigne and purpoſe was not to over-runne and waſte *Aſia*, as a captaine and ring-leader of a rable of theeves and robbers would doe, nor to ſacke and racke, harry and worrie it, as the praie and booty of unexpected and unhoped for felicity: like as afterwards *Anniball* did by *Italy*; and before time, the Trierians delt by *Ionia*; and the Scythians by *Aſia*, who made havocke and waſte as they went: but as one, who meant to range all the nations upon earth, under the obedience of one and the ſame reaſon, and to reduce all men to the ſame policie, as citizens under government of a common-weale, therefore thus he compoſed and transformed himſelfe in his raiment and habit. And if that great God, who ſent the ſoule of *Alexander* from heaven to earth below, had not ſo ſuddenly called it away againe unto himſelfe; peradventure there had beene but one law to rule and overlooke all men living, the whole world haply had beene governed by one and the ſame juſtice, as a common light to illuſtrate all places: whereas now, thoſe parts of the earth, which never had a ſight of *Alexander*, remaine in the ſhadow of darkneſſe, as deſtitute of the very light of the ſunne: and therefore the very firſt project of his expedition and voiage ſheweth, that he caried the minde of a true Philoſopher indeed, who aimed not at the gaining for himſelfe daintie delights, and coſtly pleaſures, but intended to procure and compaſſe an univerſall peace, concord, unitie and ſocietie of all men living one with another.

In the ſecond place conſider we his words and ſentences; for that in other kings and potentates alſo, their maners and intentions of their minde, are principally bewraied by their ſpeeches. *Antigonus* the elder, when a certeine Sophiſter upon a time preſented and pronounced unto him certeine commentaries and treatiſes which he had compoſed as touching juſtice: Good fellow (quoth he) thou art a foole, to come and preach unto one of juſtice, when thou ſeeſt me bending mine ordinance againſt the cities of other princes, and battering their wals as I do. *Denys* alſo the tyrant was wont to ſay, that we ſhould deceive children with dies and cockal bones, but beguile men with othes: And upon the tombe of *Sardanapalus* was engraven this epitaph:

What I did eat and drinke, I have:
the ſports alſo remaine
Which lady Venus *did vouchſave,*
all elſe I count but vaine.

Who can denie, but that by the laſt of thoſe ſpeeches and apophthegmes, ſenſuall luſt and voluptuouſneſſe was authorized; by the ſecond, Atheiſme and impietie; and by the firſt, injuſtice and avarice? Now if you take away from the ſayings of *Alexander* his roiall crowne and diademe, the addition of *Jupiter Ammon* whoſe ſonne he was ſtiled to be, and the nobility of his birth, certes you would ſay they were the ſage ſentences of *Socrates*, *Plato* or *Pythagoras*. For we muſt not ſtand upon the brave titles and proud inſcriptions which Poets have deviſed to be imprinted or engraven upon his pictures, images and ſtatues, having an eie and regard not to ſhew the modeſtie, but to magnifie the puiſſance of *Alexander*: as for example;

This image here that ſtands in braſſe ſo bright,
Of Alexander *is the portraict right:*
Up toward heaven he both his eies doth caſt,
And unto Jove *ſeemes thus to ſpeake at laſt:*
Mine is the earth, by conqueſt I it hold:
Thou Jupiter *in heaven mayſt be bold.*

And another:

Of Jupiter *that heavenly God of might,*
The ſonne am I (Great Alexander *hight.)*

Theſe were the glorious titles which glavering Poets I ſay, in flattery of his fortune fathered upon him. But if a man would recount the true apophthegmes indeed of *Alexander*, he may do well to beginne firſt at thoſe which he delivered in his childhood: for being in footmanſhip the ſwifteſt of all other yoong lads of his age, when his familiar play-feeres and mates were in hand with him very earneſtly to runne a courſe at the Olympian games for a priſe, he demanded of them againe, whether he ſhould meet with kings there for his concurrents in the race: and when they anſwered, No: Then were the match (quoth he) not equally nor indifferently made, wherin if I have the woorſe, a king ſhall be foiled; and if I gaine the victorie, I ſhall but conquer private perſons. When his father *Philip* chanced in a battell againſt the Triballians to be runne thorow the thigh with a launce; and albeit, that he eſcaped danger of death, yet was much grieved and diſmaied to limpe and halt thereupon as he did: Be of good cheere good father (quoth he) and go abroad hardly in the ſight of the whole world, that at every ſtep you tread and ſet forward, you may be put in minde of your valour and vertue. How ſay you now, proceed not theſe anſweres from a Philoſophicall minde? and ſhew they not an heart, which being raviſhed with a divine inſtinct and ardent love of good and honeſt things, careth not for the defects of the bodie? for how greatly thinke you joyed and gloried he in the wounds that he received in his owne perſon, who in every one of them bare the teſtimony and memoriall of ſome nation ſubdued, ſome battell won, of ſome cities forced by aſſaile, or of ſome kings that yeelded to his mercie? Certes, he never tooke care to cover and hide his ſcarres, but caried them about him, and ſhewed them where ever he went, as ſo many marks and tokens engraved, to teſtifie his vertue and proweſſe. And if at any time there grew ſome compariſon, either by way of ſerious diſputation in points of learning, or in table talke, as touching the verſes of *Homer*, which of them were beſt: when ſome ſeemed to commend this verſe, others that, he would evermore preferre this, above all other:

ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

A prince right good and gracious,
A knight withall moſt valourous.

and making this account, that the praiſe which another had given to king *Agamemnon* beforetime, ſtood for a law unto himſelfe; inſomuch, as he would ſay, that *Homer* in that one verſe had recommended the vertue of *Agamemnon*, and propheſied the proweſſe of *Alexander*. And therefore, ſo often as he paſſed over the Streight of *Helleſpont*, his maner was to goe and viſit *Troy*, where he repreſented unto his owne minde, the woorthy feats of armes which thoſe brave princes and noble worthies performed, who fought there. And when one of that countrey promiſed to beſtow upon him in free gift, if he would accept it, the harpe of *Paris*: I have no need (quoth he) of it, for I haue already, that of *Achilles*: to the ſound whereof he was woont for his recreation,

The praiſes for to ſing and chant,
Of dowtie knights and valiant:

whereas this here of *Paris*, warbled a wanton and feminine harmony, to which he uſed to ſing ſonnets and balads of Love.

Now moſt certeine it is, that to love wiſdome, and to have in eſteeme, ſages and learned perſons is an infallible ſigne of a philoſophicall ſpirit. And this was in *Alexander*, if ever in any other prince: for what kindneſſe and affection he caried to his tutour and maſter, *Ariſtotle*; alſo, that hee did as great honour unto *Anaxarchus* the skilfull Muſician, as to no favourite and familiar friend the like; I have alreadie ſhewed elſewhere. The firſt time that ever *Pyrrho* the Elian talked and conferred with him, hee gave unto the man tenne thouſand pieces of golde. Unto *Xenocrates* one of *Platoes* diſciples, he ſent a preſent of fiftie talents. And as moſt hiſtoriographers doe report, he made *Oneſicritus*, one of *Diogenes* his ſcholars, his admirall at ſea. And himſelfe meeting upon a time with *Diogenes* at *Corinth*, where he communed with him, he ſo woondered at his maner of life, and had his gravitie in ſuch admiration, that many a time after, in ſpeaking of him, he would ſay: Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: which was as much to ſay, as thus: I could willingly employ my whole life and ſpend my time at my booke and in contemplation, but that I am determined to be a Philoſopher in deed and action. He ſaid not: If I were not a king, I could finde in mine heart to be *Diogenes*: nor, If I were not rich, and one that loved to go gay and in ſumptuous robes, &c. For he never in his life preferred fortune before wiſdome; nor the purple mantle of eſtate, or the roiall diademe, before a ſcrip and a poore threedbare Philoſophers cloake; but ſimply this was his ſaying: Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: that is to ſay, Had I not propoſed to my ſelfe to joine together in mutuall ſocietie, Barbarous nations with the Greeks, and by travelling in voiage thorow the earth, to poliſh and make civill what ſavage people ſoever I find, ſearching from one end of the world to another, and viſiting all the coaſts of the ſea, to joine *Macedonie* unto the Ocean, to ſow as it were, *Greece* in all parts, and to ſpread thorowout all nations peace and juſtice, yet would I not ſit ſtill idle in delights, and take my pleaſure, but imitate the ſimplicity and frugality of *Diogenes*. But now pardon me, I pray thee, ô *Diogenes*: I follow *Hercules*, I take the way of *Perſeus*, I tread the trace of god *Bacchus*, my ſtocke-father and author of my race and progeny; I would gladly, that the Greeks might once more dance with victory among the Indians, and reduce into the memory and remembrance of thoſe mountainers and ſavage nations who dwell beyond the mountaine *Caucaſus*, the jolly feaſts and meriments of the Bacchanales. And even there, by report, there be thoſe who follow a certeine ſtrict, auſtere, and naked profeſſion of wiſdome, called thereupon Gymnoſophiſts, holy men, living according to their owne lawes, devoted altogether to a contemplative ſervice of God, making leſſe account of this life than *Diogenes* doth, and living more barely, as having no need at all of bagge and wallet; for, no proviſion make they of victuals, becauſe the earth furniſheth them alwaies with that which is new and freſh to their hand: the rivers affoord them drinke; the leaves falling from trees and the greene graſſe of the earth together, ſerve for their beds: by my meanes ſhal they know *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes* them. I muſt alſo alter the ſtampe of the coine, and in ſtead of a Barbarian marke, ſigne it after the Greeke maner and according to their common wealth. Well, thus much of his words and ſayings: come we now to his deeds. And doe they ſeeme to cary before them the blinde raſhneſſe and temerity of Fortune, and bare force of armes and violences of the hand? or rather, of the one ſide, great proweſſe and juſtice; on the other ſide, much clemency and lenity, together with good order and rare prudence, of one managing all things by ſober, diſcreet and conſiderate judgement? Certes, I am not able to ſay and diſcerne in all his acts thus much, as to pronounce, That this was a deed of valour; that, of humanity; and another, of patience or continence: but every exploit of his, ſeemeth to have beene mingled and compounded of all vertues in one, to confirme the famous ſentence and opinion of the Stoicks, That every act, a wiſe man doth effect by all vertues jointly together. True it is indeed, that in ech action there is one vertue or other, eminent and predominant alwaies above others; but the ſame inciteth and directeth the reſt to the ſame end: and even ſo we may ſee in the acts of *Alexander*, That as his martiall valour is humane, ſo his humanitie is valourous; his bounty is thrifty, his liberality frugall; his choler ſoone appeaſed, his heat quickly cold; his loves temperate, his paſtimes not idle; and his travels not without their ſolace and recreation; who, evermore tempered feaſts with warre, military expeditions with games, masks and ſports; who, interlaced among his ſieges of cities, warlike exploits and executions, feſtivall Bacchanales, wedding and nuptiall ſongs of *Hymenæus*. Who was there ever, greater enemy to thoſe that doe wrong, or more mercifull and gracious to the afflicted? Who ever caried himſelfe more heavie to ſtiffe-necked and obſtinate perſons; and more friendly againe, to humble ſuppliants? And heere in this place it comes into my minde, for to alledge and cite the ſaying of king *Porus*, who being brought priſoner before king *Alexander*, and demanded by him, in what maner he wiſhed that he ſhould uſe him: Roially (quoth he) ô *Alexander*. And when *Alexander* replied againe, and asked what he had els to ſay: Nothing, quoth *Porus*; for in that one word [Roially] is compriſed all. And even ſo me thinks, that in all the actions of *Alexander*, a man may uſe this for a reffrein or faburden, All Philoſophically. For this in deed conteineth all. He was enamoured of *Roxane* the daughter of *Oxiathres*, by occaſion that he ſaw her to dance with a good grace among other captive ladies: howbeit, he would not force her, nor offer any violence to her diſhonour; but eſpouſed her for his wife: wherein he did as a Philoſopher. When he ſaw his enemy *Darius* lying dead, with many an arrow and dart ſticking in his body, he neither ſacrificed to the gods, nor ſounded the triumph for joy, that ſo long a war by his death was come to an end; but taking the mantle from his owne ſhoulders, caſt it over the dead corps, as if he would thereby have covered and hidden the wofull deſtiny of a king. And this alſo was done like a Philoſopher. He received one day a letter of ſecrets from his owne mother, which whiles he peruſed, it chanced that *Hephæſtion* alſo ſitting at that time by him, read it ſimply together with him, and thought nothing, *Alexander* debarred him not; onely he tooke the ſignet from his owne finger, ſet it to his mouth, ſealing as it were his ſilence, by the faith that he owed unto a friend. See how herein he ſhewed the part of a Philoſopher: for if theſe be not Philoſophicall acts, I know not what els be. *Socrates* was well enough content, that faire *Alcibiades* ſhould lie with him; but *Alexander*, when *Philoxenus* his lieutenant generall over the ſea coaſts of *Aſia*, wrote unto him, that there was a yong boy within his government in *Ionia*, for ſweet favour and beauty incomparable, demanding of him by his letters to know his pleaſure, whether he ſhould ſend the ſaid youth unto him, he wrote ſharply unto him, in this wiſe: What haſt thou knowen by me, moſt leaud and wicked varlet as thou art, that thou ſhouldeſt preſume thus to allure and entice me with ſuch pleaſures? *Xenocrates* we have in admiration, for turning backe a preſent of fifty talents, which *Alexander* ſent unto him; and ſhall we not wonder aſwell at the giver? ſhall we not thinke, that he made as ſmall account of money, who gave ſo liberally, as he who refuſed it? *Xenocrates* had no need of riches, profeſſing as he did Philoſophy; but *Alexander* had uſe therefore, even in regard of Philoſophy, becauſe he might exerciſe his liberality in beſtowing the ſame ſo bountifully upon ſuch perſons. We honour the remembrance of thoſe, who have left behinde them teſtimonies of their contempt of death: and how often thinke you, hath *Alexander* delivered as much, when he ſaw the darts and arrowes flying ſo thicke about his eares, and himſelfe preſſed hard upon by the violence of enemies? We are perſwaded verily, that there is in all men whatſoever, ſome light of ſound judgement, for that nature herſelfe frameth them to diſcerne that which is good and honeſt: but a difference there is betweene the common ſort and Philoſophers, for that Philoſophers excell the reſt in this, that their judgements be more firme, ſetled and reſolute in dangers than others; wheras the vulgar ſort are not armed and fortified beforehand with ſuch deepe impreſſions and reſolutions as theſe:

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, &c.

The beſt preſage by augury and bird-flight,
Is, in defence of countrey for to fight.

Againe:

This full account all men muſt make,
By death one day their end to take.

But the occurrences and occaſions of perils preſented unto them, doe breake their diſcourſe of reaſon; and the imaginations of dangers imminent, doe drive out all counſell and conſiderate judgement. For feare doth not only maskre and aſtoniſh the memory, as *Thucydides* ſaith, but alſo driveth out every good intention, all motions and endevors of well doing: whereas Philoſophy bindeth them faſt with cords round about, that they cannot ſtirre. * * * * * * * * *

The end of this treatiſe is loſt.

* *

OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. Alexander.

The ſecond Oration.

The Summarie.

PLutarch *doth proſecute in this declamation, the argument and diſcourſe begun in the former: the ſome whereof is this, that the vertue of* Alexander *ſurmounted his fortune, which was alwaies in maner contrary unto him. But before that he entreth into this matter he oppoſeth unto the ſufficiency and ſingular parts of this prince, the baſe demeanour and brutiſh vilany of certaine other kings and potentates, adjoining over and beſides thus much, that al his exerciſes and imploiments, are proofes every one of his hauty courage and mognanimity, Then diſcourſeth he particularly, in what account and reputation good workemen were with* Alexander, *and what his ſelfe conceit was of his owne workes in compariſon of theirs. Afterwards, he commeth to ſhew, that if* Alexander *be conſidered from his very firſt beginning to his laſt end, he will be found, to be the very handy worke of valour and fortitude. In proceeding forward, he ſaith, that fortune received more honor by* Alexander *than he by her. The which is verified by conſidering the ſtate of his armie, after his death. Upon this, he entreth into a common place of mans greatneſſe, which ſerveth to cleere and illuſtrate the former points and matters handled. And by the conſideration of the evill cariage and government of many other princes, as by a foile, he giveth a moſt beautifull luſtre unto the vertues of* Alexander, *which he deſciphereth in particular. This done, he anſwereth thoſe, who object that fortune raiſed* Alexander *to that greatneſſe. And to give the mightier force and weight to the reaſons by him produced, he diſputeth againſt fortune her ſelfe: wherein he examineth his ſeverall exploits, wherein as vertue is evidently ſeene to accompany and aſsiſt, ſo fortune to oppoſe her ſelfe and reſiſt him. And this doth he particularize at large. After this digreſsion, he commeth againe to his precedent matter, and bringeth out new proofes of the vertue and magnanimity of this mighty Monarch, even from his youth unto his dying day; comparing him as a Paragon, with the wiſeſt Sages, and moſt valiant warriours both of* Perſia *and of* Greece. *Shewing alſo that he ſurpaſſed them all, in continency, liberality, piety, prudence, juſtice, beneficence and valour. For the laſt point, he relateth the great jeopardy wherein* Alexander *was plunged one time among the reſt, out of which, vertue cauſed him to retire ſafe as it were, in deſpite of fortune: which is the very concluſion of this treatiſe, confirming the principall intention of our authour, which is to proove that the foreſaid grandeur of* Alexander *ought not to be aſcribed unto fortune, but to vertue.*

THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. *Alexander.*

The ſecond Oration.

We forgat yeſterday (as it ſhould ſeeme) among other matters to ſay, that the age wherein *Alexander* lived was in this reſpect happy, for that it brought forth many excellent arts, and as many great and ſingular wits: or rather it may be ſaid, that this was not ſo much the good fortune of *Alexander*, as of thoſe cunning artiſans and rare ſpirits, to have for their witneſſe & ſpectator ſuch a perſonage, who both knew beſt how to judge truely of good workemanſhip, and alſo was moſt able to reward the ſame as liberally. And verily to this purpoſe reported it is, that ſomtime after, in the age enſuing, when *Archeſtratus* a fine headed Poet and a pleaſant, lived in great want and penury, for that no man made any reckoning of him to his deſert, there came one unto him and ſaid: Had it beene thy hap *Archeſtratus* to have lived in the daies of *Alexander*, he would for every verſe of thine have beſtowed upon thee either *Cyprus* or *Phœnice*. Certes for mine owne part thus I conceive of it, that the artificers and workemen living in that age, became ſo famous and excellent not ſo much under *Alexander* and by *Alexander*. For it is the good temperature of the weather and ſubtilty of the ambient aire, that cauſeth abundance and plenty of fruits: but the gracious countenance, the fovor, honor, bounty and humanity of a prince, is it that provoketh and ſtirreth up good arts, yea and advanceth excellent wits: whereas contrariwiſe all the ſame languiſheth, decaieth, is extinguiſhed and periſheth cleane by the envie, avarice, ſpary pinching, and peeviſh frowardneſſe of rulers and thoſe in authority. And heere I muſt call to minde the report that goeth of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who heering one day a famous minſtrell playing paſſing well upon the lute and as ſweet ſinging thereto, ſaid openly, that he would beſtow upon him for a reward a talent of ſilver. The morrow after comes this muſician to call for the money according to promiſe: unto whom *Dionyſius* made this anſwere: Sirrha (quoth he) yeſterday as I tooke contentment by thee ſo long as I heard thee play and ſing, ſo I am ſure I did thee a pleaſure againe in the hope of this promiſe: thou wert paied therefore preſently for the delight which thou gaveſt me, by the joy that thou receivedſt from me: goe thy waies therefore, thou haſt thy reward already. *Alexander*, the tyrant of *Pheræ*, (whom indeed I ſhould call by this addition onely [tyrant] and not ſteine and contaminate ſo good a name as *Alexander*, by ſtiling therewith ſo wicked a wretch:) this tyrant I ſay, whiles he beheld one day an excellent plaier acting in a tragœdy, was ſo much moved with a certaine tickling delight comming upon him, that his heart began to relent even upon a tender commiſeration and pitie: whereupon he ſuddenly left the theater, made haſte away, & went faſter than an ordinary pace untill he was out of ſight, ſaying withall, that it were a great indignity for him to be ſeene for to weepe and ſhed teares, in compaſſion of the miſeries and calamities of queene *Hecuba* or lady *Polyxena*, who every day cauſed ſo many citizens and ſubjects throats to be cut. This monſtrous tyrant was ſo miſchievouſly bent, that he went within a little of puniſhing that excellent actour moſt grieveouſly, becauſe he had mollified his hard heart and made it melt like a peece of iron in the furnace. *Archelaus* king of *Macedonie* ſeemed to be not very free of gift, whereupon *Timotheus* the muſician ſinging to the harpe, would eftſoones glaunce at him, and iterate this prety ſcoffe as the foot of his ſong;

This earth-bred mettall, ſilver bright,
*You * praiſe ſir, as your whole delight.*

* ἀινεῖς.

But *Archelaus* met with him, *extempore* againe, and replied not unwittily, in this wiſe,

And thou as faine would'ſt ſilver have,
*And doeſt as ſhameleſſely it * crave.*

* ἀιτεῖς.

Ateas a king of the Scythians, having taken priſoner in warre, that famous minſtrell *Iſmenias*, commanded him to ſound upon his flute or pipe, whiles he ſat at dinner. Now when all the company beſides wondred at his excellent muſicke, and applauded him for his good playing, he himſelfe ſware a great oth, that he tooke more pleaſure to heare his horſe neigh, ſo unmuſicall were his eares and ſo farre removed from the Muſes: ſo much alſo was his minde ſet upon the ſtable and manger, fitter indeed to heare aſſes bray than horſes neigh. What honour then or advancement may a cunning artiſan, or ſo abſolute a maſter in muſicke hope for at the hands of ſuch kings? Certes no more than from thoſe who would ſeeme themſelves to be skilful, yea and dare contend with profeſſours in the ſufficiencie of their arte: and therefore upon envie or malice ſeeke to overthrow and deprave thoſe that indeed be excellent artiſts. Such an one was *Dionyſius* above named (whom heere I muſt bring in againe) who cauſed the Poet *Philoxenus* to be caſt into the priſon or dungeon called *Latomiæ*, that is to ſay, the Quarries, becauſe when *Dionyſius* had put into his hands a tragœdy of his owne making, commanding him to review and correct the ſame, he daſhed it out and interlined it all from the beginning to the end. And even *Philip* alſo king of *Macedonie*, for that late it was ere he gave his minde to muſicke, was in this behalfe unlike himſelfe and not anſwerable to his greatneſſe otherwiſe. Howbeit upon an opinion that he had of his owne skill that way, he would needs (as the report goes) enter into diſputation with a profeſſed muſician and plaier of inſtruments, and argue about the ſtrokes and ſtops, points and notes and ſuch like terms, yea and ſeeme forſooth to controle him in his owne art; whereat the minſtrell ſmiling pleaſantly upon him: God forbid ſir (quoth he) that you a king, ſhould ever be ſo unfortunate and at ſo low an eb, as to have more skill in theſe matters than I. But *Alexander* knowing full well what things he ſhould be a ſpectatour and auditour of, as alſo what he ought himſelfe to practiſe and execute with his owne hand, ſtudied continually to be expert and accompliſhed in feates of armes, indevouring, as the Poet *Aeſchylus* ſaith,

Moſt manfully his ſtanding, good to make:
And terribly to force his foes to quake.

And this indeed was the hereditarie art which he received by ſucceſſion from his aunceſtors the Aeacidæ, and Hercules: as for other ſciences, he honored them in other men, without any emulation at all for their profeſſion: and as he highly commended any excellency or grace therein, ſo for no pleaſure & delight that he tooke thereby, was he eaſily ſurprized with any affection for to follow the ſame. In his time there flouriſhed two noble Tragœdians above the reſt *Theſſalus* and *Athenodorus*; who when they contended one againſt another for the priſe, who could act the better, the kings of *Cyprus* defraied the charges belonging to this ſolemne ſpectacle, and pageant; but the principall and moſt renowmed captaines, were judges to decide the quarrell. In the end, when *Athenodorus* was declared victour; *Alexander* who ſtood better affected to *Theſſalus*: I would I had (quoth he) loſt the one halfe of my kingdome, ſo I had not ſeene *Theſſalus* take the foile: howbeit, he neither expoſtulated with the umpiers, nor complained of their judgement; for howſoever he thought that himſelfe ought in other reſpects to outgoe all, yet he was to yeeld and give place to juſtice. Among Comedians in thoſe daies, there was one *Lycon* a Scarphean: this actour in playing his part before him in a comedie, had interlaced handſomly a verſe, wherein he ſeemed cleanly to crave ſome reward: *Alexander* laughed at the conceit of the fellow, and gave him ten tallents. Many excellent harpers there were, and plaiers of the lute, and one *Ariſtonicus* among others, who in a certeine battell running in to reſcue and ſuccour him, fought manfully, and there was ſlaine, and fell dead at his foot: *Alexander* heereupon cauſed his ſtatue to be made in braſſe, and to be ſet up in the temple of *Apollo Pythius* holding a lute in the one hand, and a launce in the other. In ſo doing he not onely honored the man, but alſo Muſicke, as being an art which breedeth animoſitie in mens hearts, filling thoſe with a certeine raviſhment of ſpirit and couragious heart to fight valiantly, who are naturally framed and bred up to action: for even himſelfe one day, when *Antigenides* ſounded the battell with his flute, and ſinging thereto a militarie ſong, called Harmation, was thereat ſo much mooved, and ſet in ſuch an heat by his warlike tune, that he ſtarted out of the place where he ſat, and caught up the armes that hung up thereby, ready to brandiſh them and to fight, bearing witneſſe thereby to the Spartans, chaunting thus:

Sweetly to play on Lute and Harpe;
To ſing thereto as pleaſantly:
Beſeemeth thoſe that love at ſharpe,
To fight it out right valiantly.

There lived alſo in the time of *Alexander*, *Apelles* the Painter, and *Lyſippus* the Imager: the former of theſe two, painted *Alexander* holding a thunderbolt in his hand, but ſo exquiſitely

ſo

to the life, and ſo like unto himſelfe, that it was a common ſaying; Of two *Alexanders*, the one, king *Philips* ſonne, was invincible; the other of *Apelles* drawing, was inimitable. As for *Lyſippus*, when he had caſt the firſt image of *Alexander*, with his face up toward heaven, expreſſing thereby the very countenance of *Alexander*, who was woont ſo to looke, and withall, to turne his necke ſomewhat at one ſide; there comes me one and ſetteth over it this epigram, alluding very pretily to the ſaid portraicture:

This image heere that ſtands in braſſe all bright,
The portraict is of Alexander, *right:*
Up toward heaven, he both his eies doth caſt,
And unto Jove, *ſeemes thus to ſpeake at laſt:*
Thou Jupiter *in heav'n maiſt well be bold:*
Mine is the earth, by conqueſt I it hold.

And therefore *Alexander* gave commandement, that no other braſſe founder, ſhould caſt his image, but only *Lyſippus*: for he alone it was (as it ſhould ſeeme) that had the feat to repreſent his naturall diſpoſition in braſſe, and to expreſſe his vertue anſwerable to the lineaments and proportion of his ſhape. As for others, howſoever they might be thought to reſemble the bending of his necke, the cheerefull caſt & amiable volubility of his quicke eie; yet could they never obſerve and keepe that virilitie of viſage and lion-like looke of his. In the ranke of other rare workmen, may be ranged a famous Architect, named *Staſicrates*, who would not ſeeme to buſie himſelfe in making any thing, that was either gallant & pleaſant, or delectable and gracious to the eie; but intended ſome great matter, and ſuch a piece of worke, and of that argument, as would require no leſſe then the riches and treaſure of a king to furniſh and ſet foorth. This fellow comes up to *Alexander*, being in the high countries and provinces of his dominion, where before him he found fault with all his images, as well painted, and engraven, as caſt and pourtraied any way; ſaying, they were the hand-works of baſe minded and mechanicall artificers: But I (quoth he) if it may pleaſe your majeſtie, know how, and doe intend to found and eſtabliſh the ſimilitude of your roiall perſon, in a matter that is living and immortall, grounded upon eternall roots, the weight and ponderoſitie whereof is immooveable, and can not be ſhaken: For the mountaine *Athos* (quoth he) in *Thracia*, whereas it is greateſt, and riſeth to a moſt conſpicuous height; where the broad plaines and high tops are proportionate to it ſelfe every waie; having in it, members, lims, joints, diſtances, and intervals, reſembling for all the world, the forme of mans body, may be wrought and framed ſo, as it would ſerve verie well both to be called, and to be indeed, the ſtatue of *Alexander*, and worthy his Greatneſſe: the foote and baſe whereof, ſhall touch the ſea; in one of the hands comprehending and holding a great citie peopled and inhabited by an infinit number of men: and in the right, a running river, with a perpetuall current, which it powreth as it were out of a great pot into the ſea: as for all theſe petty images and puppets made of gold, braſſe, and ivorie, theſe wodden tables with pictures, away with them all, as little paltrey portracts, which may be bought and ſold, theefe-ſtollen and melted, defaced and marred. *Alexander* having heard the man ſpeake, highly praiſed him, as admiring his hautie minde, his bold courage, the conceit of his extraordinary invention: Good fellow (quoth he) let *Athos* alone, and permit it to ſtand a Gods name, in the place where it doth, and never alter the forme of it: it ſufficeth that it is the monument of the outragious pride, inſolent vanitie and folly of one king already: and as for me, the mountaine *Caucaſus*, the hilles *Emodi*, the river *Tanais*, and the Caſpian ſea, ſhall be the images and ſtatues to repreſent my acts. But ſet the caſe I pray you, that ſuch a piece of worke had beene made & finiſhed as this great architect talked of: is there any man thinke you, ſeeing it in that forme, diſpoſition, and faſhion, that would thinke it grew ſo by chance & adventure? No I warrant you. What ſay we now to his image called *Ceraunophoros*, that is to ſay, the thunder-bolt-bearer? what ſay we to another named ἐπὶ τ̃ αἰχμῆς, that is to ſay, leaning upon a launce? Can not the greatneſſe & majeſtie of ſuch a ſtatue be performed by fortune, without the artificial hand of man, howſoever it conferre and allow thereto great ſtore of gold, braſſe, ivorie, and all maner of rich & precious matter? and ſhall we thinke it then poſſible, that a great perſonage, nay rather the greateſt that ever the world ſaw, was made & perfected by fortune without vertue? and that it was fortune onely who made for him that proviſion of armes, of money, of men, cities, and horſes: all which things, bring perill to thoſe that know not how to uſe them well; and neither honour and credit, nor puiſſance, but rather argue their feebleneſſe and impuiſſance. For

Antiſthenes ſaid, very well and truely, that we ſhould wiſh unto our enemies all the good things in the world, ſave onely valour and fortitude: for by that meanes they be not theirs who are in preſent poſſeſſion of them, but become theirs who are the conquerors. And this is the reaſon men ſay, that nature hath ſet upon the head of an Hart for his defence, the moſt heartleſſe and cowardly beaſt that is, woonderfull hornes for bigneſſe, and moſt dangerous by reaſon of their ſharpe and branching knagges: teaching us by this example, that bodily ſtrength and armour, ſerveth them in no ſtead, who have not the courage and reſolution to ſtand their ground and fight it out. And even thus we ſee, that fortune many times by heaping upon heartleſſe cowards, and witleſſe fooles, a great eſtate of riches and dominion, which they know not how to weld, and wherewith they diſcredit themſelves, doeth honour and grace vertue, as upon which onely dependeth all the puiſſance, all the worſhip, glory, and reputation of men: for if as *Epicharmus* ſaith,

The minde it is that ſeeth cleare:
And t'is the minde that eke doeth heare.

then all the reſt are blinde and deafe, which be void of reaſon: for the ſenſes ſeeme verilie to have their proper and peculiar functions. Now, that the minde is all in all, that the minde is availeable in all things, that the minde diſpoſeth every thing in good order, that it is the minde which conquereth, which ruleth & reigneth over all; & whatſoever beſide, blind, deafe, & without life, do hinder, depreſſe, and diſhonor the poſſeſſors thereof, if vertue be away, may be proved and exemplified by the experience and courſe of wordly affaires: for by the ſame puiſſance and command, *Semiramis* being but a woman, rigged and manned armadoes at ſea, leavied and armed maine battels of land forces, built *Babylon*, ſcoured and conquered all the coaſt of the red ſea, ſubdued and brought to her obedience the Arabians and Aethiopians: whereas *Sardanapalus*, a man borne, ſat within houſe at home, carding and ſpinning purple, tumbling and lying along, waltring among a ſort of concubines: and when he was dead, they made for him a ſtatue in ſtone, dauncing by himſelfe alone after the Barbarian faſhion, and knacking (as it were) with his fingers over his head, like an antique, with this epigram ſet over it:

Eat, drinke, the wanton lecher play,
For nothing els is ought, I ſay.

Crates the Philoſopher ſeeing upon a time within the temple of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphi*, the image of *Phryne* the curtiſan, ſhrined all in golde, cried out: Behold heere ſtands the triumphant Trophæe, over the looſe and laſcivious life of the Greeks. But whoſoever beholdeth the life or ſepulture, whether you will (for in mine opinion there is no difference) of *Sardanapalus*, he may well and truely ſay to the Trophæe of fortunes goods. What then? ſhall we ſuffer fortune after *Sardanapalus* to meddle with *Alexander*, and to chalenge unto herſelfe any part of his mightineſſe and puiſſance? That were no reaſon at all: for what gave ſhe ever unto him more than other kings have received at her hands? whether it were armour, horſes, weapons, monie, ſoldiers, and a guard about their perſons? Well, let her by theſe meanes make *Ariddæus* great if ſhe can; let her magnifie (I ſay) by theſe meanes *Amaſis*, *Ochus*, *Oarſes*, *Tigranes* the Armenian, and *Nicomedes* the Bithynian: of whom the one, to wit, *Tigranes*, flung downe his crowne and diadem at the feet of *Pompeius*, and ſhamefully loſt his kingdome, as a pray or eſcheat fallen into his enemies hand: the other, namely *Nicomedes*, having ſhaven his head, and wearing a cap upon it, declared himſelfe thereby, to be an affranchiſed vaſſall of the Romans? What? Say we then, that fortune maketh men cowards, fearefull, and baſe minded? Surely, it were no reaſon to impute cowardiſe upon infortunitie, no more than to attribute valour and wiſdome to proſperitie. But well and truely may one ſay, that fortune herſelfe was great, in regard of her lord and maſter *Alexander*: for in him ſhe was glorious, invincible and magnanimous; not proud nor inſolent, but full of clemencie and humanitie: no ſooner was the breath out of his body, but preſently her power, that is to ſay, his armie and forces, as *Leoſthenes* ſaid wandring up and downe ſtragling and running upon it ſelfe, reſembled that ſame *Cyclops Polyphemus*, who after his eie was out of his head, went groping all about, putting forth his hands before him, but not knowing where to lay them: For even the greatneſſe of her puiſſance, after he was once dead, went to and fro, wandring it wiſt not where, and ſtumbling ever and anon, wanting a directour and governour, as in time of Anarchie, when there is no ſoveraigne ruler knowen: or rather it might be compared unto dead bodies when the life is newly departed out of them. For like as the parts are not knit together, nor hold one to another any longer, but fall away one from the other, and looſely withdraw themſelves apart: even ſo the armie of **Alexander** after it had loſt and forgone him, did no more but ſprunt, pant, ſtruggle and ſtrive for life, toſſe and tumble to and fro, under the Perdiccaies, the Meleagers, the Seleuci, the Antegoni, and I wot not whom, like unto ſome ſmall vital ſpirits, yet remaining hot and beating within the arteries heere and there diſorderly, and now and than like intermittent pulſes, untill ſuch time as at the laſt it grew to putrifaction and corruption in maner of a dead carcaſe, and engendred wormes crawling within it: I meane ſuch baſe kings, degenerat rulers & captaines who had no generoſity nor heart in them. Certes, *Alexander* himſelfe in his life time rebuking *Hephæſtion* when he quarelled with *Craterus*, tanted him & tooke him up in this wiſe: What power haſt thou of thy ſelfe? what couldeſt thou do, and where wouldeſt thou be, if a man ſhould take *Alexander* from thee? Semblably, I will not ſticke to ſay thus unto the fortune of that time: What is thy greatneſſe? what is thy glory? where is thy puiſſance? where is thine invincible power, if one ſhould bereave thee of *Alexander*? That is as much to ſay, as if one ſhould deprive thine armes & weapons, of skill and experience to uſe them; thy riches, of liberality; thy ſumptuoſity and magnificence, of temperance; thy fights & combats, of reſolute valor; thy victories and ſuperiorities, of mildeneſſe and lenity. Make any other great if thou canſt, who beſtoweth not his goods bountifully, who in the forefrunt of the battell hazzardeth not his owne perſon firſt before his armie, who honoreth not nor regardeth his friends, who taketh no pitie of his enimies captive, who is not in his pleaſures continent, in his occaſions & affaires vigilant, in his victories ſoone pacified and eaſie to be compounded with, and laſt of all, who in his proſperity and good ſucceſſe is not kind and courteous. How can a man poſſibly be great, what power and authority ſo ever he have, if he be fooliſh, vicious, & wicked withal: for in one word, take vertue from a man otherwiſe fortunate, he is every way meane and of baſe account; meane in his gifts & donations, by reaſon of nigardiſe; meane in his travels, in regard of his cowardiſe and tendernes; meane in the ſight of the gods, becauſe of his ſuperſtition; meane among good men, for his envie; meane with valiant warriors, in reſpect of his timorouſneſſe; and meane in the conceit of honeſt women, conſidering his diſſolute voluptuouſneſſe. For like as unskilfull workemen who ſet little ſtatues upon great baſes and large piedſtals, ſhew thereby the ſmalneſſe of their ſtatues ſo much the more: even ſo when fortune raiſeth up a man of baſe minde into high place and to an eſtate wherein he is to be ſeene of the whole world, ſhe diſcovereth his wants, ſhe diſcrediteth and diſhonoreth him the rather, waving and ſhaking every way through his levitie. So that, by this we muſt confeſſe, that greatneſſe lieth not in the bare poſſeſſion, but in the well uſing of good things: For many times it falleth out that very infants even from their cradle, inherite the realmes and ſeignories of their fathers; like as *Charillus* did, whom *Lycurgus* his uncle broght in his ſwadling bands into the common hall *Phiditium*, where the lords of *Sparta* were wont to dine together, ſet him in the roiall throne, and in the ſtead of himſelfe, declared and proclaimed him king of *Lacedæmon*. Now was not this babe for all this, great: but he rather might be accounted a great perſon, who rendring unto the new borne infant his fathers honor due unto him, would not intervert and derive it upon himſelfe, and ſo defraud his nephew thereof. As for *Aridæus*, who could make him a great man, whom differing indeed nothing from a babe, *Meleager* ſwadled indeed and enwrapped onely within a purple robe and roiall mantell of eſtate, and ſo enſtalled him in the throne of *Alexander*: wherein he did very well, to give the world to underſtand within a few daies after, how men reigne by vertue; and how by fortune: for he ſubrogated in the place of a true prince that managed the empire indeed, a very counterfect plaier and actor of a kings part; or to ſpeake more truly, he brought a mute and dumbe diademe to walke through the world for a time, as it were upon a ſtage. The comicall * Poet ſaid:

* *Ariſtoph.*

A very woman may well a burden beare,
If firſt a man upon her doe it reare.

But a man may contrariwiſe ſay, that a ſilly woman or a yong child may take up, yea and charge upon the ſhoulders of another, a ſeignory, a realme, a great eſtate and empire, as *Bagoas* the Eunuch tooke and laid upon *Oarſes* and *Darius* the kingdome of the Perſians. Mary when as one hath taken upon him a mighty power and dominion, to beare, to weld & manage the ſame, and not under the weight and heavy load of affaires belonging thereto, to be overwhelmed, bruſed, or wreſted awry: that is the act of a man endued with vertue underſtanding and courage, ſuch an one as *Alexander* was: howſoever ſome there be who reproch him that he loved wine to well and would be drunke. But this great gift he had, that in his important affaires he was ſober, neither was he drunke and overſeene, nor ever forgat himſelfe and grew to any outrage, for all the puiſſance, authority and liberty that he had: whereof others when they had ſome part and little taſt, could not hold and containe themſelves: For

No ſooner are their purſes ſtuft
With coine: or they to honor brought,
But they anon with pride are puft,
And ſoone bewray that they be naught:
They kicke, they winſe, they fling and prance,
None may ſtand ſafely in their way,
If fortune once their houſe advance
Some unexpected power to ſway.

Clytus for having ſunke three or foure gallies of the Greeks, nere the Iſle *Amorgus*, would needs be ſtiled with the name of *Neptune*, and a three tined mace caried before him. *Demetrius*, upon whom fortune had beſtowed a little skirt or lappet (as it were) which he tare from *Alexanders* dominion, was well content to heare himſelfe called *Jupiter* Καταιβάτης, that is to ſay, the vawter. Cities ſent unto him not embaſſadors, but *Theores*, forſooth, that is to ſay, eſpeciall perſons deputed for to conſult with the gods: and his anſweres to them, muſt be termed (I would not elſe) Oracles. And *Lyſimachus* who held the coaſts of *Thracia*, which was but the border or edge of *Alexanders* kingdom, grew to that heigth of ſurly pride & intollerable arrogancy, that he would breake out into theſe words: Now the Bizantines come to doe homage unto me, ſeeing how I reach and touch the skie with my launce. At which ſpeech of his, *Paſiades* ſtanding by, could not forbeare, but ſay unto the company: Let us be gone my maſters, with all ſpeed, leſt this man bore an hole in heaven with the point of his launce. But what ſhould we ſpeake more of theſe perſons? who might be allowed in ſome ſort to cary an hauty minde and beare their heads aloft, in regard of *Alexander*, whoſe ſouldiers they were? ſeeing that *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Heraclea*, caried upon his ſcepter as his device, the reſemblance of lightning, and one of his ſonnes he named κεραυνὸς, that is to ſay, a thunderbolt. And *Denys* the yonger, called himſelfe the ſonne of *Apollo*, in a certeine Epigram to this effect:

Doris *the Nymph, by* Phœbus *did conceive,*
And from them both my birth I do derive.

And in trueth, *Denys* the elder, the naturall father of this man, who put to death ten thouſand of his owne citizens and ſubjects (if not more) who for very envie betraied his owne brother into the hands of his enemies; who had not the patience to ſtay for his owne mothers death, an aged woman, and who by the courſe of nature would have died within few daies after, but ſmothered and ſtopped her breath; who alſo himſelfe wrote in a tragœdy of his owne making,

For why? know this, that lordly tyranny
The mother is of wrong and vilany.

yet forſooth, of three daughters which he had, named one *Arete*, that is to ſay, Vertue; another, *Sophroſyne*, that is to ſay, Temperance; and a third, *Dicæoſyne*, that is to ſay, Juſtice. Some there were, who needs would be ſurnamed *Euergeta*, that is to ſay, Benefactors; others, *Soteres*, that is to ſay, Saviours. Some called themſelves *Callinici*, that is to ſay, Victorious; others, *Megali*, that is to ſay, Great. And yet as glorious additions as they caried in their ſtiles, who is able to expreſſe in words, their marriages following thicke one in the necke of another, ſpending the long day continually, like a ſort of ſtallions among a number of women, as if they had beene a ſtud of ſo many mares; their unkind abuſing of faire boies, their violent rapes and enforcements of yong damoſels, their drumming and tabouring with a ſort of effeminate & womanlike wantons, their dice playing in the day time, their piping and ſounding the flute in open Theaters, their nights ſpent in ſuppers, and whole daies in long dinners? But *Alexander* gat up, and ſat to his dinner by the breake of day, and went not to ſupper before it was late in the evening; he dranke and made good cheere when he had firſt ſacrificed to the gods; he plaied at dice with *Midias*, one time, whiles he had a fever upon him; his paſtimes and recreations were, to travell and march upon the way, and withall, to learne how to ſhoot an arrow, how to launce a dart, how to mount a chariot nimbly, and diſmount againe with facility. *Roxane* he eſpouſed and wedded, onely for pure love, and to content his fancy and affection; but *Statira* the daughter of *Darius* he tooke to wife upon pollicy, becauſe the ſtate of his kingdome and affaires required ſuch a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two nations together. As for other ladies and women of *Perſia*, he went as farre beyond them in chaſtity and continence, as he did the Perſian men in valour and fortitude; for he never would ſo much as ſee one of them againſt her will; and thoſe whom he ſaw, he leſſe regarded than ſuch as he never ſet eie upon: and whereas otherwiſe to all perſons he was courteous and popular, to ſuch onely as were faire and beautifull he ſhewed himſelfe ſtrange, and uſed them in ſome ſort proudly. As touching the wife of *Darius*, a lady of ſurpaſſing beauty, he would not endure ſo much as one word that tended to the praiſe thereof; yet when ſhe was dead, he performed her funerals with ſo ſumptuous and princelike obſequies, he mourned and bewailed her death ſo piteouſly, that as his kindneſſe in that behalfe made the world miſtruſt and ſuſpect his chaſtity, ſo his bountifull courteſie incurred the obloquy and imputation of injuſtice. And verily, *Darius* was at the firſt mooved to conceive jealouſie and a ſiniſter opinion of him that way, conſidering he had the woman in his hands, and was beſides, a gallant and yoong prince: for he alſo was one of them, who were perſwaded that *Alexander* held the tenure of his mighty dominion and monarchy, by the goodneſſe and favour of Fortune; but after he knew the trueth once, upon diligent ſearch and inquiſition by all circumſtances into the thing: Well (quoth he) the Perſians ſtate I perceive is not utterly overthrowen, neither will any man repute us plaine cowards and effeminate perſons, for being vanquiſhed by ſuch an enemie: for mine owne part, my firſt wiſh and principall praier unto the gods is, that they would vouchſafe me fortunate ſucceſſe, and at the laſt, an happy victory of this warre, to the end that I may ſurmount *Alexander* in beneficence; for an earneſt deſire I have and an emulation, to ſhew my ſelfe more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to meward: but if all be gone with me and my houſe, then, ô *Jupiter* the protectour of the Perſians, and ye other tutelar gods and patrons of kings and kingdomes, ſuffer not any other but him, to be enthroniſed in the roiall ſeat of *Cyrus*. Certes, this was a very adoption of *Alexander*, that paſſed in the preſence and by the teſtimony of the gods. See what victories are atchieved by vertue.

Aſcribe now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of *Arbela*, the battell fought in *Cilicia*, and all other ſuch like exploits performed by force of armes: let it be, that the fortune it was of warre which ſhooke the city of *Tyrus*, and made it quake before him, and opened *Aegypt* unto him; grant, that by the helpe of Fortune *Halicarnaſſus* fell to the ground, and *Miletus* was forced and won; that *Mazeus* abandoned the river *Euphrates*, and left it diſfurniſhed of gariſons; and that all the plaines about *Babylon* were overſpred with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune that made him temperant, neither was he continent by the meanes of Fortune; Fortune it was not, that kept and preſerved his ſoule as within a fortreſſe inexpugnable, ſo as neither pleaſures could it ſurpriſe and captivate, nor luſts and fleſhly deſires wound or touch. And theſe were the very meanes whereby he vanquiſhed and put to flight the perſon of *Darius* himſelfe. All the reſt were, the diſcomfiture of his great barbe-horſes, the overthrow and loſſe of his armour, skirmiſhes, battels, murders, executions, maſſacres and flights of his men. But the great foile and defaiture indeed, moſt confeſſed, and againſt which leaſt exception can be taken, was that wherein *Darius* himſelfe was overthrowen; namely, when as he yeelded unto the vertue of *Alexander*, to his magnanimity, fortitude and juſtice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleaſure, unconquered by travels, and in gratuities and liberality immatchable. For in ſhields and ſpeares, in pikes and targuets, in ſhouts and alarmes, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the clattering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, aſwell as he, were *Tarrias* the ſonne of *Dinomenes*, *Antigones* of *Pellen*, and *Philotas* the ſonne of *Parmenio*: but againſt tickling pleaſures, againſt the attractive allurements of women, againſt flattering ſilver and golde, they were no better, nor had more rule of themſelves than ſlaves and captives. For *Tarrias* at what time as *Alexander* undertooke to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make ſatisfaction unto all thoſe who had lent them any money, falſly belied himſelfe, ſaying, he was indebt, and withall ſuborned and brought foorth a certeine uſurer, to the verie table where this diſcharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when *Tarrias* was detected and convict heereof, he had made himſelfe away for very ſhame and compunction of heart, but that *Alexander* being advertiſed thereof, pardoned his fault, yea and permitted him alſo to keepe the ſilver ſtill, that he had disburſed for his counterfet debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father *Philip* laid ſiege to the citie *Perinthus*, the ſaid *Tarrias* in a skirmiſh was ſhot into the eie, and would not ſuffer the ſame to be dreſſed, nor the ſhaft to be

plucked

well and would be drunke. But this great gift he had, that in his important affaires he was ſober, neither was he drunke and overſeene, nor ever forgat himſelfe and grew to any outrage, for all the puiſſance, authority and liberty that he had: whereof others when they had ſome part and little taſt, could not hold and containe themſelves: For

No ſooner are their purſes ſtuſt
With coine: or they to honor brought,
But they anon with pride are puſt,
And ſoone bewray that they be naught:
They kicke, they winſe, they fling and prance,
None may ſtand ſafely in their way,
If fortune once their houſe advance
Some unexpected power to ſway.

Clytus for having ſunke three or foure gallies of the Greeks, nere the Iſle ***Amorgus***, would needs be ſtiled with the name of ***Neptune***, and a three tined mace caried before him. ***Demetrius***, upon whom fortune had beſtowed a little skirt or lappet (as it were) which he tare from ***Alexanders*** dominion, was well content to heare himſelfe called ***Jupiter*** Καταιβάτης, that is to ſay, the vawter. Cities ſent unto him not embaſſadors, but ***Theores***, forſooth, that is to ſay, eſpeciall perſons deputed for to conſult with the gods: and his anſweres to them, muſt be termed (I would not elſe) Oracles. And ***Lyſimachus*** who held the coaſts of ***Thracia***, which was but the border or edge of ***Alexanders*** kingdom, grew to that heigth of ſurly pride & intollerable arrogancy, that he would breake out into theſe words: Now the Bizantines come to doe homage unto me, ſeeing how I reach and touch the skie with my launce. At which ſpeech of his, ***Paſiades*** ſtanding by, could not forbeare, but ſay unto the company: Let us be gone my maſters, with all ſpeed, leſt this man bore an hole in heaven with the point of his launce. But what ſhould we ſpeake more of theſe perſons? who might be allowed in ſome ſort to cary an hauty minde and beare their heads aloft, in regard of ***Alexander***, whoſe ſouldiers they were? ſeeing that ***Clearchus*** the tyrant of ***Heraclea***, caried upon his ſcepter as his device, the reſemblance of lightning, and one of his ſonnes he named κεραυνὸς, that is to ſay, a thunderbolt. And ***Denys*** the yonger, called himſelfe the ſonne of ***Apollo***, in a certeine Epigram to this effect:

Doris *the Nymph, by* Phœbus *did conceive,*
And from them both my birth I do derive.

And in trueth, ***Denys*** the elder, the naturall father of this man, who put to death ten thouſand of his owne citizens and ſubjects (if not more) who for very envie betraied his owne brother into the hands of his enemies; who had not the patience to ſtay for his owne mothers death, an aged woman, and who by the courſe of nature would have died within few daies after, but ſmothered and ſtopped her breath; who alſo himſelfe wrote in a tragœdy of his owne making,

For why? know this, that lordly tyranny
The mother is of wrong and vilany.

yet forſooth, of three daughters which he had, named one ***Arete***, that is to ſay, Vertue; another, ***Sophroſyne***, that is to ſay, Temperance; and a third, ***Dicæoſyne***, that is to ſay, Juſtice. Some there were, who needs would be ſurnamed ***Euergetæ***, that is to ſay, Benefactors; others, ***Soteres***, that is to ſay, Saviours. Some called themſelves ***Callinici***, that is to ſay, Victorious; others, ***Megali***, that is to ſay, Great. And yet as glorious additions as they caried in their ſtiles, who is able to expreſſe in words, their marriages following thicke one in the necke of another, ſpending the long day continually, like a ſort of ſtallions among a number of women, as if they had beene a ſtud of ſo many mares; their unkind abuſing of faire boies, their violent rapes and enforcements of yong damoſels, their drumming and tabouring with a ſort of effeminate & womanlike wantons, their dice playing in the day time, their piping and ſounding the flute in open Theaters, their nights ſpent in ſuppers, and whole daies in long dinners? But ***Alexander*** gat up, and ſat to his dinner by the breake of day, and went not to ſupper before it was late in the evening; he dranke and made good cheere when he had firſt ſacrificed to the gods; he plaied at dice with ***Midias***, one time, whiles he had a fever upon him; his paſtimes and recreations were, to travell and march upon the way, and withall, to learne how to ſhoot an arrow, how to launce a dart, how to mount a chariot nimbly, and diſmount againe with facility. ***Roxane*** he eſpouſed and wedded, onely for pure love, and to content his fancy and affection; but ***Statira*** the daughter of ***Darius*** he tooke to wife upon pollicy, becauſe the ſtate of his kingdome and affaires required ſuch a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two nations together. As for other ladies and women of *Perſia,* he went as farre beyond them in chaſtity and continence, as he did the Perſian men in valour and fortitude; for he never would ſo much as ſee one of them againſt her will; and thoſe whom he ſaw, he leſſe regarded than ſuch as he never ſet eie upon: and whereas otherwiſe to all perſons he was courteous and popular, to ſuch onely as were faire and beautifull he ſhewed himſelfe ſtrange, and uſed them in ſome ſort proudly. As touching the wife of *Darius,* a lady of ſurpaſſing beauty, he would not endure ſo much as one word that tended to the praiſe thereof; yet when ſhe was dead, he performed her funerals with ſo ſumptuous and princelike obſequies, he mourned and bewailed her death ſo piteouſly, that as his kindneſſe in that behalfe made the world miſtruſt and ſuſpect his chaſtity, ſo his bountifull courteſie incurred the obloquy and imputation of injuſtice. And verily, *Darius* was at the firſt mooved to conceive jealouſie and a ſiniſter opinion of him that way, conſidering he had the woman in his hands, and was beſides, a gallant and yoong prince: for he alſo was one of them, who were perſwaded that *Alexander* held the tenure of his mighty dominion and monarchy, by the goodneſſe and favour of Fortune; but after he knew the trueth once, upon diligent ſearch and inquiſition by all circumſtances into the thing: Well (quoth he) the Perſians ſtate I perceive is not utterly overthrowen, neither will any man repute us plaine cowards and effeminate perſons, for being vanquiſhed by ſuch an enemie: for mine owne part, my firſt wiſh and principall praier unto the gods is, that they would vouchſafe me fortunate ſucceſſe, and at the laſt, an happy victory of this warre, to the end that I may ſurmount *Alexander* in beneficence; for an earneſt deſire I have and an emulation, to ſhew my ſelfe more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to meward: but if all be gone with me and my houſe, then, ô *Jupiter* the protectour of the Perſians, and ye other tutelar gods and patrons of kings and kingdomes, ſuffer not any other but him, to be enthroniſed in the roiall ſeat of *Cyrus.* Certes, this was a very adoption of *Alexander,* that paſſed in the preſence and by the teſtimony of the gods. See what victories are atchieved by vertue.

Aſcribe now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of *Arbela,* the battell fought in *Cilicia,* and all other ſuch like exploits performed by force of armes: let it be, that the fortune it was of warre which ſhooke the city of *Tyrus,* and made it quake before him, and opened *Aegypt* unto him; grant, that by the helpe of Fortune *Halicarnaſſus* fell to the ground, and *Miletus* was forced and won; that *Mazeus* abandoned the river *Euphrates,* and left it disfurniſhed of gariſons; and that all the plaines about *Babylon* were overſpred with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune that made him temperant, neither was he continent by the meanes of Fortune; Fortune it was not, that kept and preſerved his ſoule as within a fortreſſe inexpugnable, ſo as neither pleaſures could it ſurpriſe and captivate, nor luſts and fleſhly deſires wound or touch. And theſe were the very meanes whereby he vanquiſhed and put to flight the perſon of *Darius* himſelfe. All the reſt were, the diſcomfiture of his great barbe-horſes, the overthrow and loſſe of his armour, skirmiſhes, battels, murders, executions, maſſacres and flights of his men. But the great foile and defaiture indeed, moſt confeſſed, and againſt which leaſt exception can be taken, was that wherein *Darius* himſelfe was overthrowen; namely, when as he yeelded unto the vertue of *Alexander,* to his magnanimity, fortitude and juſtice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleaſure, unconquered by travels, and in gratuities and liberality immatchable. For in ſhields and ſpeares, in pikes and targuets, in ſhouts and alarmes, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the clattering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, aſwell as he, were *Tarrias* the ſonne of *Dinomenes, Antigones* of *Pellen,* and *Philotas* the ſonne of *Parmenio*: but againſt tickling pleaſures, againſt the attractive allurements of women, againſt flattering ſilver and golde, they were no better, nor had more rule of themſelves than ſlaves and captives. For *Tarrias* at what time as *Alexander* undertooke to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make ſatiſfaction unto all thoſe who had lent them any money, falſly belied himſelfe, ſaying, he was indebt, and withall ſuborned and brought foorth a certeine uſurer, to the verie table where this diſcharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when *Tarrias* was detected and convict heereof, he had made himſelfe away for very ſhame and compunction of heart, but that *Alexander* being advertiſed thereof, pardoned his fault, yea and permitted him alſo to keepe the ſilver ſtill, that he had diſburſed for his counterfet debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father *Philip* laid ſiege to the citie *Perinthus*, the ſaid *Tarrias* in a skirmiſh was ſhot into the eie, and would not ſuffer the ſame to be dreſſed, nor the ſhaft to be plucked foorth, before the enemies were put to flight. *Antigenes* cauſing himſelfe to be enrolled, and his name regiſtred among others who were ſent backe againe from the campe into *Macedonie,* by occaſion of ſickneſſe or maime, whereby they were not ſerviceable: being found afterwards to aile nothing, but to counterfet ſickneſſe, who otherwiſe was a good ſouldior, and caried the marks of many a ſcarre in his body to be ſeene, offended *Alexander* heereby; and when the king demanded the reaſon, why he had ſo done; he confeſſed by and by, that he was in love with a yoong woman named *Teleſippa,* whom he purpoſed to follow and accompanie, being minded to goe to the ſea-coaſt, for that he could not find in his heart to be far from her. Then *Alexander* asked him, to whom the wench appertained, & who was to be dealt with, for to make her ſtaie: *Antigenes* anſwered, ſhe was her owne woman, & of free condition: Why then (quoth *Alexander*) let us perſwade her to tary ſtil by faire promiſes & good gifts; for in no wiſe force her we may. So eaſie was he to pardon and beare with love, in any other rather than in himſelfe. The firſt cauſe of the infortunate fall of *Philotas* the ſonne of *Parmenio,* was in ſome ſort his owne intemperance: for there was a yoong woman borne in the citie of *Pella,* named *Antigona,* who in the ſaccage of the citie of *Damaſcus,* was taken priſoner among other captives, and indeed had bene thither brought before by *Autophradates,* who ſurpriſed her at ſea, as ſhe ſailed frō the coaſt of *Macedonie,* toward the Iſle *Samothrace:* faire ſhe was, & welfavored to ſee to; and ſo far had ſhe entangled *Philotas* with her love, after he came once to be acquainted with her, that being a man otherwiſe as hard as iron, and ſteele to the very backe, ſhe had ſo mollified and made him pliable, that in the mids of his pleaſures, poore man he, he was not maſter of himſelfe and his owne heart, but lying open unto the woman, revealed many ſecrets unto her, and let fall fooliſh words in her hearing: For what had that *Philip* beene (would he ſometimes ſay) but for *Parmenio*; and what were this *Alexander* heere, without *Philotas?* what would become of his high addition, *Jupiter Ammonius,* where were thoſe dragons of his, if we were not well pleaſed with him? *Antigona* told theſe ſpeeches unto another woman one of her familiar friends; and ſhe reported them againe to *Craterus: Craterus* brought *Antigona* herſelfe ſecretly unto *Alexander:* and verily *Alexander* touched not her body, but abſteined from her: howbeit, by her meanes, ſounding *Philotas,* & comming within him, he diſcovered fully what he was: yet in ſeven yeeres ſpace and more, he never either at any feaſt where he dranke wine liberally, & was thought otherwhiles to be drunke, made he ſhew of this ſuſpicion conceived of him, or in his anger, being of nature haſtie and cholericke; or to his friend *Hephaſtion,* unto whom he was woont to diſcloſe all, and make partaker otherwiſe of his ſecrets: for one day by report, having opened a letter of ſecrets, ſent from his owne mother, as he read it to himſelfe, *Hephaſtion* held his head cloſe to, and read it gently together with him; neither had he the heart to forbid him: onely after he had ſuffred him to read it through, he tooke the ſignet from his owne finger, ſet it to his mouth, as it were to ſeale up his lips, that he ſhould ſay nothing. But if a man ſhould goe about to rehearſe at large all the notable examples, whereby it might be prooved that this prince uſed the greatneſſe of his power exceeding well, and as moſt woorthily became a king; his ſtrength and voice would faile him: for ſay, that by the goodneſſe and favour of Fortune he became great: yet greater he is, in that he uſed his fortune aright, and wiſely as he ſhould: and the more that a man extolleth his good fortune, the more doeth he amplifie that vertue of his, for which he was woorthy of ſuch fortune.

But now it is high time that I ſhould proceed to the beginning of his growth, and the firſt entry of his mightie power: wherein I conſider and looke every way about me, what act of fortune is therein, whereby men ſhould ſuppoſe and mainteine, that *Alexander* aroſe to ſuch greatneſſe? How now? Tell me I beſeech you for the love of God, placed ſhe him in the regal throne of *Cyrus,* without drawing a ſword, without ſtriking one ſtroke, without bloudſhed, without wounds, without a field fought, or expedition of armes made? by the neighing (forſooth) of an horſe, as ſometime ſhe did by that firſt *Darius,* the ſonne of *Hiſtaſpes?* or was it ſome kinde husband wonne by the flattering perſwaſion of his wife, that crowned him king; like as the ſame *Darius* made *Xerxes* king, induced by his wife *Atoſſa*; or haply the roiall diademe came of it ſelfe to his very gates, as it came unto *Paryſatis,* by the meanes of *Bagoas* the eunuch; who did no more for it, but change and put off his lackies mandilion, put himſelfe preſently into the roiall robe, and ſet upon his head the pointed turbant, named *Cydaris:* or all on a ſudden, beyond all expectation, by the fortunate fall of a lot, and the meere benefit of fortune, he became the monarch of the whole earth; like as at *Athens* their officers Theſmothetę, and Archontes are created by lotterie. But would you know how men come to be kings by the meanes of Fortune? This one example will tell you. The race of the Heraclidæ, deſcending lineally from *Hercules*, out of which they were woont at *Argos* from time to time to elect their kings, chaunced to faile, and be utterly extinct: whereupon, when they had ſent out to the oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand and enquire what to do in this caſe; this anſwer was made, That an eagle ſhould direct them what was to be done. Some few daies after, an eagle was ſeene ſoaring aloft in the aire, and at length to ſettle upon the houſe of one named *Aegon*: and thus was *Aegon* declared for their king. Will you have another? He who reigned for the time in the citie *Paphos*, was found to be wicked, unjuſt, violent, and a great oppreſſour of his people: whereupon *Alexander* depoſed him from his regall ſtate and dignitie; and when he had ſo done, ſought for another to rule in his ſtead, out of the houſe & familie of the Cinyradæ, which was thought in maner to be worne out, and utterly extinct: howbeit, advertiſed hee was, that there remained of that race no more but one obſcure and poore man, of whom there was no reckoning in the world made; and he dwelt in a certeine garden unregarded, where he lived in verie meane eſtate. Preſently he ſent foorth to ſeeke for this man: they who were put in commiſſion heereabout, found him there indeed, watering certeine beds of leeks, and ſuch like worts and potherbs. The man was woonderfully troubled and affrighted to ſee theſe ſouldiers come toward him, and eſpecially when they ſaide that he muſt come and ſpeake with *Alexander* the king: thus was he brought unto him, in a ſimple thin linnen waſtcote, and preſently proclaimed king of *Paphos*, received the purple roiall robe, and was reckoned in the number of thoſe who are called the kings Minions: and his name was *Alynomus*. Lo how Fortune makes men kings, onely by altering their robes, by permutation of their names, and changing their copies a little, all on a ſudden, quickly in a trice, with great facilitie, beyond all hope, and without any expectation at all. Come now unto *Alexander*, what great matter did he ever attaine unto without his deſert? what hapned unto him without the ſweat of his browes, nay without the effuſion of his bloud? what had he *gratis*, that he paid not for? what got he, that did not coſt him paines and travell? Drunke he hath of rivers ſteined and coloured with bloud; paſſed he hath over them upon bridges made of dead bodies; for very hunger he hath beene glad to eat of graſſe and greene herbes, the firſt hee could finde growing; he hath with much digging and ſearching, diſcovered nations buried under deepe ſnow, and cities lying in caves within the ground: ſailed he hath upon ſeas, warring and fighting againſt him: and traveling over the dry ſands of the Gedroſians and Arhachoſians, he ſaw trees and plants growing within the ſea, before any upon the land. Now if a man might be allowed to addreſſe his ſpeech unto Fortune, as unto ſome perſon in the defence of *Alexander*, might not one ſay unto her? When and where was it, that thou ever madeſt way for the affaires of *Alexander*? what fortreſſe wanne he through thy favour, without the loſſe of bloud? what citie or towne didſt thou cauſe to be yeelded unto him without a garriſon? or what army, without their weapons? where found he ever through thy grace any kings ſluggiſh and ſlothfull; any captaine careleſſe and negligent; any warder or porter of the gates drowſie and ſleepie? nay, he never met with river that had farre paſſable, Winter that was tolerable, or Summer that was not painfull and irkeſome. Goe thy waies, goe, to *Antiochus* the ſonne of *Seleucus*; to *Artaxerxes* the brother of *Cyrus*; to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. Theſe were they, whom their fathers in their life time declared heires apparent, yea, and crowned them kings: theſe wonne fields and battels, for which never eie ſhed teare: theſe kept holiday continually: theſe celebrated feſtivall ſolemnities daily in theaters, with all maner of pompes and goodly ſights: every one of theſe reigned in all proſperitie, untill they were very aged: whereas *Alexander* (if there were nothing elſe) lo how his body is wounded and piteouſly mangled, from the crowne of his head, to the ſole of his foot, gaſhed heere, thruſt in there, drie beaten, bruſed and broken with all maner of hoſtile weapons,

With launce and ſpeare, with ſword moſt keene,
With ſtones that bigge and maſſie beene.

At the river *Granicus*, his armet or morion was cleft with a curtelace, as farre as to the haire of his head: before the towne of *Gaza* he was ſhot into the ſhoulder with a dart: in the Maragandians countrey his ſhin was wounded with a javelin, in ſo much as the greater bone thereof was ſo broken and ſhattered, that it came out at the wound: in *Hircania* he gat a knocke with a great ſtone behinde in his necke, which ſhooke his head ſo, as that his eie-ſight was dimmed thereby, ſo as for certeine daies, he was afraid that he ſhould have beene ſtarke blinde for ever: in a skirmiſh

miſh with the Aſſacans, his ancle was wounded with an Indian dart: at what time when he ſaw it to bleed, he turned unto his flatterers and paraſites, and ſhewing them the place, ſmiled and ſaid: This is very bloud indeed,

And not that humour, ſay all what you will,
Which from the gods moſt bleſſed doth deſtill.

At the battell of *Iſſus* his thigh was pierced with a ſword, even by king *Darius* himſelfe, as *Chares* writeth, who came to cloſe with him at hand fight. And *Alexander* himſelfe writing ſimply and the plaine trueth to *Antipater*, I my ſelfe alſo caught a ſtab with a ſhort ſword in my thigh, but thanked be God (quoth he) I had no great hurt thereby either at the preſent or afterwards. Fighting againſt the Mallians he was wounded with a dart two cubits long, that being driven through his cuirace entred in at his breſt and came out againe at his necke, according as *Ariſtobulus* hath left in writing. Having paſſed over the river *Tanais* for to march againſt the Scythians, when he had defaited them in battell, he followed the chaſe and purſued them on horſebacke for a hundred and fifty ſtadia, notwithſtanding all the while he was troubled with a ſore laske or flux of the belly. Now truly fortune, much beholden is *Alexander* unto thee for advancing his eſtate: Is this thy making of him great, by ſuffering him thus to be pierced through on every ſide? Here is a faire upholding of him indeed to lay open thus all the parts of his bodie: cleane contrary to that which *Minerva* did unto *Menelaus*, who with her hand turned aſide all the ſhot of the enimies, and made them light upon his armour where it was moſt ſure and of the beſt proofe, to wit, upon his cuirace, his bawdricke or belt, or upon his helmet; and by that meanes brake the force of the ſtroke before it could come to the bare bodie, ſo as all the harme it could do, was but a little to raſe the skin and let out ſome ſmal ſhew and a few drops of blood: but thou contrariwiſe, haſt expoſed his naked and unarmed parts and thoſe moſt dangerous to be wounded, cauſing the ſhot to enter ſo farre as to goe through the very bone, environing and hemming in his body round, beſetting his eies and feet, impeaching him for chaſing his enimies, diverting the traine of his victories, and overturning all his hopes. Certes I am of this opinion, that there never was king who had fortune more adverſe & a ſhrewder ſtepdame than he; although ſhe hath beene curſt, envious and ſpightfull enough to many beſides: for whereas ſhe hath fallen upon others violently like a thunderbolt or ſhot of lightning, whom ſhe hath cut off and diſtroied right out at once; her malice and hatred unto *Alexander* hath bene cankred obſtinate and implacable even as it was before him unto *Hercules*. For what Typhons or monſtrous Giants of prodigious ſtature hath ſhe not raiſed up as concurrents to fight with him? What enimies hath not ſhe fortified and furniſhed againſt him with infinit ſtore of armes, with deepe rivers, with prerupt and craggy rocks, or with extraordinary ſtrength of moſt ſavage beaſts? Now if the courage of *Alexander* had not bene undaunted, and the ſame ariſing from exceeding great vertue, firmely grounded and ſetled thereupon to encounter fortune, how could it otherwiſe have bene, but the ſame ſhould have failed and given over, as being wearied and toiled out with ſetting ſo many battels in array, arming his ſoldiers ſo daily, laying ſeege ſo many times unto cities and townes, chaſing and purſuing his enimies ſo often, checked with ſo many revolts and rebellions, croſſed ſo commonly with infinit treaſons, conſpiracies and inſurrections of nations; troubled with ſuch a ſort of ſtiffe necked kings who ſhooke off the yoke of allegeance? and in one word, whiles he conquered *Bactra*, *Maracanda* and the Sogdians, among faithleſſe and trecherous nations who waited alwaies to ſpie ſome opportunity and occaſion to do him a diſpleaſure, & who like to the ſerpent *Hydra*, as faſt as one head was cut off, put forth another, and ſo continually raiſed freſh and new warres? I ſhall ſeeme to tell you one thing very ſtrange and incredible, howbeit moſt true: Fortune it was and nothing but fortune by whoſe maligne and croſſe aſpect, he went very neere of loſing that opinion that went of him, namely, that he was the ſonne of *Jupiter Ammon*. For what man was there ever extract and deſcended from the ſeed of the gods, who exploited more laborious, more difficult and dangerous combates? unleſſe it were *Hercules* againe the ſonne of *Jupiter*? And yet one outrageous and violent man there was who ſet him a worke, enjoining him to take fell lions, to hunt wilde bores, to chaſe away ravenous fowles, to the end that he ſhould have no time to be emploied in greater affaires whiles he viſited the world, namely, in puniſhing ſuch as *Antæus*, and in repreſſing the ordinary murders which that tyrant *Buſiris* and ſuch like committed upon the perſons of gueſts and travellers. But it was no other thing than vertue alone that commanded *Alexander* to enterpriſe and exploit ſuch a peece of worke as beſeemed ſo great a king and one derived from

from a divine race : the end whereof was not a maſſe of gold to be caried along after him upon ten thouſand camels backs, nor the ſuperfluous delights of *Media*, not ſumptuous and dilicate tables, not faire and beautifull ladies, not the good and pleaſant wines of *Calydonia*, nor the dainty fiſh of *Hyrcania* out of the Caſpian ſea : but to reduce the whole world to be governed in one and the ſame order, to be obedient to one empire, and to be ruled by the ſame maner of life. And verily this deſire was inbred in him, this was nouriſhed and grew up with him from his very infancie. There came embaſſadors upon a time from the king of *Perſia* to his father *Philip*, who at the ſame time was not in the country but gone forth : *Alexander* gave them honorable intertainement very courteouſly as became his fathers ſonne : but this eſpecially was obſerved in him, that he did not aske them childiſh queſtions as other boies did, to wit, about golden vines trailed from one tree to another, nor of the pendant gardens at *Babylon* hanging above in the aire, ne yet what robes and ſumptuous habiliments their king did weare ? but all his talke and conference with them was concerning matters moſt important for the ſtate of an empire : inquiſitive he was, what forces and power of men the king of *Perſia* could bring out into the field and maintaine; in what ward of the battell the king himſelfe was arranged when he fought a field : much like uuto that *Ulyſſes* in *Homer*, who demanded of *Dolon* (as touching *Hector*)

> *His martiall armes, where doth he lay?*
> *His horſes, tell me, where ſtand they?*

Which be the readieſt and ſhorteſt waies for thoſe who would travel from the coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea up in to the high countries? in ſo much as theſe ſtrangers, the embaſſadors wondered exceedingly and ſaid: Now ſurely this child is the * great king, and ours the rich. No ſooner was his father *Philip* departed this life, but preſently his heart ſerved him to paſſe over the ſtraights of *Helleſpont*, and being already fed with his hopes, and forward in the preparation and proviſion of his voiage, he made what ſpeed he could to ſet foot in *Aſia*. But ſee heere how fortune croſſed his deſignes : ſhe averted him quite and drew him backe againe, raiſing a thouſand troubles and buſie occaſions to ſtay & hinder his intended courſe. Firſt ſhe cauſed thoſe barbarous nations bordering and adjoining upon him, to riſe up in armes, and thereby held him occupied in the warres againſt the Illyrians and Triballians : by the meanes whereof he was haled away as farre as to *Scythia* and the nations inhabiting along the river *Danubie*, who diverted him cleane from his affaires intended in the high provinces of *Aſia*. Howbeit having overrunne theſe countries and diſpatched all difficulties with great perils and moſt dangerous battels, he ſet in hand againe with his former enterpriſe, and made haſte to his paſſage & voiage a ſecond time. But lo, even there alſo fortune excited the city of *Thebes* againſt him, and laid the warre of the Greeks in his way to ſtop his expedition, driving him to extreame ſtreights and to a very hard exigent, by fire and ſword to be revenged of a people that were his owne countrymen, and of the ſame kinred and nation, the iſſue whereof was moſt grieveous and lamentable. Having exploited this, he croſſed the ſeas at the laſt, furniſhed with proviſion of money and victuals as *Phylarchus* writeth : to ſerve for thirty daies and no longer, or as *Ariſtobulus* reporteth having onely ſeventy talents of ſilver to defray the whole charges of the voiage. For of his owne demaine and poſſeſſions at home, as alſo of the crowne revenewes, he had beſtowed the moſt part upon his friends and followers : onely *Perdiccas* would receive nothing at his hands, but when he made offer to give him his part with the reſt, demanded thus of him : But what reſerve you for your ſelfe, *Alexander?* Who anſwered, My hopes. Why then (quoth he) I will take part thereof: for it is not reaſon that we ſhould receive your goods, but wait for the pillage of *Darius*. And what were thoſe hopes of *Alexander*, upon which he paſſed over into *Aſia?* Surely not a power meaſured by the ſtrong wals of many rich & populous cities, not fleets of ſhips ſailing through the mountaines, not whips and fetters, teſtifying the folly and madneſſe of barbarous princes, who thought thereby to puniſh and chaſtice the raging ſea. But for externall meanes without himſelfe, a reſolution of proweſſe in a ſmall power of armed men well truſſed and compact together, an æmulation to excell one another among yong men of the ſame age, a contention and ſtrife for vertue and glory in thoſe that were his minions about him : But the great hopes indeed and moſt aſſured were in his owne perſon, to wit, his devout religion to Godward, the truſty confidence and affiance that he had in his friends, frugality, continence, bounty, contempt of death, magnanimity and reſolution, humanity, courteſie, affable intertainement, a ſimple nature, plaine without plaits, not faigned and counterfait, conſtancie in his counſell, celerity in his execution, ſoveraignty and priority in honor, and a reſolute purpoſe to accompliſh

any

* For the king of *Perſia* was called the great king.

any honeſt duty and office. For *Homer* did not well and decently, to compoſe and frame the beautifull perſonage of *Agamemnon*, as the patterne of a perfect prince out of three images, after this maner,

For eies aud head, much like he was in ſight
To Jove*, who takes in lightning ſuch delight:*
God Mars *in waſt and loines reſembled he:*
In breſt compar'd to Neptune *he may be.*

But the nature of *Alexander* (in caſe that God who made or created him, formed and compounded it of many vertues) may we not well and truly ſay, that he endued with the courageous ſpirit of *Cyrus*, the ſober temperance of *Ageſilaus*, the quicke wit and pregnant conceit of *Themiſtocles*, the approoved skill and experience of *Philip*, the valourous boldneſſe of *Braſidas*, the rare eloquence and ſufficiencie of *Pericles* in State matters and politicke government? For to ſpeake of thoſe in ancient times, more continent he was and chaſt, than *Agamemnon*, who preferred a captive concubine before his owne eſpouſed and lawfull wife: as for *Alexander*, he abſteined from thoſe women whom he tooke priſoners in warre, and would not touch one of them before he had wedded her: more magnanimous than *Achilles*, who for a little money yeelded the dead corps of *Hector* to be ranſommed; whereas *Alexander* defraied great ſummes in the funerals and interring of *Darius* bodie. Againe, *Achilles* tooke of his friends, for the appeaſing of his choler, gifts and preſents after a mercenary maner: but *Alexander* enriched his very enemies, when he had gotten the victorie. More religious he was than *Diamedes*, a man who was evermore ready to fight againſt the gods: whereas he, thought that all victory & happy ſucceſſe came by the grace and favour of the gods. Deerer he was to his neere kinsfolke and friends, and more entirely beloved than *Ulyſſes*, whoſe mother died for ſorrow and griefe of heart: whereas when *Alexander* died, his very enemies mother, for kinde affection and good will died with him for company. In ſumme, if it was by the indulgence of Fortune, that *Solon* eſtabliſhed the common-wealth of *Athens* ſo well at home, that *Miltiades* conducted the armies ſo happily abroad; if it was by the benefit and favour of fortune, that *Ariſtides* was ſo juſt: then farewell vertue for ever; then is there no worke at all effected by her; but onely it is a vaine name and ſpeech that goeth of her, paſſing with ſome ſhew of glorie and reputation thorow the life of man; feined and deviſed by theſe prating Sophiſters, cunning Law-givers and Statiſts. Now if every one of theſe perſons, and ſuch like, was poore or rich, feeble or ſtrong, foule or faire, of long life or ſhort, by the meanes of fortune; againe, in caſe ech of them ſhewed himſelfe a great captaine in the field, a great politician or wiſe law-giver, a great governour and ruler in the city and common-wealth, by their vertue and the direction of reaſon within them; then conſider (I pray you) what *Alexander* was in compariſon of them all: *Solon* inſtituted at *Athens*, a generall cutting off and cancelling of all debts, which he called Σεισάχθεια, which is as much to ſay, as A diſcharge of burdens; but *Alexander* out of his owne purſe paied all debts in the name of debtors, due unto their creditors: *Pericles* having impoſed a tax and tribute upon the Greeks, with the money raiſed by that levie, beautified the citadell or caſtle of *Athens* with temples and chapels; whereas *Alexander* ſent of the pillage and treaſure which he gat from the Barbarians, to the number of tenne thouſand talents into *Greece*, with commandement to build therewith ſacred temples to the honour of the gods. *Braſidas* wan a great name and reputation of valour among the Greeks, for that he paſſed from one end to another thorow his enemies campe, pitched along the ſea ſide before the towne *Methon*: but that wonderfull leape that *Alexander* made into a towne of the Oxydraques, which to them that heare it, is incredible, and to as many as ſaw it, was moſt fearefull; namely, at what time as he caſt himſelfe from the battlements of the walles among his enemies, ready to receive him with pikes, with javelins, with darts and naked ſwords; whereto may a man compare, but unto a very flaſh of lightning breaking violently out of a cloud, and being carried with the winde lighteth upon the ground, reſembling a ſpirit or apparition reſplendent all about with flaming and burning armours? inſomuch as at the firſt ſight, men that ſaw it were ſo affrighted, as they ran backward and fled: but after that they beheld it was but one man ſetting upon many, then they came againe, and made head againſt him. Heere Fortune ſhewed (no doubt) many plaine and evident proofs of her ſpeciall good will to *Alexander*; namely, firſt when ſhe put him into an ignoble, baſe and barbarous towne, and there incloſed him ſure enough within the walles thereof; then, after that thoſe without made haſte to reſcue him, and reared their ſcaling ladders againſt the walles for to get over and come unto him, ſhe cauſed them all to breake & fall in pieces, whereby ſhe overthrew and caſt them downe who were climbed halfe way up: againe, of thoſe three onely whoſe hap it was to mount up to the top before the ladders brake, and who flang themſelves deſperatly downe, and ſtood about the king, to guard his perſon, ſhe fell upon one immediatly and killed him in the place, before he could do his maſter any ſervice: a ſecond, overwhelmed with a cloud of arrowes and darts, was ſo neere death, that he could do no more, but onely ſee and feele. All this while, the Macedonians without, ranne to the walles with a great noiſe and outcry, but all in vaine, for artillerie they had none, nor any ordinance or engins of battery; onely they laied at the walles with their naked ſwords and bare hands: and ſo earneſt they were to get in, that they would have made way with their very teeth, if it had beene poſſible. Meane while, this fortunate prince, upon whom Fortune attended at an inch, ready now to accompany and defend him, you may be ſure, as at all times els, was taken and caught as a wilde beaſt within toiles, abandoned and left alone, without aide and ſuccour, not iwis to win the city of *Suſa* or of *Babylon*, nor to conquer the province of *Bactra*, nor to ſeize upon that mighty body of king *Porus*: for of great and renowmed attempts, although the end alwaies prove not happy, yet there can redound no infamy. But to ſay a trueth, Fortune was on his behalfe ſo ſpightfull and envious, but on the other ſide, ſo good and gracious to the Barbarians, ſo adverſe I ſay ſhe was to *Alexander*, that ſhe went about as much as lay in her, to make him not onely loſe his life and body, but alſo to forfeit his honour and glory: for if he had beene left lying dead along the river *Euphrates*, or *Hydaſpes*, it had beene no great deſaſtre and indignitie: neither had it beene ſo diſhonorable unto him, when he came to joine with *Darius* hand to hand, if he had beene maſſacred among a number of great horſes, with the ſwords, glawes, & battle-axes of the Perſians fighting for the empire: no, nor when he was mounted upon the wals of *Babylon*, if he had taken the foile and bene put-by his great hope of forcing the city: for in that ſort, loſt *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* their lives; and their death was rather an act of vertue, than an accident of infortunitie, whiles they gave the attempt to execute ſo great exploits, and to gaine ſo worthy a priſe. But as touching fortune, which now we examine and conſider; what piece of worke effected ſhe? In a Barbarous countrey farre removed, on the further ſide of a river, within the walles of a baſe village in compariſon, to ſhut up and encloſe the king and ſovereigne lord of the earth, that he might periſh there ſhamefully, by the hands & rude weapons of a multitude of Barbarous raſcals, who ſhould knocke him downe with clubs and ſtaves, and pelt him with whatſoever came next hand; for wounded he was in the head with a bill that clove his helmet quite thorow, and with a mighty arrow which one diſcharged out of a bow, his breſt-plate was pierced quite thorow, whereof the ſteile that was without his bodie weighed him downe heavily: but the yron head which ſtucke faſt in the bones about one of his paps, was foure fingers broad and five long. And to make up the full meaſure of all miſchiefs, whiles he defended himſelfe right manfully before, and when the fellow who had ſhot the foreſaid arrow adventured to approch him with his ſword, to diſpatch him outright with a dead thruſt, him he got within, and with his dagger gave him ſuch a ſtabbe, as he laied him along and killed him out of hand: but ſee the malice of Fortune, there runnes me forth out of a milhouſe or backhouſe thereby, another villaine with a peſtle, and comming behinde him, gave him ſuch a ſouſe upon the very necke bone, that he was aſtoniſhed therewith, and there lay along in a ſwoone, having loſt his ſight and other ſenſes for a time. But vertue it was that aſſiſted him, which gave both unto himſelfe a good heart, and alſo unto his friends ſtrength, reſolution and diligence to ſuccour him: for *Limnæus*, *Ptolemeus*, and *Leonnatus*, with as many beſides, as either had clambred over the walles or broken thorow, came in and put themſelves betweene him and his enemies: they with their valour were to him in ſtead of a wall and rampier; they for meere affection and love unto their king, expoſed their bodies, their forces and their lives before him, unto all dangers whatſoever. For it is not by fortune, that there be men who voluntarily preſent themſelves to preſent death; but it is for the love of vertue; like as bees having drunke (as it were) the amatorious potion of naturall love and affection, are alwaies about their king, and ſticke cloſe unto him. Now ſay there had beene one there without the danger of ſhot, to have ſeene this ſight at his pleaſure, would not he have ſaid, that he had beheld a notable combat of fortune againſt vertue? wherein the Barbarians by the helpe of fortune prevailed above their deſert; and the Greeks by meanes of vertue reſiſted above their power: and if the former get the better hand, it would be thought the worke of fortune and of ſome maligne and envious ſpirit; but if theſe become ſuperior, vertue, fortitude, faith and friendſhip ſhould cary away the honour of victory; for nothing els accompanied *Alexander* in this place. As for the reſt of his forces and proviſions, his armies, his horſes and his fleets, fortune ſet the wall of this vile towne betweene him and them. Well, the Macedonians in the end defaited theſe Barbarians, beat the place downe over their heads, and raſed it quite, and buried them in the ruins and fall thereof. But what good did all this to *Alexander* in this caſe? Caried he might well be and that ſpeedily away out of their hands, with the arrow ſticking ſtill in his boſome; but the war was yet cloſe within his ribbes, the arrow was ſet faſt as a ſpike or great naile, to binde as it were the cuirace to his bodie; for, whoſoever went about to plucke it out of the wound, as from the root, the head would not follow withall, conſidering it was driven ſo ſure into that ſolid breſt bone which is over the heart; neither durſt any ſaw off that part of the ſteile that was without, for feare of ſhaking, cleaving & cracking the ſaid bone by that means ſo much the more, and by that means cauſe exceeding and intolerable paines, beſides the effuſion of much bloud out of the bottome of the wound: himſelfe ſeeing his people about him a long time uncerteine what to doe, ſet in hand to hacke the ſhaft a two with his dagger, cloſe to the ſuperficies of his cuirace aforeſaid, and ſo to cut it off cleane; but his hand failed him, and had not ſtrength ſufficient for to do the deed, for it grew heavie and benummed with the inflammation of the wound: whereupon he commanded his chirurgians to ſet to their hands boldly and to feare nought, incouraging (thus hurt as he was) thoſe that were ſound and unwounded, chiding and rebuking ſome that kept a weeping about him and bemoned him; others he called traitours, who durſt not helpe him in this diſtreſſe; he cried alſo to his minions and familiars, Let no man be timorous and cowardly for me, no not though my life lie on it: I ſhall never be thought and beleeved not to feare dying, if you be affraied of my death.

I ſuſpect this to be an abrupt breach of this Oration, and not a perfect concluſion.

* * *

OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.

The Summarie.

THe wiſdome and learning of the Aegyptians hath bene much recommended unto us by ancient writers, and not without good cauſe: conſidering that Aegypt *hath bene the ſource and fountaine from whence have flowed into the world arts and liberall ſciences, as a man may gather by the teſtimony of the firſt Poets and philoſophers that ever were: But time, which conſumeth all things, hath bereft us of the knowledge of ſuch wiſdome: or if there remaine ſtill with us any thing at all, it is but in fragments and peeces ſcattered heere and there, whereof many times we muſt divine or gueſſe, and that is all. But in recompence thereof,* Plutarch, *a man carefull to preſerve all goodly and great things, hath by the meanes of this diſcourſe touching* Iſis *and* Oſiris *maintained and kept entier a good part of the Aegyptians doctrine: which he is not content to ſet down literally & there an end, but hath adjoined thereto alſo an interpretation thereof, according to the myſtical ſenſe of the Iſiake prieſts: diſcovering in few words an infinit number of ſecrets hidden under ridiculous & monſtrous fables, in ſuch ſort, as we may cal this treatiſe a cõmentary of the Aegyptians Theologie and Philoſophy. As for the contents thereof, a man may reduce it into three principall parts: In the firſt, which may ſerve inſted of a preface, he yeeldeth a reaſon of his enterpriſe, & upon the conſideration of the raſture, veſture, continence and abſtinence of* Iſis *prieſts, there is an entrie made to the rehearſall of the fable concerning* Iſis *&* Oſiris. *But before he toucheth it, he ſheweth the reaſon why the Aegyptians have thus darkly enfolded their divinity. Which done, he commeth to deſcipher in particular the ſaid fable, relating it according to the bare letter: which is the ſecond part of this booke. In the third he expoundeth the fable it ſelfe: and firſt diſcovereth the principles of the ſaid Aegyptian Philoſophy, by a ſort of temples, ſepulchers and ſacrifices. Afterwards having refuted certaine contrary opinions, he ſpeaketh of Dæmons, ranging* Iſis, Oſiris *and*

Typhon *in the number of them. After this Theologicall expoſition, he conſidereth the fable according to naturall Philoſophy; meaning by* Oſiris *the river* Nilus *and all other power of moiſture whatſoever: by* Typhon, *Drineſſe: and by* Iſis *that nature which preſerveth and governeth the world. Where he maketh a compariſon betweene* Bacchus *of* Greece *and* Oſiris *of* Aegypt, *applying all unto naturall cauſes. Then expoundeth he the fable more exactly and in particular maner, conferring this interpretation thereof with that of the Stoicks: wherupon he doth accommodate and fit all to the courſe of the Moone, as ſhe groweth and decreaſeth, to the riſing alſo and inundation of* Nilus, *making of all the former opinions a certaine mixture, from whence he draweth the explication of the fable. By occaſion hereof, he entreth into a diſputation as touching the principles and beginnings of all things, ſetting downe twaine, and alledging for the proofe and confirmation of his ſpeech, the teſtimony of the ancient Mages and Philoſophers: which done he entreth into a diſcourſe of* Oſiris, Iſis *and* Typhon, *referring and reducing all into Phyſicks and Metaphyſicks, with a certaine conference or compariſon of* Platoes *doctrin with that of the Aegyptians, which maketh him take in hand a particular treatiſe of matter, forme, the Ideæ, of generation alſo and corruption. Having thus examined and diſcuſſed the Aegyptians Theology & Philoſophy, he ariſeth to the more hidden & ſecret myſteries of the Iſiake prieſts, & then deſcendeth againe to the conſideration of naturall cauſes, eſpecially of the ſtate of the Moone, and drawing compendeouſly into one word, all his precedent diſcourſe, he declareth what we ought to underſtand by* Iſis, Oſiris *and* Typhon. *Conſequently he adjoineth three obſervations, to make this treatiſe more pleaſant and profitable: withdrawing thereby the reader and plucking him backe both from ſuperſtition and Atheiſme. Then having condemned the Greeks for being taint with the ſame folly that the Aegyptians were addicted to, he brocheth many opinions concerning the transformation of the Pagans gods into ſundry ſorts of beaſts; diſcovering thereby the dotage and foolery, ariſing from this argument and matter moſt corruptly underſtood: and ſtretching the ſame yet farther he rendreth a reaſon of that honour which the Aegyptians did to ſuch creatures: whereupon he would not have us in any wiſe to reſt, but rather to looke into the divinity repreſented by them. And for an end he entreth into an allegoricall diſcourſe, of the habilliments, perfumes, and divers odoriferous confections made every day in the temple of* Iſis: *but more eſpecially he treateth of one named* Cyphi; *wherein there be to the number of ſixteene ingredients: which compoſition they uſe in their very drinke, obſerving therein as in all the reſt of their ſuperſtitions, a million of ceremonies, whereof he doth particularize eſpecially in the third part of this diſcourſe, even to the very end thereof. All the premiſes being reduced to their right uſe, do ſhew the vanity of men abandoned and given over to their owne ſenſes: and prove that all their ſufficience is nothing but blockiſh folly, and their intelligence a darke and mirke night, when the brightneſſe and light of Gods word doth faile them. For the more apparence they have both of celeſtiall and alſo human wiſdome, the more appeareth their blinde ſuperſtition: in ſuch ſort as in ſted of reſting upon the creatour they remaine fixed upon the creatures, and have a longing and languiſhing deſire after diſcourſes void of true inſtructions and conſolations: which ought to incite ſo much the more all Chriſtians to make great account of the effectuall grace offered unto them in the meditation and practiſe of true Philoſophy as well naturall as divine.*

OF *ISIS* AND *OSIRIS*.

MEn that are wiſe, or have any wit in them (ô *Clea*) ought by praier to crave all good things at the hand of the gods: but that which we moſt wiſh for, and deſire to obteine by their meanes, is the very knowledge of them, ſo farre foorth as it is lawfull for men to have: for that there is no gift either greater for men to receive, or more magnificall and beſeeming the gods to give, than the knowledge of the trueth: for God beſtoweth upon men all things elſe, whereof they ſtand in need, but this he reſerveth to himſelfe, and keepeth for his owne uſe. Neither is the godhead and divine power in this regard counted happie and bleſſed, becauſe it poſſeſſeth a great quantity of gold or ſilver, nor puiſſant in reſpect of thunder and lightning, but for prudence and wiſdome. And verily of all thoſe things which *Homer* hath well delivered, this ſimply is the beſt and moſt elegant ſpeech, when as touching *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, he ſaith thus:

The ſelfe ſame parents they both had,
one native ſoile them bred,
But Jupiter *the elder was,*
and had the wiſer head.

whereby he affirmeth, that the preeminence and rule of *Jupiter*, being the elder, was more venerable, ſacred and fuller of majeſtie, for his knowledge and wiſdome. And of this opinion I aſſure you am I, that the beatitude and felicitie of eternall life, which *Jupiter* enjoieth, conſiſteth heerein, that he is ignorant of nothing that is done: as alſo, that immortalitie if it be deſpoiled of the knowledge and intelligence of all things that be, and are done, is not life indeed, but bare time. And therefore we may very well ſay, that the deſire of deitie and divinity is all one with the love of trueth, and eſpecially of that trueth which concerneth the nature of the gods; the ſtudy whereof, and the ſearching after ſuch ſcience, is as it were a profeſſion and entrance into religion, yea, and a worke more holy than is the vow or obligation of all the chaſtity & purity in the world, or than the cloiſter or ſanctuarie of any temple whatſoever: right acceptable alſo is this *goddeſſe whom you ſerve, conſidering that ſhe is moſt wiſe, & full of knowledge, according as the very derivation of her name doth imply, that skill & cunning apperteineth unto her more than to any other: for *Iſis* is a meere Greeke word; like as *Typhon* alſo the very adverſarie and enemie oppoſite unto this goddeſſe, as one puffed up and ſwollen by his ignorance and error, diſſipating, defacing, and blotting out the ſacred word and doctrine, which this goddeſſe collecteth, compoſeth, and delivereth unto thoſe who are initiated and profeſſed in this divine religion, by a continuall preciſe obſervance of a ſober and holy life, in abſteining from many meats, in depriving themſelves of all fleſhly pleaſures, for to repreſſe luſt and intemperance; and in being acquainted long before to abide and endure within temples and churches, hard and painfull ſervices performed unto the gods: of all which abſtinences, paines, and ſuffrances, the end is the knowledge of that firſt prince and lord, who is apprehended onely by intelligence and underſtanding, whom the goddeſſe exhorteth to ſearch and ſeeke after, as converſing and companying with her. And verily, the name of her temple, doth manifeſtly promiſe an intelligence or knowledge of that which is, for *Iſion* it is called, which is as much to ſay, as * εἰσόμενον τὸ ὄν, for that, if we enter into that ſacred place and holy religion of this goddeſſe, with reaſon and devotion, as we ought to doe, we ſhall atteine to the underſtanding of all things whatſoever. Moreover, many have written, that ſhe is the daughter of *Mercurie*, others of *Prometheus*, of which twaine, the one is reputed the author of wiſdome and providence, and the other, namely *Mercurie*, the inventor of Grammar and Muſicke. And heereupon it is, that in the city *Hermopolis*, they call the former of the Muſes, both *Iſis* and alſo Juſtice; as being wiſdome herſelfe, (according as hath elſewhere beene ſaid) and ſhewing divine things to them who are juſtly ſurnamed *Hierophori*, and *Hieroſtoli*, that is to ſay, religious, and wearing the habits of holineſſe and religion. And theſe be they that cary in their minde, and keepe encloſed as within a box or casket, the holy doctrine of the gods, pure and clenſed from all ſuperſtition and affected curioſitie: who alſo of that opinion which is held of the gods, declare ſome things which are obſcure & darke, others alſo which be cleere and lightſome; like as be thoſe, which are reported as touching their holy and religious habit. And therefore whereas the religious prieſts of *Iſis*, after they be dead, are thus clad with theſe holy habiliments; it is a marke and ſigne witneſſing unto us, that this ſacred doctrine is with them, and that they be departed out of this world into another, and carie nothing with them but it: for neither to weare a long beard, nor to put on a frize rugge and courſe gabardine (dame *Clea*) makes a Philoſopher; no more doth the ſurplice and linnen veſtment or ſhaving, an Iſiaque prieſt. But he indeed is a prieſt of *Iſis*, who after he hath ſeene and received by law and cuſtome, thoſe things which are ſhewed and practiſed in the religious ceremonies about theſe gods, ſearcheth and diligently enquireth, by the meanes of this holy doctrine, and diſcourſe of reaſon, into the trueth of the ſaid ceremonies. For very few there be who among them, who underſtand and know the cauſe of this ceremony, which is of all other the ſmalleſt, and yet moſt commonly obſerved; namely, why the Iſiaque prieſts ſhave their heads, and weare no haire upon them; as alſo, wherefore they goe in veſtments of Line? And ſome of them there be, who care not at all for any knowledge of ſuch matters: yet others ſay, they forbeare to put on any garments of wooll, like as they doe to eat the fleſh of thoſe ſheepe which carie the ſaid wooll, upon a reverence they beare unto them: ſemblably, that they cauſe their heads to be ſhaven in token of dole and ſorrow: likewiſe

* *Iſis.*

*Importing the knowledge of that which is.

wiſe that they weare ſurplices and veſtments of linnen, in regard of the colour that the flower of line or flaxe beareth, which reſembleth properly that celeſtiall azure skie that environeth the whole world. But to ſay a trueth, there is but one cauſe indeed of all: for lawfull it is not for a man who is pure and cleane, to touch any thing (as *Plato* ſaith) which is impure and uncleane. Now it is well knowen, that all the ſuperfluities and excrements of our food and nouriſhment, be foule and impure, and of ſuch be engendred and grow, wooll, haire, ſhagge and nailes: and therefore a meere ridiculous mockerie it were, if when in their expiatorie ſanctifications and divine ſervices, they caſt off their haire, being ſhaven and made ſmooth all their bodies over, they ſhould then be clad and arraied with the ſuperfluous excrements of beaſts: for we muſt thinke that *Heſiodus* the Poet when he writeth thus,

At feaſt of gods and ſacred meriment,
Take heed with knife, thy nailes thou do not pare,
To cut I ſay, that dry dead excrement,
From lively fleſh of fingers five, beware.

teacheth us, that we ought firſt to be cleanſed and purified, then to ſolemniſe feſtivall holidaies, and not at the very time of celebration and performance of holie rites and divine ſervice, to uſe ſuch clenſing and ridding away of ſuperfluous excrements. Now the herbe Line groweth out of the earth which is immortall, bringeth foorth a frute good to be eaten, and furniſheth us wherewith to make a ſimple, plaine, and ſlender veſtment, which ſitteth light upon his backe that weareth it, is meet for all ſeaſons of the yeere; and of all others, (as men ſay) leaſt breedeth lice or vermine; whereof I am to diſcourſe elſe where. Now theſe Iſiaque prieſts ſo much abhorre the nature and generation of all ſuperfluities and excrements, that they not onely refuſe to eate moſt part of pulſe, and of fleſh meats, mutton and porke, for that ſheepe and ſwine breed much excrement, but alſo upon their daies of ſanctification and expiatorie ſolemnities, they will not allow any ſalt to be eaten with their viands; among many other reaſons, becauſe it whetteth the appetite, and giveth an edge to our ſtomacke, provoking us to eate and drinke more liberally: for to ſay as *Ariſtagoras* did, That ſalt was by them reputed uncleane, becauſe when it is congealed and growen hard, many little animals or living creatures, which were caught within it, die withall, is a very foolerie. Furthermore, it is ſaid, that the Aegyptian prieſts have a certeine pit or well apart, out of which they water their bull or beefe Apis: and be very preciſe in any wiſe not to let him drinke of *Nilus*, not for that they thinke the water of that river uncleane, in regard of the crocodiles which are in it, as ſome be of opinion (for contrariwiſe, there is nothing ſo much honored among the Aegyptians as the river *Nilus*) but it ſeemeth that the water of *Nilus* doth fatten exceeding much, and breed fleſh over faſt, and they would not in any caſe that their Apis ſhould be fat, or themſelves groſſe and corpulent: but that their ſoules might be clothed with light, nimble, and delicate bodies; ſo as the divine part in them ſhould not be oppreſſed or weighed downe, by the force and ponderoſitie of that which is mortall. In *Heliopolis*, which is the citie of the Sunne, thoſe who ſerve and miniſter unto their god, never bring wine into the temple, as thinking it not convenient in the day time to drinke in the ſight of their lord and king: otherwiſe the prieſts drinke thereof, but ſparily: and beſides many purgations and expiations they have, wherein they abſteine wholly from wine; and during thoſe daies, they give themſelves wholly to their ſtudies and meditations, learning and teaching holy things: even their very kings are not allowed to drinke wine their fill, but are ſtinted to the gage of a certeine meaſure, according as it is preſcribed in their holy writings, and thoſe kings alſo were prieſts, as *Hecataeus* writeth. And they began to drinke it after the daies of king *Pſammetichus*; for before his time they dranke it not at all, neither made they libaments thereof unto their gods, ſuppoſing it not acceptable unto them; for they tooke it to be the verie bloud of thoſe giants which in times paſt warred againſt the gods; of whom after they were ſlaine, when their bloud was mixed with the earth, the vine tree ſprang: and this is the cauſe, ſay they, why thoſe who be drunke, loſe the uſe of their wit & reaſon, as being full of the bloud of their progenitours. Now that the Aegyptian prieſts both hold and affirme thus much, *Eudoxus* hath delivered in the ſecond booke of his Geographie. As concerning fiſhes of the ſea, they doe not every one of them abſteine from all indifferently; but ſome forbeare one kind, & ſome another: as for example, the Oxyrynchites will eate of none that is taken with an hooke; for adoring as they doe, a fiſh named Oxyrynchos, they are in doubt and feare leſt the hooke ſhould be uncleane, if haply the ſaid fiſh ſwallowed it downe with the baite. The Sienites will not touch the fiſh Phagrus, for it ſhould ſeeme that it is found, what time as *Nilus* beginnes to flow; and therefore the ſaid fiſh by his appearing, ſignifieth the riſing and inundation of *Nilus*, whereof they be exceeding joious, holding him for a certeine and ſure meſſenger. But the prieſts abſteine from all fiſhes ingenerall: and whereas upon the ninth daie of the firſt moneth, all other inhabitants of *Aegypt*, feede upon a certeine broiled or roſted fiſh before their dores; the prieſts in no wiſe taſte thereof; mary they burne fiſhes before the gates of their houſes; and two reaſons they have; the one holy, fine and ſubtile, which I will deliver hereafter: as that which accordeth and agreeth very well to the ſacred diſcourſes as touching *Oſiris* and *Typhon*: the other plaine, vulgar and common, repreſented by the fiſh, which is none of the viands that be neceſſary, rare and exquiſit, according as *Homer* beareth witneſſe, when he brings not in the Phęacians delicate men & loving to feed daintily, nor the Ithaceſians, Ilanders, to eat fiſh at their feaſts: no nor the mates and fellow travellers with *Ulyſſes*, during the time of their long navigation and voiage by ſea, before they were brought to extreame neceſſity. To be briefe, the very ſea it ſelfe they thinke to be produced a part by fire, without the bounds & limits of nature, as being no portion nor element of the world, but a ſtrange excrement, a corrupt ſuperfluity and unkinde maladie: For nothing abſurd and againſt reaſon, nothing fabulous and ſuperſtitious, (as ſome untruly thinke) was inſerted or ſerved as a ſacred ſigne in their holy ceremonies, but they were all markes grounded upon cauſes and reaſons morall, and the ſame profitable for this life, or elſe not without ſome hiſtoricall or naturall elegancy. As for example, that which is ſaid of the oinion; for that *Dictys* the foſter father of *Iſis*, fell into the river of *Nilus*, and was there drowned, as he was reaching at oinions and could not come by them, it is a mere fable and carieth no ſenſe or probability in the world: but the trueth is this, the prieſts of *Iſis* hate the oinion and avoid it as a thing abominable, becauſe they have obſerved, that it never groweth nor thriveth well to any bigneſſe but in the decreaſe and waine of the Moone: Neither is it meet and fit for thoſe who would lead an holy and ſanctified life, or for ſuch as celebrate ſolemne feaſts and holidaies, becauſe it provoketh thirſt in the former; and in the other cauſeth teares, if they feed thereupon. And for the ſame reaſon they take the ſow to be a prophane and uncleane beaſt, for that ordinarily ſhe goeth a brimming and admitteth the bore, when the Moone is paſt the full: and looke how many drinke of her milke, they breake out into a kinde of leproſie or drie ſkurfe all over their bodies. As touching the tale which they inferre, who once in their lives doe ſacrifice a ſow when the Moone is in the full, and then eat her fleſh: namely that *Typhon* hunting and chaſing the wilde ſwine at the full of the Moone, chanced to light upon an arke or coffin of wood, wherein was the body of *Oſiris* which he diſmembred and threw away by peece meale, all men admit not thereof, ſuppoſing that it is a fable as many others be, miſheard and miſunderſtood. But this for certaine is held, that our ancients in old time ſo much hated and abhorred all exceſſive delicacy, ſuperfluous and coſtly delights and voluptuous pleaſures, that they ſaid within the temple of the city of *Thebes* in *Aegypt* there ſtood a ſquare columne or pillar, wherein were engraven certaine curſes and execrations againſt their king *Minis*, who was the firſt that turned and averted the Aegyptians quite from their ſimple and frugal maner of life, without mony, without ſumptuous fare & chargeable delights. It is ſaid alſo that *Technatis* the father of *Bocchoreus*, in an expedition or journey againſt the Arabians, when it chaunced that his cariages were far behind and came not in due time to the place where he incamped, was content to make his ſupper of whatſoever he could get, & ſo to take up with a very ſmall and ſimple pittance, yea and after ſupper to lie upon a courſe and homely pallet, where he ſlept all night very ſoundly and never awoke: whereupon, he ever after loved ſobrietie of life & frugality, & curſed the foreſaid king *Minis*: which malediction of his being by the prieſts of that time approved, he cauſed to be engraven upon the pillar aboveſaid. Now their kings were created either out of the order of their prieſts, or elſe out of the degree of knights and warriors; for that the one eſtate was honored and accounted noble for valour, the other for wiſdome and knowledge. And looke whomſoever they choſe from out of the order of knighthood, preſently after his election he was admitted unto the colledge of prieſts, and unto him were diſcloſed and communicated the ſecrets of their Philoſophy, which under the vaile of fables and darke ſpeeches couched and covered many myſteries, through which the light of the trueth in ſome ſort though dimly appeare. And this themſelves ſeeme to ſignifie and give us to underſtand, by ſetting up ordinarily before the porches and gates of their temples, certaine Sphinges: meaning thereby, that all their Theologie containeth under ænigmaticall and covert words, the ſecrets of wiſdome. In the citie of *Sais*, the image of *Minerva* which they take to be *Iſis*, had ſuch an inſcription over it, as this: I am all that which hath beene, which is, and which ſhall be, and never any man yet was able to draw open my vaile. Moreover many there be of opinion, that the proper name of *Jupiter* in the Aegyptians language is *Amoun*, of which we have in Greeke, derived the word *Ammon*: whereupon we ſurname *Jupiter*, *Ammon*: but *Manethos* who was an Aegyptian himſelfe of the citie of *Sebenna*, ſuppoſeth that by this word is ſignfied, a thing hidden, or occultation: and *Hecatæus* the Abderite affirmeth, that the Aegyptians uſed this terme among themſelves, when they called one unto another, for it was a vocative word, and for that they imagined the prince and ſoveraigne of the gods to be the ſame: that *Pan*, that is to ſay, an univerſall nature, and therefore unſeene, hidden and unknowen, they praied and beſought him for to diſcloſe and make himſelfe knowen unto them, by calling him *Amoun*. See then, how the Aegyptians were very ſtrict and preciſe, in not profaning their wiſdome, nor publiſhing that learning of theirs which concerned the gods. And this the greateſt Sages and moſt learned clerkes of all *Greece* do teſtifie, by name, *Solon*, *Thales*, *Plato*, *Eudoxus*, *Pythagoras*, & as ſome let not to ſay, *Lycurgus* himſelfe; who all travelled of a deliberate purpoſe into *Aegypt*, for to conferre with the prieſts of that country. For it is conſtantly held that *Eudoxus* was the auditour of *Chonupheus* the prieſt of *Memphis*, *Solon* of *Sonchis* the prieſt of *Sais*, *Pythagoras* of *Oenupheus* the prieſt of *Heliopolis*. And verily this *Pythagoras* laſt named, was highly eſteemed among thoſe men, like as him ſelfe had them in great admiration, in ſo much as he of all others ſeemed moſt to imitate their maner of myſticall ſpeaking under covert words, & to involve his doctrine and ſentences within figurative & ænigmaticall words: for the characters which are called Hieroglyphicks in *Aegypt*, be in maner all of them, like to theſe precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not upon a ſtoole or chaire; Sit not over a buſhell; Plant no date tree; Stirre not the fire in the houſe, nor rake into it with a ſword. And me thinks, that whereas the Pythagoreans call unitie, *Apollo*, Tiro, *Diana*; the number of ſeven, *Minerva*; and the firſt cubicke, *Neptune*; this reſembleth very neere, that which the Aegyptians conſecrate & dedicate in their temples, and agreeth with that which they both do & write. For their king and lord *Oſiris*, they depaint and pourtray, by an eie and a ſcepter: and ſome there be, who make this interpretation of the name *Oſiris*, as if it ſignified, having many eies, for that *Os* in the Aegyptian tongue, betokeneth many, and *Iri*, an eie. As for heaven, they deſcribe by a yoong countenance, by reaſon of the perpetuity thereof, whereby it never waxeth old. An eie they ſet out by an heart, having under it an hearth with fire burning upon it. In the city of *Thebes* there ſtood up certeine images without hands, reſembling Judges; and the chiefe or Preſident among them, was blindfolded or hoodwincked, to give us to underſtand, that juſtice ſhould neither be corrupted with briberie, nor partiall and reſpective of perſons. In the ſignet or ſeale ring of their martiall and militarie men, there was engraven the portracture of the great flie called the Beettill, becauſe in that kinde there is no female, but they be all males: they blow or caſt their ſeed in forme of a pellet or round ball, under dung; which they prepare to be a place, not for their food more, than for their brood. Whenſoever therefore you ſhall heare the Aegyptians tell tales of the gods, to wit, of their vagarant and wandring perigrinations, or of their diſmembrings, and other ſuch like fabulous fictions, you muſt call to minde, that which we have before ſaid; and never thinke that they meane any ſuch thing is or hath beene done according to that litterall ſenſe: for they do not ſay, that *Mercurie* properly is a dog, but foraſmuch as the nature of this beaſt is to be wary, watchfull, vigilant and wiſe, able to diſtinguiſh by his taking knowledge and ſemblance of ignorance, a friend and familiar from an enemy and ſtranger: therefore (as *Plato* ſaith) they attributed and likened him to the moſt eloquent of all the gods. Neither doe they thinke, when they deſcribe the Sunne, that out of the barke of the tree Lotus there ariſeth a babe new borne; but in this wiſe doe they repreſent unto us the Sunne riſing, giving thus much to underſtand covertly, that the light and illumination of the Sunne proceedeth out of the waters of the ſea: for even after the ſame maner the moſt cruell and terrible king of the Perſians, *Ochus*, who put to death many of his nobles and ſubjects, and in the end ſlew their beefe Apis, and eat him at a feaſt together with his friends, they called The ſword; and even at this day, in the regiſter and catalogue of their kings, he goeth under that name; not ſignifying thereby his proper ſubſtance, but to expreſſe his hard and fell nature, and his miſchievous diſpoſition, they compared him to a bloudy inſtrument and weapon made to murder men. In hearing then and receiving after this maner, that which ſhalbe tolde unto you as touching the gods after an holy and religious maner, in doing alſo and obſerving alwaies diligently the accuſtomed rites ordeined for the ſacred ſervice of the gods, and beleeving firmely, that you can not performe any ſacrifice or liturgy more pleaſing unto them, than to ſtudy for to have a ſound and true opinion of them: by this meanes you ſhall avoid ſuperſtition, which is as great a ſinne as impietie and Atheiſme. Now the fable of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, is as briefly as may be, by cutting off many ſuperfluous matters that ſerve to no purpoſe, delivered in this wiſe: It is ſaid, that dame *Rhea*, at what time as *Saturne* lay ſecretly with her, was eſpied by the Sunne, who curſed her; and among other maledictions, praied that ſhe might not be delivered, nor bring forth child, neither in any moneth nor yeere: but *Mercurie* being inamoured of this goddeſſe, companied likewiſe with her; and afterwards, as he plaied at dice with the Moone and won from her the ſeventieth part of every one of her illuminations, which being all put together, make five entire daies, he added the ſame unto the three hundred and threeſcore daies of the yeere; and thoſe odde daies the Aegyptians do call at this preſent, the daies of the Epact, celebrating and ſolemnizing them as the birthdaies of their gods: for that when the full time of *Rhea* was expired, upon the firſt day of them was *Oſiris* borne; at whoſe birth a voice was heard, That the lord of the whole world now came into light: and ſome ſay, that a certeine woman named *Pamyle*, as ſhe went to fetch water for the temple of *Jupiter* in the city of *Thebes*, heard this voice, commanding her to proclaime aloud, That the Great King and Benefactour *Oſiris* was now borne: alſo, for that *Saturne* committed this babe *Oſiris* into her hands for to be nourſed, therefore in honour of her there was a feſtivall day ſolemnized, named thereupon *Pamylia*, much like unto that which is named *Phallephoria*, unto *Priapus*. On the ſecond day ſhe was delivered of *Aroueris*, who is *Apollo*, whom ſome likewiſe call the elder *Orus*. upon the third day ſhe brought forth *Typhon*, but he came not at the juſt time nor at the right place, but brake thorow his mothers ſide, and iſſued foorth at the wound. On the fourth day was *Iſis* borne, in a watery place called *Panhygra*. And the fifth day ſhe was delivered of * *Nephthe*, who of ſome is named alſo *Teleute* and *Venus*; others call her *Nice*. Now it is ſaid, that ſhe conceived *Oſiris* and *Aroueris* by the Sunne, *Iſis* by *Mercurie*, *Typhon* and *Nephthe* by *Saturne*, which is the cauſe that the kings reputing the third of theſe intercalar daies to be deſaſterous and diſmall, diſpatched no affaires thereupon, neither did they cheriſh themſelves by meat and drinke or otherwiſe, untill night: that *Nephthe* was honoured by *Typhon*; that *Iſis* and *Oſiris* were in love in their mothers bellie before they were borne, and lay together ſecretly and by ſtealth; and ſome give out, that by this meanes *Aroueris* was begotten and borne, who by the Aegyptians is called *Orus* the elder, and by the Greeks, *Apollo*. Well, during the time that *Oſiris* reigned king in *Aegypt*, immediatly he brought the Aegyptians from their needy, poore and ſavage kinde of life, by teaching them how to ſow and plant their grounds, by eſtabliſhing good lawes among them, and by ſhewing how they ſhould worſhip and ſerve God. Afterwards, he travelled thorowout the world, reducing the whole earth to civility, by force of armes leaſt of all, but winning and gaining the moſt nations by effectuall remonſtrances & ſweet perſwaſion couched in ſongs, and with all maner of Muſicke: whereupon the Greeks were of opinion, that he and *Bacchus* were both one. Furthermore, the tale goes, that in the abſence of *Oſiris*, *Typhon* ſtirred not, nor made any commotion, for that *Iſis* gave good order to the contrary, and was of ſufficient power to prevent and withſtand all innovations; but when he was returned, *Tyyhon* complotted a conſpiracy againſt him, having drawen into his confederacy ſeventy two complices, beſides a certeine queene of *Aethiopia*, who likewiſe combined with him, and her name was *Aſo*. Now when he had ſecretly taken the juſt meaſure and proportion of *Oſiris* body, he cauſed a coffer or hutch to be made of the ſame length, and that moſt curiouſly and artificially wrought and ſet out to the eie, he tooke order, that it ſhould be brought into the hall, where he made a great feaſt unto the whole company. Every man tooke great pleaſure with admiration, to beholde ſuch a ſingular exquiſit piece of worke; and *Typhon* in a meriment, ſtood up and promiſed that he would beſtow it upon him, whoſe body was meet & fit for it: hereupon, all the company one after another aſſaied whoſe body would fit it; but it was not found proportionate nor of a juſt ſize to any of all the reſt: at length, *Oſiris* gat up into it, and laied him there along; with that, the conſpiratours ran to it, and let downe the lidde and cover thereof upon him, and partly with nailes, and partly with melted lead which they powred aloft, they made it ſure enough; and when they had ſo done, caried it forth to the river ſide, and let it downe into the ſea, at the verie mouth of *Nilus* named *Taniticus*; which is the reaſon, that the ſaid mouth is even to this day odious and execrable among the Aegyptians, inſomuch as they call it *Cataphyſton*, that is to

* Or *Nephthy*.

ſay, Abominable, or to be ſpit at. Over and beſides, it is ſaid, that this fell out to be done upon the ſeventeenth day of the moneth named *Athyr*, during which moneth, the Sunne entreth into the ſigne *Scorpius*, and in the eight and twentieth yeere of *Oſiris* reigne: howbeit, others affirme, that he lived in deed, but reigned not ſo long. Now the firſt that had an inckling and intelligence of this hainous act, were the Panes and Satyres inhabiting about *Chemnis*, who began to whiſper one unto another, & to talke thereof; which is the reaſon, that all ſudden tumults and troubles of the multitude and common people, be called Panique affrights. Moreover, it followeth on in the tale, that *Iſis* being advertiſed hereof, immediatly cut off one of the treſſes of her haire, and put on mourning weeds in that place which now is called the city *Coptus*, in remembrance thereof; howſoever others ſay, that this word *Coptos*, betokeneth Privation, for that κόπτειν in Greeke, ſignifieth as much as to deprive. In this dolefull habit ſhe wandred up and downe in great perplexity to heare tidings of *Oſiris*, and whomſoever ſhe met withall, ſhe failed not to enquire of them; and ſhe miſſed not ſo much as little children playing together, but asked them, whether they had ſeene any ſuch coffer: at length, ſhe light of thoſe children who had ſeene it indeed, and they directed her to the mouth of the river *Nilus*, where the complices and aſſociats of *Typhon* had let the ſaid veſſell into the ſea. And ever ſince that time, the Aegyptians are of opinion, that yoong children have the gift of revealing ſecrets, and they take all their words which they paſſe in play and ſport, as oſſes and preſages, but eſpecially within the temples, what matter ſoever it be that they prattle of. Moreover, when *Iſis* underſtood that *Oſiris* fell in love with her ſiſter *Nephthys*, thinking ſhe was *Iſis* and ſo carnally companied with her, and withall, found a good token thereof, to wit, a chaplet or garland of Melilot which he had left with *Nephthe*, ſhe went for to ſeeke her babe (for preſently upon the birth of the infant, for feare of *Typhon* ſhe hid it) and when with much adoe and with great paines taken, *Iſis* had found it, by the meanes of certeine hounds which brought her to the place where he was, ſhe reared and brought it up, in ſuch ſort, as when he came to ſome bigneſſe, he became her guide and ſquire, named *Anubis*, who alſo is ſaid to keepe the gods, like as dogs guard men. After this, ſhe heard newes of the foreſaid coffer, and namely, that the waves of the ſea had by tides caſt it upon the coaſt of *Byblus*, where, by a billow of water it was gently brought cloſe to the foot of a ſhrubbe or plant called * Erice: now this Erice or Tamarix in a ſmall time grew ſo faire, and ſpread forth ſo large and big branches withall, that it * compaſſed, encloſed and covered the ſaid coffer all over, ſo as it could not be ſeene. The king of *Byblus* wondring to ſee this plant ſo big, cauſed the branches to be lopped off, that covered the foreſaid coffin not ſeene, and of the truncke or body thereof, made a pillar to ſuſtaine the roofe of his houſe: whereof *Iſis* by report being advertiſed by a certaine divine ſpirit or winde of flying fame, came to *Byblus*, where ſhe ſat her downe by a certeine fountaine, all heavie and in diſtreſſe, pitiouſly weeping to herſelfe; neither ſpake ſhe a word unto any creature, onely the Queenes waiting maids and women that came by, ſhe ſaluted and made much of, plaiting and broiding the treſſes of their haire moſt exquiſitly, and caſting from her into them a marvellous ſweet and pleaſant ſent iſſuing from her body, whiles ſhe dreſſed them. The queene perceiving her women thus curiouſly and trimly ſet out, had an earneſt deſire to ſee this ſtranger, aſwell for that ſhe yeelded ſuch an odoriferous ſmell from her body, as becauſe ſhe was ſo skilfull in dreſſing their heads: ſo ſhe ſent for the woman, and being growen into ſome familiar acquaintance with her, made her the nourſe and governeſſe of her yoong ſonne: now the kings name himſelfe was *Malcander*, and the queenes, *Aſtarte*, or rather *Saoſis*, or as ſome will have it, *Nemanous*, which is as much to ſay in the Greeke tongue, as *Athenais*. And the ſpeech goes, that *Iſis* ſuckled and nouriſhed this infant, by putting her finger in ſtead of the breſt-head or nipple, into the mouth thereof; alſo, that in the night ſeaſon ſhe burnt all away that was mortall of his body: and in the end, was herſelfe metamorphized and turned into a ſwallow, flying, and lamenting after a moaning maner about the pillar aforeſaid, untill ſuch time as the queene obſerving this, and crying out when ſhe ſaw the body of her child on a light fire, bereaved it of immortality. Then *Iſis* being diſcovered to be a goddeſſe, craved the pillar of wood: which ſhe cut downe with facility, and tooke from underneath the truncke of the Tamarix or Erice, which ſhe anointed with perfumed oile, and enwrapped within a linnen cloth, and gave it to the kings for to be kept: whereof it commeth, that the Byblians even at this day reverence this piece of wood, which lieth conſecrate within the temple of *Iſis*. Furthermore, it is ſaid, that in the end ſhe * light upon the coffer, over which ſhe wept and lamented ſo much, that the yongeſt of the kings ſonnes died for very pity of her; but

* ἐρείκη.

* Or ſome ſuch ſhrub.

* Some tranſlate this, as if the arke were incloſed within the truncke of the planke.

* περιπεσεῖν.

but ſhe herſelfe accompanied with the eldeſt of them, together with the coffer, embarked, tooke ſea & departed. But when the river *Phædrus* turned the wind ſomwhat roughly, about the dawning of the day, *Iſis* was ſo much diſpleaſed and angry, that ſhe dried it quite. And ſo ſoone as ſhe came unto a ſolitary place, where ſhe was by herſelfe alone, ſhe opened the coffer, where finding the corps of *Oſiris*, ſhe laid her face cloſe to his, embraced it and wept. Herewith came the child ſoftly behinde and eſpied what ſhe was doing: whom when ſhe perceived, ſhe looked backe, caſting an untoward eie, and beheld him with ſuch an angry aſpect, that the poore infant not able to endure ſo terrible a looke, died upon it. Some ſay it was not ſo; but that he fell into the ſea, in maner aforeſaid, and was honored for the goddeſſe ſake, and that he is the ſame whom the Aegyptians chaunt at their feaſts, under the name of *Maneros*. But others give out, that this child was named *Paleſtinus*, and that the city *Peluſium* was built in remembrance of him by the goddeſſe *Iſis* and ſo tooke the name after him; and how this *Maneros* whom they ſo celebrate in their ſongs, was the firſt inventour of muſicke. Howbeit others there are againe, who affirme, that this was the name of no perſon, but a kinde of dialect or language, proper and agreeable unto thoſe who drinke and banquet together, as if a man ſhould ſay, In good houre and happily may this or that come. For the Aegyptians were wont ordinarily to uſe this terme *Maneros* in ſuch a ſenſe: like as no doubt the drie ſceletos or dead corps of a man which they uſed to carie about and ſhew in a bierre or coffin at the table, was not the repreſentation or memoriall of this accident which befell unto *Oſiris*, as ſome doe imagine, but ſerved as an admonition to put the gueſts in minde to be merry and take their pleaſure and joy in thoſe things that were preſent; for that ſoone after they ſhould be like unto it. This I ſay was the reaſon that it was brought in at their feaſts and mery meetings. Furthermore when *Iſis* was gone to ſee her ſonne *Horus* who was foſtered and brought up in the city *Butus*, and had laid the foreſaid coffer with *Oſiris* body out of the way, *Typhon* fortuned as he hunted in a cleere moone-ſhine night to meet with it, and taking knowledge of the body, cut it into foureteene peeces and flung them heere and there one from another: which when *Iſis* underſtood, ſhe ſearched for them in a bote or punt made of papyr reed, all over the moores and mariſhes: whereof it comes that the Crocodiles never hurt thoſe who ſaile or row in veſſels made of that plant, whether it be that they are affraid of it, or reverence it for this goddeſſe ſake I know not. And thus you may know the reaſon, why there be found many ſepulchres of *Oſiris* in the country of *Aegypt*, for ever as ſhe found any peece of him, ſhe cauſed a tombe to be made for it: others ſay no: but that ſhe made many images of him, which ſhe left in every city, as if ſhe had beſtowed among them his very body indeed: to the end that in many places he might be honored: and that if happly *Typhon* when he ſought for the true ſepulcher of *Oſiris* (having vanquiſhed and overcome *Horus*) many of them being reported and ſhewed, he might not know which was it, and ſo give over ſeeking farther. Over and beſides, the report goes, that *Iſis* found all other parts of *Oſiris* body but onely his privy member, for that it was immediately caſt into a river and the fiſhes named *Lepidotus*, *Phagrus* and *Oxyrynchus* devoured it: for which cauſe *Iſis* deteſteth them above all other fiſhes: but in ſted of that natural part, ſhe made a counterfet one, called *Phallus*, which ſhe conſecrated: and in the honor thereof the Aegyptians hold a ſolemne feaſt. After all this it followeth in the fable, that *Oſiris* being returned out of the infernall parts, appeared unto *Horus*, for to exerciſe, inſtruct and traine him againſt the battell: of whom he demanded what he thought to be the moſt beautifull thing in the world: who anſwered, To be revenged of the wrong and injury which had bene done to a mans parents. Secondly, what beaſt he thought moſt profitable to goe into the field withall: unto whom *Horus* ſhould make anſwere, The horſe: whereat *Oſiris* marvelled, and asked him why he named the horſe and not the lion rather: Becauſe (quoth *Horus*) the lion ſerveth him in good ſted, who ſtands upon his owne guard and defenſe onely and hath need of aid: but the horſe is good to defait the enimy quite, to follow him in chace and take him priſoner. When *Oſiris* heard him ſay ſo, he tooke great pleaſure and contentment heerein, judging heereby that his ſonne was ſufficiently appointed and prepared to give battell unto his enimies. And verily it is ſaid that among many that daily revolted from *Typhon* and ſided with *Horus*, even the very concubine of *Typhon* named *Thueris* was one, who came to him: and when a certaine * ſerpent followed after and purſued her, the ſame was cut in peeces by the guard about *Horus*: in remembrance whereof, at this very day they bring forth a certaine cord, which likewiſe they chop in peeces. Well, they ſay the battell continued many daies: but in the end *Horus* had the victory: As alſo that *Iſis* having *Typhon* priſoner faſt bound in her hands,

* *Ophis.*

killed him not: but looſed him and let him goe: which *Horus* not able to endure with patience, laid violent hands upon his mother, and plucked from her head the roiall ornament that ſhe had thereon: in ſted whereof, *Mercury* ſet one a morion made in maner of a cowes head. Then *Typhon* called *Horus* judicially into queſtion, charging him that he was a baſtard; but by the helpe of *Mercury* who pleaded his cauſe, he was judged by the gods, legitimate: who alſo in two other battels vanquiſhed *Typhon*. And more than all this, the tale ſaith, that *Iſis* after death, was with child by *Oſiris*, by whom ſhe had *Helitomenus* and *Harpocrates* who wanted his nether parts. Thus you ſee what be in maner all the principall points of this fable, ſetting aſide and excepting thoſe which are moſt execrable, to wit, the diſmembring of *Horus* and the beheading of *Iſis*. Now, that, if any there be who hold and affirme ſuch fables as theſe touching the bleſſed and immortall nature, whereby eſpecially we conceived in our minde the deity, to be true and that ſuch things were really done or hapned ſo indeed,

We ought to ſpit upon their face
And curſe ſuch mouthes with all diſgrace.

as *Aeſchylus* ſaith, I need not ſay unto you, for that you hate and deteſt thoſe enough alreadie of your ſelfe, who conceive ſo barbarous and abſurd opinions of the gods. And yet you ſee verie well, that theſe be not narrations like unto old wives tales, or vaine and fooliſh fictions, which Poets or other idle writers deviſe out of their owne fingers ends, after the maner of ſpiders, which of themſelves without any precedent, & ſubject matter, ſpin their threeds, weave and ſtretch out their webbes: for evident it is that they conteine ſome difficulties and the memorials of certeine accidents. And like as the Mathematicians ſay, that the rainbow is a repreſentation of the Sunne, and the ſame diſtinguiſhed by ſundry colours, by the refraction of our eie-ſight againſt a cloud: even ſo this fable, is an apparence of ſome doctrine or learning, which doeth reflect and ſend backe our underſtanding, to the conſideration of ſome other trueth; much after the maner of ſacrifices, wherein there is mingled a kinde of lamentable dole, and ſorrowfull heavineſſe. Semblably, the making and diſpoſition of temples, which in ſome places have faire open Iſles and pleaſant allies open over head: and in other, darke caves vaults, and ſhrouds under the earth, reſembling properly caves, ſepulchers, or charnell vauts, wherein they put the bodies of the dead; eſpecially the opinion of the Oſirians: for albeit the bodie of *Oſiris*, be ſaid to be in many places, yet they name haply *Abydus* the towne, or *Memphis* a little citie, where they affirme that his true body lieth, in ſuch ſort, as the greateſt and welthieſt perſons in *Aegypt* uſually doe ordeine and take order, that their bodies be interred in *Abydus*, to the end they may lie in the ſame ſepulchre with *Oſiris*: and at *Memphis* was kept the beefe Apis, which is the image and figure of his ſoule, and they will have his body alſo to be there. Some likewiſe there be, who interpret the name of this towne, as if it ſhould ſignifie the haven and harbour of good men: others, that it betokeneth the tombe of *Oſiris*: and there is before the gate of the citie, a little Iſle, which to all others is inacceſſible, and admitteth no entrance, inſomuch, as neither fowles of the aire will there light, nor fiſhes of the ſea approch thither: onely at one certeine time, the prieſts may come in, and there they offer ſacrifices, and preſent oblations to the dead; where alſo they crowne and adorne with flowers the monument of one *Mediphthe*, which is overſhadowed and covered with a certeine plant, greater and taller than any olive tree. *Eudoxus* writeth, that how many ſepulchres ſoever there be in *Aegypt* wherein the corps of *Oſiris* ſhould lie, yet it is in the citie *Buſiris*; for that it was the countrey and place of his nativitie: ſo that now there is no need to ſpeake of *Taphoſiris*, for that the very name it ſelfe ſaith enough, ſignifying as it doeth, the ſepulture of *Oſiris*. Well, I approove the cutting of the wood, and renting of the linnen, the effuſions alſo and funerall libaments there performed, becauſe there be many myſteries mingled among. And ſo the prieſts of *Aegypt* affirme, that the bodies not of theſe gods onely, but alſo of all others, who have beene engendred, and are not incorruptible, remaine among them where they honoured and reverenced; but their ſoules became ſtarres, and ſhine in heaven: and as for that of *Iſis*, it is the ſame which the Greekes call *Cyon*, that is to ſay, the dogge-ſtarre, but the Aegyptians *Sothis*: that of *Orus* is *Orion*, and that of *Typhon*, the Beare. But whereas all other cities and ſtates in *Aegypt* contribute a certeine tribute impoſed upon them, for to pourtray, draw and paint ſuch beaſts as are honored among them, thoſe onely who inhabite the countrey *Thebais*, of all others give nothing thereto, being of opinion, that no mortall thing, ſubject to death, can be a god: as for him alone, whom they call *Cneph*, as he was never borne, ſo ſhall he never die. Whereas therefore

fore many ſuch things as theſe, be reported and ſhewed in *Aegypt*, they who thinke, that all is no more but to perpetuate and eternize the memorie of marvelous deeds and ſtrange accidents of ſome princes, kings, or tyrants, who for their excellent vertue & mighty puiſſance, have adjoined to their owne glory, the authoritie of deitie, unto whom, a while after, there befell calamities; uſe heerein a very cleanly ſhift, and expedite evaſion, transferring handſomly from the gods unto men, all ſiniſter infamie that is in theſe fable, and helpe themſelves by the teſtimonies which they finde and read in hiſtories: for the Aegyptians write, that *Mercurie* was but ſmall of ſtature, and ſlender limmed: that *Typhon* was of a ruddy colour; *Orus* white; *Oſiris* of a blackiſh hew, as who indeed were naturally men. Moreover, they call *Oſiris*, captaine or generall, *Canobus* pilot or governor of a ſhip, after whoſe name they have named a ſtarre: and as for the ſhippe which the Greeks name *Argo*, they hold that it was the very reſemblance of *Oſiris* ſhip, which for the honour of him, being numbred among the ſtarres, is ſo ſituate in heaven, as that it mooveth and keepeth his courſe not farre from that of *Orion*, and the *Cyon* or doggeſtarre; of which twaine, the one is conſecrate unto *Horus*, the other to *Iſis*. But I feare me, that this were to ſtirre and remoove thoſe ſacred things which are not to be touched and medled withall, and as much as to fight againſt, not continuance of time onely and antiquitie, as *Simonides* ſaith, but alſo the religion of many ſorts of people and nations, who are long ſince poſſeſſed with a devotion toward theſe gods: I doubt (I ſay) leſt in ſo doing they faile not to transfer ſo great names as theſe out of heaven to earth, and ſo goe very neere and miſſe but a little to overthrow and aboliſh that honour and beliefe, which is ingenerate and imprinted in the hearts of all men, even from their very firſt nativitie: which were even to ſet the gates wide open for a multitude of miſcreants and Atheiſts, who would bring all divinity to humanity, and deitie to mans nature; yea and to give a manifeſt overture and libertie for all the impoſtures and jugling caſts of *Euemerus* the Meſſenian, who having himſelfe coined and deviſed the originals of fables, grounded upon no probability nor ſubject matter, but even againſt the courſe of reaſon and nature, ſpred and ſcattered abroad throughout the world all impietie, tranſmuting and changing all thoſe whom we repute as gods, into the names of admirals, captaines generall, and kings, who had lived in times paſt, according as they ſtand upon record, by his ſaying, written in golden letters, within the citie * *Panchon*, (which never Græcian nor Barbarian ſave himſelfe ſaw) as having ſailed unto the countreies of the Panchonians and Triphylians; nations forſooth that neither are, nor ever were in this world. And yet verily, a great name there goeth among the Aſſyrians, of the woorthy and renowmed acts of *Semiramis*: as alſo in *Aegypt* of *Seſoſtris*. As for the Phrygians, even at this day they terme noble exploits and admirable enterpriſes, by the name *Manica*, of one of their ancient kings, whom they called *Manis*, who in his time was a moſt prudent and valiant prince, and whom others named *Maſdes*. *Cyrus* led the Perſians, and *Alexander* the Macedonians, with conqueſt ſtill and victorie, from one end of the world in maner to another: and yet for all theſe brave acts, no otherwiſe renowmed they are, nor remembred, but onely for puiſſant and good kings: and ſay, there were haply ſome of them who upon an overweening and high conceit of themſelves, helped forward with youth, and want of experience, as *Plato* ſaith, and whoſe mindes were puffed up and inflamed with pride and vain-glory, tooke upon them the ſurnames of gods, and had temples founded in their names, yet this glory of theirs laſted but a while, and ſoon after being condemned by the poſterity, of vanitie, and arrogancie together, with impietie and injuſtice,

*Or, Panchæa.

* Or, Panchæans.

Were quickly gone, like ſmoke which mounting hie,
Into the aire, doth vaniſh by and by.

and now as fugitive ſlaves that may be brought backe againe where ever they be found, they are haled and pulled away from their temples and altars, and nothing remaineth for them but their tombs & ſepulchers: and therefore that old king *Antigonus*, when a certeine Poet named *Hermodotus*, in his verſes called him the ſonne of the Sun, yea, & a god. Well quoth he, my groome that daily voideth my cloſe ſtoole, knowes no ſuch matter by me. *Lyſippus* alſo the Imager did very well to reproove *Apelles* the painter, for that, when he drew the picture of *Alexander*, hee portraied him with lightning in his hand; whereas *Lyſippus* put in his hand a launce, the glory and renowme whereof, as due and proper unto him, yea, and beſeeming his perſon indeed, no time nor age ſhould ever be able to aboliſh. In which regard, I hold better with them who thinke that the things which be written of *Typhon*, *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, were no accidents or paſſions incident to gods or to men; but rather to ſome great Dæmons: of which minde were *Pythagoras*, *Plato, Xenocrates*, and *Chryſippus*, following heerein the opinions of the ancient Theologians, who hold, that they were farre ſtronger than men, and that in puiſſance they much ſurmounted our nature: but that divinitie which they had, was not pure and ſimple; but they were compounded of a nature corporall and ſpirituall, capable of pleaſure, of griefe, and other paſsions and affections, which accompanying theſe mutations, trouble ſome more, others leſſe. For in theſe Dæmons, there is like, as alſo among men, a diverſity and difference of vice and of vertue. For the acts of Giants and Titans, ſo much chaunted in every Greeke ſong, the abominable deeds likewiſe and practiſes of one *Saturne*, the reſiſtance alſo of *Python* againſt *Apollo*, the ſounds of *Bacchus*, and the wanderings of *Ceres*, differ in no reſpect from the accidents of *Oſiris* and *Typhon*, and of all other ſuch like fabulous tales, which every man may heare as much as he liſt: as alſo whatſoever lying covered and hidden under the vaile of myſtical ſacrifices and ceremonies, is kept cloſe not uttered nor ſhewed to the vulgar people, is of the ſame ſort. And acording hereto, we may heare *Homer* how he calleth good men, and ſuch as excell others diverſly, one while θεοειδέας, that is to ſay, like unto the gods; otherwhile, ἀντιθέους, that is to ſay, comparable to the gods: ſometimes θεῶν ἀπὸ μήδε᾽ ἔχοντας, that is to ſay, having their wiſdome and counſell from the gods. But the denomination or addition drawen from the Dæmons, he uſeth commonly as well to the good as the bad; indifferent to valiant perſons and to cowards: to a timorous and fearefull ſoldior thus:

Δαιμόνιε σχεδὸν ἐλθὲ, τί ἢ δειδίασεαι οὕτως,
Ἀργείους.
Dæmonian, *approch thou neare:*
The Greeks why doeſt thou ſo much feare?

On the other ſide, of an hardy ſoldior:

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος,
When he the charge in field the fourth time gave,
Like to ſome Dæmon he did himſelfe behave.

And againe, in the woorſe ſenſe,

Δαιμονίη, τί νύ σε Πρίαμος, Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες, &c.
* Dæmonian, *what is that great offence,*
Which Priam *and his ſonnes committed have*
Againſt thee, for to make thy juſt pretence,
In wrathfull tearmes upon them thus to rave,
And them no grace and mercy to vouchſave,
Nor reſt, untill thou ſeeſt the ſtately towne,
Of Ilion *deſtroid and raſed downe?*

* That is to ſay, wicked or curſt *Jupiter*, to *Minerva*.

Giving us heereby thus much to underſtand, that the Dæmons have a mixt nature, and a will or affection which is not equall, nor alwaies alike. And heereupon it is, that *Plato* verily attributeth unto the Olympian and celeſtiall gods, all that which is dexterous and odde: but unto the Dæmons, whatſoever is ſiniſter and even. And *Xenocrates* holdeth, that thoſe daies which be unluckie and diſmall, thoſe feſtivall ſolemnities likewiſe, which have any beatings or knocking and thumping of breſts, or faſting, or otherwiſe any curſed ſpeeches and filthy words, are not meet for the honour & worſhip either of gods or of good Dæmons: but he ſuppoſeth that there be in the aire about us, certeine natures great & puiſſant; howbeit, ſhrewd, malicious and unſociable, which take ſome pleaſure in ſuch matters: and when they have obteined and gotten ſo much to be done for their ſake, they goe about no farther miſchiefe, nor wait any ſhrewder turnes: whereas contrariwiſe, both *Heſiodus* calleth the pure and holy Dæmons, ſuch alſo as be the good angels and keepers of men,

Givers of wealth and opulence, as whome
This regall gift and honour doth become.

And *Plato* alſo termeth this kinde of Dæmons or angels *Mercuriall*, that is to ſay, expoſitours or interpretours, and miniſteriall, having a middle nature betweene gods and men, who as mediatours, preſent the praiers and petitions of men heere unto the gods in heaven, and from thence tranſmit and convey unto us upon earth, the oracles and revelations of hidden and future things, as alſo their donations of goods and riches. As for *Empedocles*, he ſaith, that theſe Dæmons or fiends, are puniſhed and tormented for their ſinnes and offences which they have committed, as may appeere by theſe his verſes:

For why? the power of aire and skie,
did to the ſea them chace:
The ſea them caſt up, of the earth,
even to the outward face:
The earth them ſends unto the beames,
of never-tyred Sunne,
The Sunne to aire, whence firſt they came,
doth fling them downe anon:
Thus poſted to and fro, twixt ſeas
beneath, and heav'ns aboue,
From one they to another paſſe:
not one yet doth them love.

untill ſuch time as being thus in this purgatory chaſtiſed and clenſed, they recover againe that place eſtate and degree which is meet for them and according to their nature. Theſe things and ſuch like for all the world they ſay, are reported of *Typhon*, who upon envy and malice committed many outrages; and having thus made a trouble and confuſion in all things, filled ſea and land with wofull calamities and miſeries, but was puniſhed for it in the end. For *Iſis* the wife and ſiſter of *Oſiris* in revenge plagued him in extinguiſhing and repreſſing his fury and rage: and yet neglected not ſhe the travels and paines of her owne which ſhe endured, her trudging alſo and wandring to and fro, nor many other acts of great wiſdome and proweſſe ſuffered ſhe to be buried in ſilence and oblivion: but inſerting the ſame among the moſt holy ceremonies of ſacrifices, as examples, images, memorials and reſemblances of the accidents hapning in thoſe times, ſhe conſecrated an enſignement, inſtruction and conſolation of piety and devout religion to godward, as well for men as women afflicted with miſeries. By reaſon whereof ſhe and her husband *Oſiris* of good Dæmons were tranſmuted for their vertue into gods, like as afterwards were *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who in regard thereof, and not without reaſon, have honours decreed for them both of gods and alſo of Dæmons intermingled together, as thoſe who in all places were puiſſant, but moſt powerfull both upon and alſo under the earth. For they ſay that *Sarapis* is nothing elſe but *Pluto*, and *Iſis* the ſame that *Proſerpina*, as *Archemachus* of *Eubœa* and *Heraclitus* of *Pontus* teſtifie and he thinketh that the oracle in the city *Canobus*, is that of father *Dis* or *Pluto*. King *Ptolemæus* ſurnamed *Soter* that is to ſay, ſaviour, cauſed that huge ſtatue or coloſſe of *Pluto* which was in the city *Sinope*, to be be taken from thence, not knowing, nor having ſeene before of what forme and ſhape it was, but onely that as he dreamed he thought that he ſaw *Serapis*, commanding him withall ſpeed poſſible to tranſport him into *Alexandria*. Now the king not knowing where this ſtatue was, nor where to finde it, in this doubtfull perplexity related his viſion aforeſaid unto his friends about him, and chanced to meet with one *Soſibius* a great traveller and a man who had bene in many places, and he ſaid that in the city of *Sinope* he had ſeene ſuch a ſtatue as the king deſcribed unto them. Whereupon *Ptolemæus* ſent *Soteles* and *Dionyſius*, who in long time, and with great travell, and not without the eſpeciall grace of the divine providence, ſtole away the ſaid coloſſe and brought it with them: Now when it was come to *Alexandria* and there ſeene, *Timotheus* the great Coſmographer and Antiquary, and *Manethon* of the province *Sebennitis*, gueſſed it by all conjectures to be the image of *Pluto*, and namely by *Cerberus* the hel-dog and the dragon about him, perſwading the king that it could be the image of no other god but of *Serapis*. For it came not from thence with that name; but being brought into *Alexandria*, it tooke the name *Serapis*, by which the Aegyptians doe name *Pluto*. And yet *Heraclitus* verily the Naturaliſt ſaith, that *Hades* and *Droniſis*, that is to ſay, *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, be the ſame. And in treeth when they are diſpoſed to play the fooles and be mad, they are caried away to this opinion. For they who ſuppoſe that *Hades*, that is to ſay, *Pluto*, is ſaid to be the body and as it were the ſepulcher of the ſoule, as if it ſeemed to be fooliſh and drunken all the while ſhe is within it, me thinkes they doe allegorize but very baldly. And better it were yet to bring *Oſiris* and *Bacchus* together, yea and to reconcile *Sarapis* unto *Oſiris*, in ſaying that after he hath changed his nature, he became to have this denomination. And therefore this name *Sarapis* is common to all, as they know very well who are profeſſed in the ſacred religion of *Oſiris*. For we ought not to give eare and credit to the bookes and writings of the Phrygians, wherein we finde, that there was one *Charopos* the daughter of *Hercules*, and that of *Iſaiacus* a ſonne of *Hercules* was engendred *Typhon*: neither yet to make account of *Phylarchus* who writeth, that *Bacchus* was the firſt, who from the Indians drave two beeſes, whereof the one was named *Apis*, and the other *Oſiris*: That *Sarapis* is the proper name of him who ruleth and embeliſheth the univerſall world, and is derived of the word *Sairein*, which ſome ſay, ſignifieth as much as to beautifie and adorne. For theſe be abſurd toies delivered by *Phylarchus*: but more monſtrous and ſenſeleſſe are their abſurdities who write, that *Sarapis* is no god, but that it is the coffin or ſepulcher of *Apis* that is ſo called: as alſo that there be certain two leaved braſen gates in *Memphis*, bearing the names of *Lethe* & *Cocytus*, that is to ſay, oblivion and wailing, which being ſet open when they interre and bury *Apis*, in the opening make a great ſound and rude noiſe: which is the cauſe that we lay hand upon every copper or braſen veſſell when it reſoundeth ſo, to ſtay the noiſe thereof. Yet is their more apparence of trueth and reaſon in their opinion, who hold that it was derived of theſe verbes σεύειν, and σοῦειν, which ſignifieth to move, as being that which moveth the whole frame of the world. The prieſts for the moſt part hold, that *Sarapis* is a word compounded of *Oſiris* and *Apis* together, giving this expoſition withall and teaching us, that we ought to beleeve *Apis* to be an elegant image of the ſoule of *Oſiris*. For mine owne part, if *Sarapis* be an Aegyptian name, I ſuppoſe rather that it betokeneth joy and mirth: And I ground my conjecture upon this, that the Aegyptians ordinarily call the feaſt of joy and gladneſſe termed among the Athenians *Charmoſyna*, by the name of *Sairei*. For *Plato* himſelfe ſaith, that *Hades* which ſignifieth *Pluto*, being the ſonne of *Aidos*, that is to ſay, of ſhamefaſtneſſe and reverence, is a milde and gracious god to thoſe who are toward him. And very true it is, that in the Aegyptians language, many other proper names are ſignificant and carry their reaſon with them: as namely that infernall place under the earth, into which they imagine the ſoules of the dead doe deſcend after they be departed, they call *Amenthes*, which terme is as much to ſay, as taking and giving; but whether this word be one of thoſe, which in old time came out of *Greece* and were tranſported thither, we will conſider and diſcuſſe better hereafter: Now for this preſent let us proſecute that which remaineth of this opinion now in hand. For *Oſiris* and *Iſis* of good Dæmons were tranſlated into the number of the gods: And as for the puiſſance of *Typhon* oppreſſed and quelled, howbeit panting as yet at the laſt gaſpe and ſtriving as it were with the pangs of death, they have certaine ceremonies and ſacrifices, to pacify and appeaſe. Other feaſts alſo there be againe on the contrary ſide wherein they inſult over him, debaſe and defame him what they can: In ſo much as men of a ruddy colour they deride & make of them a laughing ſtocke. And as for the inhabitants of *Coptos*, they uſe at a certaine feaſt to throw an aſſe headlong downe from the pitch of an high rocke, becauſe *Typhon* was ruddy and of a red aſſes colour. The Buſiritants and Lycopolites forbeare to ſound any trumpets, becauſe they reſemble the braying of an aſſe: and generally they take an aſſe to be an uncleane beaſt and dæmonicall, for the reſemblance in hiew that it hath with him: and when they make certaine cakes in their ſacrifices of the moneths, *Payni* and *Phaophi*, they worke them in paiſtry with the print upon them of an aſſe bound. Alſo in their ſolemne ſacrifice to the Sun, they command as many as will be there to worſhip that god, not to weare any brooches or jewels of gold about their bodies, nor to give any meat or provander unto an aſſe what need ſoever he have thereof. It ſeemeth alſo, that the Pythagoreans themſelves were of opinion, that *Typhon* was ſome fiend or dæmonicall power: for they ſay that *Typhon* was borne in the even number of ſix and fifty: againe, that the triangular number or figure, is the puiſſance of *Pluto, Bacchus* and *Mars*: of the quadrangle, is the power of *Rhea, Venus, Ceres, Veſta*, and *Juno*: that of twelve angles belongeth to the might of *Jupiter*: but that of fifty ſix angles is the force of *Typhon*, as *Eudoxus* hath left in writing. But the Aegyptians ſuppoſing that *Typhon* was of a reddiſh colour, doe kill for ſacrifice unto him, kine and oxen of the ſame colour, obſerving withall ſo preciſely, that if they have but one haire blacke or white, they be not ſacrificeable: for they thinke ſuch ſacrifices not acceptable, but contrariwiſe diſpleaſant unto the gods, imagining they be the bodies which have received the ſoules of leaud and wicked perſons, transformed into other creatures. And therefore after they have curſed the head of ſuch a ſacrifice, they cut it off and caſt it into the river, at leaſt waies in old time: but now they give it unto ſtrangers. But the oxe which they meane to ſacrifice indeed, the prieſts called *Sphragiſtæ*, that is to ſay, the ſealers, come & marke it with their ſeale, which as *Caſtor* writeth, was the image of a man kneeling, with his hands drawen backe and bound behinde him, and having a ſword ſet to his throat: Semblably they uſe the name of an aſſe alſo, as hath bene ſaid, for his uncivill rudeneſſe and inſolency, no leſſe than in regard of his colour, wherein he reſembleth

Typhon ; and therefore the Aegyptians gave unto *Ochus* a king of the Perſians, whom they hated above all others as moſt curſed and abominable, the ſurname of aſſe : whereof *Ochus* being advertiſed and ſaying withall, This aſſe ſhall devour your oxe ; cauſed preſently their beefe *Apis* to be killed and ſacrificed, as *Dinon* hath left in writing. As for thoſe who ſay, that *Typhon* after he had loſt the field, fled ſix daies journy upon an aſſe backe, and having by this meanes eſcaped, begat two ſonnes, *Hieroſolymus* and *Judæus*, evident it is heerein that they would draw the ſtory of the Iewes into this fable. And thus much of the allegorirall conjectures which this tale doth affoord. But now from another head, let us (of thoſe who are able to diſcourſe ſomewhat Philoſophically and with reaſon) conſider firſt and formoſt ſuch as deale moſt ſimply in this behalfe. And theſe be they that ſay, like as the Greeks allegorize that *Saturne* is time, *Juno* the aire, and the generarion of *Vulcan*, is the tranſmutation of aire into fire; even ſo they give out that by *Oſiris* the Aegyptians meane *Nilus*, which lieth and keepeth company with *Iſis*, that is to ſay, the earth : That *Typhon* is the ſea, into which *Nilus* falling loſeth himſelfe, and is diſpatched heere and there, unleſſe it be that portion thereof, which the earth receiveth and whereby it is made fertill. And upon the river *Nilus* there is a ſacred lamentation, even from the daies of *Saturne* : wherein there is lamenting, how *Nilus* ſpringing and growing on the left hand, decaieth and is loſt on the right : For the Aegyptians doe thinke, that the eaſt parts where the day appeareth, be the forefrunt and face of the world, that the North part is the right hand & the South part the left. This *Nilus* therfore, ariſing on the left hand, and loſt in the ſea on the right hand, is ſaid truely to have his birth and generation in the left ſide, but his death and corruption in the right. And this is the reaſon why the prieſts of *Aegypt* have the ſea in abomination, and terme ſalt the fome and froth of *Typhon*. And among thoſe things which are interdicted and forbidden this is one, that no ſalt be uſed at the boord : by reaſon whereof they never ſalute any pilots or ſailers, for that they keepe ordinarily in the ſea, and get their living by it. This alſo is one of the principall cauſes, why they abhorre fiſhes ; in ſuch ſort as when they would deſcribe hatred, they draw or purtray a fiſh : like as in the porch before the temple of *Minerva* within the city *Sai*, there was purtraied and engraven, an infant, an old man ; after them a falcon or ſome ſuch hauke, and cloſe thereto a fiſh, and laſt of all a river-horſe : which Hieroglyphicks, doe ſymbolize and ſignifie thus much in effect. O all yea that come into the world and goe out of it : God hateth ſhameleſſe injuſtice. For by the hauke they underſtand God, by the fiſh hatred, and by the river-horſe impudent violence and vilany, becauſe it is ſaid that he killeth his father, and after that, forceth his owne mother and covereth her. And ſemblably it ſhould ſeeme, that the ſaying of the Pythagoreans, who give out that the ſea is a teare of *Saturne*, under covert words doe meane, that it is impure and uncleane. Thus have I beene willing by the way to alledge thus much, although it be without the traine of our fable, becauſe they fall within the compaſſe of a vulgar and common received hiſtory. But to returne to our matter : the prieſts as many as be of the wiſer and more learned ſort, underſtand by *Oſiris*, not onely the river *Nilus*, and by *Typhon* the ſea : but alſo by the former, they ſignifie in one word and ſimply, all vertue and power that produceth moiſture and water, taking it to be the materiall cauſe of generation, and the nature generative of ſeed : and by *Typhon* they repreſent all deſiccative vertue, all heat of fire & drineſſe, as the very thing that is fully oppoſite and adverſe to humidity: and hereupon it is, that they hold *Typhon* to be red of haire and of skin yellow : and by the ſame reaſon they willingly would not encounter or meet upon the way men of that hew, no nor delight to ſpeake unto ſuch. Contrariwiſe they feigne *Oſiris* to be of a blacke colour, becauſe all water, cauſeth the earth, clothes and clowdes to appeare blacke with which it is mingled. Alſo the moiſture, that is in yong folke maketh their haire blacke ; but griſled hoarineſſe, which ſeemeth to be a pale yellow, commeth by reaſon of ſiccity unto thoſe who be paſt their flower, and now in their declining age : alſo the Spring time is greene, freſh, pleaſant, and generative : but the latter ſeaſon of Autumne, for want of moiſture, is an enemie to plants, and breedeth diſeaſes in man and beaſt.

To ſpeake alſo of that oxe or beefe named *Mneuis*, which is kept and nouriſhed in *Heliopolis* at the common charges of the city, conſecrated unto *Oſiris*, and which ſome ſay, was the ſire of *Apis* ; blacke he is of haire, and honored in a ſecond degree after *Apis*. Moreover, the whole land of *Aegypt* is of all others exceeding blacke, ſuch a blacke I meane, as that is of the eie, which they call *Chemia*, and they liken it to the heart ; for hote and moiſt it is, and enclineth to the left and South parts of the earth, like as the heart lieth moſt to the left ſide of a man. They affirme alſo, that the Sunne and Moone are not mounted upon chariots, but within bardges or boates continually do moove and ſaile as it were round about the world; giving us thereby covertly to underſtand, that they be bred and nouriſhed by moiſture. Furthermore, they thinke, that *Homer* (like as *Thales* alſo) being taught out of the Aegyptians learning, doth hold and ſet downe this poſition, That water is the element and principle that engendereth all things: for they ſay, that *Oſiris* is the Ocean, and *Iſis, Tethys*, as one would ſay, the nourſe that ſuckleth and feedeth the whole world. For the Greeks call the ejaculation or caſting foorth of naturall ſeed, Απουσία, like as the conjunction of male and female Συνουσία: likewiſe υἱος, which in Greeke ſignifieth a ſon, is derived of the word ὕδωρ, that is to ſay, water, and ὗσαι betokeneth alſo to raine. Moreover, *Bacchus* they ſurname *Hyes*, as one would ſay, the lord and ruler of the moiſt nature; and he is no other than *Oſiris*. Furthermore, whereas we pronounce his name *Oſiris*, *Hellanicus* putteth it downe *Hyſiris*, ſaying, that he heard the very prieſts themſelves of *Aegypt* to pronounce it ſo. And thus verily calleth he the ſaid god in every place, not without good ſhew of reaſon, having regard unto his nature and invention. But that *Oſiris* is the ſame god that *Bacchus*, who ſhould in all reaſon better know than your ſelfe (ô *Clea*) conſidering that in the city of *Delphi* you are the miſtreſſe and lady Prioreſſe as it were of the religious Thyans, and from your infancy have beene a votary and Nun conſecrated by your father and mother to the ſervice of *Oſiris*. But if in regard of others, we muſt alledge teſtimonies, let us not meddle with their hidden ſecrets; howbeit, that which the prieſts do in publicke when the inter Apis, having brought his corps in a boat or punt, differeth not at all from the ceremonies of *Bacchus*: for, clad they be in ſtags ſkinnes, they cary javelins in their hands, they keepe a loud crying, and ſhaking of their bodies very unquietly, much after the maner of thoſe who are tranſported with the fanaticall and ſacred fancy of *Bacchus*. And what reaſon els ſhould there be, that many nations of *Greece* pourtray the ſtatue of *Bacchus* with a bulles head? and the dames among the Elians in their praiers and invocations do call vnto him, beſeeching this god to come unto them with his bulles foot? yea, and the Argives commonly ſurname *Bacchus, Bugenes*, which is as much to ſay, as the ſonne of a Cow, or engendred by a bull: and that which more is, they invocate and call upon him out of the water with ſound of trumpets, caſting into a deepe gulfe, a lambe, as to the Portier, under the name of *Pylaochos*. Their trumpets they hide within their javelins, called Thyrſi, according as *Socrates* hath written in his books of ſacred ceremonies. Moreover, the Titanicall acts, and that whole, entier and ſacred night, accord with that which is reported as touching the diſmembring of *Oſiris*, and the reſurrection or renovation of his life: in like maner, thoſe matters which concerne his buriall. For the Aegyptians ſhew in many places the ſepulchres of *Oſiris*: and the Delphians thinke, they have the bones and reliques of *Bacchus* among them, interred and beſtowed neere unto the oracle: and his religious prieſts celebrate unto him a ſecret ſacrifice within the temple of *Apollo*, when the Thyades who are the Prieſtreſſes begin to chaunt the ſonnet * *Licnites*. Now that the Greeks are of opinion, that *Bacchus* is the lord and governour, not of wine liquor onely, but alſo of every other nature which is moiſt and liquid, the teſtimony of *Pindarus* is ſufficient, when he ſaith thus: *Bacchus*

* One of the ſurnames of Bacchus.

Taking the charge of trees that grow,
Doth cauſe them for to bud and blow:
The verdure freſh and beauty pure
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And therefore it is, that thoſe who ſerve and worſhip *Oſiris* are ſtreightly forbidden and charged, not to deſtroy any fruitfull tree, nor to ſtop the head of any fountaine. And not onely the river *Nilus*, but all water and moiſture whatſoever in generall, they call the effluence of *Oſiris*: by reaſon whereof, before their ſacrifices they cary alwaies in proceſſion a pot or pitcher of water, in honour of the ſaid god.

They deſcribe alſo a king and the Southern or meridionall climat of the world, by a fig tree leafe, which fig leafe ſignifieth the imbibition and motion of all things: and beſides, it ſeemeth naturally to reſemble the member of generation. Alſo, when they ſolemnize the feaſt called *Pamylitia*, which as before hath beene ſaid, was inſtituted in the honour of *Priapus*, they ſhew and cary about in proceſſion an image or ſtatue, the genitall member whereof, is thrice as bigge as the ordinary: for this god of theirs is the beginning of all things; and every ſuch principle, by generation multiplieth it ſelfe. Now, we are wont moreover to ſay, Thrice, for many times; to wit, a finite number for an infinite; as when we uſe the word, Τρισμακαρες, that is to ſay, Thrice happy, for moſt happy; and Three bonds, for infinite; unleſſe peradventure this ternary or threefold number was expreſly and properly choſen by our ancients. For the nature of moiſture being the principle that engendreth all things, from the beginning hath engendred theſe three elements or primitive bodies, Earth, Aire and Fire. For that branch which is ſet unto the fable, to wit, that *Typhon* flung the genitall member of *Oſiris* into the river, that *Iſis* could not finde it, but cauſed one to be made to reſemble it, and when ſhe was provided thereof, ordeined that it ſhould be honoured and caried in a ſolemne pompe; tendeth to this, for to teach us, that the generative and productive vertue of god, had moiſture at the firſt for the matter, and by the meanes of the ſaid humidity, was mixed with thoſe things that were apt for generation. Another branch there is yet, growing to this fable, namely, that one *Apopis* brother to the Sunne, warred againſt *Jupiter*; that *Oſiris* aided *Jupiter* and helped him to defait his enemie; in regard of which merit he adopted him for his ſonne, and named him *Dionyſus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus*. Now the Muthology of this fable, as it evidently appeareth, accordeth covertly, with the trueth of Nature: for the Aegyptians call the winde, *Jupiter*, unto which nothing is more contrary, than ſiccity and that which is firy: and that is not the Sunne, although ſome conſanguinity it hath unto it: but moiſture comming to extinguiſh the extremity of that drineſſe, fortifieth and augmenteth thoſe vapors, which nouriſh the wind and keepe it in force. Moreover, the Greeks conſecrate the Ivie unto *Bacchus*, and the ſame is named among the Aegyptians, *Chenoſiris*, which word, (as they ſay) ſignifieth in the Aegyptian tongue, the plant of *Oſiris*: at leaſtwiſe *Ariſton* who enrolled a colonie of the Athenians, affirmeth that he light upon an epiſtle of *Anaxarchus*, wherein he found as much; as alſo, that *Bacchus* was the ſonne of a water nymph, *Naias*. Other Aegyptians alſo there be, who hold, that *Bacchus* was the ſonne of *Iſis*, and that he was not called *Oſiris*, but *Arſaphes*, in the letter *Alpha*, which word ſignifieth proweſſe or valour. And thus much giveth *Hermæus* to underſtand, in his firſt booke of Aegyptian acts; where he ſaith alſo, that *Oſiris* by interpretation, is as much, as * ſtout or mightie. Heere I forbeare to alledge *Mnaſas*, who referreth and aſcribeth unto *Epaphus*, *Bacchus*, *Oſiris*, and *Sarapis*. I overpaſſe *Anticlides* likewiſe, who affirmeth, that *Iſis* was the daughter of *Prometheus*, and married unto *Bacchus*. For the very particular properties that we have ſaid were in their feaſts and ſacrifices, yeeld a more cleere evidence and proofe, than any allegations of witneſſes whatſoever. Alſo they hold, that among the ſtarres, the dogge or *Sirius* was conſecrate unto *Iſis*, the which ſtarre draweth the water. And they honour the lion, with whoſe heads and having the mouth gaping and wide open, they adorne the dores and gates of their temples, for that the river *Nilus* riſeth

So ſoone as in the circle Zodiake,
The Sunne and Leo *ſigne, encounter make.*

And as they both hold and affirme, *Nilus* to be the effluence of *Oſiris*; even ſo they are of opinion, that the body of *Iſis* is the earth or land of *Aegypt*; and yet not all of it, but ſo much as *Nilus* overfloweth, and by commixtion maketh fertile and fruitfull: of which conjunction, they ſay, that *Orus* was engendred, which is nothing elſe but the temperature and diſpoſition of the aire, nouriſhing and maintaining all things. They ſay alſo, that this *Orus* was nouriſhed within the mores neere unto the citie *Butus*, by the goddeſſe *Latona*: for that the earth being well drenched and watered, bringeth foorth and nouriſheth vapors, which overcome, extinguiſh, and repreſſe (nothing ſo much) great ſiccitie and drineſſe. Furthermore, they call the marches and borders of the land, the confines alſo of the coaſts which touch the ſea, *Nephthys*: and this is the reaſon why they name *Nephthys*, *Teleutæa*, that is to ſay, finall or laſt; and ſay that ſhe was married unto *Typhon*. And when *Nilus* breaketh out and overrunneth his banks ſo, as he approcheth theſe borders, this they call the unlawfull conjunction or adultery of *Oſiris* with *Nephthys*, the which is knowen by certeine plants growing there, among which is the Melilot: by the ſeed whereof, ſaith the tale, when it was ſhedde and left behinde, began *Typhon* to perceive the wrong that was done unto him in his mariage. And heereupon they ſay, that *Orus* was the legitimate ſonne of *Iris*, but *Anubis* was borne by *Nephthys* in baſtardie. And verily in the ſucceſſion of kings they record *Nephthys* maried unto *Typhon*, to have beene at firſt barren. Now if this be not meant of a woman, but of a goddeſſe, they underſtand under theſe ænigmaticall ſpeeches, a land altogether barren and unfruitfull, by reaſon of hardneſſe and ſtiffe ſoliditie. The lying in wait of *Typhon* to ſurpriſe *Oſiris*, his uſurped rule and tyranny, is nothing els but the force of drineſſe, which was very mightie, which diſſipated alſo and ſpent all that humiditie

* ἰϐειμος.

ditie that both engendreth and alſo encreaſeth *Nilus* to that heigth. As for that queene of *Aethiopia*, who came to aid & aſſiſt him, ſhe betokeneth the Southerly winds comming from *Aethiopia*: for when theſe have the upper hand of the Eteſian windes, which blow from the North, and drive the clouds into *Aethiopia*, and ſo hinders thoſe ſhowers and gluts of raine which power out of the clouds, and make the river *Nilus* to ſwell: then *Typhon*, that is to ſay, drouth, is ſaid to winne the better, and to burne up all; and ſo having gotten the maſtery cleane of *Nilus*, who by reaſon of his weakneſſe and feebleneſſe, is driven in, and forced to retire a contrary way, he chaſeth him, poore and low into the ſea. For whereas the fable ſaith, that *Oſiris* was ſhut faſt within an arke or coffer, there is no other thing ſignified thereby, but this departure backe of the water, and the hiding thereof within the ſea: which is the cauſe alſo, that they ſay *Oſiris* went out of ſight in the moneth *Athyr*, and was no more ſeene; at what time as when all the Eteſian windes are laid and given over to blow, *Nilus* returneth into his chanell, leaving the land diſcovered and bare. And now by this time as the night groweth longer, the darkneſſe encreaſeth, like as the force of the light doth diminiſh and is impaired: and then the prieſts among many other ceremonies, teſtifying their ſadneſſe and heavie cheere, bring foorth and ſhew a beefe with golden hornes, whom they cover all over with a fine vaile of blacke ſilke, thereby to repreſent the heavy dole and mourning of the goddeſſe for *Oſiris*: (for thus they thinke, that the ſaid beefe is the image of *Oſiris*: and the veſtment of blacke aforeſaid, teſtifying the earth, doth ſignifie *Iſis*) and this ſhew exhibit they foure daies together; to wit, from the ſeventh unto the tenth following: And why? Foure things there be for which they make demonſtration of griefe & ſorrow: the firſt is the river *Nilus*, for that he ſeemeth to retire and faile: the ſecond are the North-windes, which now are huſht and ſtill, by reaſon of the Southern winds, that gaine the maſtrie over them: the third is the day, for that now it waxeth ſhorter than the night: and laſt of all, the diſcovering and nakedneſſe of the earth, together with the deveſting of trees, which at the very ſame time begin to ſhed and loſe their leaves. After this, upon the ninteenth day at night, they goe downe to the ſea ſide, and then the prieſts reveſted in their ſacred Stoles and habits, carie foorth with them, a conſecrated cheſt, wherein there is a veſſell of gold, into which they take and powre freſh and potable water; and with that, all thoſe who are preſent ſet up a note and ſhout, as if they had found *Oſiris* againe: then they take a piece of fatty and fertile earth, and together with the water, knead and worke it into a paſte, mixing therewith moſt precious odors, perfumes and ſpices, whereof they make a little image in forme of the Moone croiſſant, which they decke with robes and adorne, ſhewing thereby evidently that they take theſe gods to be the ſubſtance of water and earth.

Thus when *Iſis* had recovered *Oſiris*, nouriſhed *Orus*, and brought him up to ſome growth, ſo that he now became ſtrengthned & fortified, by exhalations, vapors, miſts and clouds, *Typhon* verily was vanquiſhed, howbeit, not ſlaine, for that the goddeſſe, which is the ladie of the earth, would not permit & ſuffer, that the power or nature which is contrary unto moiſture, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed: onely ſhe did ſlacken and let downe the vehement force thereof, willing that this combat and ſtrife ſhould ſtill continue; becauſe the world would not have beene entier and perfect, if the nature of fire had beene once extinct & gone. And if this goe not currant among them, there is no reaſon and probability, that any one ſhould project this aſſertion alſo, namely, that *Typhon* in times paſt overcame one part of *Oſiris*: for that in olde time, *Aegypt* was ſea: whereupon it is, that even at this day, within the mines wherein men dig for mettals, yea, and among the mountaines, there is found great ſtore of ſea fiſh. Likewiſe, all the fountaines, welles and pits (and thoſe are many in number) cary a brackiſh, ſaltiſh and bitter water, as if ſome remnant or reſidue of the olde ſea were reſerved, which ranne thither. But in proceſſe of time, *Orus* ſubdued *Typhon*, that is to ſay, when the ſeaſonable raine came, which tempered the exceſſive heat, *Nilus* expelled and drave forth the ſea, diſcovered the champian ground, and filled it continually more and more by new deluges and inundations, that laied ſomewhat ſtill unto it. And hereof, the daily experience is preſented to our eies; for we perceive even at this day, that the overflowes and riſing of the river, bringing new mud, and adding freſh earth ſtill by little and little, the ſea giveth place and retireth: and as the deepe in it is filled more and more, ſo the ſuperficies riſeth higher, by the continuall ſhelves that the Nile caſts up; by which meane, the ſea runneth backward: yea, the very Iſle *Pharos*, which *Homer* knew by his daies to lie farre within the ſea even a daies ſailing from the continent & firme land of *Aegypt*, is now a very part thereof: not for that it remooved and approched neerer and neerer to the land; but becauſe the ſea which was betweene, gave place unto the river that continually made new earth with the mudde that it brought, and ſo mainteined and augmented the maine land. But theſe things reſemble very neere, the Theologicall interpretations that the Stoicks give out: for they holde, that the generative and nutritive Spirit, is *Bacchus*; but that which ſtriketh and divideth, is *Hercules*; that which receiveth, is *Ammon*; that which entreth and pierceth into the earth, is *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*; and that which doth penetrate farther and paſſe thorow the ſea, is *Neptune*. Others, who mingle among naturall cauſes and reaſons, ſome drawen from the Mathematicks, and principally from Aſtrology, thinke that *Typhon* is the Solare circle or ſphære of the Sunne; and that *Oſiris* is that of the Moone; inaſmuch as the Moone hath a generative and vegetable light, multiplying that ſweet and comfortable moiſture which is ſo meet for the generation of living creatures, of trees and plants: but the Sunne having in it a pure firy flame indeed without any mixture or rebatement at all, heateth and drieth that which the earth bringeth forth, yea, and whatſoever is verdant and in the flower; inſomuch, as by his inflamation he cauſeth the greater part of the earth to be wholly deſert and inhabitable, and many times ſubdueth the very Moone. And therefore the Aegyptians evermore name *Typhon*, *Seth*, which is as much to ſay, as ruling lordly, and oppreſſing with violence. And after their fabulous maner they ſay, that *Hercules* ſitting as it were upon the Sunne, goeth about the world with him; and *Mercurie* likewiſe with the Moone: by reaſon whereof, the works and effects of the Moone reſemble thoſe acts which are performed by eloquence and wiſedome: but thoſe of the Sunne are compared to ſuch as be exploited by force and puiſſance. And the Stoicks ſay, that the Sunne is lighted and ſet on fire by the Sea, and therewith nouriſhed: but they be the fountaines and lakes which ſend up unto the Moone a milde, ſweet and delicate vapour. The Aegyptians faine, that the death of *Oſiris* hapned on the ſeventeenth day of the moneth, on which day, better than upon any other, ſhe is judged to be at the full: and this is the reaſon why the Pythagoreans call this day, *The obſtruction*, and of all other numbers they moſt abhorre and deteſt it: for whereas ſixteene is a number quadrangular or foure-ſquare, and eighteene longer one way than another; which numbers onely of thoſe that be plaine, happen for to have the ambient unities, that environ them equall to the ſpaces conteined and comprehended within them; ſeventeene, which falleth betweene, ſeparateth and disjoineth the one from the other, and being cut into unequall intervals, diſtracteth the proportion ſeſquioctave. And ſome there be who ſay, that *Oſiris* lived, others that he reigned, eight and twenty yeeres: for ſo many lights there be of the Moone, and ſo many daies doth ſhe turne about her owne circle: and therefore in thoſe ceremonies which they call The ſepulture of *Oſiris*, they cut a piece of wood, and make a certeine coffin or caſe in maner of the Moone croiſſant, for that as ſhe approcheth neere to the Sunne, ſhe becommeth pointed and cornered, untill in the end ſhe come to nothing, and is no more ſeene. And as for the diſmembring of *Oſiris* into foureteene pieces, they ſignifie unto us under the covert vaile of theſe words, The daies wherein the ſaid planet is in the wane, and decreaſeth even unto the change, when ſhe is renewed againe. And that day on which ſhe firſt appeareth, by paſſing by and eſcaping the raies of the Sunne, they call an unperfect good: for *Oſiris* is a doer of good: and this name ſignifieth many things, but principally an active and beneficiall power, as they ſay: and as for the other name *Omphis*, *Hermæus* ſaith, that it betokeneth as much as a benefactour. Alſo, they are of opinion, that the riſings and inundations of the river *Nilus*, anſwere in proportion to the courſe of the Moone; for the greateſt heigth that it groweth unto in the countrey *Elephantine*, is eight and twenty cubits; for ſo many illuminations there be, or daies, in every revolution of the Moone: and the loweſt gage about *Mendes* and *Xois*, ſixe cubits, which anſwereth to the firſt quarter: but the meane betweene, about the city *Memphis*, when it is juſt at the full, commeth to foureteene cubits, correſpondent to the full Moone. They holde moreover, Apis to be the lively image of *Oſiris*, and that he is ingendred and bred at what time as the generative light deſcendeth from the Moone and toucheth the Cow deſirous of the male: and therefore Apis reſembleth the formes of the Moone, having many white ſpots obſcured and darkened with the ſhadowes of blacke. And this is the reaſon, why they ſolemnize a feaſt in the new Moone of the moneth Phamenoth, which they call The ingreſſe or entrance of *Oſiris* to the Moone; and this is the beginning of the Spring ſeaſon: and thus they put the power of *Oſiris* in the Moone. They ſay alſo, that *Iſis* (which is no other thing but generation) lieth with him; and ſo they name the Moone, Mother of the world; ſaying, that ſhe is a double nature, male and female: female, in that ſhe doth conceive and is repleniſhed by the Sunne: and male, in this regard, that ſhe ſendeth forth and ſprinkleth in the aire, the ſeeds and principles of generation: for that the drie diſtemperature and corruption of *Typhon* is not alwaies ſuperior, but often times vanquiſhed by generation, and howſoever tied it be and bound, yet it riſeth freſh againe, and fighteth againſt *Orus,* who is nothing els but the terreſtriall world, which is not altogether free from corruption, nor yet exempt from generation. Others there be, who would have all this fiction covertly to repreſent no other thing but the ecclipſes: for the Moone is ecclipſed, when ſhe is at the full directly oppoſite to the Sunne, and commeth to fall upon the ſhadow of the earth: like as they ſay, *Oſiris* was put into the cheſt or coffer aboveſaid. On the other ſide, ſhe ſeemeth to hide and darken the light of the Sunne, upon certeine thirtieth daies, but yet doth not wholly aboliſh the Sunne, no more than *Iſis* doth kill *Typhon*: but when *Nephthys* bringeth forth *Anubis, Iſis* putteth herſelfe in place: for *Nephthys* is that which is under the earth and unſeene; but *Iſis,* that which is above, and appeareth unto us: and the circle named *Horizon,* which is common to them both, and parteth the two hemiſphæres, is named *Anubis,* and in forme reſembleth a dogge: for why? a dogge ſeeth aſwell by night as by day: ſo that it ſhould ſeeme, that *Anubis* among the Aegyptians hath the like power that *Proſerpina* among the Greeks, being both terreſtriall and cœleſtiall. Others there be, who thinke, that *Anubis* is *Saturne*, and becauſe he is conceived with all things, and bringeth them foorth, which in Greeke the word κύειν ſignifieth, therefore he is ſurnamed Κυων, that is to ſay, A dogge. So that there is ſome hidden and myſticall ſecret in it, that cauſeth ſome, even ſtill to reverence and adore A dogge: for the time was, when more worſhip was done unto it in *Aegypt*, than to any other beaſt; but after that *Cambyſes* had killed *Apis* cut him in pieces, and flung the ſame heere and there, no other creature would come neere to taſte thereof, ſave the dogge onely; whereupon he loſt that prerogative and preeminence to be more honoured than other beaſts. Others there are, who would have the ſhadow of the earth, which cauſeth the Moone to be ecclipſed when ſhe entreth into it, to be named *Typhon.* And therfore me thinks, it were not amiſſe to ſay, that in particular there is not any one of theſe expoſitions and interpretations perfect by it ſelfe and right, but all of them together cary ſome good cōſtruction: for it is neither drought alone, nor winde, nor ſea, ne yet darkneſſe; but all that is noiſome and hurtfull whatſoever, and which hath a ſpeciall part to hurt and deſtroy, is called *Typhon.* Nether muſt we put the principles of the whole world into bodies that have no life and ſoule, as *Democritus* and *Epicurus* doe: nor yet ſet downe for the workman and framer of the firſt matter, a certeine reaſon and providence, without quality (as do the Stoicks:) ſuch a thing as hath a ſubſiſtence before and above all, and commandeth all: for impoſſible it is, that one ſole cauſe, good or bad, ſhould be the beginning of all things together; for God is not the cauſe of any evill, and the coagmentation of the world bendeth contrary waies, like as the compoſition of a lute or bow, as *Heraclitus* ſaith, and according to *Euripides,*

No things can be by themſelves good or bad:
That things do well, a mixture muſt be had.

And therefore this opinion ſo very auncient, is deſcended from Theologians and Law-givers unto Poets and Philoſophers, the certeine author and beginning whereof, is not yet knowen: howbeit, ſo firmely grounded in the perſwaſion and beliefe of men, that hard it is to ſuppreſſe or aboliſh the ſame; ſo commonly divulged not onely in conferences, diſputations, and ordinary ſpeeches abroad, but alſo in the ſacrifices and divine ceremonies of gods ſervice, in many places, as well among the Barbarians as Greeks, to wit, that neither this world floteth and waveth at aventure, without the government of providence and reaſon, nor reaſon onely it is that guideth, directeth, and holdeth it (as it were) with certeine helmes or bits of obeiſance, but manie things there be confuſed and mixed, good and bad together: or to ſpeake more plainely, there is nothing heere beneath that nature produceth and bringeth foorth, which of it ſelfe is pure and ſimple: neither is there one drawer of two tunnes, to diſperſe and diſtribute abroad the affaires of this world, like as a taverner or vintner doeth his wines or other liquors, brewing and tempering one with another. But this life is conducted by two principles and powers, adverſe one unto another; for the one leadeth us to the right hand directly, the other contrariwiſe turneth us aſide and putteth us backe: and ſo this life is mixt, and the verie world it ſelfe, if not all throughout, yet at leaſtwiſe, this beneath about the earth, and under the Moone, is unequall, variable, and ſubject to all mutations that poſſibly may be. For if nothing there is, that can be without a precedent cauſe, and that which of it ſelfe is good can never miniſter cauſe of evill; neceſſarie it is, that nature hath ſome peculiar cauſe and beginning by it ſelfe, of good aſwell as of bad. And of this opinion are the moſt part of the ancients, and thoſe of the wiſeſt ſort. For ſome thinke there be two gods as it were of a contrary myſtery & profeſſion; the one, author of all good things, and the other of bad. Others there be who call the better of them god; and the other Dæmon, that is to ſay, divell, as *Zoroaſtres* the Magician did, who by report, was five thouſand yeeres before the warre of *Troy*. This *Zoroaſtres* (I ſay) named the good god *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*. Moreover, he gave out, that the one reſembled light, more than any ſenſible thing elſe whatſoever: the other darkneſſe and ignorance: alſo that there is one in the middes betweene them, named *Mithres*: (and heereupon it is, that the Perſians call an interceſſor or mediator, *Mithres*.) He teacheth us alſo to ſacrifice unto the one of them, for petition of good things, and for thankeſgiving: but to the other, for to divert and turne away ſiniſter and evill accidents. To which purpoſe they uſed to ſtampe in a morter a certeine herbe which they call *Omomi*, calling upon *Pluto* and the darkneſſe: then temper they it with the bloud of a woolfe which they have killed in ſacrifice: this done, they carie it away, and throw it into a darke corner, where the Sunne never ſhineth. For this conceit they have, that of herbes and plants, ſome appertaine unto the good god, and others to the evill dæmon or divell. Semblably, of living creatures, dogs, birds, and land urchins, belong to their good god: but thoſe of the water, to the evill fiend. And for this cauſe they repute thoſe very happie, who can kill the greateſt number of them. Howbeit theſe Sages and wiſe men report many fabulous things of the gods: as for example, that *Oromazes* is engendred of the cleereſt and pureſt light, and *Arimanius* of deepe darkneſſe: alſo that they warre one upon another. And the former of theſe created ſixe other gods, the firſt of Benevolence; the ſecond of Verity; the third of good diſcipline and publike Law; and of the reſt behinde, one of Wiſedome, another of Riches; and the ſixth, which alſo is the laſt, the maker of joy for good and honeſt deeds. But the * later produceth as many other in number, concurrents as it were and of adverſe operation to the former above named. Afterwards when *Oromazes* had augmented and amplified himſelfe three times, he remooved as farre from the Sunne, as the Sunne is diſtant from the earth, adoring and embeliſhing the heaven with ſtarres: and one ſtarre above the reſt he ordeined to be the guide, miſtreſſe, and overſeer of them all, to wit, *Sirius*, that is to ſay, the Dogge-ſtarre. Then, after he had made foure and twentie other gods, he encloſed them all with in an egge. But the other, brought foorth by *Arimanius*, who were alſo in equall number, never ceaſed untill they had pierced and made a hole unto the ſaid ſmooth and poliſhed egge: and ſo after that, evill things became mingled pel-mell with good. But there will a time come predeſtined fatally, when this *Arimanius* who brings into the world plague and famine, ſhall of neceſſitie be rooted out and utterly deſtroied for ever, even by them; and the earth ſhall become plaine, even, and uniforme: neither ſhall there be any other but one life, and one commonwealth of men, all happie and ſpeaking one and the ſame language. *Theopompus* alſo writeth, that according to the wiſe *Magi*, theſe two gods muſt for three thouſand yeeres, conquer one after another, and for three thouſand yeeres be conquered againe by turnes: and then for the ſpace of another three thouſand yeeres, levie mutuall warres, and fight battels one againſt the other, whiles the one ſhall ſubvert and overthrow that which the other hath ſet up: untill in the end *Pluto* ſhall faint, give over, and periſh: then ſhall men be all in happie eſtate, they ſhall need no more food, nor caſt any ſhadow from them; and that god who hath wrought and effected all this, ſhall repoſe himſelfe, and reſt in quiet, not long (I ſay) for a god, but a moderate time as one would ſay for a man taking his ſleepe and reſt. And thus much as touching the fable deviſed by the *Magi*. But the Chaldæans affirme that of the gods, whom they call Planets or wandring ſtarres, two there be that are beneficiall and dooers of good; two againe miſchievous and workers of evill; and three which are of a meane nature and common. As for the opinion of the Greeks, concerning this point, there is no man I ſuppoſe ignorant thereof: namely, that there be two portions or parts of the world, the one good, allotted unto *Jupiter Olympius*, that is to ſay, Celeſtiall; another bad, appertaining to *Pluto* infernall. They fable moreover, and feigne, that the goddeſſe *Harmonia*, that is to ſay, Accord, was engendred of *Mars* and *Venus*: of whom, the one is cruell, grim, and quarrellous; the other milde, lovely, and generative. Now conſider the Philoſophers themſelves, how they agree heerein: For *Heraclitus* directly and diſertly nameth warre, the Father, King, and Lord of all the world; ſaying, that *Homer* when he wiſheth and praieth,

Both out of heaven and earth to baniſh warre,

* That is to ſay, *Arimanius*.

That god and men, no more might be at jarre.

wiſt not how (ere he was aware) he curſed the generation and production of all things, which indeed have their eſſence and being by the fight and antipathie in nature. He was ignorant that the Sunne would not paſſe the bounds and limits appointed unto him; for otherwiſe the furies and curſed tongues which are the miniſtreſſes and coadjutreſſes of juſtice would finde him out. As for **Empedocles**, he ſaith, that the beginning and principle which worketh good, is love and amity, yea, and otherwhiles is called Harmonie by *Merops*: but the cauſe of evill,

Malice, hatred, cankred ſpight,
Quarrell, debate, and bloudy fight.

Come now to the Pythagoreans, they demonſtrate and ſpecifie the ſame by many names: for they call the good principle, One, finite, permanent or quiet, ſtraight or direct, odde, quadrat or ſquare, right and lightſome: but the bad, twaine, infinite, moving, crooked, even, longer one way than another, unequall, left and darke, as if theſe were the fountaines of generation. *Anaxagoras* calleth them the minde or underſtanding and infinity. *Ariſtotle* termeth the one forme, the other privation. And *Plato* under darke and covert termes hiding his opinion, in many places calleth the former of theſe two contrary principles, *The Same*, and the later, *The other*. But in the bookes of his lawes, which he wrote when he was now well ſtept in yeeres, he giveth them no more any obſcure and ambiguous names, neither deſcribeth he them ſymbolically and by ænigmaticall and intricate names, but in proper and plaine termes, he ſaith, that this worke is not moved and managed by one ſole cauſe, but haply by many, or at leaſtwiſe no fewer than twaine: whereof the one is the creatour and worker of good, the other oppoſite unto it and operative of contrary effects. He leaveth alſo and alloweth a third cauſe betweene, which is neither without ſoule nor reaſonleſſe ne yet unmoovable of it ſelfe, as ſome thinke, but adjacent and adherent to the other twaine, howbeit enclining alwaies to the better, as having a deſire and appetite thereto, which it purſueth and followeth, as that which heereafter we will deliver ſhall ſhew more manifeſtly, which treatiſe ſhall reconcile the Aegyptian Theologie with the Greeks Philoſophy, and reduce them to a very good concordance: for that the generation, compoſition, and conſtitution of this world is mingled of contrary powers, howbeit the ſame not of equall force: for the better is predominant: but impoſſible it is that the evill ſhould utterly periſh and be aboliſhed, ſo deepely is it imprinted in the body & ſo far inbred in the ſoule of the univerſall world, in oppoſition alwaies to the better, and to warre againſt it. Now then, in the ſoule, reaſon and underſtanding, which is the guide, and miſtreſſe of all the beſt things, is *Oſiris*. Alſo in the earth, in the windes, in water, skie and the ſtarres, that which is well ordained, ſtaied, diſpoſed and digeſted in good ſort, by temperate ſeaſons and revolutions, the ſame is called the defluxion of *Oſiris*, and the very apparent image of him: Contrariwiſe, the paſſionate, violent, unreaſonable, brutiſh, raſh and fooliſh part of the ſoule, is *Typhon*: Semblably in the bodily nature, that which is extraordinarily adventitious, unholſome & diſeaſed, as for example, the troubled aire and tempeſtuous indiſpoſitions of the weather, the obſcuration or ecclipſe of the Sunne, the defect of the Moone and her occultation, be as it were the excurſions, deviations out of courſe, and diſparations: and all of them be *Typhons*; as the very interpretation of the Aegyptian word ſignifieth no leſſe: for *Typhon*, they name *Seth*, which is as much to ſay, as violent and oppreſſing after a lordly maner. It importeth alſo many times reverſion, & otherwhiles an inſultation or ſupplantation. Moreover ſome there be who ſay, that one of *Typhons* familiar friends was named *Bebæon*. But *Manethos* affirmeth, that *Typhon* himſelfe was called *Bebon*, which word by interpretation is as much as cohibition, reſtreint or impeachment, as if the puiſſance and power of *Typhon* were to ſtay and withſtand the affaires that are in good way of proceeding, and tend as they ſhould doe, to a good end. And heereupon it is that of tame beaſts they dedicate and attribute unto him, the moſt groſſe and indocible of all others, namely an aſſe: but of wilde beaſts the moſt cruell and ſavage of all others, as the crocodiles and riverhorſes. As for the aſſe, we have ſpoken before of him. In the city of *Mercury*, named *Hermupolis*, they ſhew unto us the image of *Typhon*, purtraied under the forme of a river-horſe, upon whom ſitteth an hauke, fighting with a ſerpent. By the foreſaid horſe they repreſent *Typhon*: and by the hauke, the power and authority which *Typhon* having gotten by force, maketh no care oftentimes, both to be troubled and alſo to trouble others by his malice. And therefore when they ſolemnize a ſacrifice, the ſeventh day of the moneth *Tybi*, which they call the comming of *Iſis* out of *Phœnicia*, they deviſe upon their halowed cakes for ſacrifice, a river-horſe, as if he were tied and bound. In the city of *Apollo* the maner and cuſtome confirmed by law was, that every one muſt eat of a crocodile: and upon a certaine day they have a ſolemne chaſe and hunting of them, when they kill as many of them as they can, and then caſt them all before the temple: and they ſay, that *Typhon* being become a crocodile hath eſcaped from *Orus*: attributing all dangerous wicked beaſts, all hurtfull plants and violent paſſions unto *Typhon*, as if they were his workes, his parts or motions. Contrariwiſe they purtray and depaint unto us *Oſiris*, by a ſepter and an eie upon it: meaning by the eie foreſight and providence, by the ſepter authority and puiſſance: like as *Homer* nameth *Jupiter* who is the prince, lord and ruler of all the world, *Hypatos*, that is, ſovereigne, and *Meſtor*, that is, foreſeeing: giving us to underſtand, by ſovereigne, his ſupreme power, by foreſeeing his prudence and wiſdome. They repreſent *Oſiris* alſo many times by an hauke, for that ſhe hath a wonderfull cleere and quicke ſight, her flight alſo is as ſwift, and ſhe is wont naturally to ſuſtaine her ſelfe with very little food. And more than that (by report) when ſhe flieth over dead bodies unburied, ſhe caſteth mould and earth upon their eies. And looke whenſoever ſhe flieth downe to the river for to drinke ſhe ſetteth up her fethers ſtraight upright, but when ſhe hath drunke ſhe laieth them plaine and even againe, by which it appeareth that ſafe ſhe is and hath eſcaped the crocodile: For if the crocodile ſeiſe upon her and catch her up, her pennache abideth ſtiffe and upright as before. But generally throughout whereſoever the image of *Oſiris* is exhibited in the forme of a man, they purtray him with the naturall member of generation ſtiffe and ſtraight, prefiguring thereby the generative and nutritive vertue. The habiliment alſo, wherewith they clad his images is bright, ſhining like fire: For they repute the * Sunne to be a body repreſenting the power of goodneſſe, as being the viſible matter of a ſpirituall and intellectuall ſubſtance. And therefore their opinion deſerveth to be rejected who attribute unto *Typhon* the ſphære of the Sunne, conſidering that unto him properly appertaineth nothing that is reſplendent, healthfull and comfortable, no diſpoſition, no generation or motion which is ordered with meaſure or digeſted by reaſon: But if either in the aire or upon the earth there be any unſeaſonable diſpoſition of windes, of weather, or water, it hapneth when the primitive cauſe of a diſordinate and indeterminate power commeth to extinguiſh the kinde vapours and exhalations. Moreover in the ſacred hymnes of *Oſiris*, they invocate and call upon him who lieth at repoſe hidden within the armes of the Sunne. Alſo upon the thirtieth day of the moneth *Epiphi*, they ſolemnize the feaſt of the nativity or birth of *Orus* eies: at what time as the Sunne aud Moone be in the ſame direct line: as being perſwaded that not onely the Moone but the Sunne alſo is the eie and light of *Horus*: Likewiſe upon the twenty eight day of the moneth *Phaopi* they celebrate another feaſt of the Sunnes baſons or ſtaves, and that is after the Aequinox in Autumne, giving covertly thereby to underſtand that the Sunne hath need of an appuy or ſupporter to reſt upon and to ſtrengthen him, becauſe his heat beginnes then to decay and languiſh ſenſibly, his light alſo to diminiſh and decline obliquely from us. Moreover about the ſoltice or middle of winter, they cary about his temple ſeven times a cow: and this proceſſion is called the ſeeking of *Oſiris*, or the revolution of the Sunne, as if the goddeſſe then deſired the waters of winter: And ſo many times they doe it, for that the courſe of the Sunne, from the Winter ſolſtice unto the Summer ſolſtice is performed in the ſeventh moneth. It is ſaid moreover, that * *Horus* the ſonne of *Iſis* was the firſt who ſacrificed unto the Sun, the foureteenth day of the moneth, according as it is written in a certaine booke as touching the nativity of *Horus*: howſoever every day they offer incenſe and ſweet odors to the Sunne three times: Firſt at the Sunne riſing, Roſin: ſecondly about noone, Myrrh: and thirdly at the Sunne ſetting, a certaine compoſition named Kiphi. The myſticall meaning of which perfumes and odors I will heereafter declare: but they are perſwaded that in all this they worſhip and honor the Sunne. But what need is there to gather and collect a number of ſuch matters as theſe? ſeeing there be ſome who openly maintaine that *Oſiris* is the Sunne, and that the Greeks call him *Sirius*, but the article which the Aegyptians put before, to wit, [O] is the cauſe that ſo much is not evidently perceived: as alſo that *Iſis* is nothing elſe but the Moone: and of her images thoſe that have hornes upon them, ſignifie no other thing but the Moone croiſſant: but ſuch as are covered and clad in blacke, betoken thoſe daies wherein ſhe is hidden or darkened, namely, when ſhe runneth after the Sunne: which is the reaſon that in love matters they invocate the Moone. And *Eudoxus* himſelfe ſaith, that *Iſis* is the preſident over amatorious folke. And verily in all theſe ceremonies there is ſome probabilitie and likelihood of trueth. But to ſay that *Typhon* is the Sunne, is ſo abſurd, that we ought

* Or Fire.

* Or *Orus*.

ought not ſo much as give eare to thoſe who affirme ſo. But returne we now to our former matter. For *Iſis* is the feminine part of nature, apt to receive all generation, upon which occaſion called ſhe is by *Plato*, the nurſe and *Pandeches*, that is to ſay, capable of all: yea and the common ſort name her *Myrionymus*, which is as much to ſay, as having an infinite number of names, for that ſhe receiveth all formes and ſhapes, according as it pleaſeth that firſt reaſon to convert and turne her. Moreover, there is imprinted in her naturally, a love of the firſt and principall eſſence, which is nothing elſe but the ſoveraigne good, and it ſhe deſireth, ſeeketh, and purſueth after. Contrariwiſe, ſhe flieth and repelleth from her, any part and portion that proceedeth from ill. And howſoever ſhe be the ſubject matter, and meet place apt to receive as well the one as the other, yet of it ſelfe, enclined ſhe is alwaies rather to the better, and applieth herſelfe to engender the ſame, yea, and to diſſeminate and ſowe the defluxions and ſimilitudes thereof, wherein ſhe taketh pleaſure and rejoiceth, when ſhe hath conceived and is great therewith, ready to be delivered. For this is a repreſentation and deſcription of the ſubſtance engendred in matter, and nothing elſe but an imitation of that which is. And therefore you may ſee it is not beſides the purpoſe, that they imagine and deviſe the ſoule of *Oſiris* to be eternall and immortall: but as for the body, that *Typhon* many times doth teare, mangle, and aboliſh it, that it cannot be ſeene: and that *Iſis* goeth up and downe, wandring heere and there, gathering together the diſmembred pieces thereof, for that which is good and ſpirituall, by conſequence is not any waies ſubject to change and alteration; but that which is ſenſible and materiall, doth yeeld from it ſelfe certeine images, admitting withall and receiving ſundry porportions, formes, and ſimilitudes, like as the prints and ſtamps of ſeales ſet upon waxe, doe not continue and remaine alwaies, but are ſubject to change, alteration, diſorder and trouble, and this ſame was chaſed from the ſuperor region, and ſent downe hither, where it fighteth againſt *Horus* whom *Iſis* engendred ſenſible, as being the very image of the ſpirituall and intellectuall world. And heereupon it is, that *Typhon* is ſaid to accuſe him of baſtardie, as being nothing pure and ſincere, like unto his father, to wit, reaſon, and underſtanding; which of it ſelfe is ſimple, and not medled with any paſſion: but in the matter adulterate and degenerat, by the reaſon that it is corporall. Howbeit, in the end the victorie is on *Mercuries* ſide, for hee is the diſcourſe of reaſon, which teſtifieth unto us, and ſheweth, that nature hath produced this world materiall metamorphozed to the ſpirituall forme: for the nativity of *Apollo*, engendred betweene *Iſis* & *Oſiris*, whiles the gods were yet in the belly of *Rhea*, ſymbolizeth thus much, that before the world was evidently brought to light and fully accompliſhed, the matter of reaſon, being found naturally of it ſelfe rude and unperfect, brought foorth the firſt generation: for which cauſe they ſay, that god being as yet lame, was borne and begotten in darkeneſſe, whom they call the elder *Horus*. For the world yet it was not, but an image onely and deſigne of the world, and a bare fantaſie of that which ſhould be. But this *Horus* heere is determinate, definit and perfect, who killeth not *Typhon* right out, but taketh from him his force and puiſſance that he can doe little or nothing. And heereupon it is, that (by report) in the citie *Coptus*, the image of *Horus* holdeth in one hand the genetall member of *Typhon*: and they fable beſides, that *Mercurie* having bereft him of his ſinewes, made thereof ſtrings for his harpe, and ſo uſed them. Heereby they teach, that reaſon framing the whole world, ſet it in tune, and brought it to accord, framing it of thoſe parts which before were at jarre and diſcord: howbeit remooved not, nor aboliſhed altogether the pernicious and hurtfull nature, but accompliſhed the vertue thereof. And therefore it is, that it being feeble and weake, wrought alſo (as it were) and intermingled or interlaced with thoſe parts and members which be ſubject to paſſions and mutations, cauſeth earthquakes and tremblings, exceſſive heates, and extreame drineſſe, with extraordinarie windes in the aire, beſides thunder, lightnings and firie tempeſts. It impoiſoneth moreover the waters and windes, infecting them with peſtilence, reaching up and bearing the head aloft, as farre as to the Moone, obſcuring and darkning many times even that which is by nature cleane and ſhining. And thus the Aegyptians do both thinke and ſay, that *Typhon* ſometime ſtrooke the eie of *Horus*, and another while plucked it out of his head and devoured it, and then afterwards delivered it againe unto the Sunne. By the ſtriking aforeſaid, they meane ænigmatically the wane or decreaſe of the Moone monethly: by the totall privation of the eie, they underſtand her ecclipſe and defect of light: which the Sunne doth remedy by relumination of her ſtreight waies, as ſoone as ſhe is gotten paſt the ſhade of the earth. But the principall and more divine nature is compoſed and conſiſteth of three things, to wit, of an intellectuall nature, of matter, and a compound of them both, which we call the world. Now, that intellectuall part, *Plato* nameth *Idea*, the patterne alſo of the father: as for matter, he termeth it a mother, nurſe, a foundation alſo and a plot or place for generation: and that which is produced of both, he is woont to call the iſſue and thing procreated. And a man may very well conjecture, that the Aegyptians compared the nature of the whole world, eſpecially to this, as the faireſt triangle of all other. And *Plato* in his books of policy or common-wealth, ſeemeth alſo to have uſed the ſame, when he compoſeth and deſcribeth his nuptiall figure: which triangle is of this ſort: that the ſide which maketh the right angle, is of three, the baſis of foure, and the third line called *Hypotinuſa* of five, æquivolent in power to the other two that comprehend it: ſo that the line which directly falleth plumbe upon the baſe, muſt anſwer proportionably to the male; the baſe to the female, and the *Hypotinuſa* to the iſſue of them both. And verily, *Oſiris* repreſenteth the beginning and principle: *Iſis* that which receiveth; and *Horus* the compound of both. For the number of three is the firſt odde and perfect: the quaternarie is the firſt ſquare or quadrate number, compoſed of the firſt even number, which is two; and five reſembleth partly the father, and in part the mother, as conſiſting both of two and three. And it ſhould ſeeme alſo that the very name Πᾶν, which is the univerſall world, was derived of Πέντε that is to ſay, five, and ſo in Greeke πεμπάσασθαι, in old time ſignified as much as to number: and that which more is, five being multiplied in it ſelfe, maketh a quadrat number, to wit, twentie five, which is juſt as many letters as the Aegyptians have in their alphabet, and ſo many yeeres *Apis* alſo lived. And as for *Horus*, they uſed to call him *Kaimin*, which is as much to ſay, as ſeene, for that this word is ſenſible and viſible. *Iſis* likewiſe is ſometime called Mouth, otherwhiles Athyri or Methyer. And by the firſt of theſe names, they ſignifie a Mother: by the ſecond, the faire houſe of *Horus*, like as *Plato* termeth it to be the place capable of generation: the third is compounded of Full and the cauſe: for Matter is full of the world, as being maried and keeping companie with the firſt principle, which is good, pure, and beautifully adorned. It ſhould ſeeme haply alſo, that the Poet *Heſiodus*, when he ſaith, that all things at the firſt, were Chaos, Earth, Tartarus and Love, groundeth upon no other principles than thoſe, which are ſignified by theſe names, meaning by the Earth *Iſis*; by Love *Oſiris*; and by Tartarus *Typhon*; as we have made demonſtration. For by *Chaos* it ſeemes that he would underſtand ſome place & receptacle of the world. Moreover, in ſome ſort theſe matters require the fable of *Plato*, which in his booke entituled *Sympoſium*, *Socrates* inferred, namely, wherein he ſetteth downe the generation of Love: ſaying that *Penia*, that is to ſay, povertie, deſirous to have children, went and lay with *Poros*, that is to ſay, riches, and ſlept with him, by whom ſhe conceived with childe, and brought foorth Love; who naturally is long and variable; and begotten of a father who is good, wiſe, and al-ſufficient; and of a mother who is poore, needy, and for want, deſirous of another, and evermore ſeeking and following after it. For the foreſaid *Poros*, is no other, but the firſt thing amiable, deſireable, perfect and ſufficient. As for *Penia*, it is matter, which of it ſelfe is evermore bare and needy, wanting that which is good, whereby at length ſhe is conceived with childe, after whom ſhe hath a longing deſire, and evermore ready to receive ſomewhat of him. Now *Horus* engendred betweene them (which is the world) is not eternall, nor impaſſible, nor incorruptible, but being evermore in generation, he endevoreth by viciſſitude of mutations, and by periodicall paſſion, to continue alwaies yoong, as if he ſhould never die and periſh. But of ſuch fables as theſe we muſt make uſe, not as of reaſons altogether really ſubſiſting: but ſo, as we take out of ech of them, that which is meet and convenient to our purpoſe. When as therefore we ſay Matter, we are not to rely upon the opinions of ſome Philoſophers, and to thinke it for to be a bodie without ſoule, without qualitie, continuing in it ſelfe idle, and without all action whatſoever: for we call oile the matter of a perfume or ointment; and gold the matter of an image or ſtatue, which notwithſtanding is not voide of all ſimilitude: and even ſo we ſay, that the very ſoule and underſtanding of a man, is the matter of vertue and of ſcience, which we give unto reaſon, for to bring into order, and adorne. And ſome there were, who affirmed the minde or underſtanding to be the proper place of formes, and as it were, the expreſſe mould of intelligible things: like as there be Naturaliſts who hold, that the ſeed of a woman hath not the power of a principle ſerving to the generation of man, but ſtandeth in ſtead of matter and nouriſhment onely: according unto whom, we alſo being grounded heerein, are to thinke that this goddeſſe having the fruition of the firſt and chiefe god, and converſing with him continually, for the love of thoſe good things & vertues which are in him, is nothing adverſe unto him, but loveth him as her true ſpouſe and lawfull husband: and like as we ſay, that an honeſt wife who enjoieth ordinarily the company of her husband, loveth him neverthleſſe, but hath ſtill a minde unto him; even ſo giveth not ſhe over to be enamoured upon him, although ſhe be continually where he is, and repleniſhed with his principall and moſt ſincere parts. But when and where as *Typhon* in the end thruſteth himſelfe betweene, and ſetteth upon the extreme parts, then and there ſhe ſeemeth to be ſadde and heavy, and thereupon is ſaid to mourne and lament, yea and to ſeeke up certeine reliques and pieces of *Oſiris*, and ever as ſhe can finde any, ſhe receiveth and arraieth them with all diligence, and as they are ready to periſh and corrupt, ſhe carefully tendeth and keepeth them cloſe, like as againe ſhe produceth and bringeth foorth other things to light of her ſelfe. For the reaſons, the Idææ, and the influences of God which are in heaven and among the ſtarres, doe there continue and remaine: but thoſe which be diſſeminate among the ſenſible and paſſible bodies, in the earth and in the ſea, diffuſed in the plants and living creatures, the ſame dying and being buried, doe many times revive and riſe againe freſh by the meanes of generations. And heereupon the fable ſaith thus much more, that *Typhon* cohabiteth and lieth with *Nephthys*, and that *Oſiris* alſo by ſtealth and ſecretly, keepeth company with her: for the corruptive and deſtroying power, doeth principally poſſeſſe the extreme parts of that matter which they name *Nephthys* and death: and the generative & preſerving vertue, conferreth into it little ſeed, & the ſame weake and feeble, as being marred and deſtroied by *Typhon*: unleſſe it be ſo much as *Iſis* gathereth up & ſaveth, which ſhe alſo noriſheth & mainteineth. But in one word, & to ſpeake more generally, he is ſtil better, as *Plato* & *Ariſtotle* are of opinion: for the naturall puiſſance to engender & to preſerve, moveth toward him as to a ſubſiſtance and being: whereas that force of killing & deſtroying moveth behind, toward non ſubſiſtence: which is the reaſon, that they call the one *Iſis*, that is to ſay, a motion animate and wiſe; as if the word were derived of ἵεσθαι, which ſignifieth to move by a certeine ſcience and reaſon, for a barbarous word it is not. But like as the generall name of all gods and goddeſſes, to wit, *Theos*, is derived of ἀπὸ τοῦ θεατοῦ, that is to ſay, of viſible, and ἀπὸ τοῦ θέοντος, that is to ſay, of running; even ſo, both we and alſo the Aegyptians have called this goddeſſe εἴσις, and *Iſis*, of intelligence and motion together. Semblably *Plato* ſaith, that in old time, when they ſaid *Iſia*, they meant *Oſia*, that is to ſay, ſacred; like as *Noeſis* alſo and *Phroneſis*, *quaſi* νοῦ φορὰ, that is to ſay, the ſtirring and motion of the underſtanding, being caried and going forward: and they impoſed this word συνιέναι to thoſe who have found out and diſcovered goodneſſe and vertue: but contrariwiſe, have by reprochfull names noted ſuch things as impeach hinder and ſtay the courſe of natural things, binding them ſo, as they can not go forward, to wit, κακία, vice, ἀπορία, indigence, δειλία, cowardiſe, and ἀνία, griefe, as if they kept them from ἰέναι, or ἵεσθαι, that is to ſay, free progreſſe and proceeding forward. As for *Oſiris*, a word it is compoſed of ὅσιος and ἱερὸς, that is to ſay, holy and ſacred; for he is the common reaſon or Idea, of things above in heaven, and beneath: of which, our ancients were woont to call the one ſort, ἱερὰ, that is to ſay, ſacred; and the other, ὅσια, that is to ſay, holy. The reaſon alſo which ſheweth celeſtiall things, and ſuch as move upward, is called *Anubis*, and otherwhiles *Hermanubis*; as if the one name were meet for thoſe above, and the other for them beneath: whereupon they ſacrificed unto the former a white cocke, and to the other a yellow or of ſaffron colour; for that they thought thoſe things above, pure, ſimple and ſhining; but thoſe beneath, mixed of a medley colour. Neither are we to marvell, that theſe termes are diſguiſed to the faſhion of Greeke words; for an infinit number of more there be, which have beene tranſported out of *Greece* with thoſe men who departed from thence in exile, and there remaine untill this day as ſtrangers without their native countrey: whereof ſome there be which cauſe Poetry to be ſlandered, for calling them into uſe, as if it ſpake barbarouſly, namely, by thoſe who terme ſuch Poeticall and obſcure words, *Glottas*. But in the books of *Herimes* or *Mercurie*, ſo called, there is written by report, thus much concerning ſacred names, namely, that the power ordeined over the circular motion and revolution of the Sunne, the Aegyptians call *Horus*, and the Greeks *Apollo*: that which is over the wind, ſome name *Oſiris*, others *Sarapis*, & ſome againe in the Aegyptian language *Sothi*, which ſignifieth as much as conception or to be with childe: and thereupon it is, that by a little deflexion of the name, in the Greeke tongue that Canicular or Dogge ſtarre is called Κύων, which is thought appropriate unto *Iſis*. Well I wote, that we are not to ſtrive as touching names, yet would I rather give place unto the Aegyptians about the name *Sarapis* than *Oſiris*; for this is a meere Greeke word, whereas the other is a ſtranger: but as well the one as the other ſignifieth the ſame power of Divinity. And heereto accordeth the Aegyptian language; for many times they terme *Iſis* by the name of *Minerva*, which in their tongue ſignifieth as much, as I am come of my ſelfe. And *Typhon*, as we have already ſaid, is named *Seth*, *Bæbon* and *Smy*, which words betoken all, a violent ſtay and impeachment, a contrariety and a diverſion or turning aſide another way. Moreover, they call the loadſtone or Sederitis, the bone of *Horus*; like as iron, the bone of *Typhon*, as *Manethos* is mine author: for as the iron ſeemeth otherwhiles to follow the ſaid loadſtone, and ſuffereth it ſelfe to be drawen by it, and many times for it againe, returneth backe and is repelled to the contrary: even ſo, the good and comfortable motion of the world endued with reaſon, by perſwaſive ſpeeches doeth convert, draw into it, and mollifie that hardneſſe of *Typhon*: but otherwhiles againe, the ſame returneth backe into it ſelfe, and is hidden in the depth of penurie and impoſſibility. Over and beſides, *Eudoxus* ſaith, that the Aegyptians deviſe of *Jupiter* this fiction, that both his legs being ſo growen together in one, that he could not goe at all, for very ſhame he kept in a deſert wilderneſſe: but *Iſis*, by cutting and dividing the ſame parts of his body, brought him to his ſound and upright going againe. Which fable giveth us covertly thus to underſtand, that the underſtanding and reaſon of God in it ſelfe going inviſibly, and after an unſeene maner, proceedeth to generation by the meanes of motion. And verily, that braſen Timbrel which they ſounded and rung at the ſacrifices of *Iſis*, named *Siſtrum*, ſheweth evidently, that all things ought σείεσθαι, that is to ſay, to beſtirre and ſhake, and never ceaſe moving, but to be awakened and raiſed, as if otherwiſe they were drowſie, lay aſleepe and languiſhed: for it is ſaid, that they turne backe and repulſe *Typhon* with their Timbrels aforeſaid, meaning thereby, that whereas corruption doth bind and ſtay nature, generation againe unbindeth and ſetteth it a worke by the meanes of motion. Now the ſaid *Siſtrum* being in the uppert part round, the curvature and *Abſis* thereof comprehendeth foure things that are ſtirred and mooved: for that part of the world which is ſubject to generation and corruption, is comprehended under the ſphære of the Moone, within which all things move and alter by the meanes of the foure elements, Fire, Earth, Water and Aire. upon the *Abſis* or rundle of the *Siſtrum* toward the toppe, they engrave the forme of a cat with a mans face; but beneath, under thoſe things which are ſhaken, one while they engrave the viſage of *Iſis*, another while of *Nephthys*; ſignifying by theſe two faces, nativity and death: for theſe be the motions and mutations of the elements. By the cat, they underſtand the Moone, for the variety of the skin, for the operation and worke in the night ſeaſon, and for the fruitfulneſſe of this creature: for it is ſaid, that at firſt ſhe beareth one kitling, at the ſecond time two, the third time three, then foure, afterwards five, and ſo to ſeven; ſo that in all ſhe brings foorth 28, which are the daies of every Moone. And howſoever this may ſeeme fabulous, yet for certeine it is true, that the appuls or ſights of theſe cats are full and large when the Moone is at full; but contrariwiſe, draw in and become ſmaller as the Moone is in the wane. As for the viſage of a man, which they attribute unto the cat, they repreſent thereby the witty ſubtilty and reaſon about the mutations of the Moone. But to knit up all this matter in few words, reaſon would, that wee ſhould thinke neither the Sunne nor the water, neither earth nor heaven to be *Iſis* or *Oſiris*; no more than exceeding drouth, extreame heat, fire and ſea, is *Typhon*: but ſimply, whatſoever in ſuch things is out of meaſure & extraordinary either in exceſſe or defect, we ought to attribute it unto *Typhon*: contrariwiſe, all that is well diſpoſed, ordered, good and profitable, we muſt beleeve it to be the worke verily of *Iſis*, but the image, example and reaſon of *Oſiris*: which if we honour and adore in this ſort, we ſhall not ſinne or do amiſſe: and that which more is, we ſhall remoove and ſtay the unbeliefe and doubtfull ſcrupuloſity of **Eudoxus**, who asked the reaſon, why *Ceres* had no charge and ſuperintendance over Love matters, but all that care lay upon *Iſis*, and why *Bacchus* could neither make the river *Nilus* to ſwell and overflow, nor governe and rule the dead: for if we ſhould alledge one generall and common reaſon for all, we deeme theſe gods to have beene ordeined for the portion and diſpenſation of good things, and whatſoever in nature is good and beautifull, it is by the grace and meanes of theſe deities; whiles the one yeeldeth the firſt principles, and the other receiveth and * diſtributeth the ſame: by which meanes we ſhall be able to ſatisfie the multitude, and meet with thoſe mechanicall and odious fellowes; whether they delight in the change & variety of the aire, according to the ſeaſons of the yere, or in the procreation of fruits, or in ſeedneſſe and tillings, appropriating and applying therto what hath beene delivered of theſe gods; wherein they take pleaſure, ſaying, that *Oſiris* is interred, when the ſeed is covered in the ground; that he reviveth and riſeth againe to light, when it beginneth to ſpurt. And heereupon it is ſaid, that *Iſis* when ſhe perceiveth herſelfe to be conceived

* *διανέμουσαν*, ſome reade, *διαμένουσαν*, that is to ſay, perſiſteth.

ved and with childe, hangeth about her necke a preſervative the ſixth day of the moneth *Phaophi*, and is delivered of *Harpocrates* about the Solſtice of Winter, being as yet unperfect, and come to no maturity in the prime of the firſt flowers and buds: which is the reaſon that they offer unto her the firſt fruits of Lentils new ſprung, and ſolemnize the feaſt and holidaies of her childbirth and lying in after the Aequinox of the Spring: for when the vulgar ſort heare this, they reſt therein, take contentment, and beleeve it ſtraightwaies, drawing a probability for beleefe, out of ordinary things which are daily ready at hand. And verily, heerein there is no inconvenience, if firſt and formoſt they make theſe gods common, and not proper and peculiar unto the Aegyptians, neither compriſe *Nilus* onely and the land which *Nilus* watereth, under theſe names, nor in naming their Meeres, Lakes and Lotes, and the nativity of their gods, deprive all other men of thoſe great gods, among whom there is neither *Nilus*, nor *Butus*, nor *Memphis*; yet neverthele ſſe acknowledge and have in reverence the goddeſſe *Iſis* and other gods about her, of whom they have learned not long ſince to name ſome with the Aegyptian appellations: but time out of minde they knew their vertue and power, in regard whereof they have honoured and adored them. Secondly, which is a farre greater matter, to the end they ſhould take heed and be affraied, leſt ere they be aware, they diſſolve and diſſipate theſe divine powers in rivers, winds, ſowing, plowing and other paſſions and alterations of the earth; as they do, who holde, that *Bacchus* is wine, *Vulcan* the flame of fire, and *Proſerpina* (as *Cleanthes* ſaid in one place) the ſpirit that bloweth and pierceth thorow the fruits of the earth. A Poet there was, who writing of reapers and mowers, ſaid:

What time yoong men their hands to Ceres *put,*
And her with hooks and ſithes by piecemeale cut.

And in no reſpect differ they from thoſe, who thinke the ſailes, cables, cordage and anchor, are the pilot; or that the thred and yarne, the warpe and wooſe, be the weaver; or that the goblet and potion cup, the Ptiſane or the Mede and honied water, is the Phyſician. But verily in ſo doing, they imprint abſurd and blaſphemous opinions of the gods, tending to Atheiſme and impiety, attributing the names of gods unto natures and things ſenſeleſſe, liveleſſe and corruptible, which of neceſſity men uſe as the need them, and can not chuſe but marre and deſtroy the ſame. For we muſt in no wiſe thinke, that theſe very things be gods; for nothing can be a god which hath no ſoule, and is ſubject to man and under his hand: but thereby we know, that they be gods who give us them to uſe, and for to be perdurable and ſufficient: not theſe in one place, and thoſe in another, neither Barbarians nor Greeks, neither Meridionall nor Septentrionall; but like as the Sunne and Moone, the heaven, earth and ſea, are common unto all, but yet in divers places called by ſundry names: even ſo of one and the ſame intelligence that ordereth the whole world, of the ſame providence which diſpenſeth and governeth all, of the miniſteriall powers ſubordinate over all, ſundry honors and appellations according to the diverſity of lawes have beene appointed. And the prieſts and religious, profeſſed in ſuch ceremonies, uſe myſteries and ſacraments, ſome obſcure, others more plaine and evident, to traine our underſtanding to the knowledge of the Deity: howbeit, not without perill and danger; for that ſome miſſing the right way, are fallen into ſuperſtition; and others avoiding ſuperſtition as it were a bogge or quavemire, have run before they could take heed, upon the rocke of impiety. And therefore, it behoveth us in this caſe eſpecially to be inducted by the direction of Philoſophy, which may guide us in theſe holy contemplations, that we may woorthily and religiouſly thinke of every thing ſaid and done; to the end, that it befall not unto us as unto *Theodorus*, who ſaid, that the doctrine which he tendered and reached out with the right hand, ſome of his ſcholars received and tooke with the left; even ſo, by taking in a wrong ſenſe and otherwiſe than is meet and convenient, that which the lawes have ordeined touching feaſts and ſacrifices, we groſly offend. For, that all things ought to have a reference unto reaſon, a man may ſee and know by themſelves: for celebrating a feaſt unto *Mercurie* the nineteenth day of the firſt moneth, they eat hony and figges, ſaying withall, this Mot, *Sweet is the trueth*. As to that Phylactery or preſervative, which they faine *Iſis* to weare when ſhe is with childe, by interpretation it ſignifieth, A true voice. As for *Harpocrates*, we muſt not imagine him to be ſome yoong god, and not come to ripe yeeres, nor yet a man: but that he is the ſuperintendant and reformer of mens language as touching the gods, being yet new, unperfect, and not diſtinct nor articulate; which is the reaſon, that he holdeth a ſeale-ring before his mouth, as a ſigne and marke of taciturnity and ſilence. Alſo in the moneth *Meſori*, they preſent unto him certeine kindes of Pulſe, ſaying withall, The tongue is Fortune: The tongue is Dæmon. Now of all plants which *Aegypt* bringeth foorth, they conſecrate the Peach tree unto him eſpecially, becauſe the fruit reſembleth an heart, and the leafe a tongue: For of all thoſe things which naturally are in man, there is nothing more divine than the tongue and ſpeech, as touching the gods principally, neither in any thing commeth he neerer unto beatitude: and therefore I adviſe and require every man who repaireth hither and commeth downe to this Oracle, to entertaine holy thoughts in his heart, and to utter ſeemly words with his tongue, whereas the common ſort of people in their publicke feaſts and ſolemne proceſsions doe many ridiculous things, notwithſtanding they proclaime and pronounce formally by the voice of the Crier and Bedil in the beginning of ſuch ſolemnities, to keepe ſilence or ſpeake none but good words: and yet afterwards they ceaſe not but to give out moſt blaſphemous ſpeeches and to thinke as baſely of the gods. How then ſhall men behave and demeane themſelves in thoſe heavy and mournefull ſacrifices from whence all mirth and laughter is baniſhed: if it be not lawfull either to omit any thing of the accuſtomed and uſuall ceremonies, or to confound and mingle the opinions of the gods with abſurd and falſe ſuſpicions? The Greeks doe many ſemblable things unto the Aepyptians even in maner at the very ſame time: For at *Athens* in the feaſt called *Theſmophoria* to the honor of *Ceres*, the women doe faſt, ſitting upon the ground: And the Bœotians make a rifling and remooving of the houſes of *Achæa*, naming this feaſt ἐπαχθη, that is to ſay, odious: as if *Ceres* were in heavineſſe and ſorrow for the deſcent of her daughter *Proſerpina* into hell: and this is that moneth wherein the ſtarres called *Pleiades* appeare, and when the husbandmen begin to ſow, which the Aegyptians name *Athyr*, the Athenians *Pyanepſion*, and the Bœotians *Damatrios*, as one would ſay *Cerealis*. And *Theopompus* writeth, that the people inhabiting weſtward, doe both thinke and alſo call the Winter *Saturne*, the Summer *Venus*, and the Spring *Proſerpina*: and that of *Saturne* and *Venus* all things be engendred. The Phrygians alſo imagining that God ſleepeth all Winter, and lieth awake in Summer; thereupon celebrate in the one ſeaſon, the feaſt of lying in bed and ſleeping; in the other of experrection or waking, and that with much drinking & belly chere. But the Paphlagonians ſay, that he is bound and kept in ward as a priſoner during Winter, & in the Spring inlarged againe and ſet at liberty when he beginneth to ſtir and move. Now the very time giveth us occaſion to ſuſpect, that the heavy countenance & auſterity which they ſhew, is becauſe the fruits of the earth be thē hidden: which fruits our ancients in times paſt never thought to be gods, but the profitable and neceſſary gifts of the gods, availing much to live civilly, and not after a ſavage and beaſtly maner. But at what time of the yeere as they ſaw the fruits from the trees to fall and faile at once; and thoſe which themſelves had ſowen, with much adoe, by little and little opening and cleaving the earth with their owne hands and ſo covering and hilling the ſame, without any aſſured hope what would betide thereupon, and whether the ſame would come to any proofe and perfection or no, they did many things like unto thoſe that commit dead bodies to the earth, and mourne therefore. Moreover, like as we ſay, that he who buieth the bookes of *Plato*, buieth *Plato*: and who is the actour of *Menandres* comedies, is ſaid to act and play *Menander*: Semblably, they did not ſpare and forbeare to give the names of the celeſtiall gods unto their gifts and inventions, honouring the ſame with all reverence, for the uſe and need they had of them. But they who come after taking this groſely and fooliſhly, and upon ignorance unskilfully returning upon the gods the accidents of their fruits; not onely called their preſence and fruition, the nativity of the gods; and their abſence or want of them, the death and departure of the gods; but alſo beleeved ſo much and were perſwaded fully ſo: In ſuch wiſe, as they have filled themſelves with many abſurd, leaud and confuſed opinions of the ſaid gods. And yet verily, the error and abſurdity of their opinions they had evidently before their eies preſented by *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, or other Philoſophers after him, who admoniſhed the Aegyptians, that if they reputed them gods, they ſhould not lament for them: and if they mourned, they ſhould not take them for gods: as alſo that it was a rediculous mockery, in their lamentations to pray unto them for to produce new fruits and bring them unto perfection for them, to the end that they might be conſumed againe, & lamented for. But the caſe ſtands not ſo: for they bewaile the fruits that are gone and ſpent, but they pray unto the gods the authors and givers thereof, that they would vouchſafe to beſtow upon them new, and make them grow in ſupply of thoſe which were periſhed & loſt. Right well therefore was it ſaid of the Philoſophers, that thoſe who have not learned to heare and take words aright, receive alſo and uſe the things themſelves amiſſe:

as for example, the Greeks who were not taught nor accuſtomed to call the ſtatues of braſſe and ſtone or painted images, the ſtatues and images made to the honor of the gods, but the gods themſelves: and afterwards were ſo bolde, as to ſay, that *Lachares* deſpoiled and ſtripped *Minerva* out of her clothes, and that *Dionyſius* the tyrant polled *Apollo* who had a perruke or buſh of golden haire; alſo that *Jupiter Capitolinus* during the civill warres was burnt and conſumed with fire. And thus they ſee not, how in ſo doing they draw & admit falſe and erroneous opinions which follow upon ſuch maner of ſpeeches. And herein the Aegyptians of all other nations,have faulted moſt,about the beaſts which they honor & worſhip. For the Greeks verily in this point both beleeve and alſo ſpeake well, ſaying that the dove is a bird ſacred unto *Venus*, the dragon to *Minerva*, the raven or crow to *Apollo*, and the dog to *Diana*, according to that which *Euripides* ſaid;

The goddeſſe Diana *ſhining by night,*
In a dogs portraict will take much delight.

But the Aegyptians, at leaſt wiſe the common ſort of them, worſhipping and honoring theſe very beaſts as if they were gods themſelves, have not onely peſtered with laughter and ridiculous mockery their Leiturgie and divine ſervice,(for ignorance and folly in this caſe is the leaſt ſinne of all others) but alſo there is crept into the midſt of men a ſtrong opinion,which hath ſo farre poſſeſſed the ſimple and weaker ſort,as that it bringeth them to meere ſuperſtition. And as for ſuch as be of more quicke and witty capacity, and who beſides are more audacious, thoſe it driveth headlong into beaſtly cogitations and Athiſticall diſcourſes: And therefore I hold it not amiſſe, curſarily and by the way to annexe hereto ſuch things as cary ſome probability and likelihood with them. For to ſay, that the gods for feare of *Typhon* were turned into theſe creatures, as if they thought to hide themſelves within the bodies of the blacke ſtorkes called *Ibides*, of dogges and haukes, paſſeth all the monſtrous woonders and fixions of tales that can be deviſed. Likewiſe to hold, that the ſoules of thoſe who are departed, ſo many as remaine ſtill in being, are regenerate againe onely in the bodies of theſe beaſts, is as abſurd and incredible as the other. And as for thoſe who will ſeeme to render a civill and politicke reaſon heereof; ſome give out that *Oſiris* in a great expedition or voiage of his, having divided his armie into many parts (ſuch as in Greeke are called λοχοι and ταξεις, that is to ſay, bands and companies) he gave unto every of them for their ſeverall enſignes the portractures and images of beaſts: and each band afterwards honored their owne & had in reverence as ſome holy and ſacred thing. Others affirme,that the kings who ſucceeded after *Oſiris*, for to terrify their enimies went forth to battell,carying before them,the heads of ſuch beaſts made in gold and ſilver, vpon their armes. Some there be againe, who alledge, that there was one of theſe their ſubtile and fine headed kings, who knowing that the Aegyptians of their owne nature were lightly diſpoſed, ready to revolt and given to change and innovations, alſo that by reaſon of their great multitude, their power was hardly to be reſtrained and in maner invincible, in caſe they joined together in counſell and drew jointly in one common line, therefore he ſowed among them a perpetuall ſuperſtition, which gave occaſion of diſſention and enmity among them that never could be appeaſed: For when he had given commandement unto them, for to have in reverence thoſe beaſts which naturally diſagreed and warred together,even ſuch as were ready to eat and devour one another, whiles every one endevored alwaies to ſuccor and maintaine their owne, and were moved to anger if any wrong or diſpleaſure were done to thoſe which they affected; they fell together themſelves by the eares ere they were aware and killed one another, for the enmity and quarell which was betweene thoſe beaſts whom they adored, and ſo foſtered mutuall and mortall hatred. For even at this day, of all the Aegyptians the Lycopolitans onely, eat mutten,becauſe the wolfe whom they adore as a god is enimy unto ſheepe. And verily in this our age, the Oxyrinchites,becauſe the * Cynopolites, that is to ſay, the inhabitants of the city *Cynopolis*, eat the fiſh named *Oxyrinchos*, that is to ſay, with the ſharpe becke, whenſoever they can entrap or catch a dogge, make no more adoe but kill him for a ſacrifice and eat him when they have done. Vpon which occaſion having levied warre one againſt the other, and done much miſchiefe reciprocally, after they had beene well chaſtiſed and plagued by the Romans, they grew to attonement and compoſition. And for as much as many of them doe ſay, that the ſoule of *Typhon*,departed into theſe beaſts, it ſeemeth that this fiction importeth thus much, that every brutiſh and beaſtly nature, commeth and proceedeth from ſome evill dæmon, and therefore to pacifie him that he doe no miſchiefe, they worſhip and adore theſe beaſts. And if paradven-

* Who worſhip the dog.

ture there happen any great drowght or contagious heat which cauſeth peſtilent maladies or other unuſuall and extraordinary calamities, the prieſts bring forth ſome of thoſe beaſts which they ſerve and honor in the darke night, without any noiſe in great ſilence, menaſing them at the firſt and putting them in fright. Now if the plague or calamity continue ſtill, they kill and ſacrifice them, thinking this to be a puniſhment and chaſtiſement of the ſaid evill dæmon, or elſe ſome great expiation for notable ſinnes and tranſgreſſions. For in the city verily of *Idithya*, as *Manethos* maketh report, the maner is to burne men alive, whom they called *Typhonij*: whoſe aſhes when they had boulted through a tamiſe, they ſcattered abroad, untill they were reduced to nothing: But this was done openly at a certaine time in thoſe daies which are called Cynades or Canicular. Mary the immolation of theſe beaſts, which they accounted ſacred, was performed ſecretly and not at a certaine time or upon perfixed daies, but according to the occurrences of thoſe accidents which happned. And therefore the common people neither knew nor ſaw ought, but when they ſolemnize their obſequies and funerals for them, in the preſence of all the people they ſhew ſome of the other beaſts and throw them together into the ſepulcher, ſuppoſing thereby to vex and gall *Typhon*, and to repreſſe the joy that he hath in doing miſchiefe. For it ſeemeth that *Apis* with ſome other few beaſts was conſecrated to *Oſiris*: howſoever they attribute many more unto him. And if this be true, I ſuppoſe it importeth that which we ſeeke and ſearch all this while, as touching thoſe which are confeſſed by all, and have common honors; as the foreſaid ſtorke *Ibis*, the hauke and the *Babian* or *Cynecephalus*, yea and *Apis* himſelfe, for ſo they call the goat in the city *Mendes*. Now their remaineth the utility and ſymbolization heereof: conſidering that ſome participate of the one, but the moſt part of both. For as touching the goat, the ſheepe and the Ichneumon, certaine it is, they honor them for the uſe and profit they receive by them: like as the inhabitants of *Lemnos* honor the birds called * *Corydali*, becauſe they finde out the locuſts neſts and quaſh their egges. The Theſſalians alſo have the ſtorkes in great account, becauſe whereas their country is given to breed a number of ſerpents, the ſaid ſtorks when they come, kill them up all. By reaſon whereof they made an edict, with an intimation, that whoſoever killed a ſtorke ſhould be baniſhed his country. The ſerpent *Aſpis* alſo, the wezill and the flie called the bettill, they reverence, becauſe they obſerve in them I wot not what little ſlender images (like as in drops of water we perceive the reſemblance of the Sunne) of the divine power. For many there be even yet, who both thinke and ſay, that the male wezill engendreth with the female by her eare, and that ſhe bringeth forth her yoong at the mouth: which ſymbolizeth as they ſay, and repreſenteth the making and generation of ſpeech. As for the beetils, they hold, that throughout all their kinde there is no female, but all the males doe blow or caſt their ſeed into a certaine globus or round matter in forme of bals which they drive from them and roll to and fro contrary waies, like as the Sunne, when he moveth himſelfe from the weſt to the eaſt, ſeemeth to turne about the heaven cleane contrary. The *Aſpis* alſo they compare to the planet of the Sunne, becauſe he doth never age and wax old, but mooveth in all facility, readineſſe and celerity without the meanes of any inſtruments of motion. Neither is the crocodile ſet ſo much by among them, without ſome probable cauſe: For they ſay that in ſome reſpect he is the very image repreſenting god: as being the onely creature in the world which hath no tongue: for as much as divine ſpeech needeth neither voice nor tongue:

* Larkes or Leveroks as ſome thinke.

But through the paths of Juſtice walks
with ſtill and ſilent pace:
Directing right all mortall things,
in their due time and place.

And of all beaſts living within the water, the crocodile onely (as men ſay) hath over his eies a certeine thinne filme or tranſparent webbe to cover them, which commeth downe from his forehead in ſuch ſort, as that he can ſee and not be ſeene: wherein he is conformable and like unto the ſovereigne of all the gods. Moreover looke in what place the female is diſcharged of her ſpawne, there is the utmoſt marke and limit of the riſing and inundation of *Nylus*: for being not able to lay their egges in the water, and affraid withall to ſit far off, they have a moſt perfect and exquiſit foreſight of that which will be; inſomuch as they make uſe of the rivers approch when they lay: and whiles they ſit and cove, their egges be preſerved drie, and are never drenched with the water. A hundred egges they lay, in ſo many daies they hatch, and as manie yeeres live they, which are longeſt lived: And this is the firſt and principall number that they uſe who treat of celeſtiall matters. Moreover, as touching thoſe beaſts which are honored for both cauſes, we have ſpoken before of the dogge: but the *Ibis* or blacke ſtorke, beſides that it killeth thoſe ſerpents whoſe pricke and ſting is deadly, ſhe was the firſt that taught us the uſe of that evacuation or clenſing the body by cliſtre, which is ſo ordinarie in Phyſicke: for perceived ſhe is to purge, clenſe, and mundifie her-ſelfe in that ſort: whereupon the moſt religious prieſts, and thoſe who are of greateſt experience, when they would be purified, take for their holy water to ſprinckle themſelves with, the very ſame out of which the *Ibis* drinketh, for ſhe never drinks of empoiſoned and infected water, neither will ſhe come neere unto it. Moreover, with her two legges ſtanding at large one from the other, and her bill together, ſhe maketh an abſolute triangle with three even ſides, beſides, the varietie and ſpeckled mixture of her plume, conſiſting of white feathers and blacke, repreſenteth the Moone when ſhe is paſt the full. Now we muſt not marvell at the Aegyptians, for pleaſing and contenting themſelves in ſuch ſlight repreſentations and ſimilitudes, for even the Greeks themſelves as well in their pictures as other images of the gods, melted and wrought to any mould, uſed many times ſuch reſemblances: for one ſtatue in *Creta* they had of *Jupiter* without eares, becauſe it is not meant for him who is lord & governour of all, to have any inſtruction by the hearing of others. Unto the image of *Pallas*, *Phidias* the Imager ſet a dragon; like as to that of *Venus* in the city of *Elis* a Tortoiſe; giving us by this to underſtand, that maidens had need of guidance and good cuſtodie, and that maried woman ought to keepe the houſe and be ſilent. The three-forked mace of *Neptune*, ſignifieth the third place, which the ſea and element of water holdeth, under heaven and aire; for which cauſe they called the ſea *Amphitrite*, and the petie ſea-gods Tritons. Alſo the Pythagoreans have highly honored the numbers and figures Geometricall, by the gods names: for the triangle with three equal ſides, they called *Pallas*, borne out of *Jupiters* braine, and *Tritogenia*, for that it is equally divided with three right lines, from three angles drawen by the plumbe. One or unitie they named *Apollo*,

As well for his perſwaſive grace;
as plaine ſimplicitie,
That doeth appeere in youthfull face,
and this is unitie.

Two, they termed Contention and Boldneſſe: and three Juſtice. For whereas to offend and be offended, to doe and to ſuffer wrong, come the one by exceſſe, and the other by defect, Juſt remaineth equally betweene in the middes. That famous quaternarie of theirs, named *Tetractys*, which conſiſteth of foure nines, and amounteth to thirtie ſixe, was their greateſt oth, ſo riſe in every mans mouth, & they called it the World, as being accompliſhed of the firſt foure even numbers, and the firſt foure odde, compounded into one together. If then the moſt excellent and beſt renowmed Philoſophers, perceiving in things which have neither body nor ſoule, ſome type and figure of deitie, have not thought it good to neglect or deſpiſe any thing herein, or paſſe it over without due honour, I ſuppoſe we ought much leſſe ſo to doe in thoſe properties and qualities which are in natures ſenſitive, having life, and being capable of paſſions and affections, according to their inclinations and conditions. And therefore we muſt not content our ſelves and reſt in the worſhipping of theſe and ſuch like beaſts, but by them adore the divinitie that ſhineth in them, as in moſt cleere and bright mirrors, according to nature, reputing them alwaies as the inſtrument and artificiall workemanſhip of God, who ruleth and governeth the univerſall world: neither ought we to thinke, that any thing void of life, and deſtitute of ſenſe, can be more woorthy or excellent than that which is endued with life and ſenſes; no not although a man hung never ſo much gold or a number of rich emerauds about it: for it is neither colours nor figures, nor poliſhed bodies, that deitie doeth inhabite in: but whatſoever doeth not participate life, nor is by nature capable thereof, is of a more baſe and abject condition than the very dead. But that nature which liveth and ſeeth, which alſo in it ſelfe hath the beginning of motion and knowledge of that which is proper and meet, as alſo of that which is ſtrange unto it, the ſame (I ſay) hath drawen ſome influence and portion of that wiſe providence, whereby the univerſall world is governed, as *Heraclitus* ſaith. And therefore the deitie is no leſſe repreſented in ſuch natures, than in works made of braſſe and ſtone, which are likewiſe ſubject to corruption and alteration, but over and beſides, they are naturally voide of all ſenſe and underſtanding. Thus much of that opinion, as touching the worſhip of beaſts, which I approove for beſt.

Moreover the habilliments of *Iſis* be of different tinctures and colours: for her whole power conſiſteth and is emploied in matter which receiveth all formes, and becommeth all maner of things, to wit, light, darkneſſe, day, night, fire, water, life, death, beginning and end. But the robes of *Oſiris*, have neither ſhade nor varietie, but are of one ſimple colour, even that which is lightſome and bright. For the firſt & primitive cauſe is ſimple; the principle or beginning, is without all mixture, as being ſpiritual & intellegible. Whereupon it is that they make ſhew but once for all of his habiliments, which when they have done they lay them up againe and beſtow them ſafe and keepe them ſo ſtraightly, that no man may ſee or handle them: whereas contrariwiſe they uſe thoſe of *Iſis* many times: For that ſenſible things be in uſage, and ſeeing they are ready and ever in hand, and be ſubject evermore to alternative alterations, therefore they be laid abroad and diſplaied, for to be ſeene often. But the intelligence of that which is ſpirituall and intellectuall, pure, ſimple, and holy, ſhining as a flaſh of lightning, offereth it ſelfe unto the ſoule but once, for to be touched and ſeene. And therefore *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* call this part of Philoſophie Ἐποπτικὸν, for that thoſe who diſcourſe of reaſon, have paſſed beyond all matters ſubject to mingled & variable opinions, leape at length to the contemplation of this firſt principle, which is ſimple, and not materiall: and after they have in ſome ſort attained to the pure and ſincere trueth of it, they ſuppoſe that their Philoſophy as now accompliſhed is come to finall perfection. And that which the prieſts in theſe daies are very preciſe and wary to ſhew, keeping it hidden and ſecret with ſo great care and diligence, allowing not ſo much as a ſight thereof ſecretly & by the way: alſo that this god raigneth & ruleth over the dead, and is no other than he whom the Greeks name *Hades* and *Pluto*: the common people not underſtanding how this is true, are much troubled; thinking it very ſtrange that the holy & ſacred *Oſiris* ſhould dwell within or under the earth, where their bodies lie who are thought to be come unto their finall end. But he verily is moſt farre remooved from the earth, without ſtaine or pollution, pure and void of all ſubſtance or nature, that may admit death or any corruption whatſoever. Howbeit the ſoules of men, ſo long as they be heere beneath clad within bodies and paſſions, can have no participation of God, unleſſe it be ſo much onely as they may attaine unto the intelligence of, by the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and the ſame is but in maner of a darke dreame. But when they ſhall be delivered from theſe bonds, and paſſe into this holy place, where there is no paſſion, nor paſſible forme: then, the ſame god is their conductour and king: then they cleave unto him, as much as poſſible they can: him they contemplate and behold without ſatietie: deſiring that beautie, which it is not poſſible for men to utter and expreſſe: whereof according to the old tales, *Iſis* was alwaies inamoured: and having purſued after it untill ſhe enjoied the ſame, ſhe afterwards became repleniſhed with all goodneſſe and beautie that heere may be engendred. And thus much may ſuffice for that ſenſe and interpretation which is moſt beſeeming the gods. Now if we muſt beſides ſpeake as I promiſed before, of the incenſe and odors which are burnt every day: let a man conſider firſt in his minde and take this with him, that the Aegyptians were men evermore moſt ſtudious in thoſe matters which made for the health of their bodies, but principally in this regard, they had in recommendation thoſe that concerned the ceremonies of divine ſervice in their ſanctifications and in their ordinary life, and converſation; wherein they have no leſſe regard unto holſomneſſe then to holineſſe: For they thinke it neither lawfull nor beſeeming to ſerve that eſſence which is altogether pure, every way ſound and impolluted, either with bodies or ſoules corrupt with inward ſores and ſubject to ſecret maladies. Seeing then, that the aire, which we moſt commonly uſe, and within which we alwaies converſe, is not evermore alike diſpoſed nor in the ſame temperature: but in the night is thickned and made groſſe, whereby it compreſſeth and draweth the body into a kind of ſadneſſe and penſiveneſſe, as if it were overcaſt with darke miſts and waighed downe: ſo ſoone as ever they be up in a morning, they burne incenſe by kindling Roſin, for to clenſe and purifie the aire by this rarefaction and ſubtilization, awaking as it were and raiſing by this meanes, the inbred ſpirits of our bodies which were languiſhing and drowſie: for that in this odor there is a forcible vertue which vehemently ſtriketh upon the ſenſes. Againe, about noone, perceiving that the Sunne draweth forcibly out of the earth by his heat, great quantity of ſtrong vapours, which be intermingled with the aire, then they burne myrrh: For the heat of this aromaticall gum and odor is ſuch, as that it diſſipateth & diſpatcheth whatſoever is groſſe, thicke and muddy in the aire. And verily in the time of peſtilence Phyſicians thinke to remedy the ſame by making great fires, being of this opinion, that the flame doth ſubtiliate and rarefie the aire:

which it effecteth no doubt the better in caſe they burne ſweet wood, as of the Cypreſſe trees, of Juneper, or * Pitch tree. And heereupon reported it is that the Phyſician *Acron*, when there raigned a grievous plague at *Athens*, wan a great name and reputation, by cauſing good fires to be made about the ſicke perſons: For he ſaved many by that meanes. And *Ariſtotle* writeth that the ſweet ſents and good ſmels of perfumes, ointments, flowers and fragrant medowes, ſerve no leſſe for health than for delight and pleaſure. For that by their heat and mildeneſſe they gently diſſolve and open rhe ſubſtance of the braine, which naturally is cold and as it were congealed. Againe, if it be ſo that the Aegyptians call myrrh, in their language Bal, which if a man interpret ſignifieth as much as the diſcuſſing and chaſing away of idle talke and raving; this alſo may ſerve for a teſtimonie to confirme that which we ſay. As for that compoſition among them named *Cyphi*, it is a confection or mixture receiving ſixteene ingredients. For there enter into it, hony, wine, raiſins, cyperous, roſin myrrh, aſpalathus & ſeſeli. Moreover, the ſweet ruſh Schænos, Bitumen, Moſſe, and the docke: Beſides two ſorts of the juniper berries, the greater & the leſſe, Cardamomum and Calamus. All theſe ſpeeches are compounded together not at a venture and as it commeth into their heads: but there be read certaine ſacred writings unto the Apothecaries and Perfumers, all the while that they mix them. As for this number, although it be quadrate, and made of a ſquare, and onely of the numbers equal, maketh the ſpace contained within equall to his cercumference, we are not to thinke that this is any way materiall to the vertue thereof: but moſt of the ſimples that goe to this compoſition being aromaticall, caſt a pleaſant breath from them and yeeld a delectable and holſome vapour, by which the aire is altered: and withall, the body being mooved with this evaporation, is gently prepared to repoſe, and taketh an attractive temperature of ſleepe, in letting ſlacke and unbinding the bonds of cares, wearineſſe and ſorrowes incident in the day time, and that without the helpe of ſurfet and drunkeneſſe: poliſhing and ſmoothing the imaginative part of the braine which receiveth dreames in maner of a mirrour, cauſing the ſame to be pure and neat, as much or rather more, than the ſound of harpe, lute, viole, or any other inſtruments of muſicke; which the Pythagoreans uſed for to procure ſleepe, enchanting by that device, and dulcing the unreaſonable part of the ſoule which is ſubject to paſſions. For ſweet odors, as they doe many times excite and ſtirre up the ſenſe when it is dull and beginneth to faile: ſo contrariwiſe they make the ſame as often drowſie and heavy, yea and bring it to quietneſſe, whiles thoſe aromaticall ſmels by reaſon of their ſmoothneſſe are ſpred and deſuſed in the bodie: According as ſome Phyſicians ſay, that ſleepe is engendred in us, when the vapour of the food which we have received, creepeth gently along the noble parts and principall bowels, and as it toucheth them, cauſeth a kinde of tickling which lulleth them aſleepe. This *Cyphi* they uſe in drinke, as a compoſition to ſeaſon their cups and as an ointment beſides: for they hold, that being taken in drinke, it ſcowreth the guttes within and maketh the belly laxative: and being applied outwardly as a liniment, it mollifieth the bodie. Over and above all this, Roſin is the worke of the Sunne: but Myrrh they gather by the Moone light, out of thoſe plants from which it doth deſtill: But of thoſe ſimples whereof *Cyphi* is compounded, ſome there be which love the night better, as many I meane as be nouriſhed by cold windes, ſhadowes, dewes, and moiſture. For the brightneſſe and light of the day is one and ſimple: and *Pindarus* ſaith that the Sunne is ſeene through the pure and ſolitarie aire: whereas the aire of the night is a compound and mixture of many lights and powers, as if there were a confluence of many ſeeds from every ſtarre running into one. By good right therefore they burne theſe ſimple perfumes in the day as thoſe which are engendred by the vertue of the Sunne: but this being mingled of all ſorts and of divers qualities, they ſet on fire about the evening, and beginning of the night.

* πεύκης.

* * *

OF THE ORACLES THAT HAVE CEASED TO GIVE ANSWERE.

The Summarie.

THe ſpirit of errour hath endevoured alwaies and aſſaied the beſt he can, to mainteine his power and dominion in the world, having after the revolt and fall of Adam *beene furniſhed with inſtruments of all ſorts, to tyrannize over his ſlaves. In which number we are to range the oracles and predictions of certaine idoles erected in many places by his inſtigation; by meanes whereof, this ſworne enemy to the glory of the true God, hath much prevailed. But when it pleaſed our heavenly father to give us his ſonne for to be our Saviour, who deſcending from heaven to earth, tooke upon him our humane nature, wherein he ſuſteined the paine and puniſhment due for our ſinnes, to deliver us out of hell, and by vertue of his merits, to give us entrance into the kingdome of heaven, the trueth of his grace being publiſhed and made knowen in the world by the preaching of the Apoſtles and their faithfull ſucceſſours; the Divell and his angels, who had in many parts and places of the world abuſed and deceived poore idolaters, were forced to acknowledge their Sovereigne, and to keepe ſilence and ſuffer him to ſpeake unto thoſe whom he meant to call unto ſalvation, or els to make them unexcuſable, if they refuſed to heare his voice. This ceſſation of the Oracles put the prieſts and ſacrificers of the the Painims to great trouble and woonderfull perplexitie, in the time of the Romane Emperours: whiles ſome imputed the cauſe to this, others to that. But our authour in this Treatiſe diſcourſeth upon this queſtion, ſhewing thereby, how great and lamentable is the blindneſſe of mans reaſon and wiſedome, when it thinketh to atteine unto the ſecrets of God. For all the ſpeeches of the Philoſophers, whom he bringeth in heere as interlocutours, are meere tales and fables deviſed for the nonce, which every Chriſtian man of any meane judgemeut will at the firſt ſight condemne. Yet thus much good there is in this diſcourſe, that the Epicureans are here taxed and condemned in ſundry paſſages. As touching the contents of this conference, the occaſion thereof ariſeth from the ſpeech of* Demetrius *and* Cleombrotus, *who were come unto the Temple of* Apollo: *for the one of them having rehearſed a woonder as touching the Temple of* Jupiter Ammon, *mooveth thereby a farther deſire of diſputation: but before they enter into it, they continue ſtill the former ſpeech, of the courſe and motion of the Sunne. Afterwards, they come to the maine point, namely, Why all the Oracles of* Greece *(excepting that onely of* Lebadia*) ceaſed? To which demand,* Planetiades *a Cynique Philoſopher anſwereth, That the wickedneſſe of men is the cauſe thereof.* Ammonius *contrariwiſe attributeth all unto the warres which had conſumed the Pilgrims that uſed to reſort unto the ſaid Oracles.* Lamprias *propoſeth one opinion, and* Cleombrotus *inferring another of his, fall into a diſcourſe and common place as touching Dæmons, whom he verily raungeth betweene gods and men, diſputing of their nature, according to the Philoſophie of the Greeks. Then he proveth, that theſe Dæmons have the charge of Oracles, but by reaſon that they departed out of one countrey into another, or died, theſe Oracles gave over. To this purpoſe he telleth a notable tale as touching the death of the great Pan, concluding thus, that ſeeing Dæmons be mortall, we ought not to woonder at the ceſſation of Oracles. After this,* Ammonius *confuteth the Epicureans, who holde, That there be no Dæmons. And upon the confirmation of the former poſitions, they enter together into the examination of the opinions of the Epicureans and Platoniſts, concerning the number of the worlds, to wit, whether they be many or infinit? growing to this reſolution after long diſpute, that there be many, and namely, to the number of five. Which done,* Demetrius *reviving the principall queſtion, moveth alſo a new one, Why the Dæmons have this power to ſpeake by Oracles? Unto which there be many and divers anſweres made, which determine all in one Treatiſe according to the Platoniſts Philoſophie, of the principall, efficient and finall cauſe, of thoſe things that are effected by reaſon, and particularly of divinations and predictions:*

predictions: for which, he maketh to concurre, the Earth, the Sunne, Exhalations, Dæmons, and the Soule of man. Now all the intention and drift of Plutarch *groweth to this point, that the earth being incited and moved by a naturall vertue, and that which is proper unto it, and in no wiſe divine and perdurable, hath brought forth certaine powers of divination: that theſe inſpirations breathing and ariſing out of the earth, have touched the underſtandings of mē with ſuch efficacy, as that they have cauſed them to foreſee future things afarre off and long ere they hapned; yea, and have addreſſed and framed them to give anſwere both in verſe and proſe. Item, that like as there be certeine grounds and lands more fertile one than the other, or producing ſome particular things according to the divers and peculiar proprietie of ech: there be alſo certeine places and tracts of the world endued with this temperature, which both ingender and alſo incite theſe Enthuſiaque and divining ſpirits. Furthermore, that this puiſſance is meere divine indeed; howbeit, not perpetuall, eternall, unmoveable, nor that which is for ever perdurable: but by proceſſe and ſucceſſion of time, doth diminiſh and decay by little and little, untill at length through age it conſume to nothing. Semblably, that this great number of ſpirits are not engendred inceſſantly, neither proceed they forward or retire backe continually; but this vertue of the earth moveth of it ſelfe in certeine revolutions, and by that meanes is enchafed and puffed up: and after that in time it hath gathered abundance of new vapours, it filleth the caves and holes ſo full untill they diſcharge & ſend them up againe. Wherupon it commeth to paſſe, that the exhalations ſtirred in the ſaid caves, and deſirous to iſſue forth, after that they have beene beatē backe againe, violently aſſaile the foundations, and ſtirre the temples built upon them, in ſuch ſort, as being ſhaken as it were by earthquakes, more or leſſe in one place than another, according to the avertures and paſſages made for the exhalation, they finde iſſue through the ſtreights, breake forth with forcible violence, and ſo produce theſe Oracles. In ſumme, the intention and minde of* Plutarch *is to prove, that the beginning, progreſſe and end of theſe Oracles proceed all from naturall cauſes, to wit, the exhalations of the earth. Wherein he is fouly and groſly deceived, conſidering that ſuch Oracles in* Greece *have beene inſpired by the divell, who hath kept an open ſhop there of impoſture, deceits, and the moſt horrible ſeducements that can be deviſed. For mine owne part, I impute this whole diſcourſe of* Plutarch *unto the ignorance of the true God, the very mother of this diſpight, which bringeth forth this preſent treatiſe, ſaved by the Pagans, for to darken the reſplendent light of that great King of the world and his trueth: which hath diſcuſſed and brought to nothing all the ſubtill devices of Satan, who triumphed over all* Greece *by the meanes of his Oracles. Thus after large diſcourſes upon theſe matters,* Plutarch *concludeth the whole diſputation: the concluſion whereof he enricheth with an accident that befel unto the Propheteſſe of* Delphi*; where a man may evidently ſee the impoſture and fraud of divels and of malicious ſpirits (and thoſe be the Dæmons which* Plutarch *would deſigne) and their horrible tyranny over men deſtitute of Gods grace.*

OF THE ORACLES THAT have ceaſed to give anſwers.

There goeth a tale, my friend *Terentius Priſcus*, that in times paſt certeine Eagles, or els Swannes, flying from the utmoſt ends of the earth oppoſit one unto the other, toward the mids thereof encountred & met together at the very place where the temple of *Apollo Pythius* was built, even that which is called *Omphalos*, that is to ſay, the Navill. And that afterwards, *Epimenides* the Phæſtian being deſirous to know whether this fable was true, ſought unto the Oracle for to be reſolved: but having received from the god a doubtfull and uncerteine anſwere; by reaſon thereof, made theſe verſes:

Now ſure in mids of land or ſea,
there is no Navill ſuch;
Or if there be, the gods it know:
men muſt not ſee ſo much.

And verily the god *Apollo* chaſtiſed and puniſhed him well enough, for being ſo curious as to ſearch into the triall or proofe of an olde received tale, as if it had beene ſome antique picture. But true it is, that in our daies, a little before the ſolemnity of the Pythique games, which were held during the magiſtracy of *Calliſtratus*, there were two devout & holy perſonages, who comming from the contrary ends of the earth, met together in the city of *Delphi*: the one was *Demetrius* the Grammarian, who came from as farre as * *Britaine*, minding to returne unto *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, the city of his nativity; and the other, *Cleombrotus* the Lacedæmonian, who had travelled and wandered long time in *Aegypt* within the Troglodytique province, and ſailed a good way up into the Red ſea, not for any traffique or negotiation of merchandiſe, but onely as a traveller that deſired to ſee the world and to learne new faſhions abroad. For having wherewith ſufficiently to mainteine himſelfe, and not caring to gather more than might ſerve his owne turne, he emploied that time which he had, this waies, and gathered together a certeine hiſtory, as the ſubject, matter and ground of that Philoſophy, which propoſed for the end thereof (as he himſelfe ſaid) Theologie. This man having not long before beene at the temple and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, made ſemblance as if he woondered not much at any thing that he ſaw there; only he reported unto us a ſtrange thing, worth the obſervation, and better to be conſidered of, which he learned of the Prieſts there, as touching the burning lampe that never goeth out: for by their ſaying, every yeere it ſpendeth leſſe oile than other. Whereby they gather certeinly (quoth he) the inequality of the yeeres, whereby the latter is evermore ſhorter than the former: for great probability there is, that ſeeing leſſe oile is conſumed, the time alſo is in proportion ſo much leſſe. Now when all the company there preſent made a woonder heereat, *Demetrius* among the reſt made a very jeſt of it, and ſaid it was a meere mockery to ſearch into the knowledge of matters ſo high, by ſuch ſlight and ſmall preſumptions: for this was not, as *Alcæus* ſaid, to paint a lion by meaſure of his claw or paw, but to move and alter heaven, and earth, and all the world, by the conjecture onely of a weike and lampe; yea, and to overthrow at once all the Mathematicall ſciences. It is neither ſo nor ſo, good ſir, quoth *Cleombrotus*; for neither the one nor the other will trouble theſe men. For firſt, they will never yeeld and give place unto the Mathematicians in the certitude of their proofs; for ſooner may the Mathematicians miſreckon the time, and miſſe in their calculation and accounts, in ſuch long motions and revolutions ſo farre remote and diſtant, than they faile in the meaſure of the oile which they obſerve continually and marke moſt preciſely, in regard of that which they ſee ſo ſtrange and againſt all diſcourſe of reaſon. Againe, not to grant and allow (ô *Demetrius*) that petie things may many times ſerve for ſignes and arguments of great and important matters, would hinder and prejudice many arts, conſidering that it is as much as to take away the proofs from many demonſtrations, concluſions and predictions. And verily, even you that are Grammarians, will ſeeme to verifie and avow one point which is not of the leaſt conſequence: namely, that thoſe heroique princes and Worthies, who were at the Trojane warre, uſed to ſhave their haire, and keepe their skin ſmooth with the raſour; becauſe forſooth in reading of *Homer* you meet with ſome place where he maketh mention barely of the raſour. Semblably, that in thoſe daies men uſed to put forth their money upon uſury, for that in one paſſage the ſaid Poet writeth thus:

* That is to ſay, *England*.

Whereas my debt is neither new nor ſmall:
*But as daies come and goe, it * growes withall.*

* ὀφέλλεται.

Meaning by the verbe ὀφέλλεσθαι, that his debt did grow unto him by the intereſt for uſe. Furthermore, becauſe ever and anon the ſame *Homer* attributeth unto the night, the epithet θοὴ, which ſignifieth Quicke and ſharpe; you Grammarians are much affected to this word, ſaying: He underſtandeth thereby, that the ſhadow of the earth being round, groweth point-wiſe or ſharp at the end, in maner of a cone or pyramis. And what is he, who ſtanding upon this point, that ſmall things may not be the proofes and ſignes of greater matters; will approove this argument in Phyſicke: namely, that when there is a multitude of ſpiders ſeene, it doeth prognoſticate a peſtilent Summer: or in the Spring ſeaſon, when the leaves of the olive tree reſemble the crowes-feet? Who (I ſay) will ever abide to take the meaſure of the Sunnes body, by clepſydres or water-dials, with a gallon or pinte of water? or that a tyle-formed tablet, making a ſharpe angle by the plumbe, enclining upon a plaine ſuperficies, ſhould ſhew the juſt meaſure of the elevation of pole from the Horizon, which alwaies is to be ſeene in our Hemiſphære? Loe, what the prieſts and prophets in thoſe parts may alledge and ſay. And therefore we ought to produce ſome other reaſons againſt them, in caſe we would mainteine the courſe of the Sunne to be conſtant and unvariable, as we hold heere in theſe countries. And not of the Sunne onely, (cried out with a loud voice *Ammonius* the Philoſopher, who was then in place) but alſo of the whole heaven, which by this reckoning commeth in queſtion. For if it be granted, that the yeeres decreaſe: the race of the Sunne which he runneth betweene the one Tropique and the other, muſt of neceſſity be cut ſhorter, and that it taketh not up ſo great a part of the Horizon, as the Mathematicians ſet downe; but that it becommeth ſhorter, and leſſe according as the Southern or Meridionall parts be contracted, and gather alwaies toward the Septentrionall and Northerne. Whereupon it will enſue that our Summer will be ſhorter, and the temperature of the aire by conſequence colder; by reaſon that the Sunne turneth more inwardly, and deſcribeth greater paralelles, or equidiſtant circles, than thoſe be about the Tropicks, at the longeſt and ſhorteſt daies of the yeere. Moreover, this would follow heereupon, that the Gnomons in the dials at *Syene* in *Ægypt*, will be no more ſhadowleſſe at the Summer Tropicke or Solſtice: and many of the fixed ſtarres will runne under one another; ſome alſo of them wil be forced for want of roome to runne one upon another, and be hudled pell-mell together. And if they ſhall ſay, that when other ſtarres hold their owne, and keepe their ordinary courſes, the Sunne onely obſerveth no order in his motions, they cannot alledge any cauſe that ſhould ſo much as haſten his motion alone among ſo many others as there be, but they ſhall trouble and diſquiet moſt of thoſe things which are ſeene evidently above: and namely, thoſe generally which happen unto the Moone in regard of the Sunne. So that we ſhal have no need of thoſe, who obſerve the meaſures of oile, for to proove the diverſitie of the yeeres; becauſe the ecclipſes both of the Moone and Sun will ſufficiently ſhew if there be any at all, for that the Sun ſhall many times meet with the Moone, and the Moone reciprocally fall as often within the ſhadow of the earth: ſo as we ſhall need no more to diſplay and diſcover the vanity and falſitie of this reaſon. Yea, but I my ſelfe (quoth *Cleombrotus*) have ſeene the ſaid meaſure of oile, for they ſhewed many of them unto me; and that of this preſent yeere when I was with them, appeered to be much leſſe than thoſe in yeeres paſt. So that *Ammonius* made anſwer in this wiſe: And how is it that other men who adore the inextinguible fires, who keepe and preſerve the ſame religiouſly for the ſpace of an infinit number of yeeres, one after another, could not as well perceive and obſerve ſo much? And ſay that a man ſhould admit this report of yours to be true, as touching the meaſures of the oile: were it not much better to aſcribe the cauſe thereof unto ſome coldneſſe or moiſture of the aire; or rather contrariwiſe to ſome drineſſe and heat, by reaſon whereof, the fire in the lampe being enfeebled is not able to ſpend ſo much nutriment, and therefore hath no need thereof? For I have heard it many times affirmed by ſome: That in Winter the fire burneth much better, as being more ſtronger & more fortified, by reaſon that the heat thereof is drawen in, more united and driven cloſer by the exterior colde: whereas great heats and droughts doe weaken the ſtrength thereof, ſo as it becommeth faint, looſe, and rawe without any great vehemencie and vigour; nay, if a man kindle it againſt the Sunne-ſhine, the operation of it is leſſe, hardly catcheth it hold of the wood or fewell, and more ſlowly conſumeth it the ſame. But moſt of all, a man may lay the cauſe upon the oile it ſelfe; for it goeth not againſt reaſon to ſay, that in old time the oile was of leſſe nutriment, and ſtood more upon the wateriſh ſubſtance than now it doth, as preſſed out of olives which grew upon yoong trees: but afterwards being better concocted, and riper in the fruit, comming of plants more perfect and fully growen in the ſame quantity, was more effectuall, and able longer to nouriſh and mainteine the fire. Thus you ſee how a man may ſalve and ſave that ſuppoſition of the Ammonian prieſts, although it ſeeme very ſtrange and woonderfully extravagant. After that *Ammonius* had finiſhed his ſpeech: Nay rather (quoth I) *Cleombrotus*, I beſeech you tell us ſomewhat of the oracle: for there hath gone a great name, time out of minde of the deity reſident there; but now it ſeemeth that the reputation thereof is cleane gone. And when *Cleombrotus* made no anſwer heereto, but held downe his head, and caſt his eies upon the ground: There is no neede (quoth *Demetrius*) to demaund or make any queſtion of the oracles there, when as we ſee the oracles in theſe parts to faile, or rather indeed (all ſave one or two) brought to nothing. This rather would be enquired into, what the cauſe ſhould be, that generally they all doe ceaſe? For to what purpoſe ſhould we ſpeake of others, conſidering that *Bæotia* it ſelfe, which heeretofore in old time reſounded and rung againe with oracles; now is quite voide of them, as if the ſprings and fountaines were dried up, and a great ſiccitie and drought of oracles had come over the whole land? For there is not at this day, goe throughout all *Bæotia*, (unleſſe it be onely in *Lebadia*) one place where a man may, would he never ſo faine, draw any divination, what need ſoever he hath of any oracle: for all other parts are either mute, or altogether deſolate and forlorne. And yet in the time of the Medes warre, the oracle of *Ptous Apollo* was in great requeſt, and that of *Amphiaraus* was in no leſſe reputation; for both the one and the other was ſought unto. And in that of *Ftous Apollo* when the prieſt or prophet who ſerved in the oracle, uſed the Aeolian language, and made anſwer unto thoſe who were ſent thither from the Barbarians, inſomuch as none of the aſſiſtants underſtood one word: this Enthuſiaſme or divine inſpiration, covertly gave thereby thus much to underſtand, that theſe oracles perteined nothing unto the Barbarians, neither were they permitted to have the ordinary Greeke language at their command. As for that of *Amphiaraus*, the ſervant who was thither ſent, falling a ſleepe within the ſanctuarie, thought as he dreamed, that he ſaw and heard the miniſter of the god, as if with his word and voice he ſeemed at the firſt to drive him out, and command him to depart foorth of the temple, ſaying, that his god was not there; but afterwards to thruſt him away with both his hands: but in the end, ſeeing that he ſtaid ſtill, tooke up a great ſtone, and therewith ſmot him upon the head. And verily all this anſwered juſt to that which afterwards befell, and was a very prediction and denunciation of a future accident: for *Mardonius* was vanquiſhed not by the king himſelfe, but by the Tutour and lieutenant of the king of Lacedæmon, who at that time had the conduct and command of the Greeks armie; yea and with a ſtone felled to the ground, according as the Lydian ſervant aforeſaid imagined in his ſleepe that he was ſmitten with a ſtone. There flouriſhed likewiſe about the ſame time the Oracle of *Tegyræ*, where the report goeth that the god *Apollo* himſelfe was borne: and verily two rivers there are that runne neere one to the other, whereof the one ſome at this day call *Phœnix*, that is to ſay, the date tree; the other *Elæa*, that is to ſay, the olive tree. At this Oracle, during the time of the Medes warre, when the prophet *Echecrates* there ſerved, god *Apollo* anſwered by his mouth, that the Greeks ſhould have the honour of the victory in this warre, and continue ſuperior. Alſo in the time of the Peloponneſiaque warre, when the Delians were driven out of their Iſland, there was brought unto them an anſwer from the Oracle at *Delphi*; by vertue whereof, commanded they were, to ſearch and ſeeke out the place where *Apollo* was borne, and there to performe certeine ſacrifices: whereat, when they marvelled, and in great perplexity demaunded againe, whether *Apollo* were borne any where elſe, but among them? the propheteſſe *Pythia* added moreover & ſaid: That a crow ſhould tell them the place. Whereupon theſe deputies who were ſent unto the Oracle, in their returne homeward chanced to paſſe through the city *Chæronea*, where they heard their hoſteſſe in whoſe houſe they lodged, talking with ſome paſſengers and gueſts (who were going to *Tegyræ*) as touching the Oracle; and when they departed and tooke their leave, they ſaluted her, and bad her farewell in theſe termes: Adieu dame *Cornice*, for that was the womans name, which ſignifieth as much as Crow. By this meanes they underſtood the meaning of the forſeſaid Oracle or anſwer of *Pythia*: and ſo when they had ſacrificed at *Tegyræ*, not long after they were reſtored and returned into their native countrey. Moreover, there were other apparitions beſides of Oracles, more freſh and later, than thoſe which we have alledged; but now they are altogether ceaſed: ſo that it were not amiſſe, conſidering that we are met neere unto *Apollo Pythius*, for to enquire into the cauſe of this ſo great change & alteration. As we thus communed & talked together, we were now by this time gone out of the temple, ſo farre as to the very gates of the Gnidian hall: and when we were entred into it, we found thoſe friends of ours ſitting there within, whom we deſired to meet withall, and who attended our comming. Now when all the reſt were at leiſure, and had nothing elſe to doe (being at ſuch a time of the day) but either to anoint their bodies, or elſe looke upon the champions and wreſtlers, who there exerciſed themſelves; *Demetrius* after a ſmiling maner began and ſaid:

What? were I beſt to tell ſome lie,
Or make report of truth ſhall I?

It ſeemeth as farre as I can perceive, that you have in hand no matter of great conſequence: for I ſaw you ſitting at your eaſe, and it appeareth by your cheerefull and pleaſant looks, that you have no buſie thoughts hammering in your heads. True it is indeed (quoth *Heracleo* the Megarian:) for we are not in ſerious argument & diſputation about the verbe βάλλω, whether in the Future tenſe it ſhould loſe one of the two Lamdaes? neither reaſon we about theſe two comparatives χεῖρον and βέλτιον (that is to ſay, Worſe and better) of what Poſitves they ſhould come? nor of what Primitives theſe two Superlatives χείριστον & βέλτιστον (that is to ſay, Worſt and beſt) be derived? For theſe queſtions & ſuch like, are thoſe that make men knit and bend their browes: but of all other matters we may reaſon and Philoſophize well enough and quietly, without making any furrowes in our forheads, and looking with an auſtere and ſoure countenance for the matter upon the companie preſent with us. Why then (quoth *Demetrius*) admit and receive us into your ſocietie, and together with us, enterteine the queſtion alſo, which erewhile was moved among us, being as it is, meet for this place, and in regard of god *Apollo*, pertinent unto us all as many as we be: but I beſeech you of all loves, let us have no frowning nor knitting of browes whiles we reaſon upon the point. Now when we were ſet intermingled one with another, and that *Demetrius* had propounded the foreſaid queſtion, immediately *Didymus* the Cynique Philoſopher, ſurnamed *Planetiades*, ſtarted up, and ſtood upon his feete; and after he had ſtamped with his ſtaffe twiſe or thrice upon the floore, cried out in this maner: O God! Come you hether with this queſtion indeed, as if it were a matter ſo hard to be decided, and had need of ſome long and deepe inquiſition? for a great marvell no doubt it is, if ſeeing ſo much ſinne and wickedneſſe is ſpred over the face of the whole world at this day, not onely ſhame and juſt indignation or Nemeſis (according as *Heſiodus* propheſied before) have abandoned mans life; but alſo the providence of God being diſlodged and carying away with it all the Oracles that be, is cleane departed and gone for ever? But contrariwiſe I will put foorth unto you another matter to be debated of: namely, how it comes to paſſe, that they have not rather already given over every one? and why *Hercules* is not come againe, or ſome other of the gods, and hath not long ſince plucked up and caried away the three-footed table and all, being ſo full ordinarily of ſhameful, vilanous and impious demands, propoſed there daily to *Apollo*? whiles ſome preferre matters unto him as a Sophiſter, to trie what he can ſay; others aske him concerning treaſure hidden; ſome againe would be reſolved of ſucceſſion in heritages, and of inceſtuous and unlawfull marriages? Inſomuch as now *Pythagoras* is manifeſtly convinced of errour and leſing, who ſaid, that men were then beſt, and excelled in goodneſſe, when they preſented themſelves before the gods: for ſuch things as it would well beſeeme to hide and conceale in the preſence onely of ſome ancient perſonage (I meane the foule maladies and paſſions of the ſoule) the ſame they diſcover and lay abroad naked before *Apollo*. And as he would have gone forward ſtill, and proſecuted this theame, both *Heracleon* plucked him by the cloke, and I alſo (who of all the company was moſt familiar & inward with him) Peace (quoth I) my good friend *Planetiades*, and ceaſe to provoke *Apollo* againſt you: for a cholericke and teſtie god he is, and not milde and gracious; but according as *Pindarus* ſaid very well:

> *Miſdeem'd he is, and thought amiſſe: To bee*
> *Moſt kinde to men, and full of lenitie.*

And were he either the Sunne, or the lord and father of the Sunne, or a ſubſtance beyond all viſible natures, it is not like and probable, that he would diſdaine to ſpeake any more unto men at this day living, of whoſe generation, nativity, nouriſhment, being, and underſtanding, he is the cauſe and author: neither is it credible, that the divine providence, which is a good, kinde, and tender mother, produceth and preſerveth all things for our uſe, ſhould ſhew herſelfe to be malicious, in this matter onely of divination and propheſie; and upon an old grudge and rankor, to bereave us of that which at firſt ſhe gave us, as if forſooth even then when Oracles were rife in all parts of the world, there was not in ſo mightie a multitude of men, the greater number of wicked. And therefore make Pythicke truce (as they ſay) for the while with vice and wickedneſſe, which you are ever woont to chaſtice and rebuke in all your ſpeeches, and come and ſit downe heere by us againe, that together with us you may ſearch out ſome other cauſe of this generall eclipſe and ceſſation of Oracles, which now is in queſtion: but withall remember that you keepe this god *Apollo* propitious, and moove him not to wrath and diſpleaſure.

But theſe words of mine wrought ſo with *Planetiades*, that without any word replying, out of the dores he went his waies. Now when the company ſat ſtill for a prety while in great ſilence, *Ammonius* at length directing his ſpeech to me: I beſeech you (quoth he) *Lamprias*, take better heed unto that which we doe, and looke more neerely into the matter of this our diſputation, to the end that we cleere not the god altogether, and make him to be no cauſe at all that the Oracles doe ceaſe. For he who attributeth this ceſſation unto any other cauſe than the will and ordinance of God, giveth us occaſion to ſuſpect him alſo, that he thinketh they never were nor be at this preſent by his diſpoſition, but rather by ſome other meanes: for no other cauſe and puiſſance there is, more noble, more mighty, or more excellent, which might be able to deſtroy and aboliſh divination, if it were the worke of God. And as touching the diſcourſe that *Planetiades* made, it pleaſeth me never a whit: neither can I approove thereof, as well for other cauſes,as for that he admitteth a certaine inequality and inconſtance in the god. For one while he maketh him to deteſt and abhorre vice, and another while to allow and accept thereof: much like unto ſome king or tyrant rather, who at one gate driveth out wicked perſons, and receiving them in at another doth negotiate with them. But ſeeing it is ſo, that the greateſt worke which can be,ſufficient in it ſelfe,nothing ſuperfluous, but fully accompliſhed every way is moſt beſeeming the dignity and majeſty of the gods, let this principle be ſuppoſed and laied for a ground,and then a man in mine opinion may very well ſay ,that of this generall defect and common ſcarcity of men, which civill ſeditions and warres before time have brought generally into the world, *Greece* hath felt the greateſt part: inſomuch as at this very day, hardly is all *Greece* able to make three thouſand men for the warres, which are no more in number than one city in times paſt (to wit, *Megara*) ſet forth and ſent to the battell of *Platæa*: and therefore, whereas the god *Apollo* in this our age hath left many oracles,which in ancient time were much frequented, if one ſhould inferre heereupon and ſay, that this argueth no other thing but that *Greece* is now much depopulate & diſpeopled, in compariſon of that which it was in old time, I would like well of his invention, and furniſh him ſufficiently with matter to diſcourſe upon. For what would it boot, and what good would come of it, if there were now an Oracle at *Tegyræ* as ſometime there was, or about *Ptoum*? whereas all the day long a man ſhall paradventure meet with one,and that is all, keeping and feeding cattell there. And verily it is found written in hiſtories, that this very place of the Oracle where now we are, which of all others in *Greece* is for antiquity right antient, and for reputation moſt noble and renowmed, was in times paſt for a great while deſert and unfrequented; nay unacceſſable altogether, in regard of a moſt venimous and dangerous beaſt, even a dragon which haunted it. But thoſe who write this, doe not collect heereupon the ceſſation of the Oracle aright, but argue cleane contrary: for it was the ſolitude and infrequency of the place that brought the dragon thither, rather than the dragon that cauſed the ſaid deſert ſolitarineſſe. But afterwards when it pleaſed God, that *Greece* was fortified againe and repleniſhedwith many cities, and this place well peopled and frequented,they uſed two Propheteſſes,who one after the other in their courſe deſcended into the cave and there ſat; yea and a third there was beſides choſen,as a ſuffragane or aſſiſtant to ſit by them and helpe if need were: but now there is but one Propehteſſe in all, and yet we complaine not; for ſhe onely is ſufficient for all commers that have any occaſion to uſe the Oracle. And therefore we are in no wiſe to blame or accuſe the god: for that divination and ſpirit of propheſie which remaineth there at this day, is ſufficient for all, and ſendeth all ſuiters away well contented, as having their full diſpatch and anſwere for whatſoever they demand. Like as therefore *Agamemnon* in *Homer* had nine Heraults or Criers about him, and yet hardly with them could he containe and keepe in order the aſſembly of the Greeks being ſo frequent as then it was; but now within theſe few daies you ſhall ſee heere the voice of one man alone able to reſound over the whole Theater, and to reach unto all the people their contained: even ſo, we muſt thinke, that this divination and ſpirit of propheſy in thoſe daies uſed many organs and voices to ſpeake unto the people, being a greater multitude than now there be. And therefore we ſhould on the other ſide rather wonder, if God would ſuffer to run in vaine like waſte water, this propheticall divination: or to reſound againe, like as the deſert rockes in the wide fields and mountaines ring with the reſonance and ecchoes of heard-mens hollaing,and beaſts bellowing. When *Ammonius* had thus ſaid, and I held my peace, *Cleombrotus* addreſſing his ſpeech unto me: And grant you indeed(quoth he) thus much, that it is the god *Apollo*, who is the authour and overthrower alſo of theſe Oracles? Not ſo, anſwered I, for I maintaine and hold, that God was never the cauſe of aboliſhing any Oracle or divination whatſoever: but contrariwiſe, like as where he produceth and prepareth many other things for one uſe and behoofe, nature bringeth in the corruption and utter privation of ſome; or to ſay more truely,matter being it ſelfe privation,or ſubject thereto, avoideth many times and diſſolveth that which a more excellent cauſe hath compoſed: even ſo I ſuppoſe there be ſome other cauſes,which darken and aboliſh the vertue of divination,conſidering that God beſtoweth upon men many faire & goodly gifts,but nothing perdurable & immortall: in ſuch ſort as the very workes of the gods do die, but not themſelves, according as *Sophocles* ſaith. And verily the Philoſophers and naturaliſts, who are well exerciſed in the knowledge of nature and the primitive matter, ought indeed to ſearch into the ſubſtance, property and puiſſance of Oracles, but to reſerve the originall and principall cauſe for God, as very meet and requiſit it is that it ſhould ſo be. For very fooliſh and childiſh it is that the god himſelfe, like unto thoſe ſpirits ſpeaking within the bellies of poſſeſſed folkes, ſuch as in old time they called Eugaſtrimithi, and Euryclees, and be now termed Pythons, entred into the bodies of Prophets, ſpake by their mouthes, and uſed their tongues and voices as organs and inſtruments of ſpeech: for he that thus intermedleth God among the occaſions and neceſſities of men, maketh no ſpare as he ought of his majeſty, neither carieth he that reſpect as is meet, to the preſervation of the dignity and greatneſſe of his power and vertue. Then *Cleombrotus*: You ſay very well and truely (quoth he:) but for as much as it is a difficult matter to compriſe and define in what maner, and how farre forth, and to what point we ought to employ this divine providence: in my conceit, they who are of this minde, that ſimply God is cauſe of nothing at all in the world, and they againe, that make him wholly the authour of all things; hold not a meane and indifferent courſe, but both of them miſſe the very point of decent mediocrity. Certes as they ſay paſſing well, who hold that *Plato* having invented and deviſed that element or ſubject, upon which grow and be engendred qualities, the which one while is called the primitive matter, and otherwhile nature, delivered Philoſophers from many great difficulties: even ſo me thinks, they who ordained a certaine kinde by themſelves of Dæmons betweene god and men, have aſſoiled many more doubts and greater ambiguities by finding out that bond and linke (as it were) which joineth us and them together in ſociety: Were it the opinion that came from the ancient Magi and Zoroaſties, or rather a Thracian doctrine delivered by *Orpheus*; or els an Aegyptian or Phrygian tradition, as we may conjecture by ſeeing the ſacrifices both in the one countrey and the other: wherein, among other holy and divine ceremonie's, it ſeemeth there were certeine dolefull ceremonies of mourning and ſorrow intermingled, ſavouring of mortality. And verily of the Greeks, *Homer* hath uſed theſe two names indifferently, terming the Gods Dæmons, and the Dæmons likewiſe Gods. But *Heſiodus* was the firſt who purely & diſtinctly hath ſet downe foure kinds of reaſonable natures, to wit, the Gods: then the Dæmons, and thoſe many in number and all good: the Heroes and Men; for the Demi-gods are ranged in the number of thoſe Heroicke worthies. But others hold, that there is a tranſmutation aſwell of bodies as ſoules: and like as we may obſerve, that of earth is ingendred water, of water aire, and of aire fire, whiles the nature of the ſubſtance ſtill mounteth on high: even ſo the better ſoules are changed, firſt from men to Heroes or Demi-gods, and afterwards from them to Dæmons, and of Dæmons ſome few after long time, being well refined and purified by vertue, came to participate the divination of the gods. Yet unto ſome it befalleth, that being not able to holde and conteine, they ſuffer themſelves to ſlide and fall into mortall bodies againe, where they lead an obſcure and darke life, like unto a ſmoaky vapour. As for *Heſiodus*, he thinketh verily, that even the Dæmons alſo, after certeine revolutions of time, ſhall die: for ſpeaking in the perſon of one of their Nymphs called *Naiades*, covertly and under ænigmaticall termes he deſigneth their time, in this wiſe:

Nine * *ages of men* * *in their flower, doth live*
The * *railing Crow: foure times the Stags ſurmount*
The life of Crowes: to Ravens doth nature give
A threefold age of Stags, by true account:
One Phœnix lives as long as Ravens nine:
But you faire Nymphs, as the daughters verily
Of mighty Jove and of nature divine,
The Phœnix yeeres ten fold do multiply.

* γενεάς.
* ἡβώντων.
* λακέρυζα, or crying.

But they that underſtand not well, what the Poet meaneth by this word γενεὰ, make the totall ſum of this time to amount unto an exceeding great number of yeeres. For in trueth it is but one yeere and no more. And ſo by that reckening, the whole ariſeth in all to nine thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty yeeres juſt; which is the very life of the Dæmons. And many Mathematicians there be, by whoſe computation it is leſſe. But more than ſo *Pindarus* would not have it, when he ſaith, that the Nymphs age is limited equall to trees; whereupon they be named *Hamadryades*, as one would ſay, living and dying with Okes. As he was about to ſay more, *Demetrius* interrupted his ſpeech, and taking the words out of his mouth: How is it poſſible, quoth he, ô *Cleombrotus*, that you ſhould make good and mainteine, that the Poet called the age of man, a yeere onely and no more? for it is not the ſpace either of his flower and beſt time, nor of his olde age, according as ſome reade it in *Heſiodus*: for as one reads ἡβώντων, that is ſay, flouriſhing; ſo, another readeth γηρώντων, that is to ſay, aged. Now they that would have it to be ἡβώντων, put downe for the age of man, thirty yeeres, according to the opinion of *Heraclitus*, which is the very time that a father hath begotten a ſonne able to beget another of his owne: but ſuch as follow the reading that hath γηράντων, attribute unto the age of man an hundred and eight yeeres, ſaying that foure and fifty is the juſt moity or one halfe of a mans life: which number is compoſed of an unitie; the two firſt plaines, two ſquares, and two cubiques: which numbers *Plato* alſo tooke to the procreation of the ſoule which he deſcribeth. But it ſeemeth verily, that *Heſiodus* by theſe words covertly did ſignifie that generall conflagration of the world; at what time, it is very probable, that the Nymphs together with all humors and liquid matters ſhall periſh:

Thoſe Nymphs I meane, which many a tree and plant
In forreſts faire and goodly groves do hant,
Or neere to ſprings and river ſtreames are ſeene,
Or keepe about the medowes gay and greene.

Then *Cleombrotus*: I have heard many (quoth he) talke hereof, and I perceive very wel how this conflagration which the Stoicks have deviſed, as it hath crept into the Poems of *Heraclitus* and *Orpheus*, and ſo perverted their verſes: ſo it hath ſeized upon and caught hold of *Heſiodus*, and given a perverſe interpretation of him aſwell as of others. But neither can I endure to admit this conſummation and end of the world, which they talke of, nor any ſuch impoſſible matters; and namely, thoſe ſpeeches as touching the life of the Crow and the Stag or Hinde, which yeeres, if they were ſummed together, would grow to an exceſſive number. Moreover, a yere conteining in it the beginning and the end of all things which the ſeaſons thereof doe produce, and the earth bring forth, may in mine opinion not impertinently be called γενεὰ, that is to ſay, the age of men: for even your ſelves confeſſe, that *Heſiodus* in one paſſage called mans life γενεά. How ſay you, is it not ſo? Then *Demetrius* avowed as much. This alſo (quoth *Cleombrotus*) is as certeine, that both the meaſure, and alſo the things which be meaſured, are called by one and the ſame names: as it appeareth by *Cotyla*, *Chænix*, *Amphora* and *Medimnus*. Like as therefore we name Unitie, a number, which indeed of all numbers is the leaſt meaſure and beginning onely of them: ſemblably, *Heſiodus* termed Yeere the age of man, for that with it principally we meaſure his age, and ſo communicate that word with the thing that it meaſureth: as for thoſe numbers which they make, there is no ſingularity at all or matter of importance in them as touching the renowmed numbers indeed. But the number of 9720 hath a ſpeciall ground and beginning, as being compoſed of the foure firſt numbers ariſing in order from one and the ſame, added together or multiplied by foure, every way ariſe to fortie. Now if * theſe be reduced into triangles five times, they make the juſt ſumme of the number before named. But as touching theſe matters, what need I to contend with *Demetrius*? for whether there be meant thereby a longer time or a ſhorter, a certeine or uncerteine, wherein *Heſiodus* would have the ſoule of a Dæmon to change, or the life of a Demi god or Heros to end, it ſkilleth not; for he prooveth nevertheleſſe that which he would, and that by the evidence of moſt ancient and wiſe witneſſes, that there be certeine natures neuter and meane (as it were) ſituate in the confines betweene gods and men, and the ſame ſubject to mortall paſſions, and apt to receive neceſſarie changes and mutations: which natures according to the traditions & examples of our forefathers, meet it is that we call Dæmons, and honour them accordingly. And to this purpoſe, *Xenocrates* one of the familiar friends of *Plato*, was woont to bring in the demonſtration and example of triangles, which agreed very well to the preſent matter in hand: for that triangle which had * three ſides and angles equall, he compared unto the nature divine and immortall; that which had * all ſides unequall, unto the humane and mortall nature; and that which had * two equall and one unequall, unto the nature of the Dæmons: for the firſt is every way equall, the ſecond on every ſide unequall, and the laſt in ſome ſort equall and in other unequall; like unto the nature of the Dæmons, having humane paſſions and affections, yet withall, the divine power of ſome god. But nature herſelfe hath propoſed unto us ſenſible figures and ſimilitudes viſible above; of gods verily the Sunne and other ſtarres; but of mortall men, ſudden lights and flaſhes in the night, blazing comets, and ſhooting of ſtarres: for unto ſuch *Euripides* compared them, when he ſaid:

Who was ere while and lately in the floure,
Of his freſh youth, at ſudden in an houre,
Became extinct (as ſtarre which ſeemes to fall
From skie) and into aire ſent breath and all.

* ταῦτα δὲ πεντάκις τετραγωνισθέντα. I ſuſpect this place. Some to ſet all ſtrait reade πέντα τρὶς τετραγωνισθέντα: but neither the one nor the other atteine to the point. For admit that the foure firſt nūbers added or multiplied by foure make 40, & 40 doubled ariſe to 80, and the ſame reduced into a triangle (or take 3 times) amoūt to 240, and it brought into a triangle or multiplied by three, grow to 720: yet the 9000 remaine ſtill, unleſſe we goe this way to work: firſt multiply 40 πεντάκις, that is to ſay, five times, & you ſhal have 200 multiply it by five, it commeth to 1000. bring it to one triangle, it is 3000: and let the ſame be multiplied by another five, maketh 9000

* ἰσόπλευρον.

* σκαληνόν.

* ἰσοσκελές.

Now for a mixt body, repreſenting the nature of Dæmons or Angels, there is the Moone: which they ſeeing to be ſo ſubject to growing and decreaſing, yea and to periſhing altogether, and departing out of ſight, thought to accord very well, and to be ſortable unto the mutability of the Dæmons kinde. For which cauſe, ſome have called her a terreſtriall ſtarre; others an Olympian or celeſtiall earth; and there be againe who have named her The heritage and poſſeſſion of *Proſerpina,* both heavenly and earthly. Like as therefore, if one tooke the aire out of the world, and remooved it from betweene the Moone and the earth, he ſhould diſſolve the continuation, coherence and compoſition of the whole univerſall frame, by leaving a voide and emptie place in the middes, without any bond to joine and linke the extremes together: even ſo, they who admit not the nation and kind of the Dæmons, aboliſh all communication, convers and conference betweene gods and men, conſidering they take away that nature which ſerveth as a hanchman, interpreter, and miniſter betweene both, as *Plato* ſaid: or rather they would drive us to confound and huddle together, yea and to jumble all in one, if we came to intermingle the divine nature and deity among humane paſſions and actions, and ſo plucke it out of heaven, for to make it intermeddle in the negocies and affaires of men; like as they ſaie, the wives of *Theſſalie* draw downe the Moone from heaven. Which deviſe & fiction hath taken roote, and is beleeved among women, by reaſon that *Aglaonica,* the daughter of *Agetor* (by report) being a wiſe dame, and well ſeene in Aſtrologie, made ſemblance and perſwaded the vulgar ſort, that in every ecclipſe of the Moone, ſhe uſed alwaies ſome charmes and enchantments; by vertue whereof, ſhe fetched the Moone out of heaven. As for us, give we no eare and credit unto them, who ſay, there be ſome Oracles and divinations without a deity, or that the gods regard not ſacrifices, divine ſervices, and other ſacred ceremonies, exhibited unto them: neither on the other ſide let us beleeve, that God is preſent to intermeddle or employ himſelfe in perſon, but betaking and referring that charge unto the miniſters of the gods, as it is meet and juſt; like as if they were deputies, officers, and ſecretaries: let us conſtantly hold, that thoſe be the Dæmons which are their eſpies and eſcouts, going too and fro throughout all parts, ſome to overſee and direct the ſacrifices, and ſacred rites and ceremonies performed to the gods: others to chaſtice and puniſh the enormious and outragious offences and wrongs committed by men: and others there are beſides, of whom the Poet *Heſiodus* ſpeaketh moſt reverently, ſaying:

Pure, holy, and ſyncere they be,
the Donors of good things:
This honour is allotted them,
beſeeming noble kings.

Giving us by the way thus much to underſtand, that to doe good and be beneficiall is a roiall office and function: for a difference there is, and ſundry degrees there be in the gifts and vertues of Dæmons, like as among men. For in ſome of them there remaine ſtill certaine ſmall reliques (and the ſame verie feeble and ſcarce ſenſible) of that paſſionate and ſenſitive part of the ſoule which is not reaſonable, even as a very excrement and ſuperfluitie left behind of the reſt: but in others againe, there abideth a great deale, and the ſame hardly to be extinguiſhed, whereof we may ſee lively the works and evident tokens in many places, diſſeminate in ſome ſacrifices, feaſts and ceremonies celebrated unto them; yea, and in the tales reported by them. Howbeit, as touching the myſteries and ſacred ſervices (by which & through which a man may more cleerely perceive than by any other meanes whatſoever, the true nature of the gods) I will not ſpeake a word: let them lie cloſe and hidden ſtill for me, as *Herodotus* ſaith. But as for certeine feſtivall ſolemnities and ſacrifices, which are held as diſmall, unfortunate and heavy daies; when ſometimes they uſe to eat raw fleſh, and teare humane bodies piece-meale; or otherwhile to faſt and knocke their breſts; and in many places utter moſt filthy and beaſtly words during the ſacrifices:

Wagging their heads in frantike wiſe,
With ſtrange all-armes and hideous cries.

I will never beleeve that this is done for any of the gods: but will ſay rather, it is to avert the ire and appeaſe the furie of ſome maligne divels. Neither carieth it any likelihood and probability, that ever any god would require men to be ſacrificed unto them, as they were in old time: or ſtand well pleaſed with any ſuch ſacrifices. Neither was it for nought that kings and great captaines gave their owne children thus to be ſlaine; yea, and with their owne hands killed them for ſacrifice: but we are to beleeve that it was to turne away and divert the rankor and wrath of ſome perverſe ſpirits and malicious fiends, or to ſatisfie ſuch hurtfull divels; yea, and to fulfill the violent, furious and tyrannicall luſts of ſome, who either could not, or would not enjoy them with their bodies, or by their bodies. But like as *Hercules* beſieged the city of *Oechalia*, for a virgins ſake who was within: even ſo theſe powerfull and outragious fiends, demaunding ſome humane ſoule clad and compaſſed within a body, to be given unto them, and yet not able to fulfill their luſt by the body, bring peſtilence, famine, dearth, and ſterility of the ground upon cities, raiſe wars and civill diſſentions, untill ſuch time as they come to have and enjoy that which they loved: and ſome doe cleane contrary; as it was my hap to obſerve in *Candie*, (where I abode a long time) how they celebrated a certaine monſtrous feaſt, in which they made ſhew of an headleſſe mans image, ſaying it was *Molus*, the father of *Meriones*: for having forced or defloured a Nymph, he was afterwards found without an head. Moreover, what raviſhment ſoever, what wandring voiages, what occultations, flights, baniſhments, miniſteries and ſervices of the gods be reported and ſung in fables or hymnes, certes they be all of them no paſſions and accidents that befell to gods indeed, but to ſome Dæmons, whoſe fortunes were recorded in memoriall of their vertue & puiſſance: neither meant the Poet *Aeſchylus* (a god) when he ſaid:

> Apollo *chaſt, who now is fled,*
> *And out of heaven baniſhed;*

Nor *Admetus* in *Sophocles*:

> *My chaunting cocke that crowes ſo ſhrill,*
> *Hath raiſed him and brought to mill.*

Alſo the Divines and Theologians of *Delphi*, are in a great error, and farre from the truth, who thinke, that ſometimes in this place, there was a combat betweene *Apollo* and a dragon, about the hold and poſſeſſion of this Oracle. They are to blame alſo, who ſuffer Poets and Oratours, ſtriving one againſt another in their Theatres, to act or relate ſuch matters; as if of purpoſe and expreſly they contradicted and condemned thoſe things which themſelves performe in their moſt ſacred ſolemnities. Heereat, when *Philippus* woondered much (for the Hiſtoriographer of that name was preſent in this companie) & demanded withall, what divine rites and ceremonies they might be, which were contradicted and teſtified againſt by theſe who contended in the Theaters? Mary even thoſe (quoth *Cleombrotus*) which concerne this very Oracle of *Delphi*, and by which this citie not long ſince hath admitted and received into the ſacred profeſſion of holy myſteries, all the Greeks without *Thermopylæ*, and excluded thoſe that dwell as farre as the vale of *Tempe*. For the tabernacle or cotage heere of boughes (which is erected and ſet up every ninth yeere, within the court-yard of this temple) is not a repreſentation of the dragons cave or denne, but rather of ſome tyrants or kings houſe: as alſo the aſſault or ſurpriſe thereof in great ſilence, by the way called *Dolonia*. Likewiſe, that a little after they bring thither a boy who hath both father and mother living, with torches light burning: and when they have ſet the ſaid tabernacle or tent on fire, and overthrowne the table, runne away as hard as they can through the dores of the temple, and never looke behinde them. And finally, the wanderings of this boy in divers places, and his ſervile miniſteries, together with the expiatory ſacrifices and ceremonies about *Tempe*, move ſuſpicion that there ſhould be repreſented thereby ſome notorious outrage, and audacious fact perpetrated there in old time. For it were a meere mockery (my friend *Philippus*) to ſay, that *Apollo* for killing the dragon, fled as farre as to the utmoſt coaſts and marches of *Greece*, for to be purified and aſſoiled: alſo, that he offered thereon certeine expiatorie libations and effuſions, and performed all ſuch duties and ſervices which men doe, when they would appeaſe the wrath and indignation of ſuch Dæmons and curſt fiends, whom we call *Alaſtoras* and *Palamnæos*, as one would ſay, The revengers of ſuch enormities and crimes as could not be forgotten, and thoſe who bare ſtill in minde ſome old ſinnes, and purſued the ſame. As for that tale, which I my ſelfe of late have heard as touching this flight and baniſhment, it is woonderfull ſtrange and prodigious: but if it conteine ſome trueth among, we muſt not thinke, that it was a ſmall and ordinary matter that befell in thoſe daies about the ſaid Oracle. But for feare I might be thought as *Empedocles* ſometimes ſaid:

> *To ſtitch the heads of ſundry tales together,*
> *And goe in divers pathes I know not whether:*

Suffer me I beſeech you to make a convenient end heere of my light diſcourſes. For now are wee juſt come ſo farre, as we may alſo be bold after many others to affirme and pronounce, that ſeeing the Dæmons ordained for the preſidence and ſuperintendance of propheſies and Oracles doe faile, of neceſſity theſe Oracles alſo and divinations muſt ceaſe with them; and when they be fled and gone, or change their reſidence, it cannot chuſe but the former places muſt looſe their propheticall power and vertue: alſo, that when after long time they be returned thither, the ſaid places will begin againe to ſpeake and ſound, like unto inſtruments of muſicke; namely, if they be preſent who have the skill to handle and uſe them accordingly. After that *Cleombrotus* had thus diſcourſed: There is not (quoth *Heracleon*) any one of this companie that is a prophane miſcreant and infidell, not profeſſed in our religion, or who holdeth any opinions as touching the gods, diſcordant from us. Howbeit, let us take heed our ſelves ô *Philippus*, leſt ere we be aware, we doe not in our diſcourſe & diſputation put downe ſome erroneous ſuppoſitions and ſuch as may make great ground workes of impiety. You ſay very well (quoth *Philip*) but what point is it of all thoſe that *Cleombrotus* hath put downe, that is ſo offenſive and ſcandalizeth you moſt? Then *Heracleon:* That they be not gods indeed who are the preſidents of Oracles (becauſe we ought to beleeve of them, that they be exempt from all terreſtrial affaires) but that they be Dæmons rather, or the angels and miniſters of the gods; in my conceit is no bad nor impertinent ſuppoſall: but all at once & abruptly, by occaſion of *Empedocles* his verſes, to attribute unto theſe Dæmons crimes, plagues, calamities, tranſgreſſions, inquietudes and errours ſent from the gods above, and in the end to make them for to die, as mortall men; this I take to be ſomewhat to preſumpteouſly ſpoken, and to ſmell of barbarous audacity. Then *Cleombrotus* asked *Philippus*, who this yong man was, and from whence he came? And when he had heard his name and his country, he anſwered in this wiſe: We are not ignorant our ſelves (ô *Heracleon*) that we are fallen into a ſpeech ſavoring ſomewhat of abſurdity: but a man cannot poſſibly diſcourſe of great matters, without he lay as great foundations at the beginning, for to proceed unto probability and prove his opinion. And as for your ſelfe, you are not aware, how you overthrow even that which you grant: for confeſſe you doe, that there be Dæmons; but when you will needs maintaine that they be neither lewd nor mortall, you cannot make it good that they be at all. For wherein I pray you doe they differ from gods, in caſe they be in ſubſtance incorruptible, and in vertue impaſſible, or not ſubject to ſinne? Heereupon *Heracleon*, when he had muſed with himſelfe not ſaying a word, and ſtudied what anſwere to make, *Cleombrotus* went on and ſaid: It is not *Empedocles* alone who hath given out there were evill Dæmons, but *Plato* alſo himſelfe, *Xenocrates* alſo and *Chryſippus*; yea and *Democritus* when he wiſhed and praied that he might meet with lucky images, both knew and gave us (no doubt) thereby to underſtand, that he thought there were others of them crooked and ſhrewd, and ſuch as were badly affected and had evill intentions. But as touching the death of ſuch, and how they are mortall, I have heard it reported by a man who was no foole nor a vaine lying perſon: and that was *Epitherſes* the father of *Aemilianus* the oratour, whom ſome of you (I dare well ſay) have heard to plead & declaime. This *Epitherſes* was my fellow-citizen and had beene my ſchoolemaſter in grammar, and this narration he related: That minding upon a time to make a voiage by ſea into *Italy*, he was embarqued in a ſhip fraught with much marchandize and having many paſſengers beſide aboord. Now when it drew toward the evening, they hapned (as he ſaid) to be calmed about the Iſles *Echinades*; by occaſion whereof their ſhip hulled with the tides untill at length it was brought neere unto the Iſlands *Paxæ*, whiles moſt of the paſſengers were awake, and many of them ſtill drinking after ſupper: but then, all on a ſudden there was heard a voice from one of the Iſlands of *Paxæ*, calling aloud unto one *Thamus*; inſomuch as there was not one of all our company but he wondred thereat. Now this *Thamus* was a Pilot and an Aegyptian borne: but knowen he was not to many of them in the ſhip by that name. At the two firſt calles, he made no anſwere; but at the third time he obeied the voice, and anſwered: Here I am. Then he who ſpake, ſtrained his voice and ſaid unto him: When thou art come to * *Palodes*, publiſh thou and make it knowen: *That the Great Pan is Dead*. And as *Epitherſes* made report unto us, as many as heard this voice were wonderfully amazed thereat, and entred into a diſcourſe and diſputation about the point, whether it were beſt to doe according to this commandement, or rather to let it paſſe and not curiouſly to meddle withall; but neglect it? As for *Thamus*, of this minde he was and reſolved: If the winde ſerved, to ſaile by the place quietly and ſay nothing; but if the windes were laid and that their enſued a calme, to crie and pronounce with a loud voice that which he heard. Well, when they were come to *Palodes* aforeſaid the winde was downe and they were becalmed, ſo as the ſea was very ſtil without waves.

Whereupon

* Some take it to be a place of manie ſhelves and ſhallowes.

Whereupon *Thamus* looking from the poupe of the ſhip toward the land, pronounced with a loud voice that which he had heard, and ſaid: *The great Pan is Dead.* He had no ſooner ſpoken the word but there was heard a mighty noiſe, not of one but of many together, who ſeemed to groane and lament, and withall to make a great wonder. And as it falleth commonly out when as many be preſent, the newes thereof was ſoone ſpred and divulged through the city of *Rome*, in ſuch ſort as *Tiberius Cæſar* the emperour ſent for *Thamus*: and *Tiberius* verily gave ſo good credit unto his wordes, that he ſearched and enquired with all diligence who that *Pan* might be. Now the great clerks and learned men (of whom he had many about him) gave their conjecture that it might be he, who was the ſonne of *Mercurie* by *Penelope*. And verily *Philippus* had ſome of the companie preſent to beare witneſſe with him, ſuch as had beene *Aemilianus* ſcholars and heard as much. Then *Demetrius* made report, that many little deſert and deſolate Iſles there were lying diſperſed and ſcattering in the ſea about *Britaine*, like unto thoſe which the Greeks call *Sporades*; whereof ſome were named the Iſles of Dæmons, and Heroes or Demi-gods: alſo that himſelfe by commiſſion and commandement from the emperour, ſailed toward the neereſt of thoſe deſert Iſles for to know and ſee ſomewhat; which he found to have very few inhabitants, and thoſe all were by the Britaines, held for ſacroſainct and invioſable. Now within a while after he was arrived thither, the aire and weather was mightily troubled, many portenteous ſignes were given by terrible tempeſts and ſtormes, with extraordinary windes, thunders, lightnings, and firie impreſſions: but after that theſe tempeſts were ceaſed, the Ilanders aſſured him, that one of thoſe Dæmons or Demi-gods (who ſurmounted the nature of man) was departed. For like as a lampe (ſay they) or candle, ſo long as it burneth light offendeth no bodie; but when it is put out or goeth forth, it maketh a ſtinke offenſive unto many about it: even ſo, theſe great Soules whiles they ſhine and give light, be milde, gracious, and harmeleſſe; but when they come to be extinct or to periſh, they raiſe (even as at that preſent) outragious tempeſts, yea and oftentimes infect the aire with contagious and peſtilent maladies. They reported moreover, that in one of thoſe Ilands *Briareus* kept *Saturne* priſoner in a ſound ſleepe (for that was the deviſe to hold him captive) about whoſe perſon there were many other Dæmons of his traine and his ſervitours. *Cleombrotus* then taking occaſion for to ſpeake: I am able my ſelfe alſo (quoth he) to alledge many ſuch examples if I liſt; but it may ſuffice for this preſent matter in hand, that this is nothing contrary nor oppoſit unto that which by us hath beene delivered. And verily we know full well, that the Stoicks hold the ſame opinion not onely of Dæmons that we doe, but alſo of the gods: that there being ſo great a multitude of them, yet there is but one alone immortall and eternall; whereas all the reſt had their beginning by nativity and ſhall have an end by death. And as for the ſcoffes, ſcornes, and mockeries that the Epicureans make, we ought not to regard them, nor be affraid of them: for ſo audacious they are, that they uſe the ſame even in the divine providence, terming it a very fable and oldwives tale. But we contrariwiſe hold, that their infinity of worldes is a fable indeed: as alſo to ſay, that among thoſe innumerable worlds, there is not ſo much as one governed by reaſon or the providence of God; but that all things were firſt made and afterwards maintained by meere chance and fortune. Certes, if it be lawfull to laugh, and that we muſt needs make game in matters of Philoſophy, we ſhould rather mocke thoſe who bring into their diſputations of naturall queſtions, I wot not what deafe, blinde, dumbe and inanimate images; remaining I know not where, and continuing in appearance infinit revolutions of yeeres, wandring round about and going to and fro: which ſay they, iſſue and flowe from bodies partly yet living, and partly from thoſe who long agoe were dead, burnt, yea and rotten and putrified to nothing. Theſe men (I ſay) we ſhould doe well to laugh at, who draw ſuch ridiculous toies and vaine ſhadowes as theſe, into the ſerious diſputations of nature.

Meanwhile forſooth, offended they are and angry, if a man ſhould ſay there be Dæmons: and that not onely in nature but in reaſon alſo it ſtandeth with good congruity, they ſhould cõtinue and endure a long time. Theſe ſpeeches thus paſſed, *Ammonius* began in this wiſe: **Cleombrotus* in mine opinion (quoth he) hath ſpoken very well: and what ſhould impeach us, but that we may admit and receive his ſentence, being ſo grave as it is, and moſt beſeeming a Philoſopher? For reject it once, we ſhall be forced to reject alſo and denie many things which are, and uſually happen, whereof no certeine cauſe and reaſon can be delivered: and if it be admitted, it draweth after it no traine and conſequence of any impoſſibility whatſoever, nor of that which is not ſubſiſtent. But as touching that one point, which I have heard the Epicureans alledge againſt

* Or *Theophraſtus* ſome read.

Empedocles, and the Dæmons which he bringeth in, namely: That they cannot poſſibly be happy and long lived, being evill and ſinfull as they are, for that vice by nature is blind, and of it ſelfe falleth ordinarily headlong into perils and inconveniences which deſtroy the life; this is a very ſottiſh oppoſition: for by the ſame reaſon they muſt confeſſe, that *Epicurus* was worſe than *Gorgias* the Sophiſter; and *Metrodorus*, than *Alexis* the Comicall Poet: for this Poet lived twice as long as *Metrodorus*; and that Sophiſter, longer than *Epicurus*, by a third part of his age. For it is in another reſpect, that we ſay Vertue is puiſſant, and vice feeble, not in regard of the laſting continuance or diſſolution of the bodie: for we ſee, that of beaſts there be many dull, ſlow and blockiſh of ſpirit; many alſo by nature libidinous, unruly and diſordered, which live longer than thoſe that are full of wit, wily, wary and wiſe. And therefore they conclude not aright, in ſaying, that the divine nature enjoieth immortality, by taking heed and avoiding thoſe things that be noiſome and miſchievous. For it behooved, in the divine nature which is bleſſed and happy, to have ſet downe an impoſſibility of being ſubject to all corruption and alteration, and that it ſtandeth in no need of care and labour to mainteine the ſaid nature. But peradventure it ſeemeth not to ſtand with good maners and civility, to diſpute thus againſt thoſe that are not preſent to make anſwere for themſelves: it were meet therefore, that *Cleombrotus* would reſume and take in hand that ſpeech againe, which he gave over and laied aſide of late, as touching the departure and tranſlation of theſe Dæmons from one place to another. Then *Cleombrotus*: Yes mary, quoth he: but I would marvell, if this diſcourſe of mine would not ſeeme unto you much more abſurd than the former delivered already: and yet it ſeemeth to be grounded upon naturall reaſon, and *Plato* himſelfe hath made the overture thereto, not abſolutely pronouncing and affirming ſo much; but after the maner of a doubtfull opinion and under covert words, caſting out a certeine wary conjecture tending that way, although among other Philoſophers it hath beene diſclaimed and cried out againſt. But foraſmuch as there is ſet a cup on the boord, full of reaſons and tales mingled together, and for that a man ſhall hardly meet in any place againe with more courteous and gratious hearers, among whom he may paſſe and put away ſuch narrations, as pieces of forren coine, and ſtrange money: I will not thinke much to gratifie you thus farre foorth, as to acquaint you with a narration that I heard a ſtranger and a Barbarian relate: whom (after many a journey made to and fro for to finde him out, and much money given by me for to heare where he was) I met with at length by good hap, neere unto the Red ſea. His maner was to ſpeake and converſe with men but once in the yeere; all the reſt of his time (as he ſaid himſelfe) he ſpent among the Nymphs, Nomades and Dæmons. Well, with much adoe I light upon him, I communed with him, and he uſed me courteouſly. The faireſt man he was to ſee to, of all that ever I ſet eie on: neither was he ſubject to any diſeaſe: once every moneth he fed upon a medicinable and bitter fruit of a certeine herbe: and this was the fare he lived upon. A good linguiſt he was, and uſed to ſpeake many languages; but with me he talked commonly in Greeke, after the Doricke dialect. His ſpeech differed not much from ſong and meeter: and whenſoever he opened his mouth for to ſpeake, there iſſued forth of it ſo ſweet and fragrant a breath, that all the place about was filled therewith and ſmelled moſt pleaſantly. As for his other learning and knowledge, yea, the ſkill of all hiſtories, he had the ſame all the yere long: but as touching the gift of divination, he was inſpired therewith one day every yeere, and no more; and then he went downe to the ſea ſide and propheſied of things to come: and thither reſorted unto him the Princes and great Lords of that countrey, yea and Secretaries of forren kings, who there attended his comming at a day prefixed: which done, he returned. This perſonage then attributed unto Dæmons the ſpirit of divination and propheſie: moſt pleaſure tooke he in hearing and ſpeaking of *Delphi*: and looke whatſoever we hold here as touching *Bacchus*, what adventures befel unto him, & what ſacrifices are performed by us in his honor, he had bene enformed thereof, and knew all well enough, ſaying withall: That as theſe were great accidents, that hapned to Dæmons; ſo likewiſe was that, which men reported of the ſerpent *Python*: whom he that ſlew, was neither baniſhed for nine yeres, nor fled into the valley of *Tempe*, but was chaſed out of this world, and went into another; from whence (after nine revolutions of the great yeeres) being returned all purified and *Phœbus* indeed, that is to ſay, cleere and bright, he recovered the ſuperintendance of the Delphicke Oracle, which during that while was left to the cuſtodie of *Themis*. The ſame was the caſe (ſaid he) of the Titons and Typhons. For he affirmed, they were the battels of Dæmons againſt Dæmons: the flights and baniſhments alſo of thoſe who were vanquiſhed: or rather the puniſhments inflicted by the gods upon as many as had

* Or, *Cœlum*.

committed ſuch outrages as *Typhon* had done againſt *Oſiris*, and *Saturne* againſt * *Cœlus* or the heaven: whoſe honours were the more obſcure or aboliſhed altogether, by reaſon that themſelves were tranſlated into another world. For I underſtand and heare, that the Solymians who border hard upon the Lycians, highly honoured *Saturne* when the time was: but after that he having ſlaine their princes, *Arſalus*, *Dryus* and *Troſobius*, fled & departed into ſome other countrey (for whither he went they knew not) they made no more any reckoning of him: but *Arſalus* and the other, they termed by the name of *Scleroi*, that is to ſay, ſevere gods: and in trueth, the Lycians at this day, aſwell in publicke as private, utter and recite the forme of all their curſes and execrations in their names.

Many other ſemblable examples a man may draw out of Theologicall writings, as touching the gods. Now if we call ſome of theſe Dæmons by the uſuall and ordinary names of the gods, we ought not to marvell thereat (quoth this ſtranger unto me:) for looke unto which of the gods they do reteine, upon whom they depend, and by whoſe meanes they have honour and puiſſance; by their names they love to be called: like as heere among us men, one is called *Jovius* of *Jupiter*; another, *Palladius* or *Athenæus* of *Minerva*; a third, *Apollonius* of *Apollo*; or *Dionyſius* and *Hermæus* of *Bacchus* and *Mercurie*. And verily, ſome there be who although they be named thus at aventure, yet anſwer very fitly to ſuch denominations; but many have gotten the denominations of the gods, which agree not unto them, but are tranſpoſed wrong and miſgiven. Herewith *Cleombrotus* pauſed: and the ſpeech that he had delivered ſeemed very ſtrange unto all the company. Then *Heracleon* demanded of him, whether this doctrine concerned *Plato*? and how it was, that *Plato* had given the overture and beginning of ſuch matter? You doe well (quoth *Cleombrotus*) to put me in minde heereof, and to reduce it into my memory. Firſt and formoſt therefore, he condemneth evermore the infinity of worlds: mary about the juſt and preciſe number of them he doubteth: and howſoever he ſeemes to yeeld a probability and apparence of trueth unto thoſe who have ſet downe five, and attributed to every element one; yet himſelfe ſticketh ſtill to one, which ſeemeth indeed to be the peculiar opinion of *Plato*: wheras other Philoſophers alſo have alwaies mightily feared to admit a multitude of worlds; as if neceſſarie it were, that thoſe who ſtaied not by the meanes of matter in one, but went out of it once, could not chuſe but fall preſently into this indeterminate and troubleſome infinity. But this your ſtranger, (quoth I) determined he nothing of this multitude of worlds, otherwiſe than *Plato* did? or all the whiles that you converſed with him, did you never move the queſtion thereof unto him, to know what his opinion was thereof? Thinke you (quoth *Cleombrotus*) that I failed herein, and was not (howſoever otherwiſe I behaved my ſelfe) a diligent ſcholar and affectionate auditor of his in theſe matters, eſpecially ſeeing he was ſo affable, and ſhewed himſelfe ſo courteous unto me? But as touching this point, he ſaid: That neither the number of the worlds was infinit, nor yet true it was, that there were no more but one, or five in all: for there were 183, and thoſe ordeined and ranged in a forme triangular; of which triangle, every ſide conteined threeſcore worlds; and of the three remaining ſtill, every corner thereof had one: that they were ſo ordered, as one touched and interteined another round, in maner of thoſe who are in a ring dance: that the plaine within the triangle, is as it were the foundation and altar common to all the worlds, which is called The Plaine or Field of Trueth: and within it lie immovable the deſignes, reaſons, formes, ideæ and examples of all things that ever were or ſhall be: and about them is eternity, wherof time is a portion, which as a riveret, runneth from thence to thoſe things that are done in time. Now the ſight and contemplation of theſe things was preſented unto the ſoules of men, if they lived well in this world, and that but once in ten thouſand yeeres: as for our myſteries heere beneath, and all our beſt and moſt ſacred ceremonies, they were but a dreame in compariſon of that ſpectacle and holy ceremonies. Moreover, he ſaid: That for the good things there, and for to enjoy the ſight of thoſe beauties, men emploied their ſtudy in Philoſophy here: or els all their paines taken was but in vaine, and their travel loſt. And verily (quoth he) I heard him diſcourſe of theſe matters plainly and without any art, no otherwiſe than if it had beene ſome religion wherein I was to be profeſſed, in which he inſtructed me without uſing any proofe and demonſtration of his doctrine. Then I (turning to *Demetrius*) called unto him, and asked what were the words that the woers of *Penelope* ſpake, when they beheld with admiration *Ulyſſes* handling his bow? And when *Demetrius* had prompted unto me the verſe out of *Homer*: Surely (quoth I) it comes into my minde to ſay the very ſame of this ſtranger:

Surely, this fellow, as I weene,
Some * *prying ſpie or theefe hath beene,*

* θηητὴρ. ſome read θηρητὴς, that is to ſay, a hunter.

not of bowes, as he ſaid of *Ulyſſes*, but of ſentences, reſolutions and diſcourſes of Philoſophie: he hath beene converſant, I ſay, no doubt in all maner of literature: and I warrant you, no ſtranger nor Barbarian borne, but a Grecian, thorowly furniſhed with all knowledge and doctrine of the Greeks. And verily, this number of the worlds whereof he talketh, bewraieth not an Aegyptian nor an Indian, but ſavoureth of ſome Dorian out of *Sicilie*, and namely, of *Petron*, borne in the city of *Himera*, who wrote a little booke of this argument; which I have not read my ſelfe, neither doe I know whether it be now extant: but *Hippys* the Rhegine (of whom *Phanias* the Ereſſian maketh mention) writeth, that this was the opinion and doctrine of *Petron*; namely, that there were 183 worlds, which raught one another in order and traine: but what he meant by this Reaching one another in order or traine, he declared not; neither annexed he any other probable reaſon thereof. Then *Demetrius*: And what likelihood or probability (quoth he) may there be in ſuch matters, conſidering that *Plato* himſelfe alledging no argument or conjecture that carieth with it any ſhew of trueth and reaſon, hath by that meanes overthrowen that opinion? And yet (quoth *Heracleon*) we have heard you Grammarians ſay, that *Homer* was the firſt authour of this opinion, as if he divided the univerſall frame of All into five worlds; to wit, Heaven, Water, Aire, Earth, and Olympus: of which, he leaveth two to be common, namely, Earth, to All beneath; and Olympus, to All above: but the three in the middes betweene them, hee attributeth unto three gods. Semblably, it ſeemeth that *Plato* allotting unto the principall parts and members of the ſaid univerſall nature, the firſt formes and moſt excellent figures of the bodies, called them five worlds; to wit, of the Earth, the Water, the Aire, the Fire, and finally, of that which comprehendeth the other; and that hee called the forme of *Dodecaedron*, that is to ſay, with twelve baſes or faces, which amply extentendeth it ſelfe, is very capable and mooveable, as being a figure proper and meet for the animall motions and revolutions of the ſoules. What need we at this preſent (quoth *Demetrius*) to meddle with *Homer*? wee have had fables enough already, if that be good. As for *Plato*, hee is farre enough off from naming thoſe five different ſubſtances of the world, five worlds: conſidering that even in that very place where he diſputeth againſt thoſe who maintein an infinit number of worlds, he affirmeth there is but one created by God, and beloved by him, as his onely begotten childe, compoſed of all nature, having one entier bodie, ſufficient in it ſelfe, and ſtanding in need of nothing elſe. Whereupon a man may very well woonder and thinke it ſtrange, that having himſelfe delivered a trueth, he ſhould give occaſion to others thereby, to take hold of a falſe opinion, and wherein there is no apparence of reaſon. For, if he had not ſtucke hard to this unity of the world, in ſome ſort he might have laid the foundation for thoſe who hold them to be infinit: but that he ſhould preciſely affirme there were five, and neither more nor fewer, is exceeding abſurd, and farre from all probabilitie; unleſſe haply, you (quoth he, caſting his eie upon me) can ſay ſomewhat to this point. How now (quoth I then) are you minded thus to leave your firſt diſputation of Oracles, as if it were fully finiſhed and ended, and to enter upon another matter of ſuch difficulty? Nay (quoth *Demetrius*) we will not paſſe it over ſo; but this here that preſenteth it ſelfe now, and taketh us as it were by the hand, we cannot put by: for we will not dwell long upon it, but onely touch it ſo, and handle it by the way, as that we may finde out ſome probability, and then will we preſently returne unto our former queſtion propoſed in the beginning. Firſt and formoſt therefore, I ſay: The reaſons which permit us not to allow an infinit number of worlds, impeach us not, but that we admit more than one. For as well in many worlds as in one, there may be divination, there may be providence, and the leaſt intercurrence of fortune: but the moſt part of the greateſt and principall things ſhall have and take their generations, changes and mutations ordinarily: which cannot poſſibly be in that infinity of worlds. Over and beſides, more conſonant it is to reaſon, and accordeth better with the nature of God, to ſay, that the world is not created by him, one onely and ſolitary: for being (as he is) perfectly and abſolutely good, there is no vertue wanting in him, and leaſt of all others that which concerneth juſtice and amity; which as they be of themſelves moſt beautifull, ſo they are beſt befitting the gods. Now ſuch is the nature of God, that he hath nothing either unprofitable or in vaine and without uſe: and therefore needs there muſt be beſide and without him, other gods and other worlds, unto whom and which he may extend thoſe ſociall vertues that he hath. For neither in regard of himſelfe, nor of any part in him, needeth he to uſe, juſtice, gracious favour and bounty, but unto others. So that it is not likely that this world floteth and mooveth without a friend, without a neighbour, and without any ſocietie and communication, in a vaſt and infinit voidneſſe; eſpecially ſeeing we behold how nature encloſeth, environeth, and comprehendeth all things, in their ſeverall genders and diſtinct kinds, as it were within veſſels or the husks and covertures of their ſeeds. For looke throughout the univerſall nature, there is nothing to be found one in number, but it hath the notion and reaſon of the eſſence and being thereof, common to others: neither hath any thing ſuch and ſuch a denomination, but beſide the common notion it is by ſome particular qualities diſtinct from others of the ſame kind. Now the world is not called ſo in common: then muſt it be ſuch in particular: and qualified it is in particular, and diſtinguiſhed by certeine differences, from other worlds of the ſame kinde, and yet hath a peculiar forme of the owne. Moreover, conſidering there is in the whole world, neither man alone, nor horſe, nor ſtarre, ne yet God or Dæmon ſolitarie: what ſhould hinder us to ſay, that nature admitteth not one onely world, but hath many? Now if any man ſhall object unto me and ſay, that in nature there is but one earth, or one ſea: I anſwer, that he is much deceived and overſeene, in not perceiving the evidence that is of ſimilare parts: for we divide the earth into parts ſimilare, that it is to ſay, of the ſemblable and the ſame denomination, like as we doe the ſea alſo; for all the parts of the earth are called earth, and of the ſea likewiſe: but no part of the world is world, for that it is compoſed of divers and different natures. For as touching that inconvenience which ſome eſpecially feare, who ſpend all matter within one world, leſt forſooth if there remained any thing without, it ſhould trouble the compoſition and frame thereof, by the jurres and reſiſtances that it would make: ſurely there is no ſuch cauſe why they ſhould feare; for when there be many worlds, and ech of them particularly having one definit and determinate meaſure and limit of their ſubſtance and matter, no part thereof will be without order and good diſpoſition, nothing will remaine ſuperfluous, as an excrement without, to hinder or impeach; for that the reaſon which belongeth to ech world, being able to rule and governe the matter that is allotted thereto, will not ſuffer any thing to goe out of courſe and order, and wandring to and fro, for to hit and run upon another world; nor likewiſe that from another ought ſhould come for to ruſh upon it becauſe in nature there is nothing in quantity infinit & inordinate, nor in motion without reaſon & order. But ſay there ſhould happly be ſome deflux or effluence that paſſeth from one world to another, the ſame is a brotherly ſweet and amiable communication, and ſuch as very well agreeth to all: much like unto the lights of ſtarres, and the influences of their temperatures, which are the cauſe that they themſelves doe joy in beholding one another with a kinde and favourable aſpect; yea and yeeld unto the gods, which in every ſtarre be many (and thoſe good) meanes to intertaine and embrace one another moſt friendly. For in all this, verily, there is nothing impoſſible, nothing fabulous nor contrary unto reaſon: unleſſe paradventure ſome there be who will ſuſpect and feare the reaſon and ſentence of *Ariſtotle*, as conſonant unto nature. For if as he ſaith, every body hath a proper and naturall place of the owne; by reaſon thereof neceſſarily it muſt be, that the earth from all parts ſhould tend toward the midſt, and the water afterwards upon it, ſerving (by meanes of their weight and ponderoſity) in ſtead of a foundation to other elements of a lighter ſubſtance. And therefore (quoth he) if there were many worlds, it would fall out oftentimes that the earth ſhould be found ſituate above aire and fire, and as often under them: likewiſe the aire and fire ſometime under, otherwhiles in their naturall places, and againe in others contrary to their nature. Which being impoſſible, as he thinketh, it muſt follow of neceſſity, that there be neither two nor more worlds, but one alone, to wit, this which we viſibly ſee compoſed of all ſorts of ſubſtance, and diſpoſed according to nature, as is meet and convenient for diverſity of bodies. But in all this there is more apparent probability than verity indeed. For the better proofe heereof, conſider I pray you my good friend *Demetrius*, that when he ſaith, among ſimple bodies ſome bend directly to the midſt, that is to ſay downward: others from the midſt that is to ſay upward; and a third ſort move round about the midſt and circularly: in what reſpect taketh he the midſt? Certaine it is, not in regard of voidneſſe, for there is no ſuch thing in nature, even by his owne opinion: againe, according unto thoſe that admit it, middle can it have none, no more than firſt or laſt: For theſe be ends and extremities: and that which is infinite muſt conſequently be alſo without an end. But ſuppoſe, that ſome one of them ſhould enforce us to admit a middle in that voidneſſe, impoſſible it is to conceive and imagine the difference in motions of bodies toward it: becauſe there is not in that voidneſſe any puiſſance attractive of bodies; nor yet within the ſame bodies, any deliberation or inclination and affection to tend from all ſides to this middle. But no leſſe impoſſible is it to apprehend, that of bodies having no ſoule any ſhould moove of themſelves to an incorporall place, and having no difference of ſituation; than it is that the ſame ſhould draw them or give them any motion or inclination to it. It remaineth then, that this middle ought to be underſtood not locally but corporally, that is to ſay not in regard of place, but of body. For, ſeeing this world is an union, or maſſe compounded of many bodies different and unlike conjoigned together; it muſt needs be, that their diverſities engender motions diſcrepant and differing one from the other: which appeereth by this; that every of theſe bodies changing ſubſtance, change their place alſo withall. For the ſubtilization and rarefaction diſtributeth round about the matter which ariſeth from the midſt and aſcendeth on high: contrariwiſe, condenſation and conſtipation depreſſeth and driveth it downeward to the middle. But of this point, we need not diſcourſe any more in this place. For what cauſe ſoever a man ſhall ſuppoſe to produce ſuch paſſions and mutations, the ſame ſhall containe in it a ſeverall world: for that each of them hath an earth and ſea of the owne, each one hath her owne proper middle, as alſo paſſions and alterations of bodies, together with a nature and power which preſerveth and maintaineth every one in their place and being. For that which is without, whether it have nothing at all, or elſe an infinite voidneſſe, middle can it afford none, as we have ſaid before: but there being many worldes, each of them hath a proper middle apart; in ſuch ſort, as in every one there ſhall be motions proper unto bodies, ſome falling downe to the midſt, others mounting aloft from the midſt, others mooving round about the midſt, according as they themſelves doe diſtinguiſh motions. And he who would have, that there being many middles, weighty bodies from all parts ſhould tend unto one alone; may very well be compared unto him, who would have the blood of many men to run from all parts into one vaine: likewiſe that all their braines ſhould be contained within one and the ſame membraine or pannicle; ſuppoſing it a great inconvenience and abſurdity, if of naturall bodies all that are ſolide be not in one and the ſame place, and the rare alſo in another. Abſurd is he that thus ſaith; and no leſſe fooliſh were the other, who thinketh much and is offended, if the whole ſhould have all parts, in their order, range and ſituation naturall. For it were a very groſſe abſurdity for a man to ſay, there were a world, which had the Moone in it ſo ſituate, as if a man ſhould carry his braine in his heeles, and his heart in the temples of his head: but there were no abſurdity nor inconvenience, if in ſetting downe many diſtinct worldes and thoſe ſeparate one from another, a man ſhould diſtinguiſh withall and ſeparate their parts. For in every of them, the earth, the ſea, and the ſkie, ſhall be ſo placed and ſituate in their naturall ſeats, as it is meet and appertaineth: and each of thoſe worlds ſhall have ſuperior, inferiour, circular, and a centre in the midſt; not in regard of another world nor of that which is without, but in it ſelfe and in reſpect of it ſelfe. And as for the ſuppoſition which ſome make of a ſtone without the world, it cannot be imagined how poſſibly it ſhould either reſt or moove: for how can it hang ſtill, ſeeing it is ponderous and waighty? or moove toward the midſt of the world as other heavy bodies, conſidering it is neither part of it, nor counted in the ſubſtance thereof?

As concerning that earth which is contained in another world and faſt bound, we need not to make doubt and queſtion, how it ſhould not fall downe hither by reaſon of the wieght, nor be plucked away from the whole; ſeeing as we doe, that it hath a naturall ſtrength to containe every part thereof. For if we ſhall take high and low, not within and in reſpect of the world, but without forth, we ſhall be driven unto the ſame difficulties and diſtreſſes, which *Epicurus* is fallen into, who maketh his little Atomes or indiviſible bodies to move and tend toward thoſe places which are under foot: as if either his voidneſſe had feet, or the infinity which he ſpeaketh of, permit a man to imagine either high or low. And therefore ſome cauſe there is to marvell at *Chryſippus*, or rather to enquire and demand what fanſie hath come into his head, and mooved him to ſay, that this world is ſeated and placed directly in the midſt; and that the ſubſtance thereof, from all eternity having taken up and occupied the place of the midſt, yet neverthleſſe it is ſo compact and tied together that it endureth alwaies and is (as one would ſay) immortalized: for ſo much hath he written in his fourth booke περὶ δυνατῶν, that is to ſay, Of poſſible things; dreaming (to no purpoſe) of a middle place in that vaſt emptineſſe: and yet more abſurdly attributing unto that middle (which is not, nor hath any ſubſiſtence) the cauſe of the worlds continuance and ſtabilitie; eſpecially having written thus much many times in other places, that the ſubſtance is governed and mainteined partly by the motions tending to the mids, and partly by others from the mids of it. As for other oppoſitions beſides, that the Stoicks make, who is there that feareth them? as namely, when they demand, How it is poſſible to mainteine one fatall neceſſity, and one divine providence? and how it can otherwiſe be, but that there ſhould be many DIES and ZENES, that is to ſay, *Joves* and *Jupiters*, if we grant that there be many worlds? For to begin withall, if it be an inconvenience, to allow many ſuch *Joves* and *Jupiters*, their opinions verily be farre more abſurd: for they deviſe an infinit ſort of Sunnes, Moones, *Apolloes, Dianaes* and *Neptunes*, in innumerable converſions & revolutions of worlds. Moreover, what neceſſitie is there, to enforce us to avow many *Jupiters*, if there be many worlds? and not rather, in every of them a ſeverall god, as a ſovereigne governor and ruler of the whole, furniſhed with all underſtanding and reaſon, as he whom we ſurname the Lord and Father of all things? Or what ſhould hinder, but that all worlds might be ſubject to the providence & deſtiny of *Jupiter*: and he reciprocally have an eie to overſee all, to direct, digeſt and conduct all, in miniſtring unto them the principles, beginnings, ſeeds and reaſons of all things that are done and made? For it being ſo that we do ſee even here many times, a bodie compoſed of many other diſtinct bodies; as for example, the aſſembly or congregation of a city, an armie, and a daunce; in every one of which bodies there is life, prudence, and intelligence, as *Chryſippus* thinketh: impoſſible it is not likewiſe, that in this univerſall nature, there ſhould be ten, fifty, yea and a hundred worlds, uſing all one and the ſame reaſon, and correſpondent to one beginning. But contrariwiſe, this order and diſpoſition is beſt beſeeming the gods. For we ought not to make the gods like unto the kings of a ſwarme of bees, which go not forth, but keepe within the hive; nor to holde them encloſed and impriſoned (as it were) rather, and ſhut up faſt within Matter, as theſe men do, who would have the gods to be certeine habitudes or diſpoſitions of the aire; and ſuppoſing them to be powers of waters and of fire infuſed and mixed within, make them to ariſe and be engendred together with the world, and ſo afterwards, to be burnt likewiſe with it, not allowing them to be looſe and at libertie, like as coatch-men and pilots are; but in maner of ſtatues or images are ſet faſt unto their baſes with nailes, and ſodered with lead: even ſo they encloſe the gods within bodily matter, and pin them hard thereto; ſo as being jointed (as it were) ſure unto it, they participate therewith all changes and alterations, even to finall corruption and diſſolution. Yet is this opinion fare more grave, religious and magnificent, in my conceit: to holde that the gods be of themſelves free, and without all command of any other power. And like as the firy light *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſuccour thoſe who are toſſed in a tempeſt, and by their comming and preſence

Allay the ſurging waves of ſea below,
And ſtill the bluſtring winds aloft that blow;

and not ſailing themſelves, nor partaking the ſame perils with the mariners, but onely appearing in the aire above, ſave thoſe that were in danger: even ſo the gods for their pleaſure goe from one world to another, to viſit them; and together with nature, rule and governe every one of them. For *Jupiter* verily in *Homer*, caſt not his eies far from the city of *Troy*, either into *Thracia*, or the Nomades and vagrant Scythians along the river *Iſter* or *Daunbie*: but the true *Jupiter* indeed hath many faire paſſages & goodly changes beſeeming his majeſty out of one world into another, neither looking into the infinit voidneſſe without, nor beholding himſelfe and nothing els, as ſome have thought; but conſidering the deeds of men and of gods, the motions alſo and revolutions of the ſtarres in their ſphæres. For ſurely, the deity is not offended with variety, nor hateth mutations: but taketh much pleaſure therein, as a man may gueſſe by the circuitions, converſions and changes which appeare in the heaven. I conclude therefore, that the infinitie of worlds is a very ſenſeleſſe and falſe conceit, ſuch as in no wiſe will beare and admit any god, but emploieth fortune and chance in the managing of all things: but contrariwiſe, the adminiſtration and providence of a certeine quantity and determinate number of worlds, ſeemeth unto me neither in majeſtie and worthineſſe inferior, nor in travell more laborious, than that which is emploied and reſtreined to the direction of one alone; which is transformed, renewed and metamorphozed (as it were) an infinit ſort of times. After I had delivered this ſpeech, I pauſed and held my peace. Then *Philippus*, making no long ſtay: As for me, I will not greatly ſtrive nor ſtand upon it (quoth he) whether the trueth be ſo or otherwiſe: but in caſe we force God out of the ſuperintendance of one onely world, how is it, that we make him to be Creatour of five worlds, neither more nor leſſe? and what the peculiar and ſpeciall reaſon is of this number to a plurality of worlds, rather than of any other, I would more willingly know, than the occaſion or cauſe, why this Mot [EI] is ſo conſecrated in this Temple. For it is neither a triangular, nor a quadrat, nor a perfect, ne yet a cubique number: neither ſeemeth it to repreſent any other elegancie unto thoſe, who love and eſteeme ſuch ſpeculations as theſe.

And as for the argument inferred from the number of elements, which *Plato* himſelfe obſcurely and under covert tearmes touched, it is very hard to comprehend; neither doeth it carie and ſhew any probabilitie, whereby he ſhould be induced to conclude, and draw in a conſequence: that like it is, conſidering in matter there be engendered five ſorts of regular bodies, having equall angels, equall ſides, and environed with equall ſuperficies; there ſhould ſemblably of theſe five bodies, be five worlds made and formed, from the very firſt beginning. And yet (quoth I) it ſhould ſeeme, that *Theodorus* the Solian, expounding the Mathematicks of *Plato*, handleth this matter not amiſſe, nor miſinterpreteth the place; and thus goeth he to worke: The Pyramis, Octaedron, Dodecaedron, and Icoſaedron (which *Plato* ſetteth downe for the firſt bodies) are right beautifull all, both for their proportions, and alſo for their equalities: neither is there left for nature any other, to deviſe and forme better than they, or indeed anſwerable and like unto them. Howbeit, they have not all either the ſame conſtitution, nor the like originall: for the leaſt verily and ſmalleſt of the five is the Pyramis; the greateſt and that which conſiſteth of moſt parts, is Dodecaedron; and of the other two behind, the Icoſaedron is bigger by two fold and more, than Octaedron, if you compare their number of triangles. And therſore impoſſible it is, that they ſhould be all made at once of one and the ſame matter; for the ſmall and ſubtile, and ſuch as in compoſition are more ſimple than the reſt, were more pliable no doubt, and obedient unto the hand of workemen, who mooved and formed the matter, and therefore by all conſequence ſooner made and brought into ſubſiſtence, than thoſe which had more parts and a greater maſſe of bodies: of which, and namely of ſuch as had more laborious making, and a buſier compoſition, is Dodecaedron. Whereupon it followeth neceſſarily, that the Pyramis onely was the firſt body, and not any of the other as being by nature created and produced afterwards. But the remedie and meanes to ſalve and avoid this abſurditie alſo, is to ſeparate and devide the matter into five worlds: for here the Pyramis came foorth firſt; there the Octaedron, and elſewhere the Icoſaedron; and in every of theſe worlds, out of that which came firſt into *eſſe*, the reſt drew their originall, by the concretion of parts, which cauſeth them all to change into all, according as *Plato* doth inſinuate, diſcourſing by examples in maner throughout all: but it ſhall ſuffice us briefly to learne thus much. For aire is engendred by the extinction of fire: and the ſame againe being ſubtilized and rarefied, produceth fire. Now in the ſeeds of theſe two, a man may know their paſſions, and the tranſmutations of all. The ſeminary or beginning of fire is the Pyramis, compoſed of foure & twenty firſt triangles: but the ſeminary of the aire is Octaedron, conſiſting of triangles of the ſame kind, in number fortie eight. And thus the one element of aire, ſtandeth upon two of fire, compoſed and conjoined together: and againe, one body or element of the aire, is devided and parted into twaine of fire; which becomming to be thickned and conſtipate more ſtill in it ſelfe, turneth into the forme of water; in ſuch ſort, as throughout, that which commeth firſt into light, giveth alwaies a ready and eaſie generation unto all the reſt, by way of change and tranſmutation: and ſo, that never remaineth ſolitary and alone which is firſt; but as one maſſe and conſtitution hath the primitive & antecedent motion in another of originall beginning: ſo in all there is kept one name and denomination. Now ſurely (quoth *Ammonius*) it is ſtoutly done of *Theodorus*, and he hath quit himſelfe very well, in fetching about this matter ſo induſtriouſly. But I would much marvell if theſe preſuppoſitions of his making, do not overthrow and refute one another: for he would have, that theſe five worlds were not compoſed all at once together; but that the ſmalleſt and moſt ſubtile which required leaſt workmanſhip in the making, came foorth firſt: then as a thing conſequent, and not repugnant at all, he ſuppoſeth that the matter doth not thruſt foorth alwaies into eſſence, that which is moſt ſubtile and ſimple; but that otherwhiles the thickeſt, the moſt groſſe and heavieſt parts, ſhew firſt in generation. But over and beſides all this, after a ſuppoſall made, that there be five primitive bodies or elements, and conſequently thereupon five worlds; he applieth not his proofe and probabilitie but unto foure onely. For as touching the cube, he ſubtracteth and remooveth it quite away, as they doe who play at nine holes, and who trundle little round ſtones: for that ſuch a ſquare & quadrate body every way is naturally unfit, either to turne into them, or to yeeld them any meanes to turne into it for that the triangles of which they be compoſed, are not of the ſame kind: for all the reſt do in a common conſiſt of a demi-triangle, as the baſe; but the proper ſubject whereof this cube particularly ſtandeth, is the triangle Iſoſcetes, which admitteth no inclination unto a demi-triangle, nor poſſibly can be concorporate or united to it. Now if it be ſo, that of thoſe five bodies there be conſequently five worlds, & that in ech one of thoſe worlds the beginning of their generation and conſtitution, is that body which is firſt produced and brought to light: it would come to paſſe, that where the cube commeth foorth firſt for the generation of the reſt, none of the other bodies can poſſibly be there, foraſmuch as the nature of it is not to turne or change into any one of them. For I let paſſe heere to alledge, that the element or principle whereof Dodecaedron is compoſed, is not that triangle which is called Scalenon, with three unequall ſides, but ſome other as they ſay, how ever *Plato* hath made his Pyramis, Octaedron, and Icoſaedron of it: And therefore (quoth *Ammonius,* ſmiling thereat) either you muſt diſſolve theſe objections, or elſe alledge ſome new matter as touching the queſtion now preſently in hand. Then anſwered I: For mine owne part alledge I am not able at this time any thing that carieth more probability: but peradventure it were better for a man to yeeld reaſons of his owne opinion rather, than of anothers. To begin againe therefore I ſay, that nature being parted and devided at the firſt in two parts, the one ſenſible, mutable, ſubject to generation and corruption, and varietie every way; the other ſpirituall and intelligible, and continuing evermore in one and the ſame ſtate, it were very ſtrange and abſurd my good friends, firſt to ſay that the ſpirituall nature receiveth diviſion, and hath diverſity and difference in it: and then to thinke much and grow into heat of cholar and anger, if a man allow not the paſſible and corporall nature wholly united and concorporate in it ſelfe, without dividing or ſeparating it into many parts. For more meet it were yet, and reaſonable, that natures parmanent and divine ſhould cohere unto themſelves inſeparably, and avoid as much as is poſſible all diſtraction and divulſion: and yet this force and power of *The Other*, medling alſo even with theſe, cauſeth in ſpirituall and intellectuall things, greater diſſociations and diſſimilitudes in forme and eſſentiall reaſon, than are the locall diſtances in thoſe corporall natures. And therefore *Plato* confuting thoſe who hold this poſition, that all is one, affirmeth theſe five grounds and principles of all, to wit, *Eſſence* or ſeeing, *The ſame, The other*, and after all, *Motion,* and *Station.* Admit theſe five, no marvell is it, if nature of thoſe five bodily elements hath framed proper figures and repreſentations for every one of them, not ſimple and pure, but ſo, as every one of them is moſt participant of each of thoſe properties and puiſſances. For, plaine and evident it is that the cube is moſt meet and ſortable unto ſtation and repoſe, in regard of the ſtability and ſtedy firmitude of thoſe broad and flat faces which it hath. As for the *Pyramis* who ſeeth not and acknowledgeth not incontinently in it the nature of fire, ever mooving in thoſe long and ſlender ſides and ſharpe angles that it hath. Alſo the nature of Dodecaedron apt to comprehend all other figures, may ſeeme propetly to be the image repreſenting *Ens,* or That which is, in reſpect of all corporall eſſence. Of the other twaine, Icoſaedron reſembleth *The Other,* or *Diverſe*: but Octaedron, hath a principall reference to the forme of *The ſame.* And ſo by this reckoning, the one of them produceth foorth Aire, capable of all ſubſtance in one forme; and the other exhibiteth unto us Water, which by temperature may turne into all ſorts of qualities. Now if ſo be that nature requireth in all things and throughout all, an equall and uniforme diſtribution, very probable it is, that there be alſo five worlds, and neither more nor fewer, than there be moulds or patterns: to the end that ech example or patterne may hold the firſt place and principall puiſſance in ech world, like as they have in the firſt conſtitution and compoſition of bodies. And this may ſtand in ſome ſort for an anſwer, and to ſatisfie him who mervaileth, how we devide that nature which is ſubject to generation and alteration, into ſo many kinds: but yet I beſeech you, conſider and weigh with me more diligently this argument. Certeine it is, that of thoſe two firſt and ſupreme principles, I meane *Unity,* and *Binary* or *Duality*; this latter being the element and originall primative of all difformity, diſorder and confuſion, is called Infinity: but contrariwiſe the nature of Unitie, determining and limiting the void infinity, which hath no proportion nor termination, reduceth it into a good forme, and maketh it in ſome ſort capable and apt to receive a denomination, which alwaies accompanieth ſenſible things. And verily theſe two generall principles ſhew themſelves; firſt in number, or rather indeed to ſpeake generally, no multitude is called number, untill ſuch time as unitie comming to be imprinted as the forme in matter, cutteth off from indeterminate infinity, that which is ſuperfluous, heere more and there leſſe; for then ech multitude becommeth and is made number, when as it is once determined and limited by unitie: but if a man take unitie away, then the indefinite and indeterminate Dualitie, comming againe in place to confound all, maketh it to be without order, without grace, without number, and without meaſure. Now conſidering it is ſo, that the forme is not the deſtruction of matter, but rather the figure, ornament and order thereof; it muſt needs be, that both theſe principles are within number, from which proceedeth the chiefe diſſimilitude and greateſt difference. For the indefinite and indeterminate principle, to wit, Duality, is the author and cauſe of the even number: but the better, to wit, Unitie is the father (as one would ſay) of the odde number; ſo as the firſt even number is two, and the firſt odde number three, of which is compounded five, by conjunction common to both, but in the owne puiſſance odde. For it behooved, & neceſſary it was, in as much as that which is corporall & ſenſible for compoſition ſake, is divided into many parts by the power and force of *The Other*, that is to ſay, of Diverſitie, that it ſhould be neither the firſt even number, nor yet the firſt uneven or odde, but a third conſiſting of both: to the end that it might be procreate of both principles, to wit, of that which engendreth the even number, and of that which produceth the odde; for it could not be, that the one ſhould be parted from the other, becauſe that both of them have the nature & puiſſance of a principle. Theſe two principles then being conjoinct together, the better being the mightier, is oppoſed unto the indeterminate infinitie, which divideth the corporal nature; & ſo the matter being divided, the unitie interpoſing it ſelfe between, impeacheth the univerſall nature, that it was not divided and parted into two equall portions: but there was a pluralitie of worlds cauſed by *The Other*, that is to ſay, by Diverſitie, and difference of that which is infinit and determinate; but this pluralitie was brought into an odde and uneven number, by the vertue and puiſſance of *The ſame* and that which is finite, becauſe the better principle ſuffred not nature to extend farther than was expedient. For if one had beene pure and ſimple without mixture, the matter ſhould have had no ſeparation at all; but in as much as it was mixed with Dualitie, which is a diviſive nature, it hath received indeed and ſuffred by this meanes ſeparation and diviſion: howbeit, ſtaied it hath in good time, becauſe the odde was the maſter and ſuperior over the even. This was the reaſon that our auncients in old time were wont to uſe the verbe *Pempaſeſthai*, when they would ſignifie to number or to reckon: And I thinke verily that this word πάντα, that is to ſay, All, was derived of *Pente*, that is to ſay, Five, & not without good reaſon, becauſe that five is compounded of the two firſt numbers; and when other numbers afterwards be multiplied by others, they produce divers numbers: whereas five if it be multiplied by an even number and dubled, bringeth forth Ten, a perfect number; but if by the odde, it repreſenteth it ſelfe againe. Heere I omit to ſay, that it is compoſed of the two firſt quadrate numbers, to wit of Unity and Foure; and that it is the firſt number which is equivalent to the two before it, in ſuch ſort as it compoundeth the faireſt triangle of thoſe that have right angle, and is the firſt number that containeth the ſeſquialterall proportion. For haply theſe reaſons be not well ſutable nor proper unto the diſcourſe of this preſent matter: but this rather is more convenient to alledge, that in this number, there is a naturall vertue and facultie of dividing, and that nature divideth many things by this number. For even in our owne ſelves ſhe hath placed five exterior ſenſes, as alſo five parts of the ſoule, to wit, naturall, ſenſitive, concupiſcible, iraſcible, and reaſonable: likewiſe ſo many fingers in either hand. Alſo the generall ſeed is at the moſt diſtributed into five portions: for in no hiſtory is it found written, that a woman was delivered of more than five children at one birth. The Aegyptians alſo in their fables doe report, that the goddeſſe *Rhea* brought forth five gods and goddeſſes: ſignifying heereby under covert words, that of one and the ſame matter five worldes were procreated. Come to the univerſall fabricke and frame of nature, the earth is divided into five zones: the heaven alſo in five circles, two Arctiques, two Tropickes, and one Aequinoctiall in the midſt. Moreover five revolutions there be of the Planets or wandring ſtarres: for that the Sunne, *Venus* and *Mercurie* run together in one race. Furthermore the very world it ſelfe is compoſed harmonically reſpective to five. Like as even among us our muſicall accord and concent conſiſteth of the poſiture of five tetrachords, ranged orderly one after another, to wit, of Hypates, Meſes, Synnemenæ, Diezeugmenæ, and Hyperboliææ likewiſe. The intervals likewiſe in ſong which we uſe be five in number, Dreſis, Semitonion, Tonus, Triemitonion, and Ditonon. So as, it ſeemeth that nature taketh more pleaſure in making all things according to the number of five, than after a Sphæricall or round forme; as *Ariſtotle* writeth. But what is the cauſe will ſome one ſay, that *Plato* hath reduced the number of five worldes to the five primitive figures of regular bodies, ſaying, that God in ordaining and deſcribing the whole world uſed the Quinarie conſtruction? and yet afterwards having propoſed the doubtfull queſtion of the number of worldes (to wit, whether we ſhould hold, there was but one, or rather that there were five in truth?) he ſheweth plainely that his conjecture is grounded upon this very argument. If therefore we ought to apply the probability to his minde and opinion, then of neceſſity with the diverſity of theſe figures and bodies there muſt enſue preſently a difference alſo of motions, according as he himſelfe teacheth, affirming: Whatſoever is ſubtilized or thickned, with the alteration of ſubſtance changeth withall the place. For ſo, if of the aire is ingendred fire, namely when the Octaedron is diſſolved and parted into *Pyramides*: and contrariwiſe aire of fire being driven cloſe and thruſt together into the force of octaedron: it is not poſſible that it ſhould be in the place where it was afore, but flie and runne into another, as being forced and driven out of the former, and ſo fight againſt whatſoever ſtandeth in the way and maketh reſiſtance. And yet more fully and evidently declareth he the ſame by a ſimilitude and example of ſuch things, as by fannes or ſuch like inſtruments whereby corne is clenſed & ſhaken out, or winowed and tried from the reſt: ſaying that even ſo the elements ſhaking the matter, and likewiſe ſhaken by it, went alwaies to bring like to like, and ſome tooke up this place, others that, before the univerſall world was of them compoſed as now it is. The generall matter therefore being in ſuch eſtate then (as by good likelihood All muſt needs be where god is away) preſently the firſt five qualities, or rather the firſt five bodies, having every one of them their proper inclinations and peculiar motions, went apart: not wholly and altogether, nor ſevered ſincerely aſunder one from another, for that when all was hudled pell-mell confuſedly, ſuch as were ſurmounted and vanquiſhed, went evermore even againſt their nature with the mightier and thoſe which conquered. And therefore when ſome were haled one way, and others caried another way, it hapned that they made as many portions and diſtinctions in number juſt as there were divers kindes of thoſe firſt bodies: the one of fire, and yet the ſame not pure, but carying the forme of fire: another of a celeſtial nature, not ſincere heaven indeed, but ſtanding much of the skie: a third of earth, and yet not ſimply and wholy earth, but rather earthly. But principally, there was a communication of aire and water, as we have ſaid heeretofore, for that theſe went their waies filled with many divers kindes. For it was not God who ſeparated and diſpoſed the ſubſtance, but having found it ſo raſhly and confuſedly diſſipated of it ſelfe, and ech part caried diverſly in ſo great diſorder, he digeſted and arranged it by Symmetrie and competent proportion. Then, after he had ſet over every one, Reaſon as a guardian and governeſſe, he made as many worldes as there were kindes of thoſe firſt bodies ſubſiſtent. And thus let this diſcourſe for *Ammonius* ſake, be dedicated as it were to the grace and favour of *Plato*. For mine owne part, I wil never ſtand ſo preciſely upon this number of worlds: mary of this minde I am rather, that their opinion who hold that there be more worldes than one (howbeit not infinit but determinate) is not more abſurd than either of the other, but founded upon as much reaſon as they: ſeeing as I doe, that Matter of the owne nature is ſpred and diffuſed into many parts, not reſting in one, and yet not permitted by reaſon, to runne in *infinitum*. And therefore, eſpecially heere (if elſe where) putting our ſelves in minde of the Academie and the precepts thereof, let us not be over-credulous, but as in a ſlippery place reſtraine our aſſent and beleefe: onely in this point of infinity of worldes, let us ſtand firme and ſee we fall not but keepe our ſelves upright. When I had delivered theſe reaſons aboveſaid: Beleeve me (quoth *Demetrius*) *Lamprias* giveth us a good and wiſe admonition, For

The gods, for to deceive us men, deviſe
Right many meanes, not of falſe Sophiſtries

as *Euripides* ſaith: but of their deeds & works, when we preſume and dare pronounce of ſo high and great matters, as if we knew them certainely. But as the man himſelfe ſaid even now, we muſt recall our ſpeech unto the argument which was firſt propoſed. For that which heeretofore hath beene ſaid, namely that the Oracles are become mute and lie ſtill without any validity, becauſe the Dæmons which were wont to governe them, be retired and gone, like as inſtruments of muſicke yeeld no ſound and harmonie when the Muſicians handle them not: this (I ſay) giveth occaſion to moove another queſtion of greater importance, as touching the cauſe and power, by which the Dæmons uſe to make their prophets and propheteſſes to be raviſhed with an Enthuſiaſme or divine fury and full of fantaſticall viſions. For it is to no purpoſe to ſay, that the Oracles are ſilent, becauſe they be abandoned and forſaken of the Dæmons; unleſſe we be firſt perſwaded, that when they be preſent and preſident over them, they ſet them a worke, and cauſe them to ſpeake and propheſie. Then *Ammonius* taking his turne to ſpeake: Thinke you (quoth he) that theſe Dæmons be called any thing els,

Then ſpirits clad with ſubſtance of the aire,
Which walke about the earth, now here now there,

as ſaith *Heſiodus*? For it ſeemeth unto me, that looke how one man differeth from another, playing either in a Comedie or a Tragedie: the ſame difference ſheweth in the ſoule, which is arraied and clothed within a bodie during this life. There is nothing therefore herein, either ſtrange or without apparence of reaſon, if ſoules meeting with other ſoules, imprint in them viſions and fanſies of future things: like as we alſo ſhew many accidents done and paſt, yea and foretell and prognoſticate of ſuch as are to come, not all by lively voice, but ſome by letters and writings, nay by touching onely and the regard of the eie; unleſſe peradventure, you have ſomewhat els (ô *Lamprias*) to ſay againſt this. For it was not long ſince told us, that you had much diſputation and conference with certeine ſtrangers in *Lebadia*; but he who related this newes unto us, could not call exactly to minde what talke paſſed betweene you. Marvell not thereat (quoth I:) for many affaires and occurrents fell out at once betweene, by occaſion that the Oracle was open, and a ſacrifice ſolemnized, which cauſed our ſpeeches to be diſperſed, diſtracted and ſcattered diſorderly. But now (quoth *Ammonius*) your auditors be at good leaſure, willing alſo to aske queſtions and to learne, not deſirous to conteſt and contradict in a litigious and quarrelſome humor; before whom you may have good leave to ſpeake what you will, and for that libberty of ſpeech have pardon at their hands and be held excuſed, as you ſee. Now when the reſt of the company invited and exhorted me likewiſe, after ſome pauſe made and ſilence for a while, I began againe in this maner: Certes (quoth I,) ô *Ammonius* it fortuned ſo, I wot not how, that even your ſelfe gave the overture and firſt occaſion of thoſe diſcourſes which then and there were held. For if Dæmons be ſpirits and ſoules ſeparate from bodies, and having no felowſhip with them (as your ſelfe ſaid, following heerein the divine Poet *Heſiodus* who calleth them:

Pure ſaincts, heere walking on the earth at large:
Of mortall men, who have the care and charge)

why deprive we thoſe ſpirits and ſoules which are within the bodies, of this ſame puiſſance, whereby the Dæmons are able to foreſee and foretell things to come? For it is not like, that the ſoules acquired any new propriety or power, when they have abandoned the bodies, wherewith they were not endued before: but thinke we muſt that they had the ſame parts and faculties alwaies, although worſe I muſt needs ſay, when they be mixed with bodies. And ſome of them verily appeare not at all, but be hidden: others are but obſcure and feeble, ſuch as heavily and ſlowly performe their operations (much like unto thoſe who ſee through a thicke miſt, or moove in ſome moiſt and wateriſh ſubſtance) deſiring greatly to be cured, and to recover that facultie which is their owne; to be diſcharged alſo and clenſed of that which hindreth and defraudeth them of it. For the ſoule, even while it is bound and tied to the body, hath indeed a power to foreſee and know future things: but blinded it is with the terreſtriall mixture of corporall ſubſtance; for that, like as the Sunne becommeth not then to be cleere, and not afore, when he is paſt the clouds; but being of himſelfe alwaies ſhining, he ſeemeth unto us darke and troubled through a miſt: even ſo the ſoule, getteth not then a new power of divination and propheſie, when ſhe departeth out of the body, as if ſhe were eſcaped out of a cloud; but having the ſame before, is dimmed and obſcured by the commixtion and confuſion with that which is mortall and corruptible. Neither ought we to make a wonder heereat, and thinke it incredible, ſeeing as we do (if there were nothing elſe in the ſoule) how that faculty which we call Memory, is equipollent and anſwerable in an oppoſite reſpect unto the puiſſance of divination; and conſidering the great effect thereof, in preſerving and keeping things paſt or rather indeed keeping them whiles they be. For to ſay truely, of that which is once paſſed nothing remaineth nor ſubſiſteth in *eſſe*, were they actions, wordes, or paſſions: for all things be tranſitory and paſſe away as ſoone as they are, becauſe time, in maner of a current or ſtreame, carieth all away before it: but this memorative faculty of the ſoule catching hold thereof I know not how, and ſtaying it for ſlipping away, giveth an imagination of eſſence and being to thoſe things, which in trueth are not. For the Oracle verily which was given to the Theſſalians as touching the city *Arna*, willed them to utter and ſpeake

That which the blinde ſee cleare,
And what the deafe doe heare.

But memory is unto us the hearing of the deafe, and the ſight likewiſe of the blinde; in ſuch ſort, as no marvell it is (as I have already ſaid) if our ſoule in retaining ſtill things which are no more, doth anticipate many of thoſe alſo, which are not yet. And ſuch objects indeed concerne it rather, and therewith is it affected more. For ſhe bendeth and inclineth towards things that are to come: whereas of ſuch as be already paſt and come to their end, ſhe is freed and delivered, but onely that ſhe remembreth them. Our ſoules then having this puiſſance in them inbred and naturall, though feeble, obſcure, and hardly able to expreſſe and repreſent their imaginations; yet nevertheleſſe ſome of them ſhew and put them forth many times in dreames and in certaine ſacred ceremonies and myſteries: namely, when the body is well purified, or receiveth a fit temperature therefore, or elſe for that the reaſonable and ſpeculative faculty being then freed from the cares of things preſent, joineth with the unreaſonable and imaginative part, and turneth it to thinke upon the future. For I approove not that which *Euripides* ſaith:

I hold him for Divinor beſt,
Who in conjectures muſeth leſt.

but he verily who is directed by the reaſonable and intelligent part of the ſoule, and followeth the conduct and leading thereof by all probabilitie. Now that power or facultie of divination (like unto a paire of blanke writing tables, wherein there is nothing written) void of reaſon and not determinate of it ſelfe, but onely apt and meet to receive fanſies, affections, and preſenſions, without any diſcourſe of reaſon, or ratiocination, hitteth upon that which is to come, at what time as it is moſt remooved from that which is preſent; and in this extaſie is it tranſmuted, by a certaine temperature and diſpoſition of the body, which we call *Enthuſiaſme* or inſpiration. Now ſuch a diſpoſition as this, many times the body of it ſelfe hath; but the earth putteth foorth and yeeldeth unto men the ſources and fountaines of many other powers and faculties: ſome of which tranſport them out of their wits, bringing maladies, contagions, and mortalities: others againe be ſometime good, kinde, and profitable, as they know full well who make experience thereof. But this ſpring, this winde, or propheticall ſpirit of divination, is moſt divine and holy, whether it ariſe and breath up alone by it ſelfe through the aire, or be drawen up with ſome liquid humour. For comming once to be infuſed and mixed within the body, it cauſeth a ſtrange temperature and unuſuall diſpoſition in the ſoules: the property whereof, a right hard matter it is to declare exactly, and expreſſe certeinly; but a man in reaſon may atteine thereto by conjecture ſundry waies: for by heat and dilatation, it openeth (I wot not what) little holes, by which in all likelihood the imaginative facultie is ſet on worke about future things; much like as wine which working and boiling in the body fumeth up, and among other motions, it revealeth and diſcovereth many hidden ſecrets. For the fury of *Bacchus* and of drunkenneſſe, if we may beleeve *Euripides*, conteineth much divination: when the ſoule being enchafed and enflamed, expelleth all feare, which humane wiſdome bringeth in, and by that meanes many times averteth and quencheth the divine inſpiration. And heerewithall a man may alledge very well, and not without great reaſon, that ſiccitie comming intermingled with heat, ſubtilizeth the ſpirit, and maketh it pure, and of the nature of fire (for according to *Heraclitus*, The ſoule it ſelfe is of a dry conſtitution:) whereas humiditie doth not onely dim the ſight, and dull the hearing, but alſo being mingled with the aire, and touching the ſuperficies of mirrours, dusketh the brightneſſe of the one, and taketh away the light of the other. On the contrary ſide, it is not impoſſible that by ſome refrigeration and condenſation of this ſpirit, after the maner of the tincture and hardneſſe of iron, this part of the ſoule which doth prognoſticate, ſhould ſhew it ſelfe and get a perfect edge. And like as tinne being melted with braſſe (which of it ſelfe is a mettall in the oare, rare, ſpongious, and full of little holes) doth drive it neerer, and maketh it more maſſie and ſolid, and withall, cauſeth it to looke more bright and reſplendent: even ſo, I ſee no inconvenience to hinder, but that this propheticall exhalation having ſome congruence and affinity with the ſoules, ſhould fill up that which is lax and empty, and drive it cloſe together more inwardly. For many things there be, that have a reference and congruitie one unto the other: thus the beane is ſortable unto the purple die; Sal-nitre likewiſe helpeth much the tincture of a rich ſcarlet or crimſon colour, if it be mixed therewith, according alſo as *Empedocles* ſaid:

And with the flower of Saffron red,
Fine flax and ſilke are coloured.

And we have heard you ſpeake (good friend **Demetrius**) of the river *Cydnus*, and the ſacred cutting knife of *Apollo* in *Tarſus*; and namely, how the ſaid river onely clenſeth that iron whereof the knife is made, neither is there any other water in the world able to ſcoure that knife: like as in the city *Olympia*, they temper the aſhes that commeth of the ſacrifices, with the water of the river *Alpheus*, and make thereof a mortar, wherewith they plaiſter the altar there; but if they aſſay to doe it with the water of any other river elſe, it will not ſticke to, nor binde one jot. No marvell therefore it is, if the earth ſending up out of it many exhalations, theſe onely are found to tranſport the ſoules with an enthuſiaſme or divine fury, and repreſent the imaginations and fanſies of future things. But without all queſtion and contradiction, the report that goeth of the Oracle in this place, accordeth well to this purpoſe. For it is ſaid, that this propheticall and divining power heere, ſhewed it ſelfe firſt, by occaſion of a certeine heardman, who chanced heere to fall; who thereupon began to caſt foorth certaine fanaticall cries and voices, as if he had bene poſſeſſed with ſuch a divine inſpiration. Whereof the neighbors and thoſe that came about him, at firſt made no account; but afterwards, when they ſaw that it fell out ſo indeed, as he had foretold, they had the man in great admiration: and the greateſt clerks and wiſeſt men of all the Delphians, calling to remembrance his name, gave out that it was *Coretas*. So that, it ſeemeth to me, that the ſoule admitteth this temperature and mixtion with this propheticall ſpirit, as the ſight of the eie is affected with the light. For albeit the eie hath naturally a property and power to ſee, yet the ſame is not effectuall without the light: even ſo the ſoule having this puiſſance and facultie, to foreſee future things, like unto the eie had need of ſome proper and convenient thing to kindle it as it were, and ſet an edge upon it. And heereupon it is, that many of our auncients have thought *Apollo*, and the Sunne, to be one and the ſame god. They alſo who know what this beautifull and wiſe proportion is, and withall doe honour it: looke what reference or reſpect there is of the body to the ſoule, of the ſight to light, and of the * underſtanding to the trueth; the ſame force and power they eſteemed there is of the Sunnes power unto the nature of *Apollo*: ſaying, that he is the iſſue and geniture proceeding from *Apollo* who is eternall, and who continually bringeth him foorth. For like as the one kindles, bringeth foorth and ſtirreth up the viſuall power and vertue of the ſenſe: even ſo doth the other by the propheticall vertue of the ſoule. They therefore who thought that it was one and the ſelfe ſame god, by good right dedicated and conſecrated this Oracle unto *Apollo*, and unto the Earth: judging, that the Sunne it was which wrought that temperature and imprinted this diſpoſition in the earth, whereof aroſe this propheticall evaporation. And verily as *Heſiodus* upon good conſideration, and with much more reaſon than ſome Philoſophers, called the Earth:

* Our underſtanding, or light.

The ground-worke ſure
Of all nature:

even ſo we deeme it to be eternall, immortall, and incorruptible: many of the vertues and faculties which are in it, we hold that ſome faile in one place, and others breed a new and engender in another: and great probability there is, that there be tranſmutations and changes from one place to another, and that ſuch revolutions as theſe, in the courſe and proceſſe of long time turne and returne circularly often in it; as a man may conjecture and certeinly collect by ſuch things as manifeſtly do appeere. For in divers and ſundry countries, we ſee that lakes and whole rivers, yea and many more fountaines and ſprings of hot waters, have failed and beene quite loſt, as being fled out of our ſight, and hidden within the earth; but afterwards in the very ſame places they have in time ſhewed themſelves againe, or elſe run hard by. And of mettall mines, we know that ſome have beene ſpent cleane and emptied; as namely, thoſe of ſilver about the territory of *Attica*: ſemblably the vaines of braſſe oare in *Eubœa*, out of which they forged ſometime the beſt ſwords, that were hardned with the tincture of cold water: according to which the Poet *Aeſchylus* ſaid:

He tooke in hand the keene and douty blade,
Which of Eubœan *ſteele ſometime was made.*

The rocke alſo and quarry in *Caryſtia*, it is not long ſince it gave over to bring foorth certeine bals or bottomes of ſoft ſtone, which they uſe to ſpin and draw into thred, in maner of flax: for I ſuppoſe that ſome of you have ſeene towels, napkins, nets, caules, kerchiefes and coifes woven of ſuch thred, which would not burne and conſume in the fire; but when they were foule and ſoiled with occupying, folke flung them into the fire, and tooke them foorth againe cleane and faire: but now al this is quite gone, and hardly within the ſaid delfe ſhall a man meet with ſome few hairie threds of that matter, running here & there among the hard ſtones digged out from thence. Now of all theſe things *Ariſtotle* and his ſectaries hold: That an exhalation within the earth, is the onely efficient cauſe, with which of neceſſity ſuch effects muſt faile and paſſe from place to place; as alſo otherwhiles, breed againe therewith. Semblably are we to thinke of the ſpirits and exhalations prophetical which iſſue out of the earth; namely, that they have not a nature immortall, and ſuch as can not age or waxe olde, but ſubject to change and alteration. For probable it is, that the great gluttes of raine and extraordinary flouds, have extinguiſhed them quite, and that by the terrible fall of thunder-bolts the places were ſmitten, and they withal diſſipated and diſpatched: but principally, when the ground hath beene ſhaken with earthquakes, and thereupon ſetled downward and fallen in, with trouble and confuſion of whatſoever was below; it cannot chuſe but ſuch exhalations conteined within the holow caves of the earth, either changed their place and were driven forth, or utterly were ſtifled and choked. And ſo in this place alſo, there remained and appeered ſome tokens of that great earth-quake, which overthrew the city and ſtaied the Oracle heere: like as, by report in the city *Orchomenos*, there was a plague which ſwept away a number of people; and therewith the Oracle of *Tireſias* the prophet, failed for ever, & ſo continueth at this day mute and to no effect. And whether the like befell unto the Oracles which were woont to be in *Cilicia*, as we heare ſay, no man can more certeinly enforme us than you *Demetrius*. Then *Demetrius*: How things ſtand now at this preſent, I wot not; for I have beene a traveller and out of my native country a long time, as yee all know: but when I was in thoſe parts, both that of *Mopſus*, and alſo the other of *Amphilochus*, flouriſhed and were in great requeſt. And as for the Oracle of *Mopſus*, I am able to make report unto you of a moſt ſtrange and woonderfull event thereof, for that I was my ſelfe preſent. The Governour of *Cilicia* is of himſelfe doubtfull and wavering, whether there be gods or no? upon infirmity, as I take it, of miſcredance and unbeliefe (for otherwiſe he was a naughty man, a violent oppreſſour, and ſcorner of religion.) But having about him certeine Epicureans, who ſtanding much upon this their goodly and beautifull Phyſiologie forſooth (as they terme it) or elſe all were marred, ſcoffe at ſuch things; he ſent one of his affranchiſed or freed ſervants unto the Oracle of *Mopſus* indeed, howbeit, making ſemblance as if he were an eſpiall, to diſcover the campe of his enemies: he ſent him (I ſay) with a letter ſurely ſealed, wherin he had written without the privity of any perſon whatſoever, a queſtion or demaund to be preſented unto the Oracle. This meſſenger, after the order and cuſtome of the place, remaining all night within the ſanctuary of the temple, fel there aſleepe, and rehearſed the morrow morning what a dreame he had; and namely, that he thought he ſaw a faire and beautifull man to preſent himſelfe unto him, and ſay unto him this onely word *Blacke,* and no more: for preſently he went his way out of his ſight. Now wee that were there, thought this to be a fooliſh and abſurd toy, neither wiſt we what to make of it. But the governour aforeſaid was much aſtonied thereat, and being ſtricken with a great remorſe and pricke of conſcience, worſhipped *Mopſus* and held his Oracle moſt venerable; for opening the letter, he ſhewed publikely the demaund conteined therein, which went in theſe words: *Shall I ſacrifice unto thee a white Bull, or a blacke?* inſomuch as the very Epicureans themſelves who converſed with him, were much abaſhed and aſhamed. So he offred the ſacrifice accordingly, and ever afterwards to his dying day honoured *Mopſus* right devoutly.

Demetrius having thus ſaid, held his peace: but I deſirous to conclude this whole diſputation with ſome corollary, turned againe and caſt mine eie upon *Philippus* and *Ammonius* who ſat together. Now they ſeemed as if they had ſomewhat to ſpeake unto me, and thereupon I ſtaied my ſelfe againe. With that, *Ammonius*: *Philip* (quoth he) ô *Lamprias*, hath ſomewhat yet to ſay of the queſtion which hath beene all this while debated. For he is of opinion, as many others beſide him are, that *Apollo* is no other god than the Sunne, but even the very ſame. But the doubt which I moove, is greater and of more important matters. For I wot not how erewhile, in the traine of our diſcourſe, we tooke from the gods all divination and aſcribed the ſame in plaine termes to Dæmons and angels: and now we will ſeeme to thruſt them out againe from hence, and to diſſeize them of the Oracle and three footed table of which they were poſſeſſed; conferring the beginning and principall cauſe of propheſie, or rather indeed the very ſubſtance and power it ſelfe, upon windes, vapours, and exhalations. For even thoſe temperatures, heats, tinctures, and conſolidations (if I may ſo ſay) which have beene talked of, remove our minde and opinion farther off ſtill from the gods, and put into our heads this imagination and conceit of ſuch a cauſe, as *Euripides* deviſeth Cyclops to alledge in the Tragœdie bearing his name:

The earth muſt needs bring forth graſſe, this is flat,
Will ſhe or nill ſhe, and feed my cattell fatte.

This onely is the difference, becauſe he ſaith not that he ſacrificed his beaſts unto the gods, but unto himſelfe and his belly, the greateſt of all the Dæmons: but we both ſacrifice and alſo powre forth our praiers unto them, for to have their anſwere from the Oracles: and to what purpoſe I pray you, if it be true, that our owne ſoules bring with them a propheticall facultie and vertue of divination, and the cauſe which doth excite and actuate the ſame, be ſome temperature of the aire, or rather of winde? What meanes then, the ſacred inſtitutions and creations of theſe religious propheteſſes ordained for the pronouncing of anſweres? And what is the reaſon that they give no anſwere at all, unleſſe the hoſt or ſacrifice to be killed, tremble all over even from the very feet, and ſhake whiles the libaments & effuſions of halowed liquors be powred upon it. For it is not enough to wag the head, as other beaſts doe which are ſlaine for ſacrifice, but this quaking, panting and ſhivering muſt be throughout all the parts of the body, and that with a trembling noiſe. For if this be wanting, they ſay the Oracle giveth no anſwere, neither doe they ſo much as bring in the religious prieſteſſe *Pythia*. And yet it were probable that they ſhould both doe and thinke thus, who attribute the greateſt part of this propheticall inſpiration, either to God or Dæmon. But according as you ſay, there is no reaſon or likelihood therof: for the exhalation that ariſeth out of the ground, whether the beaſt tremble or no, will alwaies if it be preſent, cauſe a raviſhment and tranſportation of the ſpirit, and evermore diſpoſe the ſoule alike, not onely of *Pythia*, but alſo of any body elſe that firſt commeth or is preſented. And thereupon it followeth, that a meere folly it is, to employ one ſilly woman in the Oracle, and to put her to it (poore ſoule) to be a votary and live a pure maiden all the daies of her life, ſequeſtred from the company of man. And as for that *Coretas*, whom the Delphians name to have beene the firſt that chancing to fall into this chinke or crevaſſe of the ground, gave the hanſell of the vertue and property of the place, in mine opinion he differed nothing at all from other goteheards, or ſhepheards, nor excelled them one whit: at leaſt wiſe if this be a truth that is reported of him, and not a meere fable and vaine fiction, as I ſuppoſe it is no better. And verily when I conſider and diſcourſe in my ſelfe, how many good things this Oracle hath beene cauſe of unto the Greeks, as well in their warres and martiall affaires, as in the foundations of cities, in the diſtreſſes of famine and peſtilence, me thinkes it were a very indignity and unworthy part, to attribute the invention and originall thereof unto meere fortune and chance, and not unto God and divine providence. But upon this point, I would gladly, ô *Lamprias*, (quoth he) have you to diſpute and diſcourſe a little: how ſay you *Philippus*, may it pleaſe you to have patience the while? Moſt willingly (quoth *Philippus*) for my part: and ſo much I may be bold alſo to promiſe in the behalfe of all the company, for I ſee well that the queſtion by you propoſed hath moved them all. And as for my ſelfe (quoth I) ô *Philippus*, it hath not onely moved, but alſo abaſhed and diſmaied me, for that in this ſo notable aſſembly and conference of ſo many worthy parſonages, I may ſeeme above mine age, in bearing my ſelfe and taking pride in the probability of my wordes, to overthrow or to call into queſtion any of thoſe things, which truely have beene delivered, or religiouſly beleeved as touching God and divine matters. But ſatisfie you I will, and in the defence of my ſelfe produce for my witneſſe and advocate both, *Plato*. For this Philoſopher reprooved old *Anaxagoras*, in that being to much addicted to naturall cauſes and entangled with them; following alſo and purſuing alwaies that which neceſſarily is effected in the paſſions and affections of naturall bodies, he overpaſſed the finall and efficient cauſes, for which and by which thinges are done, and thoſe are indeed the better cauſes and principles of greater importance: whereas himſelfe either before, or elſe moſt of all other Philoſophers hath proſecuted them both: attributing unto God the beginning of all things wrought by reaſon: and not depriving in the meane while the matter of thoſe cauſes which are neceſſary unto the worke done: but acknowledging heerein, that the adorning and diſpoſe of all this world ſenſible, dependeth not upon one ſimple cauſe alone, as being pure and uncompound, but was engendred and tooke eſſence, when matter was coupled and conjoined with reaſon. That this is ſo, doe but conſider firſt the workes wrought by the hand of Artiſans: as for example (not to goe farther for the matter) that ſame foot heere and baſis ſo much renowmed, of the ſtanding cup, among other ornaments and oblations of this temple (which *Herodotus* called, *Hypocreteridion)* this hath for the materiall cauſe verily, fire, iron, the mollefying by the meanes of fire; and the tincture or dipping in water, without which this peece of worke could not poſſibly have bene wrought. But the more principall cauſe and miſtreſſe indeed, which mooved all this, and did worke by all theſe, was art and reaſon applied unto the worke. And verily we ſee that over ſuch peeces, whether they be pictures or other repreſentations of things, the name of the artificer and workeman is written, as for example:

This picture Polygnotus *drew,*
of Troy *won long beforne,*
Who father had Aglaophon,
and was in Thaſos *borne.*

And verily he it was indeed as you ſee, who painted the deſtruction of *Troy*: but without colours ground, confuſed and mingled one with another, impoſſible had it beene for him to have exhibited ſuch a picture, ſo faire and beautifull to the eie as it is. If then ſome one come now and will needs medle with the materiall cauſe, ſearching into the alterations and mutations thereof, particularizing of Sinopre mixed with Ochre, or Ceruſſe with blacke, doth he impaire or diminiſh the glory of the painter *Polycletus*? He alſo, who diſcourſeth how iron is hardned, and by what meanes mollified: and how being made ſoft and tender in the fire, it yeeldeth and obaieth them who by beating and knocking drive it out in length and bredth: and afterwards being dipped and plunged into freſh waters ſtill, by the actuall coldneſſe of the ſaid water (for that the fire heats had ſoftened and rarefied it before) it is thruſt cloſe together and condenſate: by meanes whereof it getteth that ſtiffe, compact and hard temper of ſteele, which *Homer* calleth the very force of iron; reſerveth he for the workeman any thing leſſe heereby, in the principall cauſe and operation of his worke? I ſuppoſe he doth not. For ſome there be who make proofe and triall of Phyſicke drogues, and yet I trow they condemne not thereby the skill of Phyſicke: like as *Plato* alſo himſelfe, when he ſaith: That we doe ſee, becauſe the light of our eie is mixed with the cleereneſſe of the Sunne; and heare by the percuſſion and beating of the aire, doth not deny that we have the facultie of ſeeing and power of hearing by reaſon and providence. For in ſumme, as I have ſaid and doe ſtill averre, whereas all generation proceedeth of two cauſes, the moſt ancient Theologians and Poets, vouchſafed to ſet their minde upon the better onely and that which was more excellent, chaunting evermore this common refraine and foot (as it were) of the ſong in all things and actions whatſoever:

Jove *is the firſt, the midſt, the laſt;*
all things of him depend:
By him begin they, and proceed;
in him they come to end.

After other neceſſary and naturall cauſes they never ſought farther, nor came neere unto them: whereas the moderne Philoſophers who ſucceeded after them and were named naturaliſts, tooke a contrary courſe; and turning cleane aſide from that moſt excellent and divine principle, aſcribed al unto bodies, unto paſſions alſo of bodies, and I wot not what percuſſions, mutations and temperatures. And thus it is come to paſſe, that as well the one ſort as the other, are in their opinions defective and come ſhort of that which they ſhould. For as theſe either of ignorance know not, or of negligence regard not to ſet downe the efficient principall cauſe, whereby, and from which: ſo the other before, leave out the materiall cauſes, of which; and the inſtrumentall meanes, by which things are done. But he who firſt manifeſtly touched both cauſes, and coupled with the reaſon that freely worketh and moveth, the matter which neceſſarily is ſubject and ſuffreth; he (I ſay) for himſelfe & us, anſwereth all calumniations, and putteth by all ſurmizes and ſuſpicions whatſoever. For we bereave not divination either of God, or of reaſon: for as much as we graunt unto it for the ſubject matter, the ſoule of man; and for an inſtrument and plectre (as it were) to ſet it aworke, we allow a ſpirit or winde, and an exhalation enthuſiaſticke. Firſt and formoſt, the earth it is that engendreth ſuch exhalations: then, that which giveth unto the earth all power and vertue of this temperature and mutation is the Sunne, who (as we have learned by tradition from our forefathers) is a god. After this we adjoine thereto, the Dæmons as ſuperintendants, overſeers and keepers of this temperature (as if it were ſome harmony and conſonance) who in due and convenient time let downe and ſlacke, or elſe ſet up and ſtretch hard the vertue of this exhalation: taking from it otherwhiles the over-active efficacy that it hath to torment the ſoule and tranſport it beſide it ſelfe: tempering therewith a motive vertue without working any paine, or hurt and damage to them that are inſpired and poſſeſſed therewith. Wherein me thinkes, we doe nothing that ſeemeth either abſurd or impoſſible: neither in killing ſacrifices before we come to moove the Oracle, and adorning them with coronets of flowers, and powring upon them ſacred liquors and libations, doe we ought that is contrary to this diſcourſe and opinion of ours. For the prieſts and ſacrificers, and whoſoever have the charge to kill the beaſt, and to powre upon it the holy libations of wine or other liquors; who alſo obſerve and conſider the motion, trembling and the whole demeanour thereof, doe the ſame for no other end or cauſe but to have a ſigne, that God giveth eare unto their demaund. For neceſſary it is that the beaſt ſacrificed unto the gods be pure, ſound, entier, immaculate, and uncorrupt both in ſoule and bodie. And verily, for the body it is no hard matter to judge and know the markes: as for the ſoule they make an experiment, by ſetting before bulles, meale; by preſenting unto ſwine, cich-peaſe: for if they will not fall to, nor taſt thereof, it is a certaine token that they be not right. For the goat, cold water is the triall. Now if the beaſt make no ſhew and ſemblance of being mooved or affected, when as the ſaid water is powred aloft on it, be ſure the ſoule thereof is not diſpoſed as it ought to be by nature.

Now, ſay it go for currant and be conſtantly beleeved, that it is an undoubted and infallible ſigne, that the God will give anſwer, when the hoſt or ſacrifice thus drenched doth ſtire; and contrariwiſe, that he will not anſwer, if the beaſt quetch not: I ſee nothing herein repugnant unto that, which we have before delivered. For every natural power produceth the effect for which it is ordained, better or worſe, according as the time and ſeaſon is more or leſſe convenient: and probable it is, that God giveth us certeine ſignes, whereby we may know when the opportunity is paſt. For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that the very exhalation it ſelfe which ariſeth out of the earth, is not alwaies of the ſame ſort; but at one time is ſlacke and feeble, at another ſtretched out and ſtrong. And the argument which maketh me thus to judge, I may eaſily confirme and verifie by the teſtimonie of many ſtrangers and of all thoſe miniſters who ſerve in the temple. For the chamber or roume, wherein they are ſet and give attendance who come to demand the anſwer of the Oracle, is filled thorow (not often, nor at certeine ſet times, but as it falleth out after ſome ſpace betweene) with ſo fragrant an odour and pleaſant breath, as the moſt pretious ointments and ſweeteſt perfumes in the world can yeeld no better. And this ariſeth from the ſanctuarie and vault of the temple, as out of ſome ſource and lively fountaine: and very like it is, that it is heat, or at leaſtwiſe ſome other puiſſance, that ſendeth it forth. Now if peradventure, this may ſeeme unto you not probable nor to ſound of trueth: yet will ye at leaſtwiſe confeſſe unto me, that the Propheteſſe *Pythia* hath that part of the ſoule, unto which this winde or propheticall ſpirit approacheth, diſpoſed ſome time in this ſort and otherwhiles in that, and keepeth not alwaies the ſame temperature, as an harmonie immutable. For many troubles and paſſions there be that poſſeſſe her body, and enter likewiſe in her ſoule, ſome apparent; but more, ſecret and unſeene: with which ſhe finding herſelfe ſeized and repleniſhed, better it were for her not to preſent and exhibit herſelfe to this divine inſpiration of the god, being not altogether cleane and pure from all perturbations; like unto an inſtrument of Muſicke well ſet in tune and ſounding ſweetly, but paſſionate and out of order. For neither wine doth ſurpriſe the drunken man alwaies alike, and as much at one time as at another; nor the ſound of the flute or ſhaulme affecteth after one and the ſame ſort at al times, him who naturally is given to be ſoone raviſhed with divine inſpiration: but the ſame perſons are one time more, and another while leſſe tranſported beſide themſelves; and drunken likewiſe, more or leſſe. The reaſon is, becauſe in their bodies there is a divers temperature: but principally, the imaginative part of the ſoule, and which receiveth the images and fantaſies, is poſſeſſed by the body, and ſubject to change with it, as appeareth evidently by dreames: for ſometimes there appeare many viſions and fanſies of all ſorts in our ſleeps; otherwhiles againe, we are free from all ſuch illuſions, and reſt in great quietneſſe and tranquillitie. We our ſelves know this *Cleon* here of *Daulia*, who all his life time (and many yeeres he lived) never (as he ſaid himſelfe) dreamed nor ſaw any viſion in his ſleepe: and of thoſe in former times, we have heard as much reported of *Thraſymedes* the Hœreian. The cauſe whereof, was the temperature of the bodie: whereas contrariwiſe it is ſeene, that the complexion of melancholicke perſons is apt to dreame much, and ſubject to many illuſions in the night; although it ſeemeth their dreames and viſions be more regular, and fall out truer than others, for that ſuch perſons touching their imaginative faculty with one fanſie or other, it can not chuſe but they meet with the truth otherwhiles: much like as when a man ſhoots many ſhafts, it goeth hard if he hit not the marke with one. When as therefore the imaginative part and the propheticall faculty is well diſpoſed and ſutable with the temperature of the exhalation, as it were with ſome medicinable potion, then of neceſſitie there muſt be engendred within the bodies of Prophets an Enthuſiaſme or divine furie: contrariwiſe, when there is no ſuch proportionate diſpoſition, there can be no propheticall inſpiration; or if there be, it is fanaticall, unſeaſonable, violent and troubleſome: as we know, how of late it befel to that *Pythias* or Propheteſſe, who is newly departed. For there being many pilgrims and ſtrangers come from forren parts to conſult with the Oracle, it is ſaid, that the hoſt or beaſt to be ſacrificed, did endure the firſt libaments and liquors that were powred upon it, never ſtirring thereat nor once quetching for the matter: but after that the Prieſts and Sacrificers powred ſtill, and never gave over to caſt liquor on, beyond all meaſure; at length (after great laving and drenching of it) hardly and with much adoe it yeelded and trembled a little. But what hapned hereupon to the Propheteſſe or *Pythias* aforeſaid? Went ſhe did indeed downe into the cave or hole, againſt her will (as they ſaid) and with no alacrity at all: but incontinently, when ſhe was come up againe, at the very firſt words and anſwers that ſhe pronounced, it was well knowen by the horſeneſſe of her voice, that ſhe could not endure the violence of poſſeſſion, being repleniſhed with a maligne and mute ſpirit, much like unto a ſhip caried away under full ſailes with a bluſtering gale of wind. Inſomuch as in the end being exceedingly troubled, and with a fearefull and hideous crie, making haſte to get out, ſhe flung herſelfe downe, and fell upon the earth: ſo that not onely the foreſaid pilgrims fled for feare, but *Nicander* alſo the High-prieſt, and other Sacrificers and religious miniſters that were preſent. Who notwithſtanding afterwards taking heart unto them, and entring againe into the place, tooke her up lying ſtill in an extaſie beſides herſelfe: and in very trueth, ſhe lived not many daies after. And therefore it is, that the ſaid *Pythias* keepeth her bodie pure and cleane from the company of man, and forbidden ſhe is to converſe or have commerce al her life time with any ſtranger. Alſo, before they come to the Oracle, they obſerve certeine ſignes; for that they thinke it is knowen unto the God, when her bodie is prepared and diſpoſed to receive (without danger of her perſon) this Enthuſiaſme. For the force and vertue of this exhalation, doth not move and incite all ſorts of perſons, nor the ſame alwaies after one maner, nor yet as much at one time as at another: but giveth onely a beginning, and ſetteth to (as it were) a match to kindle it, as we have ſaid before; even unto thoſe onely who are prepared and framed aforehand to ſuffer and receive this alteration. Now this exhalation (without all queſtion) is divine and celeſtiall: howbeit for all that, not ſuch as may not faile and ceaſe, not incorruptible, not ſubject to age and decay, nor able to laſt and endure for ever: and under it, all things ſuffer violence, which are betweene the earth and the moone, according to our doctrine: however others there be who affirme, that thoſe things alſo which are above, are not able to reſiſt it; but being wearied an eternall and infinite time, are quickely changed and renewed (as one would ſay) by a ſecond birth & regeneration. But of theſe matters (quoth I) adviſe you I would and my ſelfe alſo, eftſoones to call to minde, and conſider often this diſcourſe, for that they be points expoſed to many reprehenſions, and ſundry objections may be alledged againſt them. All which, the time will not ſuffer us now to proſecute at large: and therefore let us put them off unto another opportunity, together with the doubts and queſtions which *Philippus* moved as touching *Apollo* and the Sunne.

WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS WORD *EI*, ENGRAVEN OVER THE DORE OF *APOLLOES* TEMPLE IN THE CITIE OF *DELPHI*.

The Summarie.

AMong infinite teſtimonies of the fury of maligne ſpirits and evill angels (who having beene created at firſt good, kept not their originall, but fell from the degree and ſtate of happineſſe, wherein continue by the grace and favour of God the good angels, who miniſter and attend vpon thoſe who ſhall receive the inheritance of ſalvation and everlaſting life) theſe may bereckoned for the chiefe and principall, that ſuch reprobate ſpirits and accurſed fiends, endevour & practiſe by all meanes poſsible to make themſelves to be adored by men: and faine would they be ſet in the throne of him, who having impriſoned and tied them faſt in a deepe dungeon, with the chaine of darkneſſe, reſerveth them to the judgement of that great day of doome. And ſo farre proceeded they in pride and preſumption, as to cauſe themſelves to be ſtiled by the name of God; yea, and to be adorned with thoſe titles, which are due and apperteine unto the Aeternall, their ſoveraigne judge. Their devices and artificiall meanes to bring this about, be woonderfull, and of exceeding variety: according as the infinit numbers of idols ſwarming in all parts, and ſo many ſtrange and uncouth ſuperſtitions, wherewith the world hath beene diffamed unto this preſent day, doe teſtifie and give evident proofe. But if there be any place in the whole earth, wherein Satan hath actually ſhewed his furious rage againſt God and man, it is Greece*: and above all, in that renowmed temple of* Delphi*, which was the common ſeat, upon which this curſed enemy hath received the homages of an infinit number of people of all ſorts and qualities, under the colour and pretence of reſolving their doubtfull queſtions. Heere then eſpecially preſumed he and was ſo bold, as to take upon him the name of God: and for to reach thereto, hath ſet out and garniſhed his Oracles, with ambiguous ſpeeches, ſhort and ſententious, intermingling ſome trueths among lies: even as it pleaſed the juſt judge of the world, to let the reines looſe unto this notorious ſeducer, and to give him power for to deceive and abuſe the world: as alſo by certeine notable ſayings (as theſe:* Know thy ſelfe. Nothing too much*: and ſuch like) he hath kept bound unto him, perſons of higheſt ſpirit and greateſt conceit: cauſing them to thinke, that in delivering ſo goodly precepts for the rule and direction of this life, it muſt needs be the true friend of mankinde, yea and the very heavenly wiſdome, that ſpake by theſe Oracles. But his audacious pride, together with moſt intolerable impudence, hath appeared in the inſcription of this bare word,* E I*, upon the porch of the temple of* Apollo *in* Delphi*, in that he pretended title and claimed thereby (according to the laſt interpretation thereof in this preſent diſcourſe) to put himſelfe in the place of the eternall God: who onely* Is*, and giveth* Being *unto all things. And that which worſe is, the blindneſſe was ſo horrible, even of the wiſeſt Sages, that this opinion hath beene ſeated in their heads whiles this tyrant poſſeſſed them, in ſuch ſort, as they tooke pleaſure to ſuffer themſelves ſo to be couſened by him. But hereby good cauſe have we to praiſe our God, who hath diſcovered and laid open to us ſuch impoſtures, and maketh his majeſtie knowen unto us by his word, to be the onely true and eternall deitie; in adoring and worſhipping whom, we may ſafely and truely ſay* E I*, that is to ſay, Thou art: as contrariwiſe, the deceitfull wiles and illuſions of ſatan and his complices, do declare how fearefull and horrible the judgement of God is upon ſuch rebellious ſpirits. Now if ſome over-buſie and curious head, will heere diſpute and reaſon againſt the juſtice of him who is the diſpoſer of all things, and enterpriſe to controule that eternall wiſedome which governeth the world, for having mercy upon ſuch as it pleaſeth him, and ſuffering*

ſuffering to fall from ſo excellent an eſtate, the Apoſtatate and diſobodient angels, and yet permitting them to have ſuch a powerfull hand over the moſt part of Adams children; we anſwer in one word: Man, what art thou, that thus wilt plead againſt God? ſhall the thing formed, ſay unto him who formed it, Why haſt thou made me ſo? Hath not the potter full power to make of the ſame maſſe of earth or clay, one veſſell for honor, and another for diſhonor? The judgements of God are unſearchable, they have neither bottom nor brinke: the riches of his wiſdome and knowledge are inſcrutable, and beyond all computation: his waies are hidden and impoſſible to be found out. If then there be any place in the conſideration of the ſecrets of God, where we ought to be retentive, warie and diſcret, it is in this, where every man hath juſt occaſion to thinke upon this notable leſſon and advertiſement: Not to preſume for to know over and above that which he ſhould, but to be wiſe unto ſobrietie: and that no man ought to be puffed up with pride, but rather to feare. Moreover, as touching the contents of this diſcourſe, the author having uſed an honeſt and decent Preface, ſaith in generall: That by this preſent inſcription, Apollo intended to make himſelfe knowen, and to incite every man to inquire into time. But heerein the enemie of mankind ſheweth his audacity and boldneſſe ſufficiently, as alſo how he deludeth and mocketh his ſlaves; in that after he had deprived them of right and ſound judgement, he ſtirreth them up to know, who he is: which is as much as if one ſhould plucke out the eies, and cut in twaine the ham-ſtrings of a traveller or waifaring man; and then bid him ſeeke out his way, and goe onward on his journey. Now he brings in foure divers perſonages, delivering their minds as touching this Mot, E I. Lamprias opining in the firſt place, thinketh that the firſt and principall wiſe Sages of Greece deviſed it, for that they would be knowen and diſcerned from others. Ammonius ſecondly, referreth and applieth it to the Wiſhes and Queſtions of thoſe who reſort unto the Oracle. Theon the third, attributeth this myſterie unto Logicke, and doth all that poſſibly he can to mainteine his opinion. Euſtrophus the Mathematician ſpeaking in the fourth place, and ſeconded by Plutarch, Philoſophizeth at large upon the number of 5. repreſented by the letter E: he diſcourſeth and runneth through all the Mathematikes, and divers parts of Philoſophy, and all to approove and make good his conceit: but his drift and end is, to ſhew under the myſticall ſenſe of numbers, the perfection of his Apollo, which he draweth and fetcheth alſo from the conſideration of his titles, epithets and attributes. But Ammonius gathering together their voices, and cloſing or ſtopping up the diſputation, ſeemeth to hit the marke: prooving by moſt ſtrong and learned reaſons, that Apollo would by this word inſtruct pilgims, how they ought to ſalute and call him, to wit, in ſaying thus, E I: that is to ſay, Thou art he: which is oppoſite unto that ſalutation which this falſe god (uſurping the name of the true Jehovah, or alwaies Exiſtent) greeteth men with, in ſetting juſt before their eies, in the entrie and forefront of his temple, theſe two words, Γνωθι σεαυτον: that is to ſay, Know thy ſelfe. Having enriched this with two evident proofes, the one taken from the uncerteine condition of creatures; the other from the firmitude and true eſtate or being of the Creator; he exhorteth his fellowes to lift up themſelves to the contemplation of the eſſence of God, and to honour the Sunne, his expreſſe image. Which done, he refuteth certeine contrary opinions: and after a new confirmation of his diſcourſe, he endeth where he firſt began; to wit, that the knowledge of God and our ſelves, are oppoſite in ſuch ſort, as yet neverthelesſe they muſt meet and concurre in us. But all the application of this diſcourſe unto Apollo (whom you muſt take for the very divell) in no wiſe is fit and agreeable. And heerein a man may ſee better yet, what madneſſe and folly is the wiſdome of man: and in how thicke and palpable darkneſſe they goe groping with their hands before them, who are no otherwiſe guided than by the diſcourſe of their owne reaſon. Which teacheth us once againe to adore the ſecrets of God: to recognize and apprehend his mercies in the matter of our ſalvation: to dread alſo his juſtice, which ſheweth it ſelfe in the deplorable and piteous blindneſſe of ſo many nations; even from the time that ſinne firſt entred into the world, unto this preſent day.

* * *

WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS word E I, engraven over the dore of *Apolloes* temple in the city of *Delphi.*

I Light of late in my reading (friend *Sarapion*) upon certeine pretie [Iambique] verſes, not unelegantly endited, which *Dicæarchus* ſuppoſeth that the Poet *Euripides* delivered unto king *Archelaus*, to this effect:

No gifts will I to you preſent,
Since poore I am, and wealth you have:
Leſt I for folly of you be ſhent,
Or by ſuch giving ſeeme to crave.

For he, who of that little meanes which he hath, beſtoweth ſome ſmall preſent upon them that are rich and poſſeſſe much, gratifieth them nothing at all, nor deſerveth any thanks: and that which worſe is, becauſe no man will beleeve that he giveth (be it never ſo little) for nothing, he incurreth the ſuſpicion and obloquie of being cautelous, illiberall, and ſimply naught. But foraſmuch as the gifts that be in the nature of ſilver, gold and temporall goods, be in regard of beautie and liberall courteſie, farre inferiour to thoſe which go in the kinde of good letters, and proceed from learning: it ſtandeth well with honeſty, both to give ſuch, and alſo to demand the like of thoſe who receive the ſame. And therefore, in ſending preſently unto you, and for your ſake unto thoſe friends about you in thoſe parts, certeine diſcourſes gathered together as touching the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, as an offering of firſt fruits; I confeſſe that I expect from you others againe, both more in number and better in value, conſidering that you live in a great city, have more leaſure, and enjoy the benefit of more books, and all ſort of ſcholaſticall conferences and learned exerciſes. And verily it ſeemeth, that our good and kinde *Apollo* doth indeed remedy, eaſe and aſſoile the doubtfull difficulties ordinarily incident to this life of ours, by giving anſwer unto thoſe who repaire unto his Oracle: but ſuch as concerne matter of learning, he putteth forth and propoſeth himſelfe unto that part of our minde, which naturally is given to Philoſophize and ſtudy wiſedome, imprinting therein a covetous deſire to know and underſtand the trueth: as may appeare by many other examples, and namely, in this petie mot, E I, conſecrated in his temple. For it is not like, that it was by meere chance and adventure, nor by a lotterie (as it were) of letters ſhuffled together, that this word alone ſhould have the preeminence with this god, as to precede and goe before all others; ne yet, that it ſhould have the honour to be conſecrated unto God, or dedicated in the temple as a thing of ſpeciall regard for to be ſeene and beheld: but it muſt needs be, that either the firſt learned men (who at the beginning had the charge of this temple) knew ſome particular and exquiſit propertie in this word, or els uſed it as a device to ſymbolize ſome matter of ſingularity, or covertly to ſignifie a thing of great conſequence. Having therefore many times before, cleanly put by and avoided, or paſſed over this queſtion propoſed in the ſchooles for to be diſcuſſed and diſcourſed upon; of late I was ſurprized and ſet upon by mine owne children, upon occaſion that I was debating with certeine ſtrangers, as deſirous to ſatisfie them: whom being ready to depart out of the city of *Delphi*, it was no part of civility either to deteine long, or altogether to reject, having ſo earneſt a minde to heare me ſay ſomewhat. When therefore, as we were ſet about the temple, I beganne partly to looke unto ſome things my ſelfe, and partly to demand and enquire of them; I was put in minde and admoniſhed by the place and matters then handled, of a former queſtion which before-time (when *Nero* paſſed thorow theſe parts) I heard *Ammonius* to diſcourſe, and others beſides, in this very place; and as touching a queſtion of the ſame difficultie likewiſe propounded. For, conſidering that this god *Apollo* is no leſſe a Philoſopher than a Prophet, *Ammonius* then delivered, that in regard thereof the ſurnames might very well be fitted and applied, which were attributed unto him very rightly and with good reaſon; ſhewing and declaring, that he is *Pythius*, a Queſtioniſt to thoſe who begin to learne and enquire; *Delius* and *Phanæus*, that is to ſay, cleere and lightſome unto ſuch as have the trueth a little ſhining and appearing unto them; *Iſmenius*, that is to ſay, ſkilfull and learned unto as many as have atteined unto knowledge already; and *Leſchenorius*, *nortus*, as one would ſay, Eloquent or Diſcourſing, when they put their ſcience in practiſe and make uſe thereof, proceeding for to conferre, diſpute and diſcourſe one with another. And for that it apperteineth unto Philoſophers, to enquire, admire and caſt doubts, by good right the moſt part of divine matters belonging to the gods, are couched & hidden under darke ænigmes and covert ſpeeches, and thereupon require that a man ſhould demand, why? and whether? as alſo to be inſtructed in the cauſe. As for example, about the maintenance of the immortall or eternall fire, Why of all kinds of wood they burne the Firre only? Alſo, Wherefore they never make any perfume but of the Laurell? Likewiſe, What is the reaſon, that in this temple there be no more but two images of two deſtinies or fatall ſiſters, named *Parcæ*, whereas in all places els there be three of them? Semblably, What ſhould be the cauſe, that no woman (whatſoever ſhe be) is permitted to have acceſſe unto this Oracle for counſell or reſolution? Againe, What is the reaſon of that fabricke or three footed table? and ſuch other matters which invite, allure and draw thoſe who are not altogether witleſſe, void of ſenſe and reaſon, to aske, to ſee and heare ſomewhat, yea and to diſpute about them, what they ſhould meane? And to this purpoſe, doe but marke and conſider theſe inſcriptions ſtanding in the forefront of this Temple: *Know thy ſelfe*, and *Nothing too much*: what a number of queſtions and learned diſputations they have moved: alſo, what a multitude of goodly diſcourſes have ſprung & proceeded from ſuch writings, as out of ſome ſeed or graine of corne. And this will I ſay unto you, that the matter now in queſtion, is no leſſe fertile and plentifull, than any one of the other.

When *Ammonius* had thus ſaid, my brother *Lamprias* began in this wiſe: And yet (quoth he) the reaſon which we all have heard as touching this queſtion, is very plaine and ſhort. For reported it is, that thoſe ancient Sages or wiſe men, who by ſome are named Sophiſters, were indeed of themſelves no more than five: to wit, *Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias*, and *Pittacus*. But when firſt *Cleobulus* the tyrant of the Lindians, and then *Periander* the tyrant likewiſe of *Corinth* (who had neither of them any one jot of vertue or wiſdome) by the greatneſſe of their power, by the number of their friends, and by many benefits and demerits whereby they obliged their adherents, acquired forcibly this reputation, in deſpite of all uſurped the name of Sages: and to this purpoſe cauſed to be ſpred ſowen and divulged throughout all *Greece* certaine odde ſentences and notable ſayings, as well as thoſe of the others, wherewith the former Sages above named were diſcontented. Howbeit for all this, theſe five wiſemen would in no hand diſcover and convince their vanity, nor yet openly conteſt and enter into termes of quarell with them about this reputation, ne yet debate the matter againſt ſo mighty perſonages, who had ſo great meanes of countenance in the world: but being aſſembled upon a time in this place, after conference together they conſecrated and dedicated here the letter [E], which as it ſtandeth fifth in the order of the Alphabet, ſo in number it ſignifieth five: as if they teſtified and depoſed heere before the god, that they were but five; proteſting that the ſixth and the ſeventh they rejected and excluded out of their ſocietie, as who had no right to belong unto them. Now that this conjecture is not beſide the purpoſe, a man may know, who hath but heard them ſpeake who have the charge and ſuperintendance of this temple; namely, how they call that E I, which is written in gold, the E I of *Livia Auguſta* the empreſſe and wife of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: the other in braſſe, the E I of the Athenians: and the firſt, which is moſt ancient, and for the matter and ſubſtance thereof no better than cut in wood, at this very day they name, the E I of the Sages; as being dedicated not by one of them alone, but by all together. Heereat *Ammonius* pleaſantly ſmiled, as ſuppoſing this to be the proper and peculiar conceit of *Lamprias* himſelfe, howſoever he ſeemed to father it upon others, feigning that he heard it elſe where, to the end that he might not be called to account, and put to the maintenance and defence thereof. Then another of the company who were there preſent, ſaid that this was much like unto a fooliſh toy which a Chaldæan ſtranger, and by profeſſion an Aſtrologer, not long ſince ſet abroch: That ſeven letters there were forſooth in all the Alphabet, which were vocall and of themſelves rendered a voice: like as ſeven ſtarres there were in the heaven, which had their proper motions apart, at liberty, and not bound and linked to others. Alſo that among thoſe vocall letters or vowels, E was the ſecond; even as the Sunne of all the Planets was next unto the Moone: and that all the Greeks in maner, with one accord, hold *Apollo* and the Sunne, to be both one. But this, when all is done, ſavoureth altogether of his counting table of judiciall Aſtronomie, and of his triviall diſcourſing head. Moreover it ſeemeth that *Lamprias* taketh not heed, but ere he is aware, ſtirreth up all thoſe who have the charge of the temple, againſt this reaſon of his. For there is not a man in al the citie of *Delphi*, who knoweth ought of that which he hath ſaid; but they alledge the common opinion, & that which runneth currant throughout the world, which is: That it is neither the outward forme and ſhew, nor the ſound; but the very Mot only as it is written, conteineth ſome ſecret ſignification: for it is as the Delphians doe conceive of it. And with that the high prieſt *Nicander* himſelfe (who was preſent) ſaid, that this E I is the forme and maner that they uſe, who come to conſult with the god *Apollo*, and to conver their queſtions unto him: and ordinarily, it carieth the firſt place in al their interrogatories. For uſuall it is with them thus to demamaund: ΕΙ νικήσουσιν; ΕΙ γαμήσουσιν, &c. that is to ſay, If, or whether they ſhall have victorie? if they ſhall marry? if it will be expedient for them to goe to ſea? if they were beſt to till the ground? or if they ſhould do well to make a voiage and travell into forren parts? And herein the God (who is wiſe and learned, mocking the Logicians, bidding them farewell who hold, that of this particle or Conjunction E I, that is to ſay, If, and of what Subjunctive propoſition ſoever following after it, nothing can be made, nor categorically affirmed) both underſtandeth all interrogations annexed unto E I, as reall things in *eſſe*, and ſo accepteth of them. And for as much as this E I is proper for an interrogation propoſed unto him as a Divinor or Prophet: and common it is with us, by it to pray unto him, as to a god; they thinke that this word E I is of no leſſe validity to pray and wiſh by, than it is to demand or aske a queſtion: for everie one that praieth, uſeth ordinarily this forme: ΕΙ ὄφελον, that is to ſay, ô if it might pleaſe god. And thus *Archilochus* wrote:

ΕΙ ὡς, ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χεῖρα Νεοβούλης θίγειν:
O if my lucke and hap were ſuch,
As Neobules *hand to touch.*

And it is ſaid, that in the adverbe of wiſhing ΕΙΘΕ, which ſignifieth, Would God; the ſecond ſyllable θε, is an adjunction idle and ſuperfluous, for that ΕΙ alone ſignifieth as much: like as θὴν in this verſe of the Poet *Sophron*:

ἅμα τέκνων θὴν δεομένα:
Deſirous alſo in their need
Of children, for their joy and meed:

as alſo in *Homer*:

Ως θὴν καὶ σὸν ἐγὼ λύσω μένος:
As I will now, even thee diſgrace,
And foile thy ſtrength in preſent place.

Where θὴν ſignifieth juſt nothing. Thus you ſee, how in this little word E I there is an optative power ſufficiently declared. When *Nicander* had delivered theſe words, *Theon* (for I preſuppoſe you know him, being a familiar friend of ours) demaunded of *Ammonius*, whether Logike might have the libertie to ſpeake in her owne defence, being thus wronged and troden under foote? when *Ammonius* willed him to ſpeake hardly, and to ſay all that he could, and for to helpe her out of the mire: Certes, quoth he then, there be many Oracles which beare witneſſe & evidently ſhew, that god *Apollo* is a moſt skilful Logician. For in ſome ſort it belongeth to one and the ſame artiſt, both to moove doubtfull ambiguities, and alſo to aſſoile and cleere the ſame. Moreover, according as *Plato* ſaid, that there being in old time an Oracle given unto the Greeks, that they ſhould double the altar within the temple of *Delos*, (which is a piece of worke for an expert Geometrician to performe, and who had the very habit and perfection of that Art) it was not that indeed which the god commanded the Greeks to doe, but he enjoined them to ſtudie Geometrie: even ſo, in giving otherwhiles ambiguous anſwers, and doubtfull Oracles, he recommendeth thereby and augmenteth ſo much the more, the credit of Logike, as being a ſcience right neceſſary for as many as would gladly underſtand his ſpeech. Now in Logike this Conjunction E I, that is to ſay, If (which is ſo apt to continue a ſpeech and propoſition) hath a great force, as being that which giveth forme unto that propoſition, which is moſt agreeable to diſcourſe of reaſon and argumentation. And verily of this nature be all theſe Hypotheticall propoſitions,, copulative, disjunctive, &c. And who can deny it? conſidering that the very brute beaſts themſelves have in ſome ſort a certeine knowledge and intelligence of the ſubſiſtence of things: but nature hath given to man alone the notice of conſequence, and the judgement for to know how to diſcerne that which followeth upon every thing. For, that it is day; and, that it is light, the very woolves, dogs, and cocks doe perceive: but that, if it be day of neceſſitie it muſt make the aire light, there is no creature ſave onely man, that knoweth:

for he alone hath intelligence of the beginning and of the end, of the antecedent and the conſequent, of the proceeding and finiſhing of things: as alſo of the coherence and bringing together of both ends and extremes, of the conference of one to another; what habitude, Correſpondence, or difference there is betweene: and this is it whereof all demonſtrations take their chiefe originall and beginning. Now ſince it is ſo, that all Philoſophie whatſoever, conſiſteth in the knowledge of the trueth; and the light which cleereth the trueth, is demonſtration; and the beginning of demonſtration, is the coherence and knitting of propoſitions together: by good right that power which maketh and mainteineth this, was dedicated and conſecrated by the Sages and wiſe men unto this god, who above all others loveth the trueth. Againe, this god is a Divinor and Prophet; but the arte of Divining is as touching future things, by the meanes of ſuch as are either preſent or paſt. For as nothing is done or made without cauſe; ſo there is nothing foreknowen without a precedent reaſon: but foraſmuch as all that is, dependeth and followeth upon that which hath beene; and conſequently all that ſhall be, hath a ſtint and dependance of that which is, by a certeine continuitie, which proceedeth from the beginning to the end: he who hath the skill to ſee into cauſes, and by naturall reaſon how to compoſe and joine them together, knoweth and is able to diſcourſe

What things are now, what ſhall heereafter come,
As alſo what are paſt, both all and ſome;

according as *Homer* ſaith: who very well and wiſely ſetteth in the firſt place the preſent, then the future, and that which is paſt. For of the preſent dependeth all Syllogiſme and reaſoning, and that by the vertue & efficacie of a conjunction: for that if this thing be, ſuch a thing went before: and *converſim*, if this be; that ſhall be. For all the artificiall feat and skill of diſcourſe and argument, is the knowledge of conſequence, as hath beene ſaid already: but it is the ſenſe, that giveth anticipation unto the diſcourſe of reaſon. And therefore although haply it may ſeeme to ſtand little with decent honeſty, yet I will not be affraid to affirme that this reaſon properly is the Tripode or three footed table as one would ſay, and Oracle of trueth: namely, when the diſputer ſuppoſeth a conſequence upon that which was premiſed and went before: and then afterwards aſſuming that which is extant and ſubſiſtent, commeth in the end to induce and inferre a finall concluſion of his demonſtration. Now if it be ſo, that *Apollo Pythius*, as the report goeth, loveth muſicke, and be delighted in the ſinging of ſwans, and ſound of lute and harpe; what marvell is it then, if for the affection that he beareth unto logicke, he likewiſe embrace and love that part of ſpeech, which he ſeeth Philoſophers moſt willingly and ofteneſt to uſe? *Hercules* before that he had looſed the bonds wherewith *Prometheus* was tied, and having not as yet conferred and talked with *Chiron* and *Atlans* two great Sophiſters and profeſſours of diſputation, but being a yong man ſtill, and a plaine Bœotian, aboliſhed all logicke at firſt, and ſcoffed at this little Mot Ei: but ſoone after ſeemed as if he would plucke away by force the three footed table of *Apollo*, yea and conteſt with the god, about the art of divining; for that together with age and proceſſe of time he proceeded ſo farre, as that he became by that meanes a moſt ſkilfull prophet, and as ſubtile and excellent a logician. When *Theon* had made an end of this ſpeech, *Euſtrophus* the Athenian, as I take it, directed his wordes unto us & ſaid: See you not how valiantly *Theon* defendeth the art of logicke, & hath in maner gotten on the lions skin of *Hercules*? It is not therfore decent, that we who in one word referre all affaires, all natures and principles jointly together, as well of divine as of humane things into number, and making it the author, maſter, and ruler even of ſuch matters as ſimply are moſt faire and precious, ſhould ſitte ſtill and ſay never a word: but rather for our part, offer the fruits of the Mathematicks unto god *Apollo*. For we ſay and affirme that this letter E, of it ſelfe, neither in puiſſance, nor in forme, ne yet in name & pronounciation, hath any thing in it above other letters: howbeit we thinke, that preferred it hath beene before all the reſt, in this regard that it is a charracter and marke of the number five, which is in all things of greateſt vertue and validity, and is named *Pemptas*. Whereupon our Sages and great clerks in times paſt, when they would expreſſe the verbe [to number] uſed *Pempazein*, as one would ſay, to count and reckon by fives. And verily *Euſtrophus* in ſaying thus, addreſſed his ſpeech unto me, not merily but in good earneſt, for that I was very affectionate and much addicted then unto the Mathematicks; but yet ſo, as in all things I obſerved and kept ſtill the old rule: *To much of nothing*, as being a ſchollar of the Academie ſchoole. I anſwered therefore, that *Euſtrophus* had ſolved paſſing well the difficulty of the queſtion by this number. For ſeeing it is ſo (quoth I) that number in generality is divided into even and odde, unity is in power and efficacy common to them both: in ſuch ſort, as being put unto the even, it maketh it odde; and likewiſe added to the odde, causeth the ſame to be even. Now the beginning and ground of even numbers is Two; and of odde, Three is the firſt: of which being joined together is engedred Five, which by good right is highly honored as being the firſt compound of the firſt ſimple numbers, whereupon it is worthily named Γάμος, that is to ſay, Mariage; becauſe the even number hath ſome reſemblance to the female, and the odde, a reference to the male. For in the ſections & diviſions of numbers into equal parts, the even is altogether cleane parted and ſevered aſunder, leaving a certaine void ſpace betweene the parts, as a beginning of capacity apt to receive ſomewhat more: contrariwiſe in the odde number, if a man doe as much by it, and cut it into two numbers, there remaineth alwaies ſomewhat in the midſt betweene, fit for ſubdiviſion, yea and generation of new numbers: whereby it appeareth that more generative it is than the other. And whenſoever it commeth to be mixed with the other, it carieth the preeminence, and is maſter alwaies, but never maſtered. For what mixture ſoever you make of them twaine, you ſhal never come thereby to an even number: but mix and compoſe them as often and in what maner you will, there ſhall ariſe alwaies thereof an odde number. And that which more is, both the one and the other added to it ſelfe, or compounded with it ſelfe, ſheweth the difference that is betweene them. For never ſhall you ſee an even number joined with another that is even, to produce an odde; for it goeth not out of his proper nature, as having not the power to beget any other than it ſelfe, ſo feeble it is and imperfect: but odde numbers coupled and mingled with others that be odde, bring forth many even numbers, ſo powerfull it is to engender every way. As for all the other properties and different puiſſances of numbers, the time will not now ſerve to diſcourſe throughly of them all. But heereby you ſee, wherefore the ancient Pythagorean Philoſophers called Five, the Mariage; as being compounded of the firſt male and of the firſt female. The ſame alſo is ſometime named *Nature*; for that being multiplied by it ſelfe, it falleth out ſtill to determine in * it ſelfe. For like as nature taking a graine of wheat in the nature of ſeed, and ſo diffuſing it, produceth many formes and divers kindes of things betweene, through which ſhe paſſeth and proceedeth, untill at laſt ſhe bringeth her worke to an end; and when all is done ſheweth a corne of wheat againe, rendring the firſt beginning, in the end of all: even ſo, when other numbers multiply themſelves, and end by growing and multiplication in other numbers, only five & ſix, if they be multiplied by themſelves, do bring forth and regenerate likewiſe themſelves: for ſix times ſix, maketh thirty ſix; and five times five, ariſeth to twenty five. But take thus much withall againe, that Six doth this but once and after one maner onely, when of it ſelfe it becommeth that * foure ſquare number: but unto Five the ſame befalleth, when it is multiplied by it ſelfe; and beſides particularly, it hath this property, that by addition of it ſelfe it produceth alſo it ſelfe, in as much as it maketh ten; which it doth alternatively, and holdeth on this courſe in infinite, as farre as any numbers will extend: ſo as this number reſembleth, that principle or firſt cauſe, which doth conduct and governe this univerſall world. For like as it, of the owne ſelfe preſerveth the world; and reciprocally, of the world returneth into it ſelfe, according as *Heraclitus* ſaid of the fire:

* For 5 times 5 maketh 25.

* That is to ſay, 36. made of 4 nines.

πυρὸς ἀνταμείβεται, πάντα
Καὶ πῦρ ἁπάντων:

Fire into all things firſt doth turne,
And all things ſhall to fire returne:

like as golde is exchanged for wares, and wares likewiſe for golde: even ſo the meeting of five with it ſelfe, howſoever it be, can engender and bring forth nothing either imperfect or ſtrange, but all the changes that it hath, be limited and certeine. For either it begetteth it ſelfe, or els produceth ten; that is to ſay, that which is proper and familiar, or els perfect and accompliſhed.

Now if a man ſhould come unto me and demand: What is all this (good ſir) unto *Apollo*? I will anſwer againe: That this concerneth not *Apollo* alone, but * *Bacchus* alſo, who hath no leſſe to do with the city of *Delphos*, nor is of leſſe anthority there, than *Apollo* himſelfe. For we have heard the Theologians (partly in verſe and partly in proſe) ſing and ſay, That this god being of his owne nature incorruptible and immortall: yet, I wot not by what ſentence and reaſon fatall he is tranſmuted and changed in many ſorts. Sometime he is all on a light fire, and cauſeth all things to be of the ſame nature, and like unto all things: otherwhiles moſt variable, in all maner of formes, paſſions & puiſſances all different, and becommeth (as now he is) the World; ſo called by a moſt common and beſt knowen name. But the Sages and wiſer ſort, willing to

* Alluding to the proverbe, τὶ πρὸς Διόνυσον: whereupon a thing is ſaid to be ἀπροσδιόνυσον, which is not to the purpoſe.

conceale and keepe theſe ſecrets hidden from common people, name this mutation & change of his into fire, *Apollo*; ſignifying thereby, a kinde of ſole unity whereunto it reduceth all things, and negation of plurality: and *Phœbus* likewiſe; betokening thereby his purity and cleereneſſe from filth and pollution. As for his converſion into winds, water, earth, ſtarres, and into ſundry kinds of plants and living creatures, together with the order and diſpoſition thereof, ſuch as we ſee; all this paſſion (I ſay) and mutation, they covertly do ſignifie under the name of a certeine diſtraction and diſmembring: and in theſe regards, they call himſelfe *Dionyſus, Zagreus, Nyctelius, Iſodætes.* They exhibit alſo and counterfet I wot not what deaths, deſtructions and diſparitions; regenerations alſo, and reſurrections: which be fables all, and ænigmaticall fictions, deviſed for to repreſent the foreſaid mutations. And verily, to *Bacchus* they do chant in their ſongs certeine Dithyrambicke ditties and tunes, full of paſſion and change, with motions and agitations to and fro. For according as *Aeſchylus* ſaith:

> *The Dithyrambe with clamours diſſonant,*
> *Sorts well with* Bacchus, *where he is reſiant.*

But unto the other (that is to ſay, *Apollo*) they ſing the Pæan, which is a ſetled kind of ſong, and Muſicke modeſt and ſober. Moreover, in all their pictures and portraictures of images and ſtatues, they make *Apollo* alwaies with a yong face, and never aging: but the other, to wit, *Bacchus*, they repreſent in many ſhapes, and as many formes and viſages. And in one word, to the one they attribute a conſtancy uniforme and evermore the ſame, a regular order, a ſerious and ſyncere gravity: but unto the other, mixed ſports, games, wantonneſſe and inſolency; in ſumme, ſuch a gravity as is interlaced with fury, madneſſe and inequality: they invocate and call upon him by the name of *Bacchus Eüius:*

> Bacchus *(I ſay) ſurnamed* Eüius,
> *Who women doth to rage incite:*
> *And in ſuch ſervice furious,*
> *And frantike worſhip, takes delight:*

noting hereby not unfitly and without good purpoſe that which is proper to the one and the other mutation. But for that the time of the revolutions in theſe changes is not equall and alike, but of the one (which is called *Coros*, and ſignifieth plenty or ſatiety) longer; and of the other (named *Chreſmoſyne*, which betokeneth want and neceſſity) ſhorter: obſerving even herein the proportion, they uſe the canticle Pæan, during all the reſt of the yeere, in their ſacrifices: but in the beginning of winter, they ſtirre up the Dithyrambe, and downe goeth Pæan; and ſo invocate this god for three moneths ſpace in ſtead of the other, ſuppoſing that there is the ſame proportion of the conflagration of the world to the reſtoring and reparation thereof, as is of three to one. But peradventure we have dwelt longer upon this point than we ſhould, conſidering the time: howbeit this is certeine, that they attribute the number of five unto this god *Apollo*, as proper and peculiar unto him; ſaying, that one while it begetteth it ſelfe by multiplication, as fire; and another while maketh of it ſelfe ten, as the world. Moreover, thinke we not, that this number hath no ſocietie with Muſicke, which is ſo agreeable unto this god, as nothing ſo much? Certes, harmonie is (to ſay at once) occupied moſt of all about accords, which we call Symphonies: and that thoſe are in number five, and no more, reaſon prooveth, and experience will convince it to be ſo, even unto him who ſhall make the triall, either with ſtrings or pipe-holes, by the very ſenſe of hearing only, without any other reaſon. For al theſe accords take their generation by proportion in number. Now the proportion of the Muſicke or Symphonie Diateſſaron, is Epitritos or Seſquitertiall, that is to ſay, the whole and a third part over: of Diapente, Hemolios or Seſquialterall, that is to ſay, the whole and halfe as much more: of Diapaſon, duple: of Diapaſon with Diapente together, triple: & of Dis-diapaſon, quadruple. And as for that which the Muſicians bring in over and above theſe, to wit, Diapaſon and Diateſſaron (for ſo they name it) they are not worthy to be admitted and received, as tranſcending all meane and meaſure to gratifie forſooth the unreaſonable pleaſure of the eare againſt all proportion, and breaking as it were the ordinance of the law.

To let paſſe therefore the five poſitures of the Tetrachords, as alſo the firſt five tones, tropes, changes, notes or harmonies, (call them what you will) for that they change and alter by ſetting up or letting downe the ſtrings, more or leſſe, or by ſtreining or eaſing the voice; all the reſt are conſidered as baſes and trebles. For ſee you not that there being many, or rather infinit intervals, yet five there be onely uſed in ſong; namely, Dieſis, Hemitonium, Tonos, Triſemitonion,

nion, and Ditonos? Neither is there any ſpace or intervall greater or leſſe in voices, diſtinguiſhed by baſe and treble, high and low, that can be expreſſed in ſong. But to paſſe by many other ſuch things (quoth I) onely *Plato* I will alledge, who affirmeth, that there is indeed but one world: mary if there were more in number, and not the ſame one alone; it muſt needs be that there are five in all, and not one more. But grant that there be no more in trueth than one, as *Ariſtotle* holdeth; yet ſo it is, that the ſame ſeemeth to be compoſed and coagmented in ſome ſort of five other worlds: whereof one is that of earth, another of water, the third of fire, the fourth of aire; as for the fifth, ſome call it heaven, others light, and ſome againe, the skie; and there be, who name it a quint-eſſence: unto which onely it is proper and naturall (of all other bodies) to turne round, not by violent force, nor otherwiſe by chance and aventure. *Plato* therefore obſerving and knowing well enough, that the moſt beautifull and perfect figures of regular bodies which be in the world & within compaſſe of nature, are five in number (namely, the Pyramis, the Cube, the Octaedron, Icoſaedron & Dodecaedron) hath very fitly appropriated and attributed ech of theſe noble figures unto one or other of thoſe firſt bodies. Others there be alſo who apply the faculties of the naturall ſenſes, which likewiſe be in number five, unto the ſaid primitive bodies: to wit, Touching, which is firme, ſolid and hard, to Earth; Taſting, which judgeth of the qualities of ſavors by the meanes of moiſture, to Water; Hearing, to the Aire, for that the aire being beaten upon is the voice and ſound in the eares: of the other twaine, Smelling hath for the object Sent or odour, which being in maner of a perfume, is ingendred and elevated by heat, and therfore holdeth of the Fire; as for the Sight, which is cleere and bright, by a certeine affinitie and conſanguinity which it hath with the heaven and with light, hath a temperature and complexion mingled of the one and the other: neither is there in any living creature other ſenſe, nor in the whole world any other nature and ſubſtance ſimple and uncompound; but a marvellous diſtribution there is and congruity of five to five, as it evidently appeareth.

When I had thus ſaid, and made a ſtop withall, after a little pauſe betweene: O what a fault (quoth I) ô *Euſtrophus*, had I like to have committed: for I went within a little of paſſing over *Homer* altogether, as if he had not beene the firſt that divided the world into five parts; allotting three of them which are in the middes unto three gods, and the other two which be the extremes (namely, heaven and earth, whereof the one is the limit of things beneath, the other the bound of things above) in common and not diſtributed like the others. But our ſpeech muſt remember to returne againe, as *Euripides* ſaith, from whence it hath digreſſed. For they who magnifie the quaternarie or number of foure, teach not amiſſe nor beſide the purpoſe, that everie ſolide body hath taken the beginning and generation by reaſon of it. For it being ſo, that every ſolide conſiſteth in length and bredth, having withall a depth: before length there is to be ſuppoſed a poſiture and ſituation of a point or pricke, anſwerable to unitie in numbers; and longitude without bredth is called a line; and the mooving of a line into bredth, and the procreation of a ſuperficies thereby, conſiſteth of three: afterwards, when there is adjoined thereto profundity or depth, the augmentation groweth by foure, untill it become a perfect ſolidity. So that every man ſeeth, that the quaternary having brought nature to this point, as to performe and accompliſh a body, in giving it a double magnitude or maſſe with firme ſoliditie apt to make reſiſtance, leaveth it afterwards deſtitute of the thing which is greateſt and principall. For that which is without a ſoule, to ſpeake plaine, is in maner of an Orphan, unperfect and good for nothing, ſo long as it is without a ſoule to uſe and guide it: but the motion or diſpoſition which putteth in the ſoule, ingenerated by meanes of the number of five, is it that bringeth perfection and conſummation unto nature. Whereby it appeereth that there is an eſſence more excellent than the foure, inaſmuch as a living body endued with a ſoule, is of a more noble nature, than that which hath none: but more than ſo, the beauty and excellent power of this number five, proceeding yet farther, would not ſuffer a body animate to be extended into infinite kinds, but hath given unto us five divers ſorts of animate and living natures in al. For there be Gods; Dæmons, or Angels; Demi-gods, or Heroës: then after theſe, a fourth kind, of Men; and laſt of all, in the fift place, is that of brute Beaſts and unreaſonable. Furthermore, if you come and divide the ſoule according to nature, the firſt and obſcureſt part or puiſſance thereof, is the vegetative or nutritive faculty: the ſecond is the ſenſitive: then the appetitive: after it the iraſcible, wherein is engendred anger. Now when it is once come unto that power which diſcourſeth by reaſon, and brought nature as it were to perfection, there it reſteth in the fift, as in the very pitch & top of all. Since then this number hath ſo many, and thoſe ſo great puiſſances & faculties, the very generation thereof is beautiful to be conſidered; I meane not that whereof we have already heeretofore diſcourſed, when we ſaid, that compoſed it was of two and three, but that which is made by the conjunction of the firſt principle, with the firſt ſquare and quadrate number. And what is that principle or beginning of all numbers? even one or unitie, and that firſt quadrat is Foure: and of theſe twaine (as a man would ſay, of forme and of matter) being brought to perfection, is procreated this Quinarie or number of five. Now if it be true, as ſome do hold, that unitie it ſelfe is quadrat and foure-ſquare, as being that which is the power of it ſelfe, and determineth in it ſelfe, then five being thus compounded of the two firſt quadrat numbers, ought ſo much the rather to be eſteemed ſo noble and excellent as none can be comparable unto it. And yet there is one excellency behind, that paſſeth all thoſe which went before. But I feare me (quoth I) leſt if the ſame be uttered, it would debaſe in ſome ſort the honor of our *Plato*, like as himſelfe ſaid, the honour and authority of *Anaxagoras* was depreſſed and put downe by the name of the Moone, who attributed unto himſelfe the firſt invention of the Moones illuminations by the Sunne; whereas it was a very ancient opinion long before he was borne. How ſay you, hath he not ſaid thus much in his Dialogue entituled *Cratylus*? Yes verily, anſwered *Euſtrophus*; but I ſee not the like conſequence for all that. But you know (quoth I) that in his booke entituled: The *Sophiſter*, he ſetteth downe five moſt principall beginnings of all things: to wit, *That which is*: *The ſame*: *The other*: *Motion*, the fourth: and *Reſt* for the fift. Moreover in his Dialogue *Philebus*, he bringeth in another kinde of partition and diviſion of theſe principles, where he ſaith: That one is Infinite: another Finite, or the end: and of the mixture of theſe twaine, is made and accompliſhed all generation: as for the cauſe whereby they are mixed, he putteth it for the fourth kinde: but leaveth to our conjecture the fift: by the meanes whereof, that which is compoſed and mixed is redivided, and ſeparate againe. And for mine owne part, I ſuppoſe verily, that theſe principles be the figures and images (as it were) of thoſe before: to wit, of *That which is*, *The thing engendred*: of *Motion*, *Infinite*: of *Reſt*, the *End* or *Finit*: of *The ſame*, the Cauſe that mixeth: of *The other*, the Cauſe that doth ſeparate. But ſay they be divers principles, and not the ſame: yet howſoever it be, there are alwaies ſtill five kinds, & five differences of the ſaid principles. Some of them before *Plato*, being of the ſame opinion, or having heard ſo much of another, conſecrated two E. E. unto the god of this temple, as a very ſigne to ſymbolize that number which comprehendeth all. And peradventure, having heard alſo, that Good appeareth in five kinds: whereof the firſt is *Meane* or *Meaſure*; the ſecond, *Symmetrie* or *Proportion*; the third, *Underſtanding*; the fourth, The *Sciences*, *Arts* and *True Opinions*, which are in the ſoule; the fifth, *Pure* and *Syncere Pleaſure*, without mixture of any trouble and paine: they ſtaied there, reciting this verſe out of *Orpheus*:

But at the ſixth age ceaſe your ſong:
It booteth not to chaunt ſo long.

After theſe diſcourſes paſſed betweene us: Yet one briefe word more (quoth he) will I ſay unto *Nicander*, and thoſe about him;

For ſing I will
To men of ſkill.

The ſixth day of the moneth when you lead the Propheteſſe *Pythia* into ſome hal named *Prytanium*, the firſt caſting of lots among you, of three, tendeth to five: for ſhe caſteth three; and you, two: how ſay you is it not ſo? Yes verily, quoth *Nicander*: but the cauſe heereof we dare not reveale and declare unto others. Well then (quoth I, ſmiling thereat) untill ſuch time as god permitteth us after we are become holy and conſecrate, for to know the trueth thereof, meane while let that alſo be added unto the praiſes which have bene alledged in the recommendation of the number Five.

Thus ended the diſcourſe as touching the commendations attributed unto the number of five, by the Arithmeticians and Mathematicians, as far as I can remember or call to mind. And *Ammonius* (as he was a man who beſtowed not the worſt and leaſt part of his time in Mathematicke Philoſophy) tooke no ſmall pleaſure in the hearing of ſuch diſcourſes and ſaid: Needleſſe it is and to no purpoſe, to ſtand much upon the preciſe and exact confutation of that which theſe yong men heere have alledged, unleſſe it be that every number will affoord you alſo ſufficient matter and argument of praiſe, if you will but take the paines to looke into them: for, to ſay nothing of others, a whole day would not be enough to expreſſe in words all the vertues and properties of the ſacred number Seven, dedicated to *Apollo*. And moreover we ſhall ſeeme to pronounce againſt the Sages and wiſemen, that they fight both againſt common law received, and all antiquity of time; if diſſeizing the number of ſeven of that preeminence, whereof it is in poſſeſſion, they ſhould conſecrate Five unto *Apollo*, as more meet and beſeeming for him. And therefore mine opinion is, that this writing E I ſignifieth neither number, nor order, nor conjunction, nor any other defective particle; but is an entier ſalutation of it ſelfe, and a compellation of the God: which together with the very utterance and pronuntiation of the word induceth the ſpeaker to think of the greatneſſe & power of him, who ſeemeth to ſalute and greet every one of us when we come hither, with theſe words Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, Know thy ſelfe, which ſignifieth no leſſe, than if he ſaid χαῖρε, that is to ſay, All haile or god ſave you: and we again to render the like, anſwer him E I, that is to ſay, *Thou art*; yeelding unto him not a falſe, but a true appellation and title which onely and to him alone appertaineth, namely, that he is. For in very trueth and to ſpeake as it is, we who are mortall men, have no part at all of being indeed, becauſe that all humane nature being ever in the midſt betweene generation and corruption, giveth but an obſcure apparence, a darke ſhadow, a weake and uncertaine opinion of it ſelfe. And if paradventure you bend your minde and cogitation for to comprehend a ſubſtance and eſſence thereof, you ſhal doe as much good as if you would cluch water in your hand with a bent fiſt; for the more you ſeeme to gripe and preſſe together that which of the owne nature is fluid and runneth out, ſo much the more ſhall you leeſe of that which you will claſpe and hold: and even ſo, all things being ſubject to alteration, and to paſſe from one change unto another, reaſon ſeeking for a reall ſubſiſtence is deceived, as not able to apprehend any thing ſubſiſtant in trueth and permanent; for that every thing tendeth to a being before it is, or beginneth to die ſo ſoone as it is engendred. For, as *Heraclitus* was wont to ſay, a man cannot poſſibly enter twice into one and the ſame river: no more is he able to finde any mortall ſubſtance twice in one and the ſame eſtate. Such is the ſuddeneſſe and celerity of change, that no ſooner is it diſſipated but it gathereth againe anon, or rather indeed not againe, nor anon, but at once it both ſubſiſteth and alſo ceaſeth to be, it commeth and goeth together; in ſuch ſort, as that which beginneth to breed, never reacheth to the perfection of being, for that in very deed this generation is never accompliſhed, nor reſteth as being come to a ful end and perfection of being, but continually changeth and moveth from one to another: even as of humane ſeed, firſt there is gathered within the mothers wombe a fruit or maſſe without forme; then an infant having ſome forme and ſhape; afterwards being out of the mothers belly it is a ſucking babe, anon it proves to be a lad or boy, within a while a ſtripling or ſpringall, then a youth, afterwards a man growen, conſequently an elderly & ancient perſon, & laſt of al a croked old man: ſo that the former ages & precedent generations be alwais aboliſhed by the ſubſequent & thoſe that follow. But we like ridiculous fooles be affraid of one kinde of death, when as we have already died ſo many deaths, and doe nothing daily and hourely but die ſtill. For not onely (as *Heraclitus* ſaith) the death of fire is the life of aire; and the end of aire, the beginning of water: but much more evidently we may obſerve the ſame in our ſelves. The floure of our yeeres dieth and paſſeth away when old age commeth: youth endeth in the floure of luſty and perfect age: childhood determineth in youth: infancy in childhood. Yeſterday dieth in this day, and this day will be dead by to morow: neither continueth any man alwaies one and the ſame, but we are engendred many, according as the matter glideth, turneth and is driven about one image, mould or patterne common to all figures. For, were it not ſo, but that we continued ſtill the ſame, how is it that we take delight now in theſe things, whereas we joied before in others? how is it that we love and hate, praiſe and diſpraiſe contrary things? how commeth it to paſſe that we uſe divers ſpeeches, fal into different diſcourſes, & are in ſundry affections; retaine not the ſame viſage, one countenance, one minde and one thought? For there is no likelihood at all, that without change a man ſhould entertaine other paſſions; and looke who is changed, he continueth not the ſame; and if he be not the ſame, he is not at all: but together with changing from the ſame, he changeth alſo to be ſimply, for that continually he is altered from one to another: and by conſequence our ſenſe is deceived miſtaking that which appeareth, for that which is indeed; and all for want of knowledge, what it is to be. But what is it (in trueth) to be? Surely to be eternall, that is to ſay, which never had beginning in generation, nor ſhall have end by corruption; and in which, time never worketh any mutation. For a moveable and mutable thing is time, appearing (as it were) in a ſhadow with the matter which runneth and floweth continually, never remaining ſtable, permanent and ſolid, but may be compared unto a leaking veſſell, conteining in it (after a ſort) generations and corruptions. And to it properly belong theſe tearmes: *Before,and after* : ***Hath bene,& ſhall be*** : which preſently at the very firſt ſight do evidently ſhew, that time hath no being. For it were a great folly and manifeſt abſurditie to ſay, that a thing is, which as yet commeth not into *eſſe*,or hath already ceaſed to be. And as for theſe words, *Preſent, Inſtant, Now,&c.* by which it ſeemeth that principally we ground and mainteine the intelligence of Time,reaſon diſcovereth the ſame,and immediatly overthroweth it; for incontinently it is thruſt out & diſpatched, into future, and paſt: ſo that it fareth with us in this caſe,as with thoſe who would ſee a thing very farre diſtant; for of neceſſitie the viſuall beames of his ſight doe faile before they can reach thereto. Now if the ſame befall to nature which is meaſured, that unto time which meaſureth it; there is nothing in it permanent nor ſubſiſtent, but all things therein be either breeding or dying, according as they have reference unto time. And therefore it may not be allowed to ſay of that which is, It hath beene, or it ſhall be: for theſe termes be certaine inclinations, paſſages, departures and chaunges of that which cannot endure nor continue in being. Whereupon, we are to conclude that God alone is (and that, not according to any meaſure of time,but reſpective to eternity) immutable and unmooveable,not gaged within the compaſſe of time, nor ſubſert either to inclination or declination any way: before whom nothing ever was, nor after whom ought ſhall be, nothing future, nothing paſt,nothing elder, nothing yoonger; but being one really, by this one *Preſent* or *Now*, accompliſheth his eternitie and being alway. Neither is there any thing, that may truely be ſaid to be, but he alone, nor of him may it be verified: He hath beene, or ſhall be, for that he is without beginning and end. In this maner therefore we ought in our worſhip and adoration, to ſalute and invocate him, ſaying, E I, that is to ſay, Thou art; unleſſe a man will rather, according as ſome of the ancients uſed to doe, ſalve him by this title E I E N, that is to ſay, Thou art one: for god is not many, as every one of us, who are a confuſed heape and maſſe compoſed, or rather thruſt together of infinit diverſities and differences proceeding from all ſorts of alterations: but as that which is, ought to be one; ſo that which is one, ought to be: for alternative diverſitie being the difference of that which is, departeth from it, and goeth to the engendring of that which is not. And therefore very rightly agreeth unto this god, the firſt of his names, as alſo the ſecond and the third: for *Apollo* he is called, as denying and diſavowing τὰ πολλά, that is to ſay,plurality & multitude: likewiſe, *Iëias*, which is as much to ſay, as One,or alone: thirdly, ***Phœbus***, by which name,they called in the olde time,All that was cleane and pure,without mixture and pollution. And ſemblably even at this day, the Theſſalians (if I be not deceived) ſay, that their prieſts upon certeine vacant dayes, when they keepe forth of their temples and live apart pivatly to themſelves, φοιβονομεῖσθαι. Now that which is one,is alſo pure and ſyncere; for pollution commeth by occaſion that one thing is mingled with another: like as *Homer* ſpeaking in one place of Yvorie having a tincture of red, ſaid it was polluted; and the word that he uſeth is μιαίνεσθαι. Diers alſo, when they would expreſſe that their colours be medleies or mixed,uſe the word φθείρεσθαι, that is to ſay, to be corrupted; and the very mixture they tearme φθόραν, that is to ſay, Corruption. It behooveth therefore, that the thing which is ſyncere and incorruptible, ſhould be alſo one and ſimple, without all mixture whatſoever. In which regard, they who thinke that *Apollo* and the Sunne be both one god, are worthy to be made much of and loved for their good conceit and pleaſant wit, becauſe they repoſe the notion of god in that which of all things that they know and deſire, they honour and reverence moſt. And now, ſo long as we are in this life,as if we dreamed the moſt beautifull dreame that a man could imagine of this god *Apollo*, let us excite and ſtirre up our mindes to paſſe yet farther and mount higher, for to contemplate and behold that which is above our ſelves, in adoring principally indeed his eſſence: but yet honoring withall his image,to wit,the Sunne, and that generative vertue which he hath infuſed into it, for to produce and bring forth; repreſenting in ſome ſort, by his brightneſſe ſome obſcure reſemblances and darke ſhewes of his clemency, benignity, and bleſſedneſſe, as far forth as it is poſſible for a ſenſible nature, to ſhew an intellectuall; and for that which is movable, to expreſſe that which is ſtable and parmanent. Moreover, as touching I wot not what extaſies and leapings forth of himſelfe and his owne nature, certaine ſtrange alterations likewiſe, as namely when he caſteth fire and withall diſmembreth and teareth himſelfe, as they ſay: as alſo that he ſtretcheth, dilateth and ſpreadeth forth; and contrariwiſe how he gathereth and draweth in himſelfe heere below, into the earth, the ſea, the windes, the ſtarres, and uncouth accidents of beaſts and plants; they be ſuch abſurdities, as are not to be named without impiety. Or elſe if we admit them, he will become worſe than the little boy, whom the Poets feigne, playing upon the ſea ſhore with an heape of ſand, which he firſt raiſed, and then caſt downe againe and ſcattered abroad: if (I ſay) he ſhould continually play at this game like faſt and looſe, namely in framing the world firſt, where before it was not; and then anon deſtroying it, ſo ſoone as it is made. For contrariwiſe, how much or how little ſoever of him is infuſed into the world, the ſame in ſome ſort containeth and confirmeth the ſubſtance thereof, maintaining the corporall nature of it which otherwiſe by reaſon of infirmity and weakeneſſe tendeth alwaies to corruption. In my conceit therefore, againſt this opinion principally hath beene directly oppoſed this Mot and denomination of god, Ei; that is to ſay, *Thou art*: as giving good teſtimony in his behalfe, that in him there is never any change or mutation. But either to do, or ſuffer this, as is beforeſaid, belongeth to any other god or rather indeed to any other Dæmon, ordained to have the ſuperintendance of that nature, which is ſubject both to generation and corruption: as may appeare immediately by the ſignifications of their names, which are quite contrary and directly doe contradict one the other. For our god here is named *Apollo*, the other *Pluto*; as if one would ſay, *Not Many*; and *Many*. The one is cleped *Delius* that is, cleere and evident: the other *Aidoneus*, that is to ſay, obſcure blinde and unſeene. Againe the former, is named *Phœbus*, which is as much as Shining or reſplendent: but the latter *Scotius*, which is all one with Darke. About him are ſeated the Muſes and *Mnemoſyne*, that is to ſay, Memory: but neere to this are *Lethe*, that is to ſay, Oblivion and ſilence. Our *Apollo*, is ſurnamed *Theorius* and *Phanæus*, of Seeing and ſhewing: but *Pluto* is

*The Lord of night ſo * bleake and darke,*
Of idle ſleeps that can not warke:

* ἀΐδνα.

who alſo is

To gods and men moſt odious,
And to them as malicious.

Of whom *Pindarus* ſaid not unpleaſantly:

Condemn'd of all he was, for that
He never any childe begat.

And therefore *Euripides* to this purpoſe ſpake right well:

Soule-ſongs, dirges, libations funerall
Faire Phœbus *pleaſe not, he likes them not at all.*

And before him, *Steſichorus*:

Apollo *joies in mery ſongs,*
  in dances, ſports and plaies:
But Pluto *takes delight in ſighs,*
  in groanes and plaints alwaies.

And *Sophocles* ſeemeth evidently to attribute unto either of them their muſicall inſtruments, by theſe verſes:

The Pſalterie and pleaſant Lute,
With dolefull mones do not well ſute.

For very late it was, and but the other day to ſpeake of, that the pipe and hautboies durſt preſume to ſound, and be heard in matters of mirth and delight: but in former times it drew folke to mourning and ſorrow, to heavie funerals & convoies of the dead, and in ſuch caſes and ſervices emploied it was, as it were not very honourable nor jocund and delectable; howſoever after, it came to be intermingled in all occaſions one with another. Mary they eſpecially, who confuſedly have hudled the worſhip of the gods with the ſervice of Dæmons, brought thoſe inſtruments in requeſt and reputation.

But to conclude, it ſeemeth that this Mot Ei, is ſomewhat contrary unto the precept Γνῶθι σαυτόν, and yet after a ſort to accord and agree therewith. For as the one is a word of devout admiration and reverent worſhip directed to God, as eternall and everlaſting: ſo the other is an advertiſement given unto men mortall, to put them in minde of their fraile and weake nature.

AN EXPLANATION OF SUNDRY TEARMES SOMEWHAT obſcure, in this tranſlation of *Plutarch*, in favour *of the unlearned Reader; after the order of the Alphabet.*

A.

A. *AUlus*, A forename among the Romans.

Abyrtace, A deintie kinde of meat, with the Medes & other Barbarous nations, ſharpe & quicke of taſte to provoke and pleaſe the appetite, compoſed of Leeks, Garlike, Creſſes, Senvie, Pomgranate kirnels, and ſuch like.

Academie, A ſhadowy place full of groves, a mile diſtant from *Athens*, where *Plato* the Philoſopher was borne, and wherein hee taught. Of it, the Academicke Philoſophers tooke their name; whoſe maner was to diſcourſe and diſpute of all queſtions, but to determine and reſolve of nothing. And for the great frequence and concourſe of ſcholars to that place, our Univerſities and great ſchooles of learning, be named Academies.

Aediles, Certeine magiſtrates or officers in *Rome*: who were of two ſorts; *Plebeÿ* and *Curules*. *Plebeÿ*, of the Commons onely, two in number, more ancient than the other; choſen by the people alone, to ſecond and aſſiſt the Tribunes of the Commons, as their right hands. This name they tooke of the charge which they had to mainteine temples and chapels: albeit they regiſtred the Sanctions and Acts of the people, called *Plebiſcita*, and kept the ſame in their owne cuſtodie; were Clerks of the Market, and looked to weights and meaſures, &c. yea, and exhibited the games and playes named *Plebeÿ*. *Curules* were likewiſe twain, elected out of the order and degree of the *Patriti̇̈*: ſo called of the Yvorie chaire wherein they were allowed to ſit, as officers of greater ſtate; and by vertue whereof, in ſome caſes, and at certein times they might exerciſe civill juriſdiction. It belonged unto theſe to ſet forth the ſolemnities, called *Ludi Magni* or *Romani*: overſeers they were likewiſe of the buildings thorowout the city, aſwell publike as private, in maner of the *Aſtynomi* in *Athens*: they had regard unto the publike vaults, ſinks, conveiances, and conduits of the waters that ſerved the city, as alſo to the Arcenall, &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great perſons: and were charged to ſee unto the proviſion of corne and victuals. At the firſt, none but of noble families or Patricians were advanced to this place: but in proceſſe of time, Commoners alſo atteined thereto. More of them; & how in *Iulius Cæſars* time there were elected ſix *Aediles*, whereof two were named *Cereals*; See *Alexander* at *Alexander, lib. 4. cap. 4. Genial.* dieth.

Aeginetícke, Mna or *Mina*, Seemeth to be the ancient coine or money of *Greece*: for they were the firſt that coined money: and of them came *νόμισμα αἰγιναῖον*. *Cælius Rhodig.*

Aeolius Modus, In Muſicke a certeine ſimple, plaine and mild tune, apt to procure ſleepe and bring folke to bed.

Aequinox, That time of the yeere, when the daies and nights be of equall length; which hapneth twice in the yeere, to wit, in March and September.

Aeſtivall, that is to ſay, Of the Summer: as the *Aeſtivall* Solſtice or Tropicke of the Sunne, when he is come neereſt unto us, and returneth Southward from us.

Aloïdæ or *Aloïadæ*, were *Othus* and *Ephialtes*, two giants, ſo named of *Aloëus* the giant their ſuppoſed father: for of his wife *Iphimedia*, *Neptune* begat them. It is ſaid, that every moneth they grew nine fingers.

Alphabet, The order or rew of Greeke letters as they ſtand; ſo called of *Alpha* and *Beta*, the two formoſt letters: and it anſwereth to our A. B. C.

Alternative, By courſe or turnes, one after another; going and comming, &c.

Amphictyones, Were a certein ſolemne counſell of State in *Greece*, who held twice in the yeere a meeting, in the Spring and Autumne, at *Thermopyle*; being aſſembled from the 12 flouriſhing cities of *Greece*: there to conſult of moſt important affaires.

Amphitheatre, A ſpacious ſhew-place; in forme round, and made as it were of two Theaters. See *Theater*.

Amphora, A meaſure in *Rome* of liquors only. It ſeemeth to take that name of the two eares it had, of either ſide one: it conteined eight *Congios*, which are ſomewhat under as many of our wine gallons.

Amnets, Preſervatives hung about the necke, or otherwiſe worne, againſt witchcraft, poiſon, eiebiting, ſickneſſe, or any other evils.

Anarchie, The ſtate of a city or countrey without government.

Andria, A ſocietie of men, meeting together in ſome publicke hall for to eat and drinke: Inſtituted firſt among the Thebans, like to the *Phiditia* in *Lacedæmon*.

Annales, Hiſtories, Records, or Chronicles, conteining things done from yere to yeere.

Anniverſarie, Comming once every yeere, at a certeine time: as the Nativity of *Chriſt*, and Sturbridge faire, &c.

Antarcticke, That is to ſay, Oppoſit unto the Arcticke. See *Arcticke*.

Antidote, A medicine, properly taken inwardly againſt a poiſon or ſome peſtilent and venimous diſeaſe. A counterpoiſon or preſervative.

Antipathie, A repugnance in nature, by reaſon of contrarie affections; whereby ſome can not abide the ſmell of roſes, others may not endure the ſight of a Cat, &c.

Antiperiſtaſis, A cohibition or reſtraint on every ſide; whereby either colde or heat is made ſtronger in it ſelfe by the reſtraining of the contrary: as the naturall heat of our bodies in Winter, through the coldneſſe of the aire compaſſing it about: likewiſe, the coldneſſe of the middle region of the aire in Summer, by occaſion of the heat on both ſides cauſing thunder and haile, &c.

Antiphonie, A noiſe of contrarie ſounds.

Antipodes, Thoſe people who inhabit under and beneath our Hemiſphære, and go with their feet full againſt ours.

Apathie, Impaſſibilitie, or voidneſſe of all affections and paſſions.

Apaturia, A feaſt ſolemnized for the ſpace of foure daies at *Athens* in the honour of *Bacchus*. So called of *Apate*, that is to ſay, Deceit: becauſe *Xanthius* the Bœotian was in ſingle fight ſlaine deceitfully by *Thimoeles* the Athenian. For the tale goeth, that whiles they were in combat, *Bacchus* appeared behind *Xanthius*, clad in a goats ſkinne: and when *Thimoeles* charged his concurrent for comming into the field with an aſſiſtant; as he looked backe, he was killed by *Thimoeles* abovenamed.

Apologie, A plea for the defence or excuſe of any perſon.

Apothegme, A ſhort ſententious ſpeech.

Apoplexie, A diſeaſe comming ſuddenly in maner of a ſtroke, with an univerſall aſtoniſhment and deprivation of ſenſe and motion, which either cauſeth death quickely; or elſe endeth in a dead palſey.

Archontes, Were chiefe magiſtrates at *Athens*, at firſt every tenth yeere; and afterwards yeerely choſen by lot, unto whom the rule of the common-welth in their popular ſtate was committed: of whom the firſt was named βασιλεὺς, that is to ſay, King: the ſecond, *Archon*, that is to ſay, Ruler: the third, *Polemarchus*: and the other ſix, *Theſmothelæ*.

Arctick, that is to ſay, Northerly; ſo called of *Arctos* in Greeke, which ſignifieth the Beare, that is to ſay, thoſe conſpicuous ſeaven ſtarres in the North, named *Charlemains* waine; neere unto which is that pole or point of the imaginarie axell-tree, about which the heavens turne, which thereupon is named, The pole Arctick: and over againſt it, underneath our Hemiſphære, is the other pole, called Antarctick, in the South part of the world.

Ariſtocratie, A forme of Government, or a State wherein the nobles and beſt men be Rulers.

To *Aromatize*, that is to ſay, To ſeaſon or make pleaſant, by putting thereto ſome ſweete and odoriferous ſpices.

Aſtragalote Maſtix, A ſcourge or whip, the ſtrings whereof are ſet and wrought with ankle-bones, called *Aſtragali*, thereby to give a more grievous laſh.

Atomi, Indiviſible bodies like to motes in the Sunne beames; of which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* imagined all things to be made.

Atticke pure, that is to ſay, The moſt fine and eloquent: for in *Athens* they ſpake the pureſt Greeke; inſomuch as *Thucydides* called

led it ἑλλάδος ἑλλάδα, that is to ſay, Greece of Greece, as one would ſay, the very quintenſſence of Greece.

Averrunci or *Averruncani*, Were gods among the Romans, ſuppoſed to put by and chace away evils and calamities: ſuch as *Hercules* and *Apollo* among the Greekes, called thereupon *Apotropæi*.

Auſpices, *Plutarch* ſeemeth to take for *Augures*,that is to ſay,Certeine prieſts or ſoothſaiers, who by the inſpection and obſervation of birds did foretell future things.

Axiomes, Were principal propoſitions in Logicke, of as great authoritie and force as Maximes in law: and it ſhould ſeeme that thoſe Maximes be derived corruptly from Axiomes.

B

B*Acchanalia*, named alſo *Dionyſia*,Certein licentious feſtivall ſolemnities in the honor of *Bacchus*, performed at the firſt by day light, and afterward in the night ſeaſon, with all maner of filthy wantonneſſe: inſtituted firſt in *Athens*, and other cities of *Greece* euery three yeeres: in *Aegypt* alſo: at laſt they were taken vp in *Italy* and at *Rome*.

Bacchiadæ, A noble familie in *Corinth*,who for the ſpace almoſt of 200. yeeres there ruled.

Bachyllion, A ſong or daunce, which ſeemeth to take the name of a famous Tragœdian poet named *Bachyllus*, who deviſed and practiſed it; like as *Pyladion*, of *Pylades*, as notable a Comœdian.

Barbariſme, A rude and corrupt maner of ſpeech, full of barbarous and abſonant words.

Baſis, The flat, piedſtall or foote of a Columne, pillar, ſtatue,or ſuch like, whereupon it ſtandeth.

Bœotarches,or *Bœotarchæ*. The ſoueraigne magiſtrate or Ruler of the Bœotians.

Bœotius, a kinde of Meſure or Note in Muſick uſed in *Bœotia*.

C

C. C*Aius*, A common forename to many families in *Rome*, and *Caia* to the woman kinde: as uſuall as *John* and *Jone* with us,as appeereth by this forme of ſpeech ordinary in mariage; Where thou art *Caius*,I will be *Caia*.

Calends. See *Kalends*.

Calloſitres,Hardneſſe in maner of brawn, as in the skinne of hands or feet, occaſioned by much labour and trauell.

Cancerous,that is to ſay,Reſembling a certeine hard tumor or ſwelling, occaſioned by melancholicke bloud, named a Cancer, for the likeneſſe it hath to a crab-fiſh, (named in Latine *Cancer*) partly, for the ſwelling veines appearing about it,like unto the feet or cleis of the ſaid fiſh: and in part,for that it is not eaſily remooved,no more than the crab if it once ſettle to a place: & laſtly,becauſe the colour is not much unlike. This ſwelling if it breake out into an ulcer, hardly or unneth admitteth any cure, and by ſome is called a Wolfe.

Candyli, A kind of dainty meat made with hony and milke.

Candys,an ornament of the Perſians,Medians, and other Eaſt nations; much like to a Diademe.

Catamite, A boy abuſed againſt kinde: a baggage.

Cataplaſme, A pulteſſe or groſſe maner of plaſter.

To *Cauterize*,To burne or ſeare with a red hot iron or other mettall.

Cenotaph, An emptie Tombe or Sepulcher, wherein no corps is interred.

Cenſours, Magiſtrates of State in *Rome*, whoſe charge was to valew and eſtimate mens goods, and enroll them accordingly in their ſeuerall ranges: Alſo to demiſe unto certaine farmers, called Publicanes, the publicke profits of the city for a rent, and to put foorth the city works unto them, to be undertaken at a price. Likewiſe their office it was to overſee mens maners, whereby oftentimes they woulde deprive Senatours of their dignitie: take from Gentlemen their horſes of ſervice and rings: diſplace commanders out of their owne tribe: diſable them for giving voices; and make them Ærarij.

Centre,The middle pricke of a circle or globe, equally diſtant from the circumference thereof.

Centumviri, A certeine Court of Judges in *Rome*, choſen three out of every tribe. And albeit there were 35.tribes, and the whole number by that account amounted to an hundred and five; yet in round reckoning, and by cuſtome, they went under the name of an hundred, and therefore were called *Centumviri*.

Cercopes, Certaine ridiculous people inhabiting the Iland *Pitheruſa*, having tailes like monkeys, good for nought but to make ſport.

Chalons, A ſmall piece of braſſe money; the eighth part or (as ſome ſay) the ſixth, of the Atticke *Obolus*: ſomewhat better than halfe a farthing or a cue.

Chromaticke Muſicke, Was ſoft, delicate and effeminate, ful of deſcant, fained voices and quavering, as ſome are of opinion.

Cidaris, An ornament of the head, which in *Perſia, Media,* and *Armenia,* the Kings and High prieſts wore, with a blew band or ribband about it, beſet with white ſpots.

Cinaradæ, A familie deſcended from *Cinaras*. Some read *Cinyradæ*, and *Cinyras*.

Circumgyration, A turning or winding round.

Cn. A forename to ſome houſes in *Rome*.

Colian earth, So called of *Colias* a promontory or hill in the territorie of *Attica*.

Colleague, A fellow or companion in office.

Colonies, Were townes wherein the Romanes placed citizens of their owne to inhabit, either as Free-holders, or tenants & undertakers; endowed with franchiſes and liberties diverſly: Erected firſt by *Romulus*.

Comœdia vetus, Licentiouſly abuſed all maner of perſons, not forbearing to name and traduce upon the Stage even the beſt men, ſuch as noble *Pericles*, wiſe *Solon*, and juſt *Ariſtides*: nay it ſpared not the very State it ſelfe and bodie of the Common-weale; whereupon at length it was condemned and put downe.

Concions, Orations or ſpeeches made openly before the body of the people, ſuch properly as the Tribunes of the Commons uſed unto them.

Congiarium, a dole or liberall gift of ſome Prince or Noble perſon beſtowed upon the people. It tooke the name of that meaſure *Congius*, much about our gallon, which was given in oile or wine, by the poll: but afterwards, any other ſuch gift or diſtribution, whether it were in other victuals, or in money, went under that name.

Conſuls, two in number, Soveraigne Magiſtrates in *Rome*, ſucceeding in the place of Kings, with the ſame authoritie and roiall enſignes: onely they were choſen yeerely.

Contignate, Cloſe ſet together, ſo as they touch one another, as houſes adjoining.

Contuſions, Bruiſes, dry-beatings, or cruſhes.

Convulſions, Plucking or ſhooting paines: Cramps.

Cordax, A laſcivious and unſeemly kinde of daunce, uſed in Comœdies at the firſt, but miſliked afterwards and rejected.

Criticks, Grammarians, who tooke upon them to cenſure and judge Poemes and other works of authors; ſuch as *Ariſtarchus* was.

Criticall daies, In Phyſicke be obſerved according to the motion of the humour and the Moone; in which the diſeaſe ſheweth ſome notable alteration, to life or death, as if the patient had then his dome. In which regard we ſay, that the ſeventh day is a king; but the ſixth, a tyrant.

Cube, A ſquare figure: as in Geometrie, the Die; having ſixe faces foure ſquare and even: in Arithmeticke, a number multiplied in it ſelfe; as nine ariſing of thrice three, and ſixteene of foure times foure.

Curvature, that is to ſay, Bending round, as in the felly of a wheele.

Corollarie, An overdeale, or overmeaſure, given more than is due or was promiſed.

Curule chaire, A ſeat of eſtate among the Romans made of Ivorie; whereupon certaine Magiſtrates were called *Curules*, who were allowed to ſit thereon: as alſo Triumphes were named *Curules*, when thoſe that triumphed were gloriouſly beſeene in ſuch a chaire, drawen with a chariot, for diſtinction of Oration, wherein Captaines rode on horſebacke onely.

Cyath, A ſmall meaſure of liquid things: the twelfth part of *Sextarius*, which was much about our wine quart. So that a *Cyath* may go for three good ſpoonefuls, and anſwereth in weight to an ounce and halfe, with the better.

Cynicke Philoſophers, Such as *Antiſthenes, Diogenes* and their followers were: ſo named of *Cynoſarges*, a grove or ſchoole without *Athens*, where they taught: or rather of their dogged and curriſh maner of biting; barking at men, in noting their lives over rudely.

D

D. *Decius*, A forename. For *Decius*, although it were the Gentile name of an houſe in *Rome*, yet grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewiſe forenames at the firſt, in proceſſe of time, came to name Families.

D. Decimus, A forename to certeine Romans, as namely to *Brutus* ſurnamed *Albinus*, one of the conſpiratours that killed *Iul. Cæſar*.

Decade, That which conteineth tenne: as the Decades of *Livie*, which conſiſt every one of tenne books.

Democratie, A free State, or popular government; wherein every citizen is capable of ſoveraigne Magiſtracy.

Deſiccative, that is to ſay, Drying, or having the power to drie.

Diateſſaron, A conſonance or concord in Muſick, called a Fourth, whereof there be foure in the Scale which compriſeth fifteene ſtrings: it anſwereth to the proportion, Epitritos; for it conſiſteth of three and one third part.

Diapente, A conſonance or concord in Muſicke, called a Five, it anſwereth to the proportion Hemiolios, or Seſquialtera: for three conteineth two and halfe; three and two make five.

Diapaſon, a perfect conſonance conteining two fourths; or made of *Diateſſeron* and *Diapente*, As if it conſiſted of all: an Eight. It anſwereth to duple proportion, or *Diplaſion*.

Dis dia paſon, A duple Eight; or quadruple Fourth; which was counted in old time the greateſt Syſtema in the Muſicke ſcale.

Diaſtema, The intervall in the ſcale of Muſick. Alſo the reſt or Time, of which and of ſounds or notes conſiſteth Diatonicke Muſicke.

Diazeugmenon, Of disjuncts in Muſicke.

Diaphoretical, or *Diphoretical*, So is called in Phyſicke Exceſſive ſweat, whereby the ſpirits be ſpent, and the body much weakened and made faint, as in the diſeaſe Cardiaca.

Diatonique Muſicke, Keepeth a meane temperature betweene Chromaticke, and Enharmoniacke: and may go for plaine ſong, or our Muſicke.

Diatonos, A note in Muſicke. *Diatonos Hypatón*, D, SOL RE. *Diatonos Meſón*.

Dictatour, A ſoveraigne Magiſtrate above all others in *Rome*, from whom no appeale was granted, meere abſolute and king-like; but that his time of rule was limited within ſixe moneths ordinarily: ſo named, becauſe he onely ſaid the word and it was done; or for that he was *Dictus*, that is to ſay, nominated by one of the Conſuls, uſually in ſome time of great danger of the ſtate, and not otherwiſe elected.

Dieſis, The quarter of a note in Muſicke; or the leaſt time or accent, G, SOL, RE, UT.

Dionyſius in Corinth, An uſuall proverbe in *Greece*, againſt ſuch as are upon their proſperous eſtate, ſo proud and inſolent, as they forget themſelves and oppreſſe their inferiors; putting them in minde that they may have a fall as well as *Dionyſius*, who having beene a mighty and abſolute Monarch of *Sicily*, was driven at laſt to teach a Grammar and Muſicke ſchoole in *Corinth*.

Dithyrambs, Were ſongs or hymnes in the honour of *Bacchus*, who was ſurnamed *Dithyrambus*, either becauſe hee was borne twice, and came into this world at two dores; once out of his mother *Senerleus* wombe, and a ſecond time out of his father *Jupiters* thigh: or elſe of *Lythirambus*, according as *Pindarus* writeth. For when *Jupiter* had ſowed him within his thigh, at what time as he ſhould come forth againe, he cried foorth, λῦθι ῥάμμα : λῦθι ῥάμμα, that is, undoe the ſeame, undoe the ſeame. The Poets who compoſed ſuch Hymnes were called Dithyrambicques, whoſe verſes and words were darke and intricate.

Divination, Soothſaying, or foretelling of future things.

Dolichus, A long carriere or race, containing twelve, or (as ſome ſay) 24. Stadia.

Dorian, or *Doricke Muſick*, Was grave and ſober: ſo called, for that the Dorians firſt deviſed and moſt uſed it.

Drachme or *Dram*, The eight part of an ounce. Alſo a peece of money valued at ſeven pence halfe-penie in ſilver, and in gold much about a french crowne. The Romane *denarius* was æquivalent unto it.

E

Echo, A reſonance, or reſounding of the laſt part of the voice or words delivered.

Echo-pan, A ſong, of *Echo* ſuppoſed to be a Nymph not viſible, but woonderfully beloved of *Pan*, the Heardmens god.

Eclipticke, making or occaſioning an eclipſe.

Elegi, Lamentable and dolefull ditties, compoſed of unequall verſes, as the Hexameter and Pentameter; and ſuch be called *Elegiake*.

Elenchs, ſubtile arguments deviſed to reproove or confute.

Elotæ, The common ſlaves that the Lacedæmonians uſed, and emploied in baſe miniſteries, as publicke executions, &c.

Elucidaries, Expoſitions or Declarations of things that be obſcure and darke.

Embrochalion, a deviſe that Phyſicians have to foment the head or any other part, with ſome liquor falling from aloft upon it, in maner of raine, whereupon it tooke the name.

Emphaticall, that is to ſay, Expreſſe and verie ſignificative.

Empiricke Phyſicians, Who without regard either

ther of the cauſe in a diſeaſe, or the conſtitution and nature of the patient, goe boldly to worke with thoſe meanes and medicines whereof they had experience in others, fall it out as it would.

Empuſa, A certeine vaine and fantaſticall illuſion, ſent by the divell, or as the Painims ſay, by *Hecate*, for to fright infortunate folke. Appeare it doth in divers formes, and ſeemeth to go with one legge (whereupon it tooke the name, *quaſi* Ἔμπουσα:) for one foote or legge it hath of braſſe, the other of an aſſe; and therefore it is named alſo ὀνοκώλη or ὀνοσκελὶς.

Encomiaſtical, Perteining to the praiſe of a thing or perſon.

Endrome, A kinde of bickering or conflict:

Endymatia, A kinde of daunce or Muſicall Note.

Enharmonion, one of the three generall ſorts of Muſicke: ſong of many parts, or a curious concent of ſundry tunes.

Enthymemes, unperfect ſyllogiſmes, or ſhort reaſonings, when one of the premiſſes is not expreſſed, yet ſo underſtoode, as the concluſion neverthele ſſe is inferred.

Epact, The day put to, or ſet in, to make the leape yeere.

Ephori, Certeine Magiſtrates or Superintendents for the people in *Sparta,* in oppoſition to the kings, and to take downe their regall power: ſuch as were the Tribunes of the Commons at *Rome*, ordeined for to abridge the Conſuls abſolute authoritie.

Epiali, Be fevers of the Quotidian kind, that is continuall: they have an unequall diſtemperature, both of colde and heat at once: but the heat ſeemeth to be milde and gentle at the firſt: whereupon they tooke that name. Theſe fevers alſo, for the ſame reaſon be called ριγοπυρετοι.

Epidemial diſeaſes, Such as are occaſioned by ſome common cauſe, and therefore ſpred, and take hold of all perſons indifferently in a tract or city: as the peſtilence.

To *Epitomize*, To relate or pen a thing briefly and by way of an abbreviarie.

Epitritos, The proportion ſeſquitertion, whereby eight exceedeth ſixe, namely by a third part.

Etymologie, the knowledge of the originall of words, and from whence they be derived.

Eviration, Gelding, or diſabling for the act of generation.

Exharmonians, Diſcords or diſſonances in Muſicke.

Exſtaſie, or *Ecſtaſie*, A traunce or tranſportation of the minde, occaſioned by rage, admiration, feare, &c.

F

FLatulent, Windy, or engendring winde: as peaſe and beanes, be flatulent meat.

Fomentations, in *Phyſicke*, be properly deviſes, for to be applied unto any greeved part: either to comfort and cheriſh it; or to allay the paine; or elſe to open the pores of the skinne, and to make way for plaſters and ointments to worke their effects the better. Laid to they are by the meanes of bladders, ſpunges, wollen clothes, or quilts and ſuch like.

Fungoſity, A light and holow ſubſtance, ſuch as wee may perceive, in ſpunges, muſhromes, fuſſe bals, elder pith, &c.

G

GAlli, The furious prieſts of dame *Cybele*, the great mother of the gods, honored in *Phrygia*: It is ſuppoſed that they tooke that name of *Gallus* the river; the water whereof if they dranke liberally, they fell into a furious rage, and cut off their owne genetours.

Græcoſtaſis, A withdrawing gallerie or place in *Rome*, neere unto the Senate houſe *Curia Hoſtilia*: where Greeks and other forreine Embaſſadors ſtaide and gave attendance.

Gymnaſtical, Belonging the publicke places of exerciſe, where youth was trained up to wreſtling and other feates of activitie: the which places were called *Gymnaſia*.

Gymnick games or plaies, performed or practiſed by thoſe who were naked.

Gymnopodia, or *Gymnopædia*, a certaine daunce, that the Lacedæmonian children were trained in, barefoot; untill they proceeded to another more warlike, called *Pyrrhica*.

Gymnoſophiſts, Philoſophers of *India*, who went naked, and led beſide a moſt auſtere and preciſe life.

H

HAbite, In our bodies, is either the ſubſtantiall conſtitution thereof; whereby we terme the evill habite (in Greeke) καχεξία, whenas the bodie miſliketh and thriveth not; and the good habite εὐεξία (in Greeke) when it proſpereth: or els the outward parts; and ſo we ſay ſweats, pocks, mezels, and ſcabs, are driven foorth to the habite of the body by ſtrength of nature.

Harmonicall Muſicke, See *Enharmonia*.

Hemiolios, Proportion ſeſquialterall: conteining the whole & halfe; as twelve to eight.

Hemiſphære, that is to ſay, The halfe ſphære or globe, uſed commonly for that part of the heaven which is in our ſight.

Hexameter, A verſe conſiſting of ſix meſures, called feete.

Hexatonos, Having ſix tones or ſix ſtrings.

Hieroglyphicks, The Aegyptians ſacred Philoſophie, delivered not in characters and letters, but under the forme of living creatures and other things engraven.

Holocauſt, A whole burnt ſacrifice: whereas ordinarily they burnt upon the altar, onely the inwards of the beaſt.

Homonymie, the double or manifold ſignification of a word or ſentence, which is the occaſion of ambiguity and doubts.

Horizon, That circle that determineth our ſight, and divideth the one halfe of the ſphære of heaven above, from that which is under, out of our ſight.

Horoſcope, the obſeruation of the houre and time of ones nativitie, together with the figure of the heavens at that very inſtant; and that forſooth in the Eaſt.

Hypate, hypaton, Principall of principals. A baſe ſtring in a Muſicall inſtrument: or a note in the ſkale of Muſicke, B, MI.

Hypate Meſon, A meane ſtring or note in Muſicke: principall of meanes, E, LA, MI.

Hypate, The baſe ſtring in a lute or other ſtringed inſtrument; ſo called, becauſe it is ſeated higheſt & is principall. And yet it may ſeeme in vocall Muſicke, as *Lambinas* taketh it in *Horace*, to be the ſmall treble, by that which he writeth of *Tigellus*, who ſong *Iö Bacche, modò ſumma Voce, modò hæc, reſonat chordis quæ quatuor ima*: where by *ſumma* he meaneth the treble, and *ima* the baſe. Alſo *Boetius* (as *Eraſmus* upon the proverb *Dis Diapaſon*, obſerveth) writeth the cõtrary, namely, that *Hypate* is the loweſt or baſe; and *Nete* the higheſt or treble. Neither doth *Plutarch* ſeeme to agree alwaies with himſelfe in theſe termes.

Hyperbolyæum, A terme in Muſick, belonging to their ſkale, & appropriate to the trebles, that is to ſay, it ſignifieth Excellent or exceeding.

Hyporchema, An hymne and dance unto *Apollo*, performed by children with a noiſe of pipes before them, in the time of peſtilence, and thereupon it was alſo called *Pæan*.

Hypotheticall propoſitions, ſuch as are pronounced with a ſuppoſition.

I

I*Ambus*, A meaſure or foote in verſe, conſiſting of two ſillables, the former ſhort, the other long: it is put alſo for the verſe made thereof.

Iambicke verſes, be they which ſtand upon ſuch feete. If of foure, they be called *Quaternarij*: if of ſix, *Senarij*: if of eight, *Octonarij*. Now for that this kinde of foote runneth very quicke, two of them together be reckoned but for one meaſure: and therefore the ſaid verſes, be termed alſo *Dimetri, Trimetri*, and *Tetrametri*, as if they had but two, three, & foure feete or meaſures.

Icoſaedron, A Geometricall ſolid body, repreſenting twenty ſides or faces, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeverall lines and angles.

Idææ, The formes of things ſetled in the divine intelligence or heavenly minde, according to which as paternes, by *Platoes* doctrine all things were made.

Idæi Dactyli, were certaine ſervitours unto *Cybele*, bretheren all, called otherwiſe *Corybantes* and *Curetes*. But whether they were Dæmons, fanaticall men, or couſening impoſtors, it is not agreed upon among writers: neither how many they were, or why ſo called. See *Natalis Comes Mytholog*.

✲ But heere I muſt not forget to note, that in the Page 257 line 50, inſtead of Ἰδαίων δακτύλων: ſome read Ἰδίων δακτύλων, that is to ſay, of their owne fingers. *Cælius Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 12.

Identity, that is to ſay, The ſameneſſe, or being the very ſame.

Idus or *Ides*, Eight daies in every moneth, derived of an old word *Iduo* to divide, for that they commonly fall about the midſt of the moneth, namely upon the thirteene or fifteene daies, according to *Horace: Idus tibi ſunt agendæ; Qui dies menſem veneris marinæ, findit Aprilem*.

To *Incarnate*, that is to ſay, to make fleſh, or helpe that the fleſh may grow: and ſo certaine ſalves or medicines be called incarnatives.

To *Incraſſate*, that is to ſay, to make thicke and groſe.

Intercular daies, that is to ſay, ſet or put betweene, as the odde daie in the leape yeare.

Interſtice, that is to ſay, The ſpace or diſtance betweene.

Inumbration, that is to ſay, Shadowing.

Ionicke Muſicke, Gallant and galliardlike: pleaſant or delectable.

Iſonomie, An æquability of government under the ſame lawes, indifferently miniſtred to al perſons: As alſo an æquality of right which all men doe enjoy in one ſtate: And an æquall diſtribution unto all perſons, not according to Arithmeticall, but Geometricall proportion.

Iſthmus, A narrow banke of lande lying betweene two ſeas, as namely, that of *Corinth* and *Peloponneſus*: and by analogie thereto, all ſuch are ſo called. By a metaphor alſo, other things that ſerve as partitions, be ſo termed.

Iſthmick games, Were thoſe which were performed neere *Corinth* upon the ſaide *Iſthmus*: inſtituted as ſome thinke, by *Theſeus*, to the honour of *Melicerta*, otherwiſe named *Palæmon* and *Portamnus*.

K

Kalends, Was among the Romans the firſt day of the Moneth, or the very day of the new Moone, which commonly did concurre and fall out together: *Neomenia* in Greeke. But ſo called ἀπὸ τοῦ καλεῖν, that is to ſay, a *Calando*, becauſe the Prieſt uſed then to call the people unto the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies there were to the *Nones*, &c.

L

L. *Lucius*, A forename to divers families in *Rome*.

To *Laconize*, that is to ſay, To imitate the Lacedæmonians, either in ſhort and pithy ſpeech, or in hard life.

Laſſitude, that is to ſay, Wearineſſe.

Laterall motions, that is to ſay, Moovings to a ſide; for diſtinction of thoſe that be circular, mounting upright or deſcending downward.

Libations, or *Libaments*, Aſſaies of ſacrifices, or offrings to the gods; eſpecially of liquid things, as wine.

Lichanos, A ſtring of an inſtrument or note in Muſicke: Index: In an inſtrument: the forefinger ſtring or third: in the GAM-UT, or skale, D, SOL, RE, and G, SOL, RE, UT, according to the addition of Hypatón or Meſón.

Liturgia, Any publicke function: but more particularly for the miniſterie in the church, about divine ſervice and worſhip of God.

Lydius Modus, *Lydian* Muſicke, dolefull and lamentable.

Lyceum, or *Lycium*, A famous place neere to *Athens*, wherein *Ariſtotle* taught Philoſophie. His followers, becauſe they conferred and diſputed walking in this *Lyceum*, were called *Peripatetici*.

Lyrical poets, Such as compoſed ditties and ſongs to be ſung unto the Lute or ſuch like ſtringed inſtruments.

M

M'. *Marcus*, *M'.* *Manius*, with the note of apoſtrophus, Forenames of ſundry houſes in *Rome*.

Medimnus, A meaſure conteining ſixe *Modij* Romane; and may goe with us for a buſhel and three pecks of London meaſure, or thereabout.

Megarian queſtions, that is to ſay, Such as were propounded and debated among the Philoſophers *Megarenſes*: for there was a ſect of them, taking name of the place; like as the Cyrenaiks: for *Euclides* and *Stilpo* were Megarians.

Mercenarie, that is to ſay, Hirelings, or ſuch as take wages.

Meſe, The middle ſtring or meane: it endeth on Eight, and beginneth the other in the skale of Muſicke. In the GAM-UT, A, LA, MI, RE.

Metamorphoſed, that is to ſay, Tranſmuted and changed.

Metaphyſicks, that is to ſay, Supernaturall. The firſt and principall part of Philoſophy in the intention, although it be laſt atteined unto, as unto which all other knowledge ſerveth, and is to be referred. The Philoſophers Theologie or Divinity, treating of intelligible and viſible things.

Meteors, Be impreſſions gathered in the aire above; as thunder, lightning, blaſing ſtars, and ſuch like.

Mimi, Were actours upon the ſtage, repreſenting ridiculouſly the ſpeech and geſture of others; jeſters and vices in a play: Alſo certeine Poemes or plaies, more laſcivious than Comœdies, and fuller of obſcœne wantonneſſe. The authors of ſuch were called *Minographi*, as *Laberius*.

Mina, or *Mna*, A weight, anſwering to *Libra*, that is to ſay, a pound. Alſo coine valued at ſo much.

Minervall, The ſtipend or wages paid unto a Schoole-maſter for the inſtitution and teaching of ſcholars; derived of *Minerva,* the preſident of learning and good arts.

Mixolidian tune, that is to ſay, Lamentable and pitifull: meet for Tragœdies.

Monarchie, The abſolute governement of a ſtate, by one prince. Roialty.

Mordicative, that is to ſay, Biting and ſtinging: as muſtard ſeed, Pelletary of Spaine.

Muſcles, The brawny or fleſhy parts of the bodie.

Mythologie, A fabulous Narration: or the delivery of matters by way of fables and tales.

N

N*Emeia,* Certaine ſolemne games inſtituted in the honour of *Hercules* for killing a lion in the foreſt *Nemea*; or as ſome thinke, in the remembrance of *Archemorus* a yong babe killed by a ſerpent.

Nete, The loweſt or laſt ſtring in an inſtrument, anſwering to the treble, and oppoſite to Hypate. Some take it cleane contrary, for the baſe. See Hypate: and *Eraſmus* upon the Adage, Dis diapaſon.

Nete Diezeugmenon; A treble ſtring or note of muſicke, laſt of disjuncts. E, LA, MI.

Nete Hyperbolæan, the laſt of trebles: A, LA MI, RE.

Nete Synnemmenon or *Syzeugmenon,* The laſt of the conjuncts: a ſtring or note in muſicke, D, LA, SOL.

Niglary, Are thought to be notes or tunes in muſicke, powerfull to encourage. See *Scholiaſt in Ariſtoph.*

Nones, Were certaine daies in the moneth: ſo called, becauſe they began evermore the ninth day before the Ides, honored by the Romans both for the birth day of king *Servius,* and alſo for the chaſing out of the kings: for otherwiſe it was not feſtivall; according as *Ovid* writeth, *Nonarum tutela deo caret.*

Novenary number, that is to ſay, Nine.

O

O*Bolus,* A certeine weight: halfe a ſcriptul or ſcrupul, the ſixt part of a drachme or ſomewhat better in *Greece*: alſo a ſmall coine, currant for eight chalci, which in ſilver is a peny and farthing.

Octaedra, A Geometricall body of eight baſes, ſides or faces, diſtinct by their angles.

Oeconomie, Houſe-governement: or the Adminiſtration and diſpoſe of houſhold affaires.

Oligarchi, A ſtate of governement, wherein a few, and thoſe properly of the welthier ſort, rule the common wealth.

Olympiades, were the ſpace of thoſe foure yeeres, according to which the Grecians reckoned the time: as the Romans did by their luſtra; and Chriſtians, by the yeere of our lord.

Olympicke or *Olympian* games, were inſtituted firſt by *Hercules* in the honour of *Jupiter Olympius*; or of *Pelops,* as ſome thinke: and celebrated with a ſolemne affluence and concourſe from all parts of *Greece* every foure yeeres complet once, betweene *Piſa* and *Elis,* in a plaine called *Olympia:* where alſo ſtood the temple of *Jupiter Olympius.*

Oracle, An anſwere or ſentence given by the devil, or the ſuppoſed gods of the heathen: alſo the place where ſuch anſweres were delivered.

Organe, An Inſtrument. And our body is ſaid to be Organicall, becauſe the ſoule performeth her operations by the parts thereof as inſtruments.

Orthios Nomos, In muſicke a tune or ſong exceeding high and incentive; which when *Timotheus* ſung before king *Alexander,* he was ſo moved and incited, that preſently he leapt foorth and tooke armes.

Orthographi, That part of Grammar which teacheth the feat of writing truely: alſo, true writing it ſelfe.

Oſtraciſme, In *Athens* A condemnation and confining for ten yeeres ſpace of that perſon, who was thought to grow greater in wealth, reputation and opinion of vertue or otherwiſe, than the democratie or free popular eſtate would well beare, ordained firſt by *Cliſthenes*: who for his labour was himſelfe firſt condemned. It tooke the name of *Oſtratos,* a ſhell or little potſherd, wherein his name was written, whom any of the people was in that behalfe offended with; and meant to expell the city. And if the major part of the people noted one in this maner, he was ſent away. It differed from baniſhment, becauſe no perſon loſt by Oſtraciſme goods or lands: againe the time was limited, and the certaine place ſet downe, where he ſhould abide. In this ſort *Ariſtides* the juſt, valiant *Themiſtocles* and other good men were driven out.

Oxyrynchos, A fiſh, ſo called, of a long ſharpe beake or ſnout that it hath.

P

P*Aean* The name of *Apollo*. An hymne alſo to *Apollo* and *Diana* for to avert plague, warre, or any calamity: ἀπὸ τοῦ παιεῖν, which ſignifieth to ſtrike or to heale, or of παύειν, to ſtay or make to ceaſe.

Pæderaſti, The loving of yong boies: commonly taken in the ill part, as ſignifying the abuſe of them againſt kinde.

Pægnia, Pleaſant poems or merry ditties for delight.

Pæon, or *Paeon*, The name of *Apollo*; and of a metricall foot in verſe, of which Pæans are compoſed: and it is duple, to wit of foure ſillables, either the firſt long, and the other three ſhort; or the firſt ſhort and the other three long: it is named alſo Pæan: alſo an epithet of *Apollo*.

To *Palliat*, that is to ſay, To cover or hide: and ſo ſuch cures be called Palliative, which ſearch not to the roote or cauſe of the diſeaſe, but give a ſhew onely of a perfect cure; as when a ſore is healed up aloft, and feſtereth underneath. And thus ſweet pomanders doe palliat a ſtinking breath, occaſioned by a corrupt ſtomacke or diſeaſed lungs and ſuch like.

P. Publius, A forename to ſome Romane families.

Panathenæa, A ſolemnity held at *Athens*: wherein the whole city men, women and children were aſſembled. And ſuch games, dances and plaies as were then exhibited; or what orations were then and there made, they called *Panathenaik*. Of two ſorts theſe ſolemnities were: once every yeere; and once every fifth yeere, which were called the greater.

Pancratium, *Plutarch* taketh for an exerciſe of activity or mixt game of fiſt-fight and wreſtling. Howbeit other writers will have it to be an exerciſe of wreſtling, wherein one indevoureth with hand and foot, and by all parts of his body to foile his adverſary: as alſo the practiſe of all the five feats of activity, which is called Pentathlon and Quinquertium: to wit, * buffetting, wreſtling, running leaping and coiting,

* Or launcing the dart.

Pancratiaſt, One that is skilfull and profeſſed in the ſaid Pancration.

Parameſe, Next the meane or middle ſtring. A note in muſicke: B, FA, B, MI, in ſpace.

Paranete Hyperbolæan, A treble ſtring or note in muſicke: the laſt ſave one of trebles: G, SOL, RE, UT.

Panegyricke, Feaſts, games, faires, marts, pompes, ſhewes, or any ſuch ſolemnities, performed or exhibited, before the generall aſſembly of a whole nation: ſuch as were the *Olympicke*, *Pythicke*, *Iſthmicke*, and *Nemian* games in *Greece*. Orations likewiſe to the praiſe of any perſon at ſuch an aſſembly, be called *Panegyricall*.

Paradox, A ſtrange or admirable opinion held againſt the common conceit of men: ſuch as the Stoicks mainteined.

Periode, A cercuit or compaſſe certeinly kept: as we may obſerve in the courſe of Sunne and Moone, and in the revolution of times and ſeaſons: in ſome agues alſo and other ſickneſſes, that keepe a juſt time of their returne, called therefore Periodicall. Alſo the traine of a full ſentence to the end, and the very end it ſelfe, is named a Periode.

Paranete Diezeugnumenón, A treble ſtring or note in Muſicke: the laſt ſave one of diſjuncts: D, LA, SOL, RE.

Paranete Synemmenon or *Syzeugmenon*: C, SOL, FA.

Parhypate hypatón, that is to ſay, Subprincipall of principals. A ſtring or note in Muſicke: C, FA, UT.

Parhypate Mesón, that is to ſay, Subprincipall of meanes: a ſtring or note in Muſicke: F, FA, UT.

Peripateticks, A ſect of Philoſophers, the followers of *Ariſtotle*: See *Liceum*.

Phiditia, Were publicke hals in Lacedæmon, where all ſorts of citizens, rich and poore, one with another met to eat and drinke together, at the publicke charges and had æquall parts allowed.

Philippicks, Were invective orations made by *Demoſthenes* the Oratour, againſt *Philip* king of *Macedony*, for the liberty of *Greece*. And heereupon all invectives may be called *Philippicke*, as thoſe were of *M. Tullius Cicero* againſt *Antonie*.

Phrygius Modus, Phrygian tune or muſicke, otherwiſe called *Barbarian*; mooving to devotion, uſed in ſacrifices and religious worſhip of the gods: for ſo ſome interpret *Entheon* in *Lucianus*: others take it for incenſing and ſtirring to furie.

To *Pinguifie*, that is to ſay, To make fat.

Plethoricall plight, that is to ſay, That ſtate of the body, which being full of bloud and other humours, needeth evacuation: whether the ſaid fulneſſe be, *ad vaſa*, as the

Phyſicians ſay, when the ſaid bloud and humours be otherwiſe commendable, but offending onely in quality: or, *ad vires*, when the ſame be diſtempered and offenſive to nature, and therefore would be ridde away; which ſtate is alſo called *Cacochymie*.

Polemarchus, One of the nine Archontes or head magiſtrates in the popular ſtate of *Athens*, choſen as the reſt yeerely. Who notwithſtanding that he reteined the name of *Polemarchus*, that is to ſay, a Captaine generall in the field, ſuch as in the Soveraigne government of the kings, were emploied in warres and martiall ſervice under them: yet it appeareth that they had civill juriſdiction, and miniſtred juſtice, between citizens & aliens, of whõ there were many in *Athens*; like as the Archon for the time being, was judge for the citizens onely. Aſſiſtants he had twaine, named *Paredri*, who ſat in commiſſion with him.

Poliorceles, A ſurname of *Demetrius*, a valiant king of *Macedonie*, and ſonne of king *Antigonus*: which addition was given unto him for beſeeging of ſo many cities.

Polypragmon, A curious buſie body, who loveth to meddle in many matters.

Pores, The little holes of the ſkinne, through which ſweat paſſeth, and fumes breath foorth.

Poſitions, Such ſentences or opinions as are held in diſputation.

Prætour, One of the ſuperiour Magiſtrates of *Rome*. In the citie he ruled as L. chiefe Juſtice, and exerciſed civill juriſdiction: Abroad in the province, he commanded as L. Governour, Deputie, or Lieutenant Generall: In the field, he was L. General, as well as the Conſull. At firſt, the name of Conſul, Prætor, and Judge was all one.

Primices, Firſt fruits.

Problemes that is to ſay, Queſtions propounded for to be diſcuſſed.

Procatarcticke cauſes of ſickneſſe, Be ſuch as are evident and comming from without, which yeeld occaſion of diſeaſe, but do not mainteine the ſame: as the heat of the Sunne, cauſing headach or the ague.

Prognoſticke, that is to ſay, Foreknowing and foreſhewing: as the ſignes in a diſeaſe which foreſignifie death or recovery.

Proſcription, an outlawing of perſons in *Rome*, with confiſcation of their goods, and ſelling the ſame in portſale: and depriving them of publicke protection.

Proſlambomene, A, RE, a terme in Muſicke, ſignifying (a String or Note) taken in or to: for otherwiſe of two Heptachords, there would not ariſe 15. to admit a place in the middle for Meſe, that is to ſay, the Meane, to take part of two Eights, or two Diapaſons.

Proſodia, A certeine hymne or tune thereto, in maner of ſupplication to the gods, and namely to *Apollo* and *Diana*, at what time as a ſacrifice was to be brought and preſented before the altar.

Proteleia, The ſacrifice before mariage: as alſo the gifts that ceremoniouſly went before.

Prytaneum, A ſtately place within the caſtell of *Athens*, wherein was a court held for judgement in certeine cauſes: where alſo they who had done the Common-wealth ſingular ſervice, were allowed their diet at the cities charges, which was accounted the greateſt honour that could be.

Parhypate Hypaton, A baſe ſtring or note in muſicke, Subprincipall of principals: C, FA, UT,

Parhypate Meſon, Subprincipall of meanes, a meane ſtring or note, F, FA, UT,

Pyladion, In muſicke a kinde of note bearing the name of Pylades, a Poet comicall and ſkilfull maſter in muſicke.

Pyramidal, Formed like unto the Pyramis, which is a geometricall body, ſolid, broad beneath, and riſing up one all ſides which be flat and plaine, unto a ſharpe point like a ſteeple. It taketh the name of πυρ, that is to ſay, Fire, which naturally hath that figure.

Pythia, or *Phœbas*, The prieſtreſſe or prophetiſſe, who pronounced the anſweres at the oracle of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphos*: who tooke that name of *Python* there ſlaine by him and lying putrified: or of πυνθάνεσθαι, that is to ſay, To aske and demand; for the reſort of people thither to be reſolved by him of their doubts.

Pythick, or *Pythian* games, were celebrated to the honour of *Apollo Pythius*, neere the city *Delphos*, with greate ſolemnity: inſtituted firſt by *Diomedes* and yeerely renewed.

Q

Q. *Quintus*, A fore name to divers Romanes.

Quaternary, the number of Foure: called likewiſe τετρὰς and τετρακτὺς, ſo highly celebrated by the Pythagoreans, compriſing in it the proportion Epitritos, whereof ariſeth the muſicall harmonie* Diateſſaron; for it containeth three and the third part of three: alſo Diplaſion, becauſe it comprehendeth two duple, whence ariſeth the muſicke diapaſon: and Diſdiapaſon, being dubled, which is an Eight & the perfect harmony, according to the proverbe ἅπαντ' ὀκτώ: alſo in that, it containeth all numbers within it; for, one, two, three and foure ariſe to Ten, beyond which we cannot aſcend but by repetition of former numbers.

* *Cælius Rhodig.*

Quæſtors, inferior officers in *Rome* in maner of Treaſurers: whoſe charge was to receive and lay out the cities mony and revenewes of ſtate: of which ſort, there were Urbani, for the city it ſelfe: Provinciales, for the provinces: and Caſtrenſes, for the campe and their warres.

Quinquertium, named in Greeke, Pentathlon. Five exerciſes or feats of activity among the greeks practiſed at their ſolemne games: namely *launcing the dart, throwing the coit, running a race, wreſtling and leaping. See Pancratium.

*Some put in ſtead hereof Fiſt-fight.

R

Radicall moiſture: Is the ſubſtantiall humidity in living bodies; which is ſo united with naturall heat, that the one maintaineth the other, and both preſerve life.

To *Rarifie*, that is to ſay, To make more ſubtile, light and thin.

Recidivation, Is a relapſe or falling backe into a ſickneſſe, which was in the way of recovery, and commonly is more dangerous than the former: *Recidiva pejor radice.*

Regents, Profeſſours in the liberall ſciences and in Philoſophi: a tearme uſuall in the univerſities.

Reverberation, that is to ſay, A ſmiting or driving backe.

Rhapſodie, A ſowing together or conjoining of thoſe Poems and verſes eſpecially heroicke or hexametre, which before were looſe and ſcattered: ſuch as were thoſe of *Homer*, when they were reduced into one entier body of *Ilias* and *Odyſſea*. Thoſe Poets alſo, who recite or pronounce ſuch verſes, were tearmed *Rhapſodi*.

Rivals and *Corrivals*, Counter-ſuiters: or thoſe who make love together, unto one and the ſame woman.

To *Ruminate*, that is to ſay, To ponder and conſider, or revolve a thing in the minde: a borrowed ſpeech from beaſts that chew the cudde.

S

Satyri, Woodwoſes, or monſtrous creatures with tailes, yet reſembling in ſome ſort, partly men & women, & in part goats; given much to venery and laſciviouſneſſe, whereupon they had that name: alſo to ſcurrill, frumping and jibing, for which they were alſo called *Sileni*, eſpecially when they grew aged; ſuppoſed by the rurall heardmen to be the fairies or gods (I would not elſe) of the woods.

Satyræ or *Satyrs* were certaine Poems received in place of *Comœdia vetus*, deteſting and reprooving the miſdemeanours of people and their vices: at firſt by way of myrth and jeſt, not ſharpely and after a biting maner, to the ſhame, diſgrace or hurt of any perſon; ſuch were they that *Horace* compoſed; howbeit they grew afterward to more diracity and licentiouſneſſe, noting in broad tearmes without reſpect all leaudneſſe, and ſparing no degree; as thoſe were of *Juvenales* and *Perſius* penning. Latine poets onely, handled this argument, both in the one ſort and the other.

Scammonie, A medicinable plant, and the juice thereof iſſuing out of the roote when it is wounded or cut: it purgeth yellow choler ſtrongly. The ſame juice or liquor being concrete or thickned and withall corrected is called *Dacrydium*; as one would ſay, the teares deſtilling from the roote: and is the ſame which the unlearned Apothecaries call *Diagridium*; as if forſooth it were ſome compound like their *Diaphœnicon*.

Scelet, The dead body of a man artificially dried or tanned, for to be kept and ſeene a long time. It is taken alſo for a dead carcaſſe of man or woman, repreſented with the bones onely, and ligaments.

Scepticke philoſophers, Who deſcended from *Pyrrho*; ſo called, for that they would conſider of all matters in queſtion, but determine of none: and in this reſpect they were more preciſe than the Academicks.

Scolia, Were certeine ſongs and carols ſung at feaſts.

Scrutinie, A ſearch, and properly a peruſing of ſuffrages or voices, at elections or judiciall courts, for the triall or paſſing of any cauſe.

Secundine, The ſkinne that enwrappeth the childe or yoong thing in the wombe: in women the after-birth or later-birth; in beaſts the heame.

Senarie, The number of ſixe, alſo a kinde of verſe. See *Iambus*.

Septimane, A weeke or ſeven-night. Alſo what ſoever falleth out upon the ſeventh daie, moneth, yeere, &c. as *Septimanæ fæturæ*, in *Arnobius*, for children borne at the ſeventh moneth after conception; and *Septimanæ febres*, Agues returning with their fits every ſeventh day.

Serg.	*Sergius*	Forenames to certeine families in *Rome*.
Serv.	*Servius*	
Sex.	*Sextus.*	

Seſquialteral, A proportion, by which is ment that which conteineth the whole and halfe againe, as 6. to 4. 12. to 8. It is alſo named *Hemiolios*.

Seſqui-tertian, A proportion, whereby is underſtood as much as comprehendeth the whole, and one third part, as 12. to 9. and the ſame is called *Epitritos*.

Seſqui-octave, That which compriſeth the whole and one 8 part; as 9 to 8, 18 to 16: in Greeke *Eptogdoos*, or *Epogdoos*.

Solæciſme, Incongruity of ſpeech, or defect in the purity thereof. It aroſe of thoſe who being Athenians borne, and dwelling in *Soli*, a city in *Cilicia*, ſpake not pure Attick, but mixt with the Solians language.

Solſtice, The Sunne-ſteed, which is twice in the yeere, in Iune & December, when the Sunne ſeemeth to ſtand for a while, at the very point of the Tropicks, either going from us, or comming toward us; as if hee returned from the end of his race, North and South.

Sp. Spurius, A forename to ſome Romanes.

Spaſmes, that is to ſay, Crampes, or painfull pluckings of the muskles and ſinewes. See *Convulſions* And Spaſmaticke, full of ſuch or given thereto.

Sphæres, The circles or globs, of the ſeven planets: as alſo the compaſſe of the heaven above all.

Spiſſitude, Thickneſſe or dimneſſe.

Spondæus, An hymne ſung at ſacrifices and libations. Alſo a metricall foot in verſe, conſiſting of two long ſyllables: whereof principally ſuch hymnes or ſongs were compoſed.

Stadium, A race or ſpace of ground, conteining 625. foote, whereof eight make a mile, conſiſting of a thouſand paces, which are five thouſand foot, reckoning five foot for a pace; for ſo much commonly a man taketh at once in his pace, that is to ſay, in his ſtepping forward, and remooving one foot before another.

Stoicks, Certeine Philoſophers, whoſe firſt maſter was *Zeno*, who taught in a certeine ſpatious gallery at *Athens*, called Pœcile, for the varietie of pictures wherewith *Polignotus* the excellent painter beautiſied it: And for that a gallery in Greeke is called *Stoa*, therefore thoſe Philoſophers who taught and diſputed therein, tooke that name of Stoicks.

Strophes, that is to ſay, Converſions or turnings. In Comœdies and tragœdies, when the *Chorus* firſt ſpeaketh unto the actours; and then turneth to the ſpectators, and pronounceth certeine Jambicks. In the rehearſing of Lyricall verſes, when the Poet one while turneth to the right hand, and another while to the left, and ſo reciteth certeine verſes: which thereupon be called *Strophæ*, and *Antiſtrophæ*.

Stypticke, being ſuch things, as by a certeine harſh taſte, doe ſhew that they be aſtringent: as the fruit called Medlars, and Alum eſpecially, which thereupon is called *Stypteria*. And Stypticitie is ſuch a qualitie.

Subitarie, that is to ſay, Of a ſudden, without premeditation.

Subterranean, that is to ſay, under the earth.

Superficies, The upper face or outſide of any thing. In Geometrie it is that, which is made of lines ſet together, like as a line of prickes united.

Superfætation, Conception upon conception.

Suppuration, A gathering to matter or attir: as in biles, impoſtumes, inflammations and ſuch like.

Sycophants, Tale-bearers, falſe promoters, or ſlanderous informers, and ſuch as upon ſmall occaſions brought men into trouble. The name aroſe upon this occaſion, that whereas in *Athens* there was an act, That none ſhould tranſport figges out of the territory *Attica*; ſuch as gave information of thoſe that contrarie to this law conveied figges into other parts, were tearmed Sycophants: for that *Sycon* in Greeke, is a figge.

Syllogiſmes, Be certeine formes of arguing: when upon two propoſitions graunted, which are called Premiſſes, there is inferred a third, namely a Concluſion.

To *Symbolize*, that is, By certeine outward ſignes, to ſignifie ſome hidden things: Thus an eie ſymbolizeth vigilancy.

Sympathie, that is to ſay, A fellow feeling, as is betweene the head and ſtomacke in our bodies: alſo the agreement and naturall amitie in divers ſenſleſſe things, as between iron and the load-ſtone.

Symphonie, Concent and harmony, properly in vocall Muſicke.

Sympoſiarch, The maſter of a feaſt. The Romanes called him *Rex*, that is to ſaie, a king.

Symptomes, Be accidents accompanying ſickneſſe; as headach, the ague: ſtitch, ſhortneſſe of winde, ſpitting blood, cough and ague; the pluriſie.

Synemmenon, or *Synezeugmenon*, A tearme of art in muſicke, ſignifying ſtrings or notes conjunct.

Symtaxis, The conſtruction and coherence of words and parts of ſpeech by concord and regiment.

T

T. *Titus*, A forename to many houſes of the Romans.

Talent Atticke (as well ponderall which was weighed, as numerall or nummarie, counted in mony) was of two ſortes: The leſſe, of ſixty pound *Attick*, and every one of them conſiſted of one hnndred *Drachmæ*. If *mina* then, be three pound two ſhillings ſix pence ſtarling in ſilver; this talent amounteth to one hundred eighty ſeven pound ten ſhillings of our engliſh mony. The greater, or ſimply the great talent, is eighty *minæ* and hath the proportion Epitritos, or ſeſquitertian to the leſſe: ſo that it commeth to two hundred and fifty pound ſtarling.

Tautologies, Vaine repetitions of the ſame things oftentimes.

Ternarie, The number of three.

Terpandrios, A ſeverall tune in muſicke, or a ſong that *Terpander deviſed.*

Tetrachord, An inſtrument in old time of foure ſtrings: but now, it is taken for every fourth in the ſcale of Muſicke or GAM, UT. whereof there be foure in fifteene ſtrings: reckoning Meſe, to end one octave and begin another.

Tetrarch, A potentate or ruler over the fourth part of a country.

Theatre, A ſhew place built with ſeates in maner of an halfe circle, for to behold games, plaies and paſtimes; which if both ends meet round, is called an *Amphitheatre*.

Theorems, Principles or rules in any ſcience.

Theriacal Trochisks, Troſches made of vipers fleſh, to enter into the compoſition *Theriaca*, that is to ſay, *Triacle*.

Theſmothelæ, Were ſix of the nine Archontes or chiefe rulers in *Athens* during their free popular eſtate. They had civill juriſdiction and ſat as judges in certeine cauſes.

Theſmotheſium, ſeemeth to be the court or commiſſion of the ſaid *Theſmothelæ*.

Topicks, That part of logicke which treateth of the invention of arguments, which are called *Topi*, as if they were places, out of which a man might redily have ſufficient reaſons to argue and diſpute with *Pro & contra*.

Tribunes of the Commons, Certeine officers or magiſtrates at *Rome*, as provoſts and protectours of the cominaltie to reſtraine and keepe downe the exceſſive power of the conſuls and nobility. Choſen they were and confirmed by the generall oth of the people, whereby they were *Sacroſancti*, that is to ſay, Inviolable, & no violence might be done to their perſons. A negative voice they had and power of inhibition called *Interceſſio*; whereby they might croſſe and ſtop all proceedings of the Senate or any ſuperiour magiſtrate (ſave only the Dictator) even of the very conſuls, whom in ſome caſe they might command. They reſembled much the Ephory in *Sparta*.

Trite Diezeugmenon, The third of disjuncts a ſtring or note in the ſcale of muſicke C, SOL, FA, UT.

Trite Hyperbolæan, A treble ſtring; the third of Exceeding or treble; F, FA, UT.

Trite Synnemmenon, or *Syzeugmenon*, The third of the Disjuncts, a ſtring or note in muſicke, B, FA, B, MI in rule.

Trivıall, Common and ordinary as is the high way, ſtale and of no account.

Trochæans, A metricall foot in verſe, conſiſting of two ſillables; the former long, and the other ſhort.

Tropæes or *Trophæes*, Were monuments in memoriall of victory, erected in marble, braſſe, or in default thereof with heaps of ſtone or piles of wood, in the very place where any Generall had vanquiſhed his enimies and put them to flight; whereupon they tooke that name: for that τροπὴ in greeke ſignifieth, Turning back and flight.

Tropes, In ſpeech the uſing of wordes otherwiſe than in their primitive and naturall ſignification; which many times giveth a grace to the ſentence.

Tutelar, Protectours and defenders. So were the gods or goddeſſes among the Painims called, whom they beleeved to have a ſpeciall charge of any city or country.

A *Type*, that is to ſay, A figure under which is ſignified ſome other thing.

V

Veſtall virgins, were certeine Nunnes or Votaries, inſtituted firſt by *Numa Pompilius* king of *Rome*, in the honour of *Veſta* the goddeſſe: whoſe charge was to keepe the ſacred fire that it went not foorth. Choſen they were betweene the yeeres of ſix and tenne of their age: and were enjoined virginitie for thirtie yeeres: after which time it was lawfull for them to be married): But if in the meane while they committed fornication, buried they were quicke.

Vnction, that is to ſay, Anointing.

AN INDEX POINTING TO THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS CONTEINED IN THE MORALS OF *PLVTARCH*.

A

A. *Or* Alpha, *why the firſt letter in the Alphabet.* 788. 10 *What it ſignifieth.* ib. 30

Abaris, *A booke of* Heraclides. 18.30

Abrote, *the wife of* Niſus. 893.20

Abyrtacæ. 703.50

Academiques. 1122.30

Acca Larentia, *one a courtiſane, and another the nourſe of* Romulus *&* Remus. 862.30

Acca Larentia *honored at* Rome. 862.20.30

Acca Larentia *ſurnamed* Fabula, *how ſhe came renowmed.* 862.30. *Inheritreſſe to* Taruntius. 863.1. *made* Rome *her heire.* ib.

Acco *and* Alphito. 1065.1

Acephati, *verſes in* Homer. 140.20

Aceſander, *a Lybian Chronicler.* 716.30

Acheron, *what it ſignifieth.* 515.50

Achilles *well ſeene in Phyſicke.* 34.30. 729.50. *Praiſeth himſelfe without blame.* 304.50. *commended for avoiding occaſions of anger.* 40.50. *his continencie.* 43.30. *charged by* Vlyſſes *for ſitting idlely in* Scyros. 46.1. *of an implacable nature.* 720.10. *noted for anger & crueltie.* 24.26. *he loved not wine-bibbing.* 720.20. *whom he invited to the funerall feaſt of* Patroclus. 786.40. *noted for his fell nature.* 106.40. *his diſcretion betweene* Menelaus *and* Antilochus. 648.30. *he kept an hungrie table.* 750.1. *he digeſted his choler by Muſicke.* 1261.40. *noted for a wanton Catamite.* 568.30. *killed by* Paris. 793.50

Achillium. 899.1

Achrades, *wilde peares.* 903.40

Aciduſa. 901.20

Acratiſma, *that is to ſay, a breakfaſt, whereof it is derived.* 775.20

Acratiſma *and* Ariſton *ſuppoſed to be both one.* 775.30

Acroames *or* Ear-ſports, *which be allowed at ſupper time.* 758.30

Acron *the Phyſician, how he cured the plague.* 1319.1

Acrotatus *his Apophthegmes.* 453.10

Ἀκροθώρακες *who they be.* 604.20

Actæon *the ſonne of* Meliſſus, *a moſt beautifull youth.* 945.30. *his pitifull death.* 945.40

Action all in all in Eloquence. 932.1

Actus, *the dogge of one* Pyrrhus. 963.40

Active life. 9.40

Ada *Queene of* Caria. 596.20

Ades, *what it ſignifieth.* 608.30. 1000.10

Adiaphora. 69.1

Adimantus, *a noble captaine, debaſed by* Herodotus. 1243.30.40. *what names* Adimantus *gave unto his children.* 1244.20

Adipſa. 339.1

Admetus. 1146

Admirable things not to be diſcredited. 723.1

Admiration of other men in a meane. 55.20

to Admire nothing, Nil admirari. 59

Adonis *thought to be* Bacchus. 711.40

Adraſtia. 557.40. 1050.20

Adraſtia *and* Atropos *whereof derived.* 1080.30

Adraſtus *reviled by* Alcmæon. 240.30. *he requiteth* Alcmæon. ib.

Adulterie of Mars *and* Venus *in* Homer, *what it ſignifieth.* 25.10

Adulterie ſtrange in Sparta. 465.10

Aeacium, *a priviledged place.* 933.50

Aeacus *a judge of the dead.* 532.20

Aeantis *a tribe at* Athens. 659.40. *never adjudged to the laſt place.* 659.50. *highly praiſed.* 660.

660.20. whereof it tooke the name. ib.40
Aegeria *the nymph.* 633.30
Aegipan. 913.1
Aegipans *whence they come.* 568.50
Aegles wings conſume other feathers. 723.20
Aegon, *how he came to be king of the Argives.* 1281.1
Aegyptians *neither ſowe nor eat beanes.* 777.20
Aegyptian prieſtes abſteine from ſalt. 728.1. *and fiſh.* 778.30
Aegyptian kings how choſen. 1290.40
Aegypt *in old time, Sea.* 1303.40
Aemylij, *who they were called.* 917.30
Aemilius *a tyrant.* 916.40
Aemilius Cenſorinus *a bloudie prince.* 917.20
Aemilius *killeth himſelfe.* 912.30
Aeneas *at ſacrifice covered his head.* 854.1
Aeneans their wandering. 891.50 *their voiage.* 896.10.20
Aeolies, *who they be.* 899.30
Aequality which is commendable. 768.1
Aequality. 679.30
Aequality of ſinnes held by Stoiks. 74.40
Aequinoctiall circle. 820.40
Aeſchines *the oratour, his parentage.* 926.40
Aeſchines *the oratour firſt acted tragœdies.* 926.50. *his emploiments in State affaires.* 927.1. *baniſhed.* 927.10. *his oration againſt* Cteſiphon. *ib.* 20. *his ſaying to the Rhodians as touching* Demoſthenes. *ib. his ſchole at* Rhodes. *ib. his death. ib. his orations. ib.* 30. *he endited* Timarchus. *ib.*40. *his education and firſt riſing.* 927.30.40
Aeſcre, *what fiend or Dæmon.* 157.30
Aeſchylus *wrote his tragœdies being well heat with wine.* 763.40. *his ſpeech of a champion at the Iſthmicke games.* 39.10. *his tragœdies conceived by the influence of* Bacchus. *ib. entombed in a ſtrange countrey.* 277.20
Aeſculapius *the patron of Phyſicians.* 997.20. *his temple why without the citie of* Rome. 881.1
Aeſops *fox and the urchin.* 392.20
Aeſope *with his tale.* 330.30. *his fable of the dog.* 338.20
Aeſope *executed by the Delphians.* 549.10. *his death revenged and expiated.* ib.20.
Aeſops *hen and the cat.* 188.50
Aeſops *dogs and the skins.* 1091.20
Aethe, *a faire mare.* 43.20.565.40
Aether, *the skie.* 819.10
In Aethiopia *they live not long.* 849.50
Aetna *full of flowers.* 1011.10
Affabilitie commendeth children and yoong folke. 12.1. *commendable in rulers.* 378.30
Affections not to be cleane rooted out. 76.40
Αγαθου δαιμονος, *what day it was.* 785.1
Agamedes *&* Trophonius *built the temple at* Delphi. 1518.20
Agamemnon *clogged with cares.* 147.50
Agamemnon *noted for Pæderaſtie.* 568.30
Agamemnon *murdered treacherouſly.* 812.1. *noted in* Homer *for pride.* 24.10
Agamemnon *his perſon, how compounded.* 1284.1
Agameſtor *how he behaved himſelfe at a mery meeting.* 653.10
Aganide *skilfull in Aſtronomie.* 324.40
Agathocles *his Apophthegmes.* 407.40. *being of baſe parentage, he came to be a great Monarch.* 307.40. *his patience.* 126.1
Agave *enraged.* 314.1
Aged rulers ought to be mild unto yoonger perſons growing up under them. 398.10
Aged rulers paterns to yoonger. 392.40
Age of man what it is. 1328.1
Agenor *his ſacred grove.* 903.30
Agenorides *an ancient Phyſician.* 683.40
Ageſicles *his apophthegms.* 444.1
Ageſilaus *the brother of* Themiſtocles*: his valour and reſolution.* 906.40.50
K. Ageſilaus *fined for giving preſents to the Senatours of* Sparta *newly created.* 179.20. *he avoided the occaſions of wantonneſſe.* 41.10. *his lameneſſe.* 1191.20. *of whom he deſired to be commended.* 92.30. *his Apophthegmes.* 424.10. *he would have no ſtatues made for him after his death. ib.* 50. *commended in his olde age by* Xenophon. 385.1
Ageſilaus *the Great, his Apophthegmes.* 444.10
Ageſilaus *noted for partialitie.* 445.50. *his ſober diet.* 446.10 *his continencie.* 445.20. *his ſufferance of paine and travell.* 446.10. *his temperance. ib.*30 *his faithfull love to his countrey.* 450.1. *his tenderneſſe over his children. ib. his notable ſtratageme.* 451.10. *he ſerved under K.* Nectanebas *in* Aegypt. 451.20. *his death. ib.*30. *his letter for a friend, to the perverting of juſtice.* 360.10. *too much addicted to his friends.* 359.50
K. Ageſipolis *his Apophthegms.* 451.40
Ageſipolis *the ſonne of* Pauſanias *his Apophthegmes.* 451.50
Agias *given to bellie cheere.* 679.20
Agis *a worthy prince.* 400.30. *his Apophthegmes.* 423.40
Agis *the yonger his Apophthegms.* 425.1
Agis *the ſonne of* Archidamus *his Apophthegmes.* 452.1
Agis *the yonger, his apophthegms.* 452.50
Agis *the laſt king of the Lacedæmonians his apophthegmes.* 453.1. *his death.* ib.
Agis *the Argive a cunning flatterer about K.* Alexander *the Great.* 98.20
Aglaonice, *well ſeene in Aſtrologie, how ſhe deluded the wives of* Theſſalie. 1329.10
Agrioma, *a feaſt.* 899.40
Agronia. 765.30
Agroteros. 1141.20
Agrotera, *a ſurname of* Diana. 1235.20
Agrypina *talkative.* 206.30
Ajax Telamonius *how he came in the twentieth place to the lotterie.* 790.50. *his feare compared with that of* Dolon. 74.50
Aigos Potamoi. 1189.30
Αιγος ποταμοι, *what place.* 821.1
Αιεν *what it ſignifieth.* 788.40
Αιειν *what it ſignifieth in ſome Poets.* 29.40
Ainautæ *who they be.* 897.50
Aire how made. 808.40. *the primitive colde.* 995.40
Aire or Spirit the beginning of all things. 806.1. *why called* Κνεφας. 995.50

Aire

Aire the very body and ſubſtance of voice. 771.1

Αἰθοψ οἶνος *what it ſignifieth in* Homer. 737.1

Aix. 891.10

Al, what parts it hath. 1031.30

Ale a counterfeit wine. 685.40

Alalcomenæ *the name of a citie in* Ithaceſia. 901.40

Alalcomenion *in* Bœotia. *ib.*

Alaſtor. 896.1

Alaſtores. 1330.40

Alcamenes *his Apophthegmes.* 453.20

Alcathoe. 899.30

Alceſtis *cured by* Apollo. 1146.30

Alcibiades *of looſe behaviour.* 350.50

Alcibiades *a notable flatterer.* 88.50. *his apophthegmes.* 419.30 *he had no good utterance.* 252.10

Alcioneus *the ſonne of K.* Antigonus, *a forward knight.* 530.1

Alcippus *and his daughters, their pitifull hiſtorie.* 948.10

Alcyons *the birds.* 615.20

Alcyon *a bird of the ſea of a wonderfull nature.* 977.30. *how ſhe builds her neſts.* 218.10

Alcmæonidæ *debaſed and traduced by* Herodotus. 1231.20

Alcman *the Poet.* 270.40

Alcmenaes *tombe opened.* 1206.1

Alenas, *how declared K. of* Theſſalie. 191.1

K. Alexander *the great winketh at his ſiſters follies.* 372.50. *his reſpect to* Timoclia. 504.1. *his apophthegmes.* 411.10. *his magnanimitie. ib. his activitie. ib. his continencie. ib. his magnificence. ib. his bountie and liberalitie.* 411.30. *he noteth the Mileſians. ib.* 40. *his gratious thankefulnes to* Tarrias. 1279.50. *his frugalitie and ſobrietie in diet.* 412.10. *entituled* Jupiter Ammons *ſonne. ib.* 20. *he reprooveth his flatterers. ib. he pardoneth an Indian his archer.* 413.10. *his cenſure of* Antipater. 412.30. *his continence. ib.* 40. *he preſumeth not to be compared with* Hercules. 413.30. *his reſpect of thoſe who were in love.* 412.40.50. *whereby he acknowledged himſelfe mortall.* 105.20.766.30 *he honored* Craterus *moſt, and affected* Hepheſtion *beſt.* 413.40. *his death day obſerved.* 766.1. *his demeanour to king* Porus. 413.40. *his ambitious humour.* 147.40. 639.20. *he uſed to ſit long at meat.* 655.10. *he dranke wine liberally. ib. he wiſheth to be* Diogenes. 296.20. *his fleſh yeelded a ſweet ſmell.* 655.10. *his moderate cariage to* Philotas. 1280.20.30. *he died with a ſurfet of drinking.* 613.20. *how he was croſſed by Fortune.* 1283.20. *he would not ſee King* Darius *his wife, a beautifull Lady.* 142.20. *he was favorable to other mens loves.* 1280.1. *his picture drawen by* Apelles. 1274.50. *his ſtatue caſt in braſſe by* Lyſippus. *ib. his bounty to Perſian women.* 487.1. *whether he were given to much drinking.* 655.10. *he intended a voyage into* Italie. 639.20. *his ſorrow compared with that of* Plato. 75.1. *he forbeareth the love of* Antipatrides. 1145.1. *he conteſteth with Fortune.* 1264.30. *how hee reprooved his flatterers.* 1282.1

Alexander *nothing beholden to Fortune.* 1264.40

Alexander *his misfortunes and croſſes in warre.* 1264.40.50.

The meanes that Alexander *had to conquer the world.* 1265.40. *how he enterteined the Perſian ambaſſadours in his fathers abſence.* 1283.10. *what ſmall helps he had by Fortune.* 1265.30

Alexander *the great, a Philoſopher.* 1266.10. *he is compared with* Hercules. 1282.40. *how he joined* Perſia *&* Greece *together.* 1267.40. *his adverſe fortune in a towne of the Oxydrates.* 1284.50. *Epigrams and ſtatues of him.* 1269.10.20. *his hopes of conqueſt whereupon grounded.* 1283.40. *his apophthegmes.* 1269.30. *his kindnes and thankefulnes to* Ariſtotle *his maſter.* 1270.10. *how he honored* Anaxarchus *the Muſician. ib. his bounty to* Pyrrho *and others. ib. his ſaying of* Diogenes. *ib. his many vertues joined together in his actions.* 1270.10. *he eſpouſed* Roxane. 1278.50. *his behavior toward the dead corps of King* Darius. 1271.10. *his continency. ib.*20. 1279.1. *his liberalitie compared with others.* 1271.30. *his affection to good arts and Artiſans.* 1274.20. *his anſwere to the famous architect* Staſicrates. 1275.40. *he graced Fortune.* 1276.40. *his ſobriety and milde cariage of himſelfe.* 1278.1. *his temperance in diet.* 1278.50. *his exerciſes and recreations. ib. he eſpouſed* Statira *the daughter of* Darius. 1278.50. *his hard adventures and dangers.* 1281.30. *compared with other Princes.* 1284.10

Alexander *Tyrant of* Pheræ, *his bloudy minde.* 1273.30

Alexander *Tyrant of* Pheræ. 428.10. *killed by* Pytholaus. 1155.20

Alexander *the Moloſſiā.* 639.20

Alexandridas *his apophthegmes.* 453.30.

Alexidimus *baſtard ſon of* Thraſibulus. 329.20

Alexis *on old Poet.* 385.50. *what pleaſures he admitteth for principall.* 27.40

Alibantes. 989.50

Alibas, *what body.* 785.20

Alimon *a compoſition.* 338.40

Alima. 339.1

Aliterij *who they were.* 143.50

Aliterios. 896.1

Allegories in Poets. 25.1

Allia *field.* 859.20.637.20

Allienſis dies. 858.30

Almonds bitter prevent drunkenneſſe. 656.1. *they kill foxes.* 16.30. *their vertues and properties otherwiſe.* 656.10

Aloïadæ *what Gyants.* 1175.20

Aloſa *a fiſh.* 953.20

Alphabet letters coupled together, how many ſillables they will make. 782.30

Alpheus *the river, of what vertue the water is.* 1345.1

Altar of hornes in Delos, *a woonder.* 978.20

Altar of Jupiter Idæus. 908.1

Αλυειν *of divers ſignifications.* 29.20

Alyſſon *the herbe, what vertues it hath.* 684.40

Alynomus *how he came to be K. of* Paphos. 1281.20

K. Amaſis *honoureth* Polycritus, *his ſiſter and mother.* 505.20

Ambar, *how it draweth ſtrawes &c.* 1022.40

Ambition defined. 374.50

Ambitious men forced to praiſe themſelves. 597.10

Ambroſia. 338.10.1177.30

Amenthes *what it ſignifieth.* 1299.20

Amœbæus

Amœbæus *the Muſician.* 67.10
Ameſtris *ſacrificed men for the prolonging of her life.* 268.20
Amethyſt ſtones, why ſo called. 684.1. *their vertue.* 18.50
Amiæ *or* Hamiæ, *certeine fiſhes, whereof they take their name.* 974.30
Amity and Enmity the beginning of all things. 888.1
Aminocles *enriched by ſhipwracks.* 1237.30
Amnemones *who they be.* 889.20
Amoun *and* Ammon *names of* Jupiter. 1291.1
Amphiaraus. 908.20
Amphiaraus *commended.* 43.1. 419.10. *he comforteth the mother of* Archemorus. 520.50
Amphictyones. 390.40
Amphidamas *his funerals.* 716.20
Amphidamas. 334.40
Amphithea *killeth her ſelfe.* 914.10
Amphion, *of what Muſicke he was author.* 1249.20
Amphiſſa *women their vertuous act.* 491.20
Amphitheus *delivered out of priſon.* 1226.20
Amphitrite, *a name of the ſea.* 1317.20
Αμυστιζειν *what it is.* 687.20
Anacampſerotes, *what plants.* 1178.50
Anacharſis *the Philoſopher had no certaine place of abode.* 336.1 *put his right hand to his mouth, &c.* 195.40
Anacreon *his odes.* 759.1
Anaxagoras *his opinion of the firſt principle of all things.* 806.10. *how he tooke the death of his ſonne.* 529.10.132.1. *why he was thought impious.* 266.20
Anaxander *his apophthegmes and epigrams.* 453.50
Anaxarchus *tortured by* Nicocreon. 75.10. *he flattereth* Alexander. 295.20. *reproved by* Timon. 70.50. *a looſe and intemperate perſon.* 752.1
Anaxilas *his apophthegmes.* 453.50
Anaximander *his opinion of men and fiſh.* 780.10. *his opinion of the firſt principle.* 805.50. *his opinion of God.* 812.1
Anaxemenes *confuted by* Ariſtotle. 995.1. *his opinion of the firſt principle..* 806.1
Anchucus *the ſonne of* Midas, *his reſolute death.* 908.1
Ancient men how to accept of dignities. 396.50
Ancus Martius *king of* Rome. 631.1
Andorides *the oratour his parentage, acts and life.* 920.40. *accuſed for impiety. ib. acquit.* 921.1. *he ſaved his owne father from death. ib. a great ſtatiſt and a merchant beſides. ib.* 10. *arreſted by the K. of* Cyprus. *ib.* 20. *baniſhed. ib. his orations and writings.* 921.30 *when he flouriſhed. ib.*
Andreia. 762.1
Androclidas *his apophthegmes.* 454.1
Androcides *how he painted the gulfe of* Scylla. 705.30
Anger the ſinewes of the ſoule. 75.10. *how it differeth from other paſſions.* 119. 20. 30. *how it may be quenched and appeaſed.* 120.10. *how ſet on fire. ib.* 20. *compared with other paſſions.* 121. 10.20. *&c. who are not ſubject unto it.* 123.50.124.1. *mixed with other paſſions.* 131.10. *to prevent it, as great a vertue as to bridle it.* 40.30. *to be repreſſed at the firſt.* 120.30. *upon what ſubject it worketh.* 121.30. *how it altereth countenance, voice and geſture.* 122.1.10. *compounded of many paſſions.* 131.10. *it baniſheth reaſon.* 542.20
Angle lines why made of ſtonehorſe tailes. 971.10. 1008.40
Anio *the river whereof it tooke the name.* 917.40
Animall creatures ſubject to generation and corruption. 846.30. *of ſundry ſorts. ib.*50
Annibal *his apophthegme of* Fab. Maximus. 429.10.20. *he ſceffeth at ſoothſaying by beaſts entrals.* 279.20. *vanquiſhed in* Italie. 637.1
Anointing in open aire forbidden at Rome. 864.30
Anointing againſt the fire and ſun. 620.30
Ανω. 1166.10
Anſwers to demaunds how to be made. 204.30.40. *of three ſorts.* 205.40
Antagoras *a poet.* 415.10
Antagoras *a ſtout ſhepheard.* 905.20
Antahidas *his apophthegmes.* 425.30.454.10. *how he retorted a ſcoffe upon an Athenian.* 363.50. *his apophthegme to K.* Ageſilaus. 423.1
Antarctike pole. 820.40
Anthes *and* Anthedonia. 894.20
Anthes *an auncient Muſician.* 1249.30.
Anthedon *what it is.* 894.10
Anthias *the fiſh, why called ſacred.* 976.1
Anthiſterion *what moneth.* 785.1
Anticlia *the mother of* Vlyſſes. 901.40
Antigenes *enamored upon* Teleſippe, *was kindly uſed by King* Alexander. 1280.1
Antigonus *the elder, how he tooke his ſonnes death.* 530.1. *being an aged king, yet governed well.* 395.50. *his anſwere unto a Sophiſter.* 1268.50
Antigonus *the yoonger, his brave ſpeech of himſelfe.* 909.1. *his apophthegmes.* 415.40. *his piety and kindneſſe to his father. ib.*
Antigonus *the third his apophthegmes.* 416.10. *his continencie. ib.*20
Antigonus *the elder his juſtice.* 414. 30. *his patience. ib.* 40. *his magnificence. ib. he reprooveth a Rhetorician.* 414.50. *reproved by the Poet* Antagoras. 415.10. *his apophthegmes.* 414.10. *his martiall juſtice. ib. warie to prevent the ocaſion of ſinne. ib.* 20. *what uſe he made of his ſicknes.* 414.30. *his counſell to a captaine of his gariſon.* 1137.20. *he acknowledgeth his mortality. ib. how he repreſſed his anger.* 124.30. *his patience.* 126.1. *his ſecrecy.* 197.30. *his anſwer to an impudent begger.* 167.20
Antiochus *one of the* Ephori, *his apophthegme.* 425.30.454.20
K. Antiochus Hierax *loving to his brother* Seleucus. 416.20 *he loved to be called* Hierax. 968.50
Antiochus *the great, his apophthegmes.* 417.10. *he beſiegeth* Hieruſalem, *and honoureth a feaſt of the Jewes. ib.*20
Antipater Calamoboas, *a Philoſopher.* 207.30
Antipater *his baſhfulneſſe cauſe of his death.* 165.30.40. *his anſwer to* Phocion. 103.30
Antipatrides *rebuked by K.* Alexander *the great.* 1145.1
Antiperiſtaſis *what effects it worketh.* 1021.50
Antiphera *an Aeolian borne, maid ſervant*

ſervant of Ino. 855.40
Antipho the oratour his pregnant wit. 918.50. his parentage and life. 418.40. he penned orations for others. 919.1. he wrote the inſtitutions of oratorie. 919.10. for his eloquence ſurnamed Neſtor. 919.10. his ſtile and maner of writing and ſpeaking. ib. the time wherein he lived. ib. 20. his martiall acts. ib. his Embaſſie. ib. condemned and executed for a traitour. ib. 30. his apophthegme to Denys the Tyrant. ib. 40. how many orations he made. ib. he wrote tragœdies. ib. he profeſſed himſelfe a Phyſician of the ſoule. ib. 50 other works and treatiſes of his. 920.1. the judiciall proceſſe and decree of his condemnation. ib. 10. inconſiderate in his ſpeech before Denys. 108.1
Antipathies of divers ſorts in nature. 676.20
Antiſthenes what he would have us to wiſh unto our enemies. 1276.1
Antipodes. 825.30.1164.10
Antiſthenes his anſwer. 364.20. his apophthegme. 240. 50. a great peace maker. 666.1
Antitheta. 988.10
Anton. 1145.40
Antonius his overthrow by Cleopatra. 632. 1. enamoured of Queene Cleopatra. 99. 20. abuſed by flatterers. ib. 93.50
Antron Coratius his hiſtory. 851. 20
Anubis borne. 1293.20
Anytus loved Alcibiades. 1147. 10
Anytus a ſycophant. 300.10.
Aorne a ſtrong caſtle. 413.30
Apathies what they be. 74.20
Apaturia, a feaſt. 1232.1
Apeliotes what wind. 829.30
Apelles his apophthegme to a painter. 8.30
Aπλων what feat of activity. 716. 40
Aphabroma what it is. 893.20
Apheſter who he is. 889.
Apioi. 903.40
Apis how ingendred. 766.40. killed by Ochus. 1300.1
Apis how he is interred. 1301. 20
Aπωστιξειν, what daunces. 1251.30
Apollo why called Delius and Pythius. 608.30. he wan the prize perſonally. 773.1. a favorer of games of prize. ib. 10. ſurnamed Pyctes. ib.20
Apollo the Runner. ib. ſurnamed Pæan & Muſegetes. 797.20
Apollo when borne. 766.10. why named Hebdomagines. 766. 20. his two nourſes, Alethia and Corythalia. 696.1. why ſurnamed Loxias. 103.30
Apollo painted with a cocke on his hand. 1194.20
Apollo the authour of Muſicke. 1252. 50. his image in Delos how portraied. 1253.1
Apollo what attributes he hath, and the reaſon therof. 1353.50
Apollo affectionate to Logicke as well as to Muſicke. 1356.30
Apollo and Bacchus compared together. 1348.1.10.20
Apollo, why he is ſo called. 1362. 30. why he is called Iiios. ib. why Phœbus. ib.
Apollo and the Sunne ſuppoſed to be both one. 1362.40
Apollo compared with Pluto. 1363.10
Apollodorus troubled in conſcience. 547.1
Apollodorus an excellent painter 982.20
Queene Apollonis rejoiced in the love of her brethren. 176.40
Apollonius the phyſician his counſell for leane folke. 1004.30
Apollonius his ſon comẽded. 530
Apollonius kinde to his brother Sotion. 185.40
Apoſphendoneti who they be. 890.50
Apotropæi what gods they be. 756.1
Appius Claudius the blinde. 397. 20, his ſpeech in the Senate. ib.
Application of verſes and ſentences in Poets. 45.30
April conſecrated to Venus. 879. 30
Apopis, the brother of the Sunne. 1302. 10
Apples why named ὠρφλοια. 726. 30
Apple trees, why called αγλασκαρποι. 726
Aræni Acta, what it is. 897. 20
Arcadians, repute themſelves moſt ancient. 881. 1
Arceſilaus, ſunne of Battus, unlike to his father. 504. 20. ſurnamed Chalepos. ib. poiſoned by Laarchus. ib.
Arceſilaus the Philoſopher defended againſt Colotes. 1123.40. he ſhutteth Battus out of his ſchoole. 92. 20. his patience. 129. 20. a true friend to Apelles. 102.30
Archelaus, king of Macedonie his anſwere to Timotheus the Muſician. 1273.50
Archeſtratus, a fine Poet not regarded. 1273.10
Archias, a valiant Spartan honoured by the Samians. 1233.20
Archias, the Corinthian his notorius outrage. 945.40
Archias, murdered by Telephus his minion. 946.1. he built Syracuſa in Sicily. ib.
Archias Phygadotheres, a notable catchpol. 936.20
Archias, an high prieſt. 1225.1
Archias, the ruler of the Thebans negligent of the ſtate. 650.30
Archias, tyrannized in Thebes. 1204. 10. killed by Melon. 1225.20
Archelaus, his opinion of the firſt principles. 806.30
K. Archelaus, how he ſerved an impudent craver. 167.10. his apophthegme. 408.1
Archidamus his apothegme. 425. 1.423.20
Archidamus the ſon of Zeuxidamus his apophthegmes. 454.50
Archidamus the ſunne of Ageſilaus his apophthegmes. 455.20
K. Archidamus fined for marying a little woman. 2.40
Archilochus an ancient poet and muſician. 1250.20
Archilochus what he added to muſicke. 1257.10.
Archimedes how ſtudious in geometrie 387.10.590.10
Archiptolemus condemned and executed with Antiphon. 920. 10.20.30
Architas repreſſeth his anger. 542. 30. his patience. 12.40
Arctique pole. 820.40
Arctos, the beare, a ſtarre, repreſenteth Typhon. 1295.50
Ardalus. 330.30
Ardetas a lover. 1145. 50
Aretaphila her vertuous deede 498.10. her defence for ſuſpicion of preparing poiſon to kill her huſband. 499.1
Argei at Rome what images. 861. 30
Argileonis the mother of Braſidas, her apophthegmes. 479.40
Argoi, the name of all Greeks. 861. 40
Argos women, their vertuous act. 486.1
Aridæus, an unwoorthie prince. 1277.30

Aridæus, *a yoong prince, unfit to rule.* 395.50
Aridices *his bitter ſcoffe.* 668.10
Arigæus *his apophthegme.* 454.30
Arimanius. 1044.1
Arimanius *a martiall Enthuſiaſme.* 1143.1
Arimanius, *what God.* 1306.1
Arimenes *his kindnes to* Xerxes *his brother.* 403.40
Ariobarzanes, *ſonne of* Darius, *a traitour executed by his father.* 909.50
Arion *his hiſtorie.* 342.20.
Ariopagus. 396.40
Ariſtæus, *what God.* 1141.20
Ariſtarchium, *a temple of* Diana. 902.40
Ariſtinus, *what anſwer hee had from the Oracle.* 852.1
Ariſtides *kinde to* Cimon. 398.20. *his apophthegmes.* 418.50. *he ſtood upon his owne bothom.* ib. *at enmity with* Themiſtocles. 419.1. *he laieth it downe for the Common-wealth.* ib.
Ariſtippus *his apophthegme as touching the education of children.* 6.10. *his anſwer as touching* Lais *the courtiſan.* 1133.10.
Ariſtippus *and* Aeſchines *at a jarre: how they agreed.* 130.40
Ariſtoclea *her tragicall hiſtorie.* 944.40
Ariſtocrates *puniſhed long after, for betraying the Meſſenians.* 1540.1
Ariſtocraties *allow no oratours at bar to move paſſions.* 72.40
Ariſtodemus *fearefull and melancholike.* 296.1
Ariſtodemus *uſurpeth tyrannie over* Cumes. 505.50. 290.1
Ariſtodemus, Socrates *his ſhadow at a feaſt.* 753.50
Ariſtodemus, *tyrant of* Argos. *killeth himſelfe.* 265.10. 205.10. *his villanie.* 946.40. *ſurnamed* Malacos, 505.30. *murdered by conſpiratours.* 506.30
Ariſtogiton, *a promoter, condemned.* 421.10
Ariſtomache *a Poetreſſe.* 716.30
Ariſtomenes *poiſoned by* Ptolomæus. 112.20
Ariſton *his opinion of vertue.* 64.50
Ariſton *his apophthegmes.* 454.40
Αριστον, *a dinner, whereof it is derived.* 775.30
Ariſton *puniſhed by God for ſacriledge.* 545.20
Ariſtonicus *an harper, honoured after his death by K.* Alexander. 1274.40
Ariſtophanes *diſcommended in compariſon of* Menander. 942.40
Ariſtotimus *a cruell tyrant over the* Elians. 492.30. *his treacherous vilany toward the wives of* Elis. 493.10. *murdered by conſpiratours.* 494.1. *his wife hung herſelfe.* 495
Ariſtotle *how he dealt with prating fellowes.* 193.30. *reedifieth* Stagira *his native city.* 1128.50. *his opinion of God.* 812.10. *his opinion as touching the principles of all things.* 808.10
Ariſtotle *a maſter in his ſpeech.* 34.20
Ariſtotle *the younger, his opinion as touching the face in the Moone.* 1161.1
Arithmeticke. 1019.1
Arithmeticall *proportion chaced out of* Lacedæmon *by* Lycurgus. 767.50
Arius *a great favorite of* Auguſtus Cæſar. 368.20
Aroveris *borne.* 1292.20
Arſaphes. 1302.20
Arſinoe, *how ſhe was comforted by a Philoſopher for the death of her ſonne.* 521.50
Arſinoe. 899.30
Artaxerxes *accepted a ſmall preſent graciouſly.* 402.20
Artaxerxes Long-hand *his apophthegmes.* 404.1
Artaxerxes Mnemon *his apophthegmes and behaviour.* 404.30
Artemiſium *the Promontory.* 906.40
Artemiſia *a lady, adviſeth* Xerxes 1243.10
Artemis, *that is to ſay,* Diana, *why ſo called.* 1184.40
Article, *a part of ſpeech ſeldome uſed by* Homer. 1028.10
Arts *from whence they proceed.* 232.30
Artyni, *who they be.* 888.50
Aruntius *carnally abuſed his owne daughter, and ſacrificed by her.* 912.1.10
Aruntius Paterculus *executed worthily by* Aemilius Cenſorinus. 917.30
Aſpis *the ſerpent why honoured among the Aegyptians.* 1316.30
The Aſſe, *why honoured among the Jewes.* 701.10
Aſſes *and horſes having apples and figges a load, be faint with the diſeaſe* Bulimos. 739.1. *what is the reaſon thereof.* 799.40
Aſander. 1152.20
Aſaron. 645.10
Aſcanius *vanquiſhed* Mezentius 876.20
Aſias *what it was.* 1250.40
Aſo *a Queene of* Arabia. 1292.40
Aſopicus *a darling of* Epaminondas. 1146.10
Aſphodel. 339.1
Aſſembly *of luſty gallants.* 898.1
Aſſent *and the cohibition thereof argued* prò & contrà. 1124.10.20
Aſtarte, *Queene of* Byblos *in* Aegypt. 1293.40
Aſter, *a notable archer.* 908.50
Aſtomi *people of* India. 1177.30
Aſtrologie *is conteined under* Geometrie. 797.10
Aſtrologie. 1019.10
Aſtycratidas *his apophthegmes.* 455.50
Aſyndeton. 1028.40
Ate. 346.10
Ateas *the king of the* Scythians, *his apophthegmes.* 405.20
Ateas *miſliketh muſicke.* 405.20. 592.1. 1273.50. *enimie unto idleneſſe.* 394.30
Atepomorus *king of the Gaules.* 914.40
Athamas *and* Agaue *enraged.* 263.20
Athenians *more renowmed for martiall feats than good letters.* 981.50
Athenians *of what diſpoſition they be.* 349.30
Athenians *why they ſuppreſſe the ſecond day of Auguſt.* 187.40. *reproved by a* Laconian *for plaies.* 985.50
Athens *and* Attica *highly commended.* 279.1.10
The Athenians *would not breake open king* Philips *letters to his wife.* 350.1
Athens *divided into three regions.* 357.20. *the mother and nurſe of good arts.* 982.20
Athenians *abuſe* Sylla *and his wife with ill language.* 196.1
Athenodorus *his kindneſſe to his brother* Zeno. 181.20
Atheiſme *and ſuperſtition compared.* 260.1
Αθεοι *who they were.* 1099.1
Atheiſts *who they were.* 810.40
Athiſme *mainteined by* Epicurus. 592.20

Athiſme.

Athiſme. 260.40. *what it is. ib.* 50. *it aroſe from ſuperſtition,* 267. 40. 50. *how engendred.* 260.1
Athos *the mountaine.* 1175.20
Atlas. 1163.20
Atomi. 602.50.807.40.50
Athyri *what it ſignifieth.*1310.20
Atropos. 1049.10.797.40. *her function.* 1184.40. *what ſhe is and where ſhe keepeth.*1219.30
*K.*Attalus *died upon his birth day.* 766.1
Attalus *his reciprocall love to his brother* Eumenes. 188.20. 416.30
Attalus *a king, ruled and led by* Philopæmen. 394.20
Attalus *eſpouſeth the wife of his brother yet living:* 416.30
Avarice *how it differeth from other luſts.* 211.20
Againſt Avarice. 299.10.20
Averruncani, *See* Apotropæi.
Augurs *who they be.* 883.10.*why not degraded. ib.*
Augurs *forbidden to obſerve bird flight, if they had an ulcer about them.* 874.30
Augurs *and* Auſpices *why they had their lanterns open.* 874.10
After Auguſt *no bird-flight obſerved.* 863.30
Of Auguſt *the ſecond day ſuppreſſed by the Athenians out of the kallender.* 187.40.792.10
Auguſtus Cæſar *firſt emperour of* Rome. 631.50
Auguſtus Cæſar *his apophthegmes.* 442. 50. *how he paid his father* Cæſars *legacies.* 442.1. *his clemency to the Alexandrians.ib.*10. *his affection to* Arius.*ib.his anger noted by* Athenodorus. 442. 30. *his praier for his nephew* Tyberius Cæſar. 631.50. *fortunes dearling. ib.*
Αυταχυεια. 901.20
In Autumne *we are more hungrie than in any other time of the yeere.* 669.10
Autumne *called* φυλλοχοος.785.10
Axiomes *ten, by complication how many propoſitions they bring foorth.* 782.20

B

B. *Vſed for* Ph. 890.20. B. *for* P. *ib.*
Babylon *a hot province.* 685.20. *about it they lie upon water budgets.* 686.50
Baccharis *the herbe, what vertue it hath in garlands.* 684.20
Bacchiadæ. 945.50
Bacchon *the faire.* 1131.50
Bacchus *why called by the Romans* Liber pater.885.1. *why he had many Nymphs to be his nurſes.* 696.1. *ſurnamed* Dendriteus. 717.20. *the ſonne or father of oblivion.*751.40. *why called* Eleuther *and* Lyſius. 764.10
Bacchanals *how they were performed in old time.* 214.30
Bacchus *how he commeth to have many denominations.* 1358.1
Bacchus *patrone of husbandrie.* 797.20. *not ſworne by within dores at* Rome. 860.10.*What is all this to* Bacchus? *a proverb whereupon it aroſe.* 645.1
Bacchæ *why they uſe rime and meeter.* 654.40
Bacchæ. 643.40
Bacchus *taken to be the Jewes god.* 712.10. *ſurnamed* Lyæus *and* Choræus. 722.40. *he was a good captaine.* 722.40. *a phyſician.* 683.40. *why ſurnamed* Methymnæus.685. 40. *ſurnamed* Lyſius *or* Libes *and wherefore.*692.30. *what is the end thereof.* 337.20. *why named* φλοιος. 726.50.
Bacchus *ſurnamed* Bugenes. 1301.20
Bacchus *portraied with a bulles head.* 1301.20
Bacchus *the governour of all moiſture.* 1301.40.
Bactrians *deſire to have their dead bodies devoured by birds of the aire.* 299.50
Baines *and ſtouphes.* 612.1. *in old time very temperate.* 783.30. *the occaſion of many diſeaſes.* 783.30
Balance *not to be paſſed over.* 15.10
Ballachrades. 903.30
Bal *what it ſignifieth in the Aegyptian language.* 1319.1
Baniſhment of Bulimus.738.20.
*Baniſhment how to be made tolerable.*275.1.10.*no marke of infamie.*278.20.*ſeemeth to be condemned by* Euripides. *ib.*30
Baniſhed perſons we are all in this world. 281.20
Banquet of the ſeven Sages. 326.30
Barbarians and Greeks compared. 39.40
Barbell *the fiſh honoured.*976.40.
*Barbers be commonly praters.*200.40. *a pratling Barber, checked k.*Archelaus. 408.10
Barber to K. Dionyſius *crucified for his talkative tongue.* 200.30. *Barbers ſhops dry bankets.*721.20. *a Barber handled in his kinde for his babling tongue.* 201.1
Barly likes well in ſandy ground. 1008.10.20.
Barrenneſſe in women how occaſioned. 844.20
*Evill Baſhfulneſſe cauſe of much ſinne & danger.*165.10.20.30. *over-much Baſhfulneſſe how to be avoided.* 164.30. *Baſhfulneſſe* 163.10. *of two ſorts.*72.1. *Baſhfulneſſe to be avoided in diet.* 613.1
Bathing in cold water upon exerciſe. 620.20. *Bathing in hot water.ib.*30.*Bathing and ſweating before meat.* 612.20
Bathyllion. 759.10
Battus *the ſonne of* Arceſilaus 504.30
Battus *a buffon or jeſter.* 775.10
Battus *ſurnamed Dæmon.*504.20
Battus. 1199.20
Beanes abſteined from. 15.20
Beare a ſubtill beaſt. 965.10. *why they are ſaide to have a ſweet hand.*1010.50. *why they gnaw not the nets.* 1012.30.*tender over their yoong.* 218.20
a Bearded comet. 827.20
*Beaſts haue taught us Phyſicke, & al the parts thereof.*967.60. *Beaſts capable of vertue.* 564.50.*docible & apt to learne arts.* 570.1. *able to teach. ib.*10.*we ought to have pittie of them.* 575.30. *brute Beaſts teach parents naturall kindneſſe.* 217.218. *Beaſts braines in old time rejected.* 783.10. *they cure themſelves by Phyſicke.* 1012.1. *Beaſts of land their properties.*958.50. *what beaſts will be mad.*955.20. *beaſts not ſacrificed without their owne conſent.* 779.20.*skilful in Arithmetick.* 968.20.*kind to their yong.*218.10. *beaſts wilde, what uſe men make of them.* 237.40. *of land or water, whether have more uſe of reaſon.* 951. 30. *beaſts have uſe of reaſon.* 954.955. *how to be uſed without injurie.* 956.40. *how they came firſt to be killed.* 779.10. *whether they feed more ſimply than we.* 702.1. *whether more healthfull than men.* 702.1.

Beauty the bloſſome of vertue. 1153.10. *beauty of what worth* 6.50. *beauty of woman called* ἀλγυνεον & δειμν. 728.50. *beauty without vertue not commendable.* 47.1
Bebœon. 1370.40
Bebon. *ib.*
Bed of maried folke compoſeth many quarrels betweene them. 322.20. *bed-clothes to bee ſhuffled when we be newly riſen.* 777.40
Bees of Candie *how witty they be.* 959.50. *bees cannot abide ſmoke.* 1014.30. *they ſting unchaſte perſons. ib.* 40. *the bee a wiſe creature.* 218.1
The Beetill flie what it ſignifieth hieroglyphically. 1291.30. *why honoured by the Aegyptians.* 1316.30
Beer a counterfeit wine. 685.40.
Begged fleſh, what is ment by it. 891.50
Bellerophontes *continent everie way.* 739.30
Bellerophontes *commended for his continence.* 42.30. 139.30. *he ſlew* Chimarchus. 489.10. *not rewarded by* Iobates. *ib.*
Beleſtre. 1137.1
The Bellies of dead men how they be ſerved by the Aegyptians. 576.40. *of belly & belly cheere,* pro & contrà. 339.340. *belly pleaſures moſt eſteemed by* Epicurus *and* Metrodorus. 595.10. *belly hath no eares.* 620.40.
Bepolitanus *ſtrangely eſcaped execution.* 502.40
Berronice *& the good wife of* Lacedæmon. 1111.40
Beſſus *detected for killing his father.* 545.30.
Bias *his anſwer to a pratling fellow.* 194.20. *his anſwer to king* Amaſis. 327.10. *his apophthegme.* 456.1. *his apophthegme touching the moſt dangerous beaſt.* 47.30
Binarie *number.* 807.10. Binarie *number or Two, called contention.* 1317.30
Bion *his anſwere to* Theognis. 28.20. *his apophthegme.* 254.50. *his ſaying of Philoſophie.* 9.1
Βιοτος *hath divers ſignifications.* 29.20
Birds why they have no wezill flap. 745.10. *birds how they drinke.* 745.10. *skilfull in divination.* 968.40. *taught to imitate mans mans voice.* 966.30
Biton *and* Cleobis *rewarded with death.* 518.10. *See* Cleobis.
Bitterneſſe what effects it worketh. 656.10
a Blab of his toong how he was ſerved by K. Seleucus. 200.20
Blackneſſe commeth of water. 997.10
Blacke potage at Lacedæmon. 475.20
Bladder *anſwereth to the windepipe, like as the guts to the wezand.* 745.20
Blames *properly imputed for vice.* 47.30
Blaſing ſtarres. 827.10
The Bleſſed *ſtate of good folke departed.* 530.50
Bletoneſians *ſacrificed a man.* 878.10
Bluſhing face, *better than pale.* 38.50
Bocchoris *a k. of* Ægypt. 164.40
Βοειο ποδι. 898.40
Bodily health *by two arts preſerved.* 9.10
Body *fitter to entertaine paine than pleaſure.* 583.10. *body feeble no hinderance to aged rulers.* 389.40. *bodies what they be.* 813. *bodies ſmalleſt.* 813.50. *body, cauſe of all vices and calamities.* 517.30. *body may well have an action againſt the ſoule.* 625.1. *much injuried by the ſoule. ib.*
Bœotarchie. 367.10
Bœotians *good trencher men.* 669.10. *noted for gluttony.* 575.1
Bœotians *reproched for hating good letters.* 1203.50
Boldneſſe *in children and youth.* 8.40
Bona *a goddeſſe at* Rome. 856.50
Books *of Philoſophers to be read by yoong men.* 9.50
Boreas *what winde.* 829.30
Bottiæans. 898.30. *their virgins ſong. ib.*
Braſidas *his ſaying of a ſilly mouſe.* 251.20
Braſidas *his apophthegmes.* 423.30. 456.1. *his death and commendation. ib.*10
A Braſon *ſpike keepeth dead bodies from putrefaction.* 697.50
Braſſe *ſwords or ſpeares wounde with leſſe hurt.* 698.1
Braſſe *why called* Ευλωωρ, *and* Νωροψ. 698.1. *why it is ſo reſonant.* 770.10
Braſſe *of* Corinth. 1187.1
Bread *a preſent remedie for fainting.* 739.1
Brennus *king of the Gallogreeks.* 910.40
Brethren *how they are to divide their patrimonie.* 180.40. *one brother ought not to ſteale his fathers heart from another.* 179.30. *they are to excuſe one another to their parents.* 179.50. *how they ſhould cary themſelves in regard of age.* 184.185
Briareus *a giant, the ſame that* Ogygius. 1180.20
Bride *lifted over the threſhold of her husbands dore.* 860.30. *bridegrome commeth firſt to his bride without a light.* 872.10.20. *bride why ſhe eateth a quince before ſhe enter into the bedchamber.* 872.20. *brides haire parted with a javelin.* 879.50
Brimſtone *why called in Greeke* θειον. 705.30
Briſon *a famous runner.* 154.30
Brotherly *amity a ſtrange thing.* 174.20
Brutus *ſurpriſed with the hunger* βουλιμος. 738.50. *his gracious thankefulneſſe to the Apollonians.* 739.1
Decim. Brutus *why he ſacrificed to the dead in December.* 862.10
Brutus *beheadeth his owne ſonnes.* 909.50
The Bryer *buſh* Κυνοσβατος. 892.50
Bubulci *the name at* Rome. *how it came.* 865.10
Bucephalus *K.* Alexanders *horſe* 963.50. *how he was woont to ride him.* 396.20
Buggery *in brute beaſts not known* 568.30
Building *coſtly forbidden by* Lycurgus. 577.30. 880.1
Bulb *roote.* 704.20.
Buls *and beares how they prepare to fight.* 959.1
Buls *affraied of red clothes.* 323. *tied to figge-trees become tame.* 741.30
Bulla *what ornament or jewell.* 40. *why worne by Romaines children.* 883.40
Βουλεμος *and* βουλεμια. *a fainting of the heart and no hunger.* 739.30
Bulimos *what it ſignifieth.* 738.20
Bulimos *the diſeaſe, what it is, & whereupon it proceedeth.* 738.739
Buproſtis. 738.30

Buris

Buris *his reſolution for his countrey.* 474.1
A man not to be caſed of his Burden. 777.40
Buſiris *ſacrificeth ſtrangers and gueſts.*917.1.*killed by* Hercules. *ib.*10
Byſatia *killeth herſelfe.* 913.20
Byſius *what winde.* 890.20
Buzygion. 323.10

C

CAbirichus Cyamiſtos 1225 10. *killed by* Theopompus. *ib.* 30
Cabiri. 666.20
Cabbas *or* Galba, *a bawd and witall.* 1144.10. *and a merrie buffon withall.* *ib.*
Cæcias *the wind gathereth clouds.* 240.10
Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus, *his rare felicity.* 630.20.
Cæcilius Metellus *his apophthegmes.* 436.20
Cæna, *that is to ſay, A ſupper, whereof derived.* 776.1
Cæneus *the Lapith.* 247.1.1055 30
Cæpio *and* Cato *brethren, agree well together.* 185.20
Cæpion *an auncient Muſician.* 1250.40
Cæſar *commended by* Cicero *for erecting againe the ſtatues of* Pompeius. 243. 1. 10. *hee made head againſt* M. Craſſus. 874.10
C. Cæſar *his apophthegmes.* 440.40. *he putteth away his wife* Pompeia. 441
Cajus *and* Caja. 860.50
Caja Cæcilia *a vertuous & beautifull lady.* 860.50. *her braſen image in the temple of* Sanctus. 861.1
Cakes of Samos. 613.40
Calamarus *fiſh foreſheweth tempeſt.* 1008.50
Calamoboas, *why* Antipater *was ſo called.* 207.30
Calauria, *what place.* 894.10
Calbia *a cruell woman.* 498.40. *burned quicke.* 500.30
Calendæ. *See* Kalendæ.
Callicles *anſwer.* 378.10
Callicrates. 1106.30
Callicratidas *his apophthegmes.* 459.1. *his death.* *ib.*30
Callimechus *ſtood ſlaine upon his feet.* 906.30
Callimici, *a ſurname of certeine princes.* 1278.40
Calliope *the Muſe.* 795. 40. *wherein emploied.* 798.50
Callipides *a vaine jeſter.* 449.10
Callirrhoe *a beautifull damoſell, her wofull hiſtorie.* 947.40. *ſhe hangeth herſelfe.* 913.10
Calliſthenes *refuſed to pledge* Alexander *the great.* 120.30. *in disfavour with K.* Alexander. 655. 20. *his apophthegme againſt quaffing.* *ib.*
Calliſthenes *killeth himſelfe upon the body of* Ariſtoclia *his bride.* 945.10
Calliſto, *what Damon.* 157.30
Calliſtratus *a friendly man in his houſe, and keeping great hoſpitality.* 707.40
Callixenus *a ſycophant.* 300.10
Sea Calves *their properties.* 977.20
Cambyſes *upon a vaine jealouſie put his brother to death.* 188.20
Furius Camillus. 631.10
Camma *the Galatian Lady, her vertuous deeds.* 500.40. *poiſoneth her ſelfe and* Synorix. 501.20
Χαμμονιη, *what it ſignifieth.* 28.50
Candaules *ſhewed his wife naked to* Gyges. 654.10
Candaules *killed by* Gyges. 902.10
Candidatus *ſued for offices at* Rome *in ſimple robes.* 867.30
Candyli. 703.50
Canobus *or* Canopus, *a pilot and ſtarre.* 1296.10
Cantharides *the flies, how uſed in Phyſicke.* 28.30
Cantharolethros. 156.50
Canus *the Minſtrell, ſtudious and bent to his worke.* 387.10
on Capitol *mount no* Patritij *at* Rome *might dwell.* 880.40
Capparus *the name of a dog.* 962.50. *he diſcovereth one that had committed ſacriledge. ib. provided for by the Athenians.* 963.10
Sp. Carbilius, *why he divorced his wife.* 855.10
Carians *murdered by the* Melians. 847.50
Carmenta *the goddeſſe, honoured by Romane matrons.* 869.50. *the mother of* Euander. *ib.* *named* Themis *and* Nicoſtrata. *ib. the etymologie of* Carmenta. 870.1
Carmina, *whereof the word commeth.* 870.1
Carneades *his witty apophthegme againſt flatterers.* 96.40. *when he was borne.* 766.10
Carnia *what feaſt.* 766
Carthaginian dames ſuffered their heads to be ſhorne. 284.1
Carthaginians of what nature they be. 349.40
Caryce. 703.50
Caryſtian quarry, what ſtone it yeelded. 1345.50
Caſpian ſea. 1183.30
Caſſandra *the propheteſſe not beleeved.* 376.30
Caſsius Severus *his apophthegme of a cunning flatterer about* Tyberius. 98.30
Caſsius Brutus *a traitour.* 909.40
Caſtoreum *an unpleaſant drug.* 9.50
Caſtor *and* Pollux *how they loved.* 180.30
Caſtorium, *what melodie among the Lacedæmonians.* 1256.30
Caſual adventure what it is. 1052 30
Catacautæ. 894.50
Catamites hate Pæderaſts moſt deadly. 1155.20
Cataptuſton, *a mouth of the river* Nilus, *why ſo called.* 1292.50
Catephia *what it is.* 163.20
Cateunaſtes, *what God.* 1142.1
Cathetus *raviſheth* Salia. 917.40
Cats can abide no ſweet perfumes. 323.30
Cato *the elder his apophthegmes.* 432. 30. *an enemy to gluttony.* *ib.*
Cato *his accuſation and plea.* 384.40. *his apophthegme of* Julius Cæſar *Dictator.* 1083.1
Cato Vticenſis *killed himſelfe.* 295.50. *more carefull of his ſouldiers then of himſelfe.* *ib.*
Cato *the elder againſt the libertie of women.* 432.30
Cato *being a boy, very inquiſitive of his Teachers.* 36.40
Cato *the elder his ſeveritie.* 432.40. *he would not have his owne image made.* 375.10
Cato *the elder miſliked ſtatues.* 432.50
Cato *the yoonger his upright dealing againſt* Muræna. 242.50
a Cat, why ſhe ſymbolizeth the Moone. 1312.30
Catulus Luctatius *his apophthegmes.* 437.1
Caudinæ Furcæ. 907
Cauſe, what it is. 813.20
Cauſes of three ſorts. *ib.*
Cauſe efficient, chiefe. *ib.*

Cauſes materiall and efficient. 1348.1
Cecrops *why ſaid to have a double face.* 443.20
Celænæ *a city in* Phrygia. 907.50
Celeus *a great houſekeeper.* 707.40
Cenſors at Rome, *if one died, other gave up their places.* 868.1. *what firſt worke they undertooke after they were ſworne.* 882.40. *their charge.* 882.50. 883.1
Centaures whence they come. 568.50
Centaury the herbe. 1178.50
Ceraunophoros, *an image repreſenting K.* Alexander. 1275.40
Cerberus. 880.30.604.50
Cercaphus. 896.30
Cercopes. 98.20
Cerdous *what God.* 154.50
Ceres *differeth from* Proſerpina. 1181.40
Ceroma *what cōpoſition.* 672.50
Ceres *worſhipped in the ſame temple with* Neptune. 709.10
Ceres *ſurnamed* Anyſidora. 797.10. *patroneſſe of agriculture. ib.*
Ceres Calligeneia. 897.40
Chæron *how he altered the proſpect of* Chæronea. 134.10
Chabrias *his apophthegmes.* 420.30
Chalcedonian dames their modeſtie. 903.20
Chalcitis, *a minerall medicinable.* 698.1
Chalcodrytæ. 712.40
Chaldæans, what they thinke of the Gods. 1306.40
Chamæleon changeth colour upon feare. 973.20
Change in States difficult & dangerous. 349.20.350.20
Chaos. 646.10.1000.10.1032.50. *whereof derived, and what it ſignifieth.* 989.30.1300.20
Charadrios, *a bird curing jaundice.* 724.1
Chares, *a perſonable man.* 389.50
Charicles & Antiochus *how they parted their fathers goods.* 181.10
Charidotes *the ſurname of* Mercurie. 904.20
Charila. 891.1
Charillus *his apophthegmes.* 469.40.423.1
Charillus *an infant, protected by his uncle* Lycurgus. 1277.30
Charites *or* Graces, *what were their names, and why ſo called.* 292.1
Charmoſyna, *what feaſt.* 1299.10
Charon *the brother of* Epaminondas, *commended for reſolution and love to his countrey.* 1204.50. *he enterteineth the exiled men at their returne.* 1216.30. *his ſpeech made to the conſpiratours.* 1223.30
Charroles *why commended by* Anacharſis. 737.10
Cheiromacha, *a faction in* Miletum. 897.50
Chenoſiris *what it is.* 1302.10
Cherſias *the Poet ſcoffed at by* Cleodemus. 338.1
Childhood how to be ordered by Nourſes. 4.50
Childrens words taken for Oſſes. 1293.10
Children good of bad parents. 555.40
Children puniſhed for their parents. 554.1
Children begotten in drunkennes. 2.40
Children are not to heare leawd ſpeeches. 4.50
Children to be taught by lenity & faire meanes. 10.40
Children why they ought to have no golde about them. 375.1. *how they come to reſemble their parents and progenitours.* 843.50. *how it commeth, that they be like neither to the one nor the other.* 844.10. *they uſed to goe with their fathers forth to ſupper.* 861.50
Chilon *invited to a feaſt, enquired alwaies who were the gueſts.* 328.30
Chimæra *a mountaine.* 489.30
Chimarchus *or* Chimærus *an archpirate.* 489.1
Chiomara *wife to* Ortiagon, *her vertuous deed.* 501.50
Chios *women their vertuous acts.* 485.10.40
Chiron *an ancient Phyſician.* 683.40. *a ſingular bringer up of noble youth.* 1262.10
Chirurgery, men did learne of Elephants. 968.20
Chlidon *ſent by* Hippoſthenidas *to the baniſhed of* Thebes. 1216.1. *a ridiculous fray betweene him and his wife.* 1216.20
Choaſpes *the river water, drunke only by the Perſian kings.* 273.1
Chœnix. 15.10.749.50.1328.20. *it conteineth* 4. Sextarios.
Cholera *the diſeaſe.* 781.50
Choler youth ought to ſuppreſſe. 12.20. *the whetſtone of fortitude.* 566.10
Chonuphis *a Prophet in* Memphis. 1207.1.1291.10
Chreſmoſyne. 1358.30
Chreſtos, *what it ſignifieth.* 889.30
Chrithologos *who it is.* 889.40
Chromatique muſicke. 796.40
Chryſantas *commended by* Cyrus *for ſparing to kill his enemie.* 863.50
Chryſeis. 35.1
Chryſippus *taxed for nice ſubtiltie.* 41.40
Chryſippus *his contradictory opinions.* 1060.10. *to what purpoſe borne.* 1082.40.50
Chryſippus *brought in a ſuperfluous plurality of vertues.* 65.10. *his ſtatue and the epigram to it.* 1058.20
Chthonie, *what Dæmon.* 157.30
Church robber detected by his tongue. 201.40
Cicero *his ſcoffe.* 664.30. *noted for praiſing himſelfe.* 303.40
Cicero *his apophthegmes.* 439.30 *the reaſon of his name. ib. he is not aſhamed of it. ib.*
Cich peaſe forbidden to be eaten. 881.50. *their derivation in Greeke. ib.*
Cidre, what drinke. 685.40
Cimon *inceſtuous at firſt, proved a good Ruler.* 543.40
Cimon *why blamed.* 297.20. 351.1
Cimmerians beleeve there is no ſunne. 266.20
Cineſias *how he rebuked the Poet* Timotheus. 28.10.759.30
Cineſones. 1199.30
Cinna *ſtoned to death.* 915.1
Cio *women their vertuous act and chaſtity.* 490.491
Circle. 1021.10
The Cirque Flaminius *why ſo called.* 872.30
Cleanthes *did grind at the mill.* 286.30
Cleanthes *thought that the heaven ſtood ſtill and the earth moved.* 1163.1
Cleanthes *hard to learne.* 63.1. *noted for playing with* Homers *verſes.* 41.40. *his contradictions.* 1059.20
Cleanthes *and* Chryſippus *contradictory to themſelves.* 1058.40
Cleanthes *and* Antiſthenes *practiſed*

ctiſed to correct Poeticall verſes by change of ſome words. 44.1
Clearchus *his countenance encourageth his ſouldiers.* 109.20. *given to auſterity.* 651.50. *a tyrant.* 296.1. *his inſolent pride.* 1278.20
Clearchus *the Philoſopher confuteth* Ariſtotle Junior, *about the Moones face.* 1161.20
Clemencie what it is. 69.10
Cleobis *and* Biton *kinde to their mother.* 518.20. *deemed by* Solon *happie.* 96.30
Cleobuline *a ſtudious and vertuous damoſel, named alſo* Eumelis. 329.1
Cleobulus, *uſurped the name of a ſage and was none indeed.* 1354.20
Cleodemus *a Phyſician,* 335.20
Cleomachus *the Theſſalian his death.* 1145.20. *his ſepulcher.* 1145.30
Cleombrotus *the ſonne of* Pauſanias, *his apophthegm.* 459.40
Cleombrotus *a great traveller.* 1322.1
Cleomenes *the ſonne of* Anaxandrides *his Apophthegmes.* 459.40. 425.10. *puniſhed for his perjury and trechery. ib.* 50
Cleomenes *repelled from the wals of* Argos *by women.* 486.20
Cleomenes *the ſonne of* Cleombrotus *his apophthegmes.* 461.1.
Cleon *being entred into governement rejected all his former friends.* 358.50
Cleopatra. 632.1. *baniſhed and reſtored.* 637.30
A Clepſydre. 840.20
Climacides *and* Colacides *what women.* 86.20
Clio. 795.40 *wherein emploied* 798.50
Clitomachus *the Grammarian could abide no amatorious matters.* 757.50
Clœlia *her vertuous deed.* 492.1 *highly honored by k.* Porſena. 492.20
Clonas *an ancient muſician.* 1269.50
Clotho 797.40 1049.10
Clotho *her function.* 1184.40. *what ſhe is.* 1219.30
Cloudes *how engendred.* 828.10
Cluſia *flang her ſelfe from an high tower.* 910.20
Clyſters *commended.* 624.10. *firſt deuiſed by the bird* Ibis. 968.1.1317.1
Clytus *his vaine glory.* 1278.10
Cneph *among the Aegyptians.* 1295.50
Cnidian *graine, a violent purgative.* 623.50
Cocks *of the dunghil for what uſe made.* 1073.20
White Cocke *honored by the Pythagoreans.* 711.1
Cocles *moderate in receiving honours.* 375.40
Cocytus. 604.50. *what it ſignifieth.* 515.50
Codrus *the king, diſguiſed, killed.* 911.40
Cœranus *preſerved by Dolphins.* 980.1
Cœranium. *ib.*10
Colde primitive what it is. 993.10. *it is not the privation of heat. ib.*20
Colde good to preſerve things. 774.10
Colde outward increaſeth naturall heat. 739.10
Coliades *who they be.* 892.30
Colour what it is. 814.10
Colours all but white deceitfull. 859.40. *of divers kindes.* 814.20
Colotes *the Epicure, wrot againſt the Stoicks.* 581.10. *he is confuted.* 1110.50
Combat of three twins, bretheren. 911.10
Combats of prize in what order ſet by Homer. 673.40.50
Comminius Saper *worketh the death of his owne ſonne* Comminius. 916.10
Comœdian *condemned by the Athenians.* 985.1
Comœdia Vetus *baniſhed out of feaſts.* 759.20
Comœdia Nova *commended at banquets. ib.*30
Company of friends at meales commended. 742.40
Company bad, children muſt avoid 15.1
Comparatives uſed for poſitives. 719.40
Conception how it commeth. 842.20. *how it is hindred. ib.*
Conception of children. 220.20
Concoction what it is. 1003
Concordance of Poëſie and philoſophy. 605.20.48.30
Conflagration of the world. 807.30
Conipodes *who they be.* 888.50.
Conjunctions, a part of ſpeech not much miſſed. 1028.20
Conjunction of man and wife why called φιλοτης. 1155.30
Conſcience cleere a ſafe harbour 161.10
Conſcience a ſufficient witneſſe. 252.40.50
Conſcience cleere a ſingular joy. 603.20
peace of Conſcience a ſovereigne joy. 80.1
Conſualia *a feſtivall day at* Rome. 867.20
Conſular *place at the boord honorable.* 650.10. *the reaſons why ib.*20
Conſuls at Rome, *when firſt enſtalled.* 856.20. *not admitted to triumphall feaſts.* 877.10
Conſultation of ſerious matters at the table and wine.. 761.40
Contentment of minde in poore Crates *the philoſopher.* 147.50
Continence and temperance how they differ. 69.20
Continency in beaſts compared with the chaſtity of men and women. 566.40
Contingent how defined. 1051.20
Contradictions of ſtoicke philoſophers. 1057.1058
Contruſius *the ſonne of* Florentia 914.10
Conus. 1021.1
Cophene *a yong damoſell ſaved the Megarians from being maſſacred.* 487.40. *maried to* Nymphæus. *ib.*
Coptos *a city in* Aegypt *why ſo called.* 1293.10
Corax *aliàs* Collocidas. 553.20 *murdered* Archilochus. *ib.*
Cordax 759.10
Cordial *confections and counterpoiſons called, The hands of the gods.* 1703.1
Core *the ſame that* Perſophone. 914.10.1181.50
Coretas *gave firſt light of the oracle at* Delphi. 1245.10
Corinna *reprooved* Pindarus *in his poetre.* 984.30
Corinthians chappell. 1193.1194
Coroniſtæ, *who they be.* 505.30
Corpulent and fat folke barren. 676.1
Coros 1358.20
Correction of Poets verſes. 44.1.10
Corruption what it is. 1114.1115
Corybantes. 1142.50.1143.10.1183.40
Cothus *his ſubtile practiſe.* 895.20
Cotyla *a meaſure.* 1328.20. *it containeth*

taineth ten ounces, that is to ſay, about a pint.

Cotys *a prince given to anger, how he reſtrained it.* 405.10

Covetouſneſſe what maner of diſeaſe. 210

Counſell of ſtate in Lacedæmon *how called,* 391.30

the love of native Country ſurpaſſeth all others. 362.10

who voluntary left their owne Countries. 277

native Country called Μητρις. 395 1.

Cradephoria *what feaſt.* 712.10

Cradias *what tune or ſong.* 1251.10

Cramp-fiſh Torpedo *how ſubtile he is.* 972.40

Cranes what order they keepe in flying. 960.1

Crantor *his opinion as touching the ſoule of the world.* 1031.30

M. Craſſus *why he was ſaid to cary hey one his horne.* 874.1

Craſſus *bitterly taunted and chec-ked* Domitius. 240.30. *accuſed for incontinency.* 241.30

Crataiadas. 895.1

Crates *his trecherous part with* Orgilaus. 381.1. *he is put to death.* 381.10

Crates *the philoſopher joieth in his poverty.* 147. 40. *called* Thirepanœctes. 666. 1. *his epigram oppoſed to* Sardanapalus *his epitaph.* 10. 1. *he forſooke the world.* 288.10. *his exclamation againſt negligent fathers in the education of their children* 5.50

Cratevas *why he killed* Archelaus 1155.20

againſt importunate Cravers. 168 40

Credit in a city won at the firſt and ſuddenly. 356.10.20

Cretinas *his honeſt cariage to his concurrent* Hermes *for the good of the common weale.* 362. 1

Crexus *what he added to muſicke.* 1257.10

Criſſon *the Himerean, a flatterer.* 96.30

Critolaus *killed his ſiſter* Demodoce. 911.10

Crocodile *reſembleth god, and honored by the Aegyptians.* 1316. 30

Crocodiles *tame and familiar.* 970. 10. *their maner of breeding and their foreknowledge.* 977.1

Crœſus *erected the ſtatue of his woman baker, in beaten gold.* 1195.40

the Cromyonian *ſow.* 565.30

Crowes of Barbarie *how crafty they be.* 959.40

Crowes age 1327.30

Cruelty in men whẽce it aroſe firſt. 951.10

Cruelty in the killing of brute beaſts for our food, condemned. 577.1

Cryaſſa *the new.* 487.50

Cryaſsians *conſpire againſt the Melians.* 487.30

Cube. 819.20. *how to be doubled.* 767.30

Cumin-ſeed *to be ſowen with curſes.* 746.30

Cupid *or love, highly honored by the Theſpians.* 1131.10

Curioſity foſtereth anger. 132.20. *mixed with envy and malice.* 134.20

Curious perſons ought to looke into themſelves. 134.50

againſt Curioſity the apophthegme of an Aegyptian. 135.50

Curious folke wherein they love to intermeddle. 136.10

Curioſity in other mens matters how to be avoided. 136.50

Manius Curius *his Apophthegmes.* 428.20

Curtius *a Romane knight.* 908.10 *he deflowreth his owne daughter* Cyane. 911.50

Cuttle-fiſh *how crafty he is.* 972.30

Cyanippus *killed himſelf.* 912.30

Cybele *the great mother of the gods.* 1129.30

Cydippe. 896.30

Cydnus *the river, of what vertue the water is.* 1345.1

Cylindre. 1021.1

Cynegyrus *loſt both his hands.* 906.30

Cyneſias *the Poet.* 985.1

Cynoſarges *at* Athens. 1133.30

Cyon *the dog-ſtarre, repreſenteth* Iſis. 1295.50

Cyphi *the compoſition, of what and how many ingredients it conſiſteth.* 1319.10

Cyphi *how the Aegyptians uſe.* 1319.30. *when it is burnt for perfume.* 1319.40.

Cypſelus *miraculouſly ſaved.* 345 30. *how he tooke that name. ib.* 40

Cyrenaiks *philoſophers.* 1122.30. 584.10

Cyrus *ſhunned the ſight of faire* Panthea. 41. 10. 142. 20. *beloved of the Perſians.* 377.10 *how he exerciſed himſelfe with his play-feeres* 207.1 *his apophthegmes.* 403.10

Cyrus *the yonger his pollicy to win the Lacedæmonians unto him.* 404.10

D

DÆmons, *how long they live.* 1327. 40. *ſundry ſorts of them, and their divers offices.* 1329.20.30

Dæmons *of what nature they be.* 1327.20

Dæmons *who they be.* 1221.50. *what nature they be of.* 1297.1

Dæmons *about the Moone.* 1183. 40

Dæmons *how they ſpeake with men.* 1217.50

Dæmons. 812.40

the attribute Dæmonius *how* Homer *uſeth.* 1297.20

Dæmons *of ſundry kinds.* 157.40

Dæmons *twaine allotted to every one of us.* 157.30

Daie at Rome *began at midnight.* 879.40

Daiphantus. 484.40

Δαιτις *what reports in* Homer. 679.1. *why ſo called. ib.*50

Δαιτρον *what maner of drinking.* 337.50

Δαιτυμονες *who they were. ib.*

Dames of Rome *debarred from riding in coches.* 869.50. *put to no cookerie, nor grinding of corne.* 879.20

Damindas *his apophthegme.* 456. 20

Damis *his apophthegme.* 456.20

Damocrates *an impudent jeſter.* 354.50

Damonidas *his apophthegme.* 425.10.456.20

Damoteles *murdered.* 904.40

Darius *father of* Xerxes, *hated idleneſſe.* 394.30. *his apophthegmes.* 403.10. *he remitted certeine taxes impoſed upon his ſubjects. ib.*20

Darius *fortunes minion.* 1264.30

Darius *came up of nothing. ib.*

Darius *his commendation of K.* Alexander. 1279.20

Darius *the ſonne of* Hyſtaſpes, *how he atteined to the crowne.* 1280.40

Darkneſſe whether it be viſible. 837.40

Darkneſſe about the oake, what it meaneth. 894.30

Darnell

Darnell ſeeds forbidden in fires for ſtouphes. 697.10
Date tree branch in all games for victory. 772.1. why it hath the ſuperiority in ſuch games. ib.30
Date tree highly commended. ib. 10. liveth long. ib.30. it never ſheadeth leaves. ib.40. it bringeth to the Babylonians 360. cōmodities. 773.40. it beareth no fruit in Greece. ib. preſſed downe it curleth upward. ib.50. the reaſon thereof. 1013.40
The Date trees braines. 622.30
Datys warred upon the Athenians. 906.30
Daulides, what birds. 777.1
three Dances of the Lacedæmonians. 308.20.476.40
of Dauncing three parts. 799.50
Daunce and poeſie compared. 801.1
Daunce Candiot. 801.30
Dawning of the day why called Clytus. 771.20
In Dearth and famine how the Lydians paſſed the time. 622,1
Death what it is. 848.1. whether it be common to ſoule and bodie. 848.20.
why men reported Dead, upon their returne enter not into their houſes at the dore. 851.40
Death the remedy or end of all miſeries. 515.20
Deaths houre why unknowen unto us. 516.1
in Death no harme. 516. 50. to what Socrates compared it. ib. it reſembleth ſleepe. 517.1. called the brother of ſleepe by Diogenes 517.20. compared to a long voiage. 517.20
Death a favour and gift of the gods 518.20. compared to our eſtate before birth. 519.10
Death onely ill, in feare and expectance. 519.30
Death of yoong folke is their bleſſedneſſe. 520.20
Death how it is accounted diverſly 75.20
Death day of Diogenes the Cynike obſerved. 766.1
Death good in what reſpect. 603.40
Deaths twaine. 1182.20
Deaw the daughter of Jupiter and the Moone. 1011.20
Deaw how it fretteth the skinne and raiſeth a ſcurfe. 1005.50
Deaw daughter of the aire and the Moone. 697.50
Deawes moſt in the full Moone. 697.40
Debt a ſinne in Perſia. 285.20
Decelique warre raiſed by Alcibiades. 419.50
December the tenth moneth. 856.20. the laſt moneth. 862.10
Decias voweth himſelfe for his armie. 299.30. he cared not for fire. ib.
Decij vowed themſelves to death for their countrey. 901.40.50
Decrees propoſed to the Athenian people. 938.10
Decree for the honour of Demoſthenes. ib.
An honourable Decree in the behalfe of Demochares. 938.50
An honourable Decree propoſed for Lycurgus. 939.30
Defluxions of all things. 1009.40
Deiotarus K. of Galatia. 1073.40
Δειλοι who they be. 28.40
Δειπνον, a ſupper, whereof derived. 775.30
Δειξις in dauncing what it is. 801.1
Delius an epithet of Apollo. 1353.50.
The Deliaque oration of Hyperides. 937.10
Delights of eie and eare more dangerous than of other parts. 752.40. how to withſtand the danger of ſuch delights. 753.20
Delphinius a ſurname of Apollo. 978.40
Demades findeth fault with Phocius ſlender fare. 211.30
Demades noted pleaſantly by Antipater. 211.40
Demades a very glutton. 211.30
Demades his images melted. 376.1
Demades the oratour compared to a burnt ſacrifice. 416.10. his apophthegme of the Athenians. 615.30
Demades a ſcoffer requited by Demoſthenes. 355.10
Demades his politique practiſe. 373.30
Demaratus his apophthegmes. 456.30. his free ſpeech to king Philip. 111.1. his ſpeech to K. Alexander. 1267.30
Demetria a ſtout dame, ſlew her owne ſonne for cowardiſe. 480.10
Demetrius counſelled K. Ptolomæus to read books of policie. 422.40
Demetrius Phalereus, with his 300. ſtatues. 375. 50. he lived happily in baniſhment. 273.20
K. Demetrius ſpared the picture of Ialyſus drawen by Protogenes. 415.20. his apophthegmes. ib. his liberality. 415.30. ſurnamed Polyarcetes, and his complaint of fortune. 942.1
Demetreioi, why the dead are called. 1182.30
Demetrius his vaine glory. 1278.10
Demi-gods or Heroes. 812.40
Democratie what it is. 941.20
Democrita and her daughters their wofull end. 948.40
Democritus ſtudious in ſearching the cauſes of things. 660.2
Democritus commended. 1128.1 his opinion as touching dreames. 784.20. his opinion as touching Atomes. 807. 40. what he thought of God. 812.1
Democritus a brave captaine at ſea. 1242.30
Demodorus an ancient Muſician. 1249.40
Demonides his ſhoes. 23.10
Demoſthenes the oratour never dranke wine. 792.50. he loved not to ſpeak unpremeditate. 355.10. his parentage, education and life 930. 50. he called judicially to account his tutors or Guardian. 931.10. he ſued Midias in an action of battery. 931.20. his painfull ſtudie. ib. how he corrected his evill geſtures. ib.30. his defects in nature. ib.40. his exerciſe of declaiming by the ſea ſide. ib. he ſided againſt the faction of K. Philip. 931.40. encouraged by Eunomus and Andronicus. ib.50. his ſpeech of Action in eloquence. 932.1. flowted by Comicall Poets for his broad othes in pleading. 932.1. he mainteineth the pronouncing Ασκλήπιον, with the accent over the ſecond ſyllable. 932.10
Demoſthenes daſhed Lamachus out of countenance. 932.20. commended by K. Philip for his eloquence. 932.20. his kindneſſe unto Aeſchines. 932.40. diſgraced at his firſt comming to the barre. 398.20. accuſed, and quit. ib. his timorouſneſſe. ib. 50. his Mot or device upon his targuet. ib. not blamed in his orations for praiſing himſelf. 304.50.305.1. his imploiment and

and good ſervice in the Common weale. 933.1. *his honours that he obteined. ib.* 10. *noted for bribery and corruption. ib.* 20. *condemned and baniſhed. ib. recalled home by a publique decree. ib.* 30. *he flieth and taketh Sanctuary. ib.* 40. *his anſwer as touching premeditate ſpeech.* 8.1. *his ſtatue, with his owne Epigram.* 934. 10. *his death. ib. his iſſue. ib.* 30. *honours done unto him after death. ib.* 40. *he firſt made an oration with a ſword by his ſide.* 934. 30. *his orations. ib.* 50. *ſurnamed* Batalus *for his riotous life. ib. ſcoffed at by* Diogenes *the Cynicke.* 935.1. *his tale of the aſſe and the ſhadow.* 935. 10. *his apophthegme to* Polus *the great actour.* 935.20 *he ſtudied his orations much. ib.* 30. *how he tooke the death of his only daughter.* 529.40

Denary *or* Ten, *the perfection of numbers.* 806.40

Deniall of unjuſt and unlawfull requeſts. 170.20

Denys *the Tyrant.* 296.40

Denys *of* Sicily *abuſed by flatterers.* 93.40. *how he ſerved a minſtrell.* 56.1

Denys *the tyrants wife and children cruelly abuſed by the Italians.* 377.1. *his cruelty to* Philoxenus *the Poet.* 1274.1

Denys *the elder could not abide idleneſſe.* 394. 30. *how he named his three daughters.* 1278. 30. *his witty apophthegmes.* 406.10. *the yoonger, his apophthegmes.* 407.20. *his apophthegme.* 1268. 50. *his baſe nigardiſe to an excellent Muſician.* 1273. 30. *his proud vainglory.* 1278.20

Dercillidas *his apophthegmes.* 456.30

Deris *what Dæmon.* 157.30

Deſtinies three. 797.40

Deſtiny or fatall neceſſitie. 816.40 *what it is.* 817.1. *ſubſtance thereof what it is. ib.*50

Deucalion *his deluge.* 961.50

Dexicreon *a couſening Mountbanke or Merchant venturer.* 904.1

Diagoras *of* Melos. 810.40

Dialogues in Plato *of two ſorts.* 758. 40. *whether they ought to be rehearſed at ſupper time.* 759.50

Dianaes *temple at* Rome, *why men do not enter into.* 851.10

Diana *but one.* 796.20. *the ſame that the Moone.* 697.20. *her attributes given by* Timotheus. 28.10. *her temple within the Aventine hill, why beautified with Cowes hornes.* 851.20

Diana Chalceœcos 455.10. *ſurnamed* Dictynna. 978.40

Διανοησις *how defined.* 953.1

Diapaſon, what ſymphonie in Muſicke. 1037.1

Diapente, what ſymphony in Muſicke. 1037.1

Diapente in tempering wine and water. 695.20

Diaphantus *his apophthegme.* 2.30

Diateſſaron, what ſymphony in Muſicke. 1035.50

Diateſſaron in tempering wine and water. 695.20

Diatonique Muſicke. 796.40

Diatrion in tempering wine and water. 695.20

Διαζευγμον. 736.50

Dicœarchia *the citie periſhed.* 1190.20

Dice. 295.20.557.50

Dictamnus *the herbe medicinable.* 968.20

Διεσοι. 785.20.

Dieſis. 1037.40

Diet exquiſit condemned. 617.40 620.20

Diet for ſicke perſons. 611.40

Diet for men in health. 612.10

Diet phyſicke taught us by brute beaſts. 969.10

Differring of puniſhmēt. 540.1.10

Digeſtion of meats how hindered. 701.1.10

Diligence ſupplieth the defect of nature. 3.20. *the power thereof. ib.*30

Dinæa *what Dæmon.* 157.30

Dinarchus *the orator his life and acts.* 937.30. *his voluntary exile. ib.*50

Dino *a great captaine.* 901.30

Dinomenes *what oracle he received as touching his ſonnes.* 1197 20

Diogenes *ſmote the maſter for the ſcholars miſbehaviour.* 81. 40. *his free ſpeech to K.* Philip. 111.10

Diogenes *the Sinopian, a Philoſopher abandoned the world.* 249.20

Diogenes *compared himſelfe with the great king of* Perſia. 250.1

Diogenes *the Cynicke his apophthegme unto a boy drunken.* 250

Diogenes *his patience.* 128.20 *his ſpeech to a yoonker within a Taverne.* 254.30

Diogenes *the Cynicke his anſwer as touching his baniſhment.* 273 20. *he contemned ſlavery.* 299. 20

Diogenes *maſter to* Antiſthenes. 666.1

Diogenes *rebuketh* Sophocles *about the myſteries of* Ceres. 28.10. *his apophthegme as touching revenge of an enemie.* 28. 1. *concerning fleſhly pleaſure.* 6. 30. *his filthy wantonnes.* 1069. 1. *his franke ſpeech to K.* Philip. 279.10

Diognetus *ſanſieth* Polycrite. 497.1

Dion *how he tooke the death of his owne ſonne.* 525.40. *through fooliſh baſhfulneſſe came to his death.* 165. 30. *his apophthegmes.* 408.1

Dionyſius. *See* Denys.

Dionyſus Eleutherios. 885.1

Dioſcuri, *two ſtarres.* 822.10

Dioxippus *rebuked by* Diogenes *for his wandering and wantoncie.* 141.20. *his opinion as touching the paſſage of our meats and drinks.* 745.1

Dis, diapaſon. 1037.30

Diſcontentedneſſe in Alexander *the great.* 147.40

Diſcourſe of reaſon what it is. 839 40

Diſeaſes of a ſtrange maner. 782. 40

Diſeaſes of the body which be worſt. 313.30

Diſeaſes of the ſoule woorſe than thoſe of the body. 313.10

Diſeaſes have their avantcurriers or forerunners. 616.20

Diſeaſes how they ariſe. 781.10

Diſeaſes new how they come. 781. 20

Diſeaſes which were firſt. 782.1

a Diſh of ſowes paps. 613.50

Diſme or tenth of goods, why offered to Hercules. 855.50

Diſputation, what maner of exerciſe. 619.30

Diſputation after meales. 622.50

Diſtances betweene ſunne, moone, and the earth. 1165.30

Dithyrambs what verſes & ſongs. 1358. 10. *they ſort well with* Bacchus. 1358.10

Diverſitie. 65.40

Divine what things be called. 728 20.30

Divine knowledge or doctrine of the

the gods ſevenfolde. 810.10
Divine providence what it is. 1052.50
Divine providence denied by the Epicureans. 598.1
Divine ſervice moſt delectable. ib. 40
Divine power, author of no ill, nor ſubject thereto. 600.1
Divination of many kinds. 841.10
Divination aſcribed to Bacchus. 1764.10
Divination by dreames. 784.10
Divination denied by the Epicureans. 598.1
Docana what images they were. 174.1
Doctrine and life ought to go together. 1057.40
Dodecaedron. 1020.40.819.20
Dogs ſacrificed by the Greeks in all expiations. 873.1. odious unto Hercules. 880.30. not allowed to come into the caſtle of Athens. 886. 50. eſteemed no cleane creatures. 887.10. ſacrificed to infernall gods and to Mars. 887.20
Sea Dogs how kind they be to their yoong ones. 218.20.976.40
Dog how ſubtill he is. 959.40
Dogs their admirable qualities. 962.20
a Dog diſcovereth the murderer of his maſter. ib.30
a Dog detecteth the murder of Heſiodus. ib.40
Dogs gentle and couragious withall. 964.10
an Indian Dog of rare magnanimitie. 964.10
a Dog counterfeited a part in a play. 967.30
Dogs crucified at Rome. 638.30
a Dog ſaluted as king in Æthiopia. 1087.40
a Dog reſembleth Anubis. 1305.10
a Dog why ſo much honoured in Ægypt. 1305.20
Dogs why they purſue the ſtone that is throwen at thẽ. 1015.10
a Dog why he reſembleth Mercurie. 1291.40
Dolphins loving to mankind. 344.30.751.20.979.1.10. delighted in Muſicke. ib.
Dolphins ſpared by fiſhers. 344.30
a Dolphin ſaved a maidens life. 344.40
a Dolphin, the armes that Vlyſſes bare in his ſhield. 980.20
Dolphins how affectionate to a boy of Jaſos. 979.40
Dolphin how crafty he is, and hard to be caught. 972.10
Dolphins in continuall motion. 974.1
C. Domitius his apophthegme. 431.30. he overthrew K. Antiochus. ib.
Dorian Muſicke commended by Plato. 1253.40
Dorians pray to have an ill hey harveſt. 1008.10
Doryxenus who it is. 893.30
Cocke Doves ſquaſh their hennes egges. 954.20
Dragon conſecrated to Bacchus. 699.20
A Dragon enamoured of a yong damoſell. 966.10.
who never Dreamed in all their life time. 1349.50
Dreames to be conſidered in caſe of health. 618.10
Dreames how they come. 841.30 how to be regarded. 255.10
Dreames in Autumne little to be regarded. 784.1. the reaſon thereof. ib. how to be obſerved in the progreſſe of vertue. 255.10
Drinke whether it paſſe through our lungs. 743.20. the wagon of our meat. 743.50
Drinkes which are to be taken heed of. 613.30
Drinking leiſurely moiſtneth the belly. 743.50
Drinke five or three but not foure. 695.20
Dromoclides a great ſtates man in Athens. 348 40
Drunkeneſſe what perſons it ſooneſt aſſaileth. 652.10
Drunckeneſſe is dotage. 765.20
Faults committed in Drunkeneſſe doubly puniſhed. 336.50
Halfe Drunke more brainſicke than thoſe who be thorow drunke. 694.20
Drunkeneſſe moſt to blame for intemperate ſpeech. 194.10. how defined. 194.40. ſoone bringeth age. 690.10
Dryades what Nymphs. 1141.30
Duality the authour of diſorder and of even numbers. 1341.1
Duplicity of the ſoule. 65.40
Dying is a kinde of ſtaining or infection. 774.40
Dyſopia what it is. 163.20

E

Eares give paſſage to vertue for to enter into yong mens mindes. 52.10
Eare delights are dangerous. 18.40
Eare-ſports how to be uſed. 752.10. when to be uſed at a feaſt. 761.30
Eares of children and yong men how to be defended. 52.10
Earely eating condemned in olde time. 775.30
Earth whether it be the element of colde. 999.40
Earth called Eſtia or Veſta wherefore. 1002.1
Earth by god not alwaies placed below. 649.1
Earth whether but one or twaine. 829.50
Earth what prerogative it hath. 1345.30. what it is. 830. 1. what forme it hath. 830. 10 the ſituation thereof. 830.10 why it bendeth ſoutherly. 830.30
Earth whether it moove or no. 830.40
Earthquakes how occaſioned. 831.20
Earth corrupteth waters. 774.30 it cauſeth diverſity of waters. 774.40
Earth for the moſt part not inhabited. 1177.40.50
Echemythia. 139.10
Echeneis a fiſh. 676.10. the reaſon how ſhe ſtaieth a ſhip. 676.50
Echo how it is cauſed. 839.20
In Eclipſes of the moone why they rung baſons. 1183.20
Eclipſes of the Sunne. 1171.20.30
Eclipſes why more of the Moone then of Sunne. 1172. 10. of eclipſes the cauſe. 1172.10
Education of what power it is. 4.10.6.40
Eeles comming to hand. 970.1
Eeles bred without generation of male or female. 672.10
Egge or henne, whether was before. 669.50
Egges reſemble the principles of all things. 670.50
The Egge whereof came Caſtor and Pollux. 671.20
E. ſignifieth the number five. 1354.30
EI. written upon the temple at Delphi what it ſignifieth. 1353.30.1354
EI. in gold, in braſſe, and in wood. 1354.30
EI. a ſtone. 345.20
EI. as much as Ειθη.
EI. of what force it is in logicke 1355.

why E. is preferred before other letters. 1356.40
Eight reſembleth the female. 884.20
Eight, the firſt cubicke number. 884.30
Ελαια, ſignifieth both the fruit and the tree of the olive. 32.1
Elæus the city whereof it tooke the name. 917.40
Elaphebolia a feaſt, when inſtituted. 485.10.699.50
Elaſiæ who they be. 895.40
Electra concubine to Deiotarus with the privity and permiſſion of his wife. 50.40
Elegie whoſe invention. 1257.10
Elements. 4. 994.40. which be elements. 805.10.808.1
Elements before elements. 813.50
Eleon. 901.10.20
Elephants how they be prepared for fight. 959.1
Elephants docible. 961.10. their wit, patience and mildeneſſe. 961.30
Elephant of king Porus how dutifull unto him. 963.40
Elephants witty and loving to their fellowes. 965.40. devout and religious. ib.50. full of love and amorous, they can abide no white garments. 323.40
Elephantiaſis a diſeaſe not long knowen. 780.30
Eleutheræ. 899.50
Eleutheria, what feaſt. 914.40
Elians why excluded frõ the Iſthmick games at Corinth 1194.40
Elieus the father of Eunoſtus 900.40
Ellebor root clenſeth malancholie 659.10
Ellebor. 91.50
Elops the onely fiſh ſwimming downe the ſtreame and winde 973.50
Eloquence becommeth old men. 391.10. in princes moſt neceſſary. 352.10
Elpenor. 899.20
Elpenor his ghoſt. 791.40
Elpiſticke Philoſophers. 709.1
Elyſius the father of Euthynous 518.30
Elyſian field in the moone. 1183.30
Emerepes his apophthegme 557.1
Empona her rare love to her huſband. 1157.1158. cruelly put to death by Veſpaſian. ib.
Empuſa. 598.30
Empedocles his opinion touching the firſt principles. 807.50. how he averted a peſtilence. 134.10 a good common wealths man. 1128.10
Emulation that is good. 256.50
Enalus enamoured of a virgin deſtined for ſacrifice. 345.1
Encniſma what it is. 895.50
Encyclia what ſciences. 9.1
Endrome the name of a canticle 1256.40
Endimatia, what dance. 1251.30
Engaſtrinythi what they be. 1327.1
In England or great Brittaine why folke live long. 849.50
by Enimies men may take profit. 237.20.30.50. of Enimies how to be revenged. 239.30
Enneaterides. 891.1
Entelechia. 805.30.808.10
No enterring the reliques of triumphant perſons within the city of Rome. 876.50
Enthuſiaſme. 1344.20
Enthuſiaſmus. 654.40. of ſundry ſorts. 1142.50. what kinde of fury. 1142.40
Envy. 1070.50. Envy a cauſe of mens diſcontent, 156.1.10. Envy among brethren. 183.10. how it may be avoided. 184.1.10.20
Envy and hatred differ. 234.1
Envy what it is. 234.20
Envious men be pitifull. 235.50
Envy hurtfull eſpecially to ſcholars and hearers. 53.50
Envy of divers ſorts. 53.50. 54.1
Envious eie hath power to bewitch. 724.20
Envy whome it aſſaileth moſt. 388.20. compared to ſmoake. ib. 30 how it is to be quenched. 389.1
Envy not excuſable in old age. 399.10. in yong perſons it hath many pretenſes. 399.10
Enyalius what god. 154.50.1141.10
Epacrii a faction in Athens. 1149.10
Epact daies. 1292.10
Epænetus his apophthegme 557.1
Epaminondas beheadeth his owne ſonne. 910.1
Epaminondas his commendation. 53.20
Epaminondas accuſed of a capitall crime. 477.40. his plea. ib. his death. 428.1
Epaminondas the nickename of a talkative fellow. 207.20
Epaminondas had a grace in denying his friends requeſts. 361.10. how carefull for the Thebans. 295.40.50. he retorted a reprochfull ſcoffe upon Caliſtratus. 363.50. his valiant exploit 400.10. his magnanimity. 303.20. his apophthegmes. 425.40 he could not abide fat and corpulent ſoldiers. ib. his ſobriety and frugality. ib. 50. debaſed by the Epicureans. 1129.10 his apophthegme. 625.50. admired in commending himſelfe. 303.10
Epaphus. 1302.20
Ephyppus. 899.20
Ephori by whom brought into Sparta. 294.1. graced by the Kings. 371.20
Epiali what fevers. 160.50.
Enterring of other things with the dead corps. 602.1
Επιβολη, what it is. 953.1
Epicharmus rebuked king Hiero too ſharpely. 108.1
Epicranis. 834.40
Epicureans, enemies to policie, rhetoricke and royall government. 1129.1
Epicurus honored by his favorites and ſectaries. 597.1
Epicures given wholy to pleaſures. 582.1
Epicures life confuted. 582.1
Epicurus his favorites. 600.20. his conſolatory reaſons in perils. 601.1. he mainteineth the mortality of the ſoule. 601.10
Epicurus his vanity. 60.50. woonderfully reſpected and loved of his brethren. 185.30
Epicurus a Democratian. 1111.20. collauded by his favorites. 1119.20. his opinion as touching the principles of the world. 807.30. his opinion of the gods. 812.20
Επιγλωττις what uſe it hath. 743.40
Epimenides. 338.50
Epimenides how long he ſlept. 384.10
Epimetheus. 31.1
Επισκοπος, the ſurname of Diana. 902.40
Epitedeius the Sycophant, firſt put to death at Athens. 578.20
Επι τῆς αιχυνης an image repreſenting K. Alexander the great. 1275.40
Epitherzes his narration as touching the great Pan. 1331.40
Epithets that Empedocles uſeth, be moſt proper and ſignificant. 726.30
Epithymodeipni who they be. 775.10

Epitritos, *what proportion.* 1036.50
Επιχαιρεκακια. 1070.50
Epopticon *what part of Philoſophie.* 1318.10
Erato, *how emploied.* 779.20
Ερδειν. 779.20
Erebus. 1000.10
Erechtheus *ſacrificed his owne daughter.* 912.10
Eretrians *wives roſt fleſh againſt the ſunne.* 897.40
Ergane *who ſhe is.* 232.10. 352.50. *the ſurname of* Minerva. 692.30
Erinnys. 557.50
Εεισφαραγοι *who they be.* 744.1
Ervill *why called Catharter.* 902.20
Eryngium *the herbe, what vertue it hath.* 290.10.20. *being held in the hand ſtaieth goats for going.* 746.10
Eryxo *her vertuous act.* 504.20
Eteocles *his ſaying as touching a kingdome.* 614.10
Eteſiæ *what winds.* 829.30
Ethos. 543.10
Eubœan *braſſe the beſt.* 1345.40
Eubœdas *his apophthegme.* 557.10
Eubulus *a good polititian.* 366.20
Eubulus *the ſurname of* Bacchus 762.20
Eucarpos *a ſurname of* Venus. 323.10
Euchnamus *the Amphiſſian.* 1146.10
Euclides *how he repreſſed his brothers anger.* 130.30.187.50. *loth to fall out with his brother.* ib.
Eucteus *and* Eulæus *the minions of K.* Perſius. 110.40
Eudamidas *his Apophthegmes.* 425.20.557.10
Eudorus *as touching the ſoule of the world.* 1031.40
Eudoxus *ſtudious in Aſtronomy.* 590.1
Euemerus *the Atheiſt.* 810.50 1296.20
Euergetes *a fit attribute for princes.* 307.1
Euergetæ *a ſurname of ſome princes.* 1278.40
Euippe. 346.10
Eumæus *kept a good houſe.* 750.10
Eumenes *reported to be dead.* 416 30. *his milde behaviour to his brother* Attalus. *ib* 188.10.20 *his ſtratageme by ſecrecy.* 197.40
Eumertis. *See* Cleobuline.
Eumolpus *inſtituted the ſacred ceremonies at* Eleuſis. 280.30
Eunomia. 630.1
Eunoſtus. 900.30. *murdred by the brethren of* Ochna. 900.40
Evocation *of tutelar gods out of their places.* 871.1
Eupathies *what they be.* 74.20
Euphranor *and* Parrhaſius *painters compared.* 982.30
Euphranor *his notable picture of the battel at* Mantinea. 982.40
Euphrone *a name of the night.* 762.20. *the reaſon therof.* 141.50
Euripides *his day of death and birth obſerved.* 766.1. *his ſpeech to a fooliſh and ignorant fellow.* 61.10. *taxed for Atheiſme.* 811.1. *he forſooke* Athens *his native city.* 277.20
Euryclees. 1327.1
Eurycratidas *his Apophthegmes.* 457.50
Eurydice *a noble and vertuous ladie.* 17.10
Ευσταθεια. 1182.50
Eutelidas *bewitched by himſelfe.* 724.40
Euterpe *what ſhe is allotted to.* 795.50
Ευθημοσυνη *in* Heſiodus *what it is* 747.1
Euthynous *died ſuddenly.* 518.30
Eutoria *her daughters twaine deflouredby* Saturne. 909.10
Eutropion *king* Antigonus *his cooke highly advanced.* 13.40
Euxine *ſea why ſo repleniſhed with fiſhes.* 976.1
Euxynthetus *and* Leucomantis 1152.20
Exerciſe of body fit for health. 619 1.10. *meet for ſtudents.* 619.10
Exerciſe of body for youth. 10.1. *after meat.* 622.40
Expedition or quicke execution. 296,40
Experience what it is. 836.10. *better than the book for government.* 392.40
of Exile or baniſhment. 270
Extremities in all changes are naught. 625.20
Ey of the maſter feeds the ſteed. 11 30
Ey-ſight how it is performed. 657.30.40
Ey-biting, and the reaſon thereof. 723.30.40
Ey-ſight the ſourſe and beginning of love. 723.40

F

FAbia *committed adulterie with* Petronius Valentius. 917.1. *ſhe killeth her husband.* ib.
Fabius Maximus *his pollicie in wearying* Annibal *by delaies.* 429.10. *his apophthegmes.* 429.1. *his courteous uſage of an amorous ſouldiour, otherwiſe valiant.* ib.30. *his death.* 907.50. *he deſpiſed ſcoffes and frumps.* ib.10
Fabius Fabricianus *the ſonne of* Fabia *killeth her mother and the adulterer.* 917.1
Fable of the foxe and the leopard. 313.10
the Fable *of the ox and the camel.* 629.50
Themiſtocles *his* Fable *of the feaſt and the morrow.* 633.10
C. Fabricius *his apophthegme.* 428 30. *his contempt of money.* ib.40 *he miſliked treaſon even againſt his enemies.* ib.50
Faculty in the ſoule what it is. 67.40
Fæciales *what prieſt.* 871.20
Faire meanes to be uſed with children. 10.40
Fame or rumour had a temple at Rome. 631.10
Faſting long, why it procureth rather thirſt than hunger. 730.30 *who Faſt long feed more ſlowlie.* 658.30
Fatall deſtiny how to be underſtood 1048.40
Fathers love their daughters better than their ſonnes. 321.50 *their folly in chuſing governours and teachers for their children.* 5.40. *taxed for their negligence in this behalfe.* 6.10. *they ought not to be auſtere unto their children.* 16.20. *their care in choſing wives for their ſonnes.* 16.40. *they are to give good example to their children.* 16.50
Fatnes occaſioned by cold. 688.40
Faunus *ſacrificeth gueſt ſtrangers.* 917.10. *killed by* Hercules. *ib.*
Feare of God how to be limited. 598.40
Feare. 15.1. *what paſſion it is.* 26.1
Feare compared with other paſſions. 261.1. *why it is named in Greeke* δεῖμα *and* τάρβος. *ib.*
of Feaſts, what is the end. 652.40
Philoſophy not to be baniſhed from Feaſts. 764.10

Feſtivall daies at Athens, or martiall victories. 987.10
Feaſts have two preſidents, hunger and Bacchus. 722.40
Feaſts ought to make new friendes. 699.30
a Feaſt of what proportion for number of gueſts it ſhould be. 720.30.40
at a Feaſt conſideration would be had of roome and ſitting at eaſe. 721.10
a Feaſt maſter what perſon he ought to be. 651.10
Februarie. 873.1
Februarie the moneth, what it ſignifieth. 872.50. the twelfth and laſt moneth of the yeere. 856.20
Feeding a part or in common whether is more commendable. 678.20
Feeding without fulneſſe. 619.1
Femals whether they ſend foorth ſeed in the act of generation. 842.10. how they are begotten. ib.30
Feneſtella, a gate. 635.20
Feneſtra, a gate at Rome. 863.1
Ferula ſtalke why put into the hands of drunken folke. 762.40
Ferula conſecrated to Bacchus. 642.1
Fever what it is. 849.20. an acceſſary or ſymptome of other diſeaſes. 849.30
Figs why ſweet and the tree bitter. 727.20
the ſacred Figtree at Athens. 749.30
Figtree juice hot. 741.40. it crudleth milke. ib.
Figtree never bloweth. ib. never ſmitten with lightning. 727.20
Figtree Ruminales. 632.40
Figtree leafe what it ſignifieth. 1301.50
Figure what it is. 814.1
Figure of the elements. ib.
Fiſh diet beſt for ſickly and weake ſtomacks. 709.40
Fiſh more deinty and coſtly than fleſh. 708.10.20
ſea Fiſh moſt pleaſant and holſome. 709.40
abſtinence from Fleſh. 340.40
certeine Fiſhes why called Ellopes. 778.10
Fiſhes mute and dumbe. ib.
why Pythagoras forbare to eate Fiſh. 778.1
to kill Fiſh, cruelty. 779.30. to eate them, gluttony. ib.
Fiſhes harmeleſſe creatures. ib.
Fiſh not eaten by Vlyſſes and his mates, but upon extremity. 779.50
a Fiſh adored as god by the Syrians 780.10
Fiſh among the Aegyptians ſymbolyzeth hatred. 1300.20
Fiſh, a name implying blockiſhneſſe. 969.1
Fiſhes and their properties deſcribed. 969.50
Fiſhes very obſequious. 970.1. uſed in divination. ib.20. more wary and circumſpect than land beaſts. ib.30. how ready they be to helpe one another. 971.30.40 why they ſwim for the moſt part againſt the ſtreame. 973.50. how kinde to their yoong fry. 976.30
Fiſt-fight or buffets the firſt exerciſe by Homers reckoning. 673.30
Five the number, what prerogative it hath. 1357.1.10.1341.30
Five the number why called γάμος. that is to ſay, The mariage. 1357.1
Five a number moſt beſeeming mariage. 850.50. why it is called Nature. 1357.20
Flamen Dialis why he might not touch meale nor leven. 886.10. forbidden to touch raw fleſh. ib.30. he might not touch nor name a goat or dogge. ib.40. in ſteed of an altar or ſanctuarie. 887.1. not permitted to touch an Ivie tree, nor to goe under a vine. 887.30.
Flamen dialis not admitted to ſue for government of eſtate. 888.10
Flamina. 879.30
Flamin or prieſt of Jupiter gave up his ſacerdotall dignity if his wife died. 867.40
Flaminius circus. 872.30.
Flaminia via. ib
Flatterers the overthrow of yoong men. 15.30. they are depainted in their colours. 16.40.50
Flattery to whom moſt hurtfull, ib.
what Flatterers be moſt dangerous 86.20
Flatterers how they be diſcovered. 89.10.20.&c.
the Flatterers of Denys. 90.20
Flatterers abuſe the world by frankneſſe of ſpeech. 97.40.50. 98.10.20
Flatterers of K. Ptolomæus. 98.1
Tiberius Cæſar Flattered under liberty of ſpeech. 98.20.30
Flatterers how they abuſed Antonie. 99.20. compared to gadflies and ticks. 92.40
Flatterers tame and wilde. 99.40.50
Flatterers about Demetrius. 379.10
Flavius whipped his wife. 856.50
Fleſh, Pythagoras forbad to be eaten. 572.10
Fleſh eating might be well diſpenſed with in the firſt age of the world. 572.50.573.1
Fleſh eating condemned in men. 574
Fleſh meats apt to breed ſurfeits. 84.50
Fleſh killed, hanging upon a figtree ſoone becommeth tender. 741.20. it ſooner corrupteth in the Moone, than in the Sunne-ſhine 696.10
Flinging of ſtones or weightie things how performed. 1022.20
Floures of trees may be gathered. 683.20
Flyes will not be tamed. 777.20
Food fit for ſtudents. 620.40
Forme. 805.30
Fornacalia, what feaſt. 888.20
Fortitude what it is. 69.10
Fortitude of brute beaſts compared with mens valour. 565.1
Fortitude in men not naturall. 565.40
Fortune by whom attended when ſhe pleads againſt vertue. 630.10
Fortune not ſufficient to make miſerie. 299.50
Fortune in geateſt favour with Venus. 630.40
Fortune primigenia. 635.20. 885.30
Fortune virilis. 631.1
Fortune a word unknowne to poets 31.20
Fortune had many temples at Rome. 630.50
Fortune although it differeth from wiſdome, yet it produceth like effects. 765.50
Fortune viſcata. ib.635.30
Fortune with divers attributes. 875.1
Fortune. 631.1. by whom erected. 635.1
Fortune much honoured by king Servius Tullius. 875.1
Fortune muliebris or fœminine. 631.1. when erected. 635.10
little Fortune and ſhort Fortune

with

with their temples. 874.50
temple of Fortune fortis, where built. 631.20
Fortune what it is. 817.10. 1051.50. how it differeth from raſh adventure. ib.
Fortune favorable to Julius Cæſar. 631.40
Fortune envieth great felicitie. 513.40
againſt Fortune. 230.1.10.&c.
Fortune and vertue at debate. 628.10
Fortune obſequens. 635.20
Fortune commeth to plead againſt vertue. 629.40
Fortune favourable to Ser. Tullius. 635.10
Fortune private. 635.30
Fortune in what maner ſhe came to the city of Rome. 629.40.50
Fortune the virgine. 635.30
Fortune good hope. 635.30
Fortune, as it were hope. ib.
the Fox of Telmeſſus. 565.30
Fox more ſpotted than the leopard 313.10. his ſuttelty in paſſing over rivers frozen. 962.1
Franke ſpeech beſeemeth a ruler in extremities. 370.1. it beſeemeth not a flatterer. 971
Franke ſpeech to friends how to be uſed. 105.30.40
in Franke ſpeech ſcurrility and biting is to be avoided. 108.1.10
Free will. 1051.1
of Freinds but few paires. 224.50
a Freind why he is called ἑταῖρος in Greeke. 225.1
Friend the word, how to be taken. 699.10
Freindſhip true how many things it requireth. 225.30
Freindſhip ought not to be in a meane. 227.40
Freinds how to be uſed by a magiſtrate. 360.30
Freinds how they may be denied in their unlawfull ſutes. 361.10
Freindſhip not unpleaſant 85.30
Freinds may praiſe friends aſwell as blame them. 85.50
Freinds how they differ from flatterers. 91.40.50
a true Friend will doe his freind good ſecretly. 102.40.50
plurality of Freinds. 224.30
Frogs why they coake againſt raine 1004.10. how they engender. 977.20. they prognoſticate rain. ib.
Fulvius ſharply rebuked by Auguſtus Cæſar for his laviſh tongue. 199.40. he killeth himſelfe and dieth with his wife. 199.40
Functions meet for aged Rulers. 395.20
Furciferi, who they were. 873.40
Furie of divers ſorts. 1142.40
Fyre the beſt ſauce. 85.40. 615.20. argued to be better than water. 991.1. found out by Prometheus. 990.1. the principle of all things. 807.20. worſhipped by the Aſſyrians & Medes. 1174.40. how made. 808.40. in olde time might not be put out. 748.40. not alwaies by God placed aloft. 649.1. dieth two maner of waies. 748.40. why it was ſo religiouſly preſerved unextinct. 749.1. not to be digged into with a ſword. 15.10. ſtronger in Winter; and more feeble in Summer. 1323.20. ſeemeth to have life. 875.20

G

G. and C. letters of great affinitie. 869.1
G. deviſed firſt by Sp. Carvilius. ib.
Galaxion a place plentifull of milke. 1201.30
Galepſus a towne in Eubœa, pleaſantly ſeated. 707
Galli the prieſts of Cybele. 1129.30
the Gallion of Delos. 387.50
Garrulity. 192.20. compared with other vices. 193.10. accompanied with curioſitie and much medling. 199.50. compared with treaſon and treachery. 202.20
Garrulity how to be cured. 202.40
the Garrulity of a Romane dame. 198.30
Garments how they are ſaid to warme the body. 78.40. they both heat and coole. 735.30
Gates of Rome not hallowed. 859.50
Gaule women their vertuous act. 487.10. their advice is taken in counſell houſe. ib.
Gegania. 636.10
Geirs or vultures moſt obſerved by the Romans in their Auſpices. 881.10. ſtrange birds and ſeldome ſeene in Italie. ib. moſt harmleſſe and juſt. ib. 20. moſt ſignificant in Augurie. ib. 30. all females, and conceive by the Eaſt winde. ib.
Gelon ſcoffed at by alluſion to his name. 305.40. his apophthegms. 405.40. he reclaimed the Carthaginians from ſacrificing children to Saturne. ib. a warlike prince. ib.
Γενεα, what it ſignifieth in Heſiodus. 1327
Genitamana a goddeſſe at Rome. 868.20. a dogge ſacrificed unto her. ib.
Generation and corruption. 816.1
Generation what it is. 1114.1115
Generation and creation different. 1018.10
act of Generation a token of mortalitie. 766.30
Geometricall proportion allowed in Lacedæmon by Lycurgus. 767.50
Geometrie commended. 767.10. in what ſubjects or objects it is occupied. 767.20.30
Geomori who they were. 904.40
Γερας, that is to ſay, Honour, why ſo termed in Greeke. 391.30
Γεροντες, why old men be ſo called. 391.30
Geryones or Geryon, a wonderfull giant. 374.20
Gidica her villany. 916.10. ſhe hangeth her ſelfe. ib.
Glaſſe with what heat it is beſt melted and wrought. 697.1
Glaucia with childe by Deimachus. 901.10
Glaucia a riveret of her name. ib. 20
Glaucopis, why the Moone is called ſo. 1174.1
Glaucus his fooliſh bargaine with Diomedes. 1087.20
Lucius Glauco loſt both his hands. 906.40
Glory of what account it is. 6.50
Gloſſes. 28.50
Glottæ. 1311.40
Gluttons abroad, ſpary at home. 614.30
Gnathænium the name of an harlot. 1144.1
Gnatho a ſmell feaſt. 754.40.
Gnatho the Sicilian, a glutton. 606.30
Go we to Athens. 898.30
Goats very ſubject to the falling ſickneſſe. 886.40
Goats rivers, a place ſo called. 922.10
Goats of Candie cured by Dictamnus. 569.40
Goats commending their paſturage and feeding. 702.10
a Goat fancied Glauce. 966.30

God how he is called Father and Creatour. 766.30
God. 768.50
Gods and Goddeſſes how they differ. 766.40.50
how God is ſaid by Plato to practiſe Geometrie continually. 767 10. how he framed the world. 768.10
God manageth great affaires onely. 364.40
Gods nature what it is according to Plutarch. 263.40
God ſeemeth to deferre puniſhment for cauſes to him beſt knowen. 541
God immortall. 1099.1
God is not Philornis, but Philanthropos. 1221.10
God not the authour of euill. 1033. 50
God deſcribed by Antipater. 1076 10
Gods, which were begotten, which not. 1076.20
God what he is. 808.10.809.20
notion of God how it came. 809.20
God his nature deſcribed, 1335.50
Gods worſhip in three ſorts. 810. 10
Gods the Sunne and Moone, why called Θεοι. 810.20
Gods good and profitable. 810.20
Gods bad and hurtfull. ib.
Gods fabulous. 810.30
what God is, Sundry opinions of Philoſophers. 812
God the father and maker of all things. 1018.1
Γοητεια. 953.10
Goldſmiths with what fire they melt & work their gold. 699.1
Gold why it maketh no good ſound. 770.10
Good or Χρηστος, what it ſignifieth. 868.40
Good or bad things ſimply. 1084. 40
to Good men, what epithets and additions Homer giveth. 1297. 10
a Gooſe in love with a boy. 966.30
Geeſe ſilent as the flie over the mount Taurus. 202.10
Geeſe of Cilicia, how witty they are. 959.50
Geeſe ſaved the Capitoll of Rome. 638. 20. carried in a ſhew at Rome. 638. 30. how they reſtraine their owne gagling. ib.
Gorgias Leontinus the great Rhetorician. 919. 20. his apophthegme of Tragœdies. 985. 10
Gorgias could not keepe his owne houſe in peace.. 323.20
Gorgo the wife of Leonidas a ſtout dame. 464.30. her apophthegme. ib.
Gorgo the daughter of Cleomenes her apophthegmes. 479.40
Gorgon and Aſander. 1152.20
Governours of youth how to be choſen. 5.10
Government politicke the beſt. 940 50
of Governments the exorbitations. 941.30
C. Gracchus. 348. 50. by what device he did moderate his voice in pleading. 122.10
Graces, why placed with Venus and Mercury. 316, 10. their names. 292.1
Grammar what art it is. 1249.1
Graſhoppers ſacred and muſicall. 777.10
Greece in Plutarchs time fallen to a low ebbe. 1326.1
Greekes and Galatians buried quicke by the Romans. 878. 40
Greekes what opinion they have of the gods. 1306.40
Greekes compared with the Aegyptians, in matters of religion. 1315.10
Gueſts ought to ſort well together. 722.1
Gueſts ſit cloſe at firſt: but more at large toward the end. 722.20
Gueſts invited ought to be of acquaintance. 755.40
Gueſts invited cōming laſt to a feaſt 775.20
A Gueſt ought to come prepared to a feaſt. 328.10
Gueſts how to be placed at a feaſt 646.20. how to be pleaſed at the table. 648.20. allowed their chaplets of flowres. 680 20
Whether it be commendable for Gueſts to weare garlands. 682. 10
Of Gueſts a multitude to be avoided at a feaſt. 721.20
The guide a fiſh 975.30
Gurmandiſe in men taxed by Gryllus. 669.10
Gifts none betweene wife and huſband. 853.1
No gifts from ſonne in law or father in law. 853.20
Gymnaſia the overthrow of Greece. 864.20
Gymnopædia what daunce. 1251 30
Gymnoſophiſts. 1270.30
Gyrtias her apophthegmes. 480.1

H

Habitude in the ſoule what it is. 67.40
Hades and Dionyſius, both one. 1298. 40
Haile how it commeth. 828. 10 how it may be averted. 746. 30
Haire long commended and commanded by Lycurgus. 422. 40
Haire long commended. 423.10
Halo the circle how it is made. 832.40
Halcyones ſea-birds. ſee Alciones 633.50
Hamedriades why ſo called. 1327 50
Hamoxocyliſtæ, a family in Megara. 905.40
Hands alwaies warme, holſome and good for health. 611.40
Hands moſt artificious inſtruments. 174.40
Hanno baniſhed for ruling a lion. 349.50
Happineſſe diverſly taken by Poets and philoſophers. 32.30
Happineſſe not to be meaſured by time 1333.1
Hares how crafty they are. 965.1
The Hare why not eaten among the Iewes. 111.10
Hares of exquiſit ſenſe. 711.10
Hares and aſſes alike. ib.
Harma the name of a city. 908.20
Harmatios what tune or ſong. 1251.1
Harmonia what goddeſſe. 1306 50
Harmonie what Dæmon. 157. 40
Harmonicke muſicke. 976.40
Harmonice. 1019.1
Harmony commended. 1255. 30
Harpalus endevoured to have Ivy grow about Babylon. 685. 20
An Harpe or lute going about the table. 645.10
Harpe familiar at feaſts. 760. 20
Harpocrates the ſonne of Oſiris by Iſis, wanteth his nether parts 1295.1
Harpocrates his portracture. 1313.50
Harts or Stagges age. 1327.30
Hatred how engendred. 234.20. it differeth from envie. 234.1
Hauke ſymbolizeth god. 1300.20
Hauke ſymbolizeth Oſiris. 1308. 10
Hautboies and flute. 760.30. commended at feaſts. ib.

Romanes *worſhipped the gods with their Heads covered; but men, bare headed.* 853.50
Health *what it is.* 849.30
Health *of what price.* 6.50
Health *the beſt ſauce.* 615.20. *by what meanes mainteined.* 618.50
Health *and pleaſure agree well together.* 702.1
Health *how it is accounted of diverſly.* 75.20
Heart not to be eaten. 15.20
Heat naturall mainteined moſt by moiſture. 730
Heat putrifieth things. 774.10
Heats by fire of divers kindes and ſundry operations. 697.1
Heaven how the Aegyptians pourtray. 1291.30
Heaven how made. 808.30
Heaven beautifull. 809
Heaven what ſubſtance it hath. 830. *into how many circles divided.* 820.40
Heare *much and ſay little.* 53.20
Hearing *how to be emploied.* 18.40. *preſenteth the greateſt paſſions to the minde.* 52.10. *ought to goe before ſpeech.* 52.50
Hearers *how they ſhould be qualified.* 53.20. *&c. they ought to ſequeſter envy and ambition.* 53.50. *how they ſhould behave them ſelves in praiſing the ſpeaker.* 58.40
Hebius Tolieix. 915.40
Hecates *gulfe in the Moone.* 1183.30
Hecatompedon *a temple of* Minerva *in* Athens. 963.20
Hecatomphonia. 341.10
Hector *noted for preſumption.* 24.40
Hegeſias *cauſed his ſcholars to pine themſelves.* 223.1
Hegeſippus *ſurnamed* Crobylus *his apophthegme.* 420.40
Helbia *a veſtall nunne ſmitten with lightning.* 878.20
Helena *eſcaped ſacrificing.* 916.10. *how in* Homer *ſhe ſpiceth her cups.* 644.1
Helepolis *an engine of battery.* 415.30
Heliope *what Dæmon.* 157.30
Helitomenus. 1295.1
Hellanicus *a valiant citizen of* Elis. 493.40. *he conſpired againſt* Ariſtotimus. 494.40
Hemerides. 76.50
Hemeris *the vine.* 1141.30
Hemiolion, *what proportion.* 1036.50
Hemitonium. 1039.20
Hemlock *a poiſon.* 690.20
Hens having laid an egge turne round about. &c. 746.10. *hardy in defence of their chickens.* 219.20
Hephæſtion *inward with king* Alexander. 412.10.1280.30 *rebuked by king* Alexander. 1277.10
Heptaphonos *a gallery in* Olympia. 192.40
Heraclides *ſurnamed little* Hercules, *a great eater and drinker.* 655.40
Heraclitus *the Philoſopher in a dropſie.* 625.30
Heraclitus *his opinion as touching the firſt principles.* 807.20
Heraclius *the river.* 908.40
Hercules *noted for Pæderaſty* 568.30. *with* Omphale *in habite of a wench.* 386.20. *poiſoned by* Deianira. 812.1
one Hercules *killed treacherouſly by* Polyſperchon. 165.40. *enraged.* 165.40.263.20
Hercules *diſguiſed in womens apparell.* 905.30
Hercules *ſacrificed the tenth cow of* Geryons *drove.* 855.50. *not ſworn by, within houſe at* Rome 860.10. *hee never ſware but once.* 860.20
Hercules *his ſexton.* 862.30
Hercules *where moſt honoured.* 1180.40
Hercules *ſkilfull in muſicke.* 1262.10
Hercules *& the Muſes why they had one common altar at* Rome 870.30
Hercules *greater altar.* 870.40. *women participate not of his begetting.* 630.30
Hergians. 902.50
Hermanubis *and* Anubis. 1311.30
Hermes *images why ſo portraied.* 401.10
Hermione *in* Euripides. 322.40
Hermodotus *the poet wiſely reproved by* Antigonus. 1296.40
Hermogenes *his beliefe in the gods.* 630
Hermodorus Clazomenius *his ſoule how it walked abroad.* 1200.20.30
Herodotus *a Tharian by habitation.* 277.30
Herodotus *the hiſtoriographer his malice.* 1228.&c.
Herondas *his apophthegm.* 458.1
Herois *what feaſt.* 891.1
Heroes *or demi-gods.* 1327.1328
Herons *how crafty they are to get the meat in oyſters.* 960.10
Heſiodus *whoſe Poet.* 459.40. *murdered, and his murder detected.* 344.1.10. *ſkilfull in phyſicke.* 339.20
Heſychia *the prieſtreſſe of* Minerva. 1197.20
Hiere, *what ſhe is.* 398.40
K. Hiero *his apophthegmes.* 405.50. *noted for a ſtinking breath.* 242.1. *firſt an uſurper, prooved afterwards a good prince.* 543.20. *his wife a ſimple and chaſte dame.* 242.10
Hieroes *ſtatues.* 1189.30
Hieroglyphicks *Aegyptian.* 1291.20
Hieromnemones. 780.1
Hierophoroi. 1288.30
Hieroſtoloi. *ib.*
Hieroſolymus *the ſonne of* Typhon. 1300.1
Himerius *a flatterer.* 98.40
Hinds their naturall ſubtilty. 965.10
Hippalcmus. 899.20
Hipparchus *troubled in conſcience.* 547.10
Hippaſus *his opinion of the firſt principle.* 807.20
Hippaſus *diſmembred by his mother and aunts.* 899.30
Hippo *the daughter of* Scedaſus. 946,10
Hippochus *murdred.* 485.20
Hippoclides *a dauncer.* 1240.20
Hippocrates *confeſſeth his owne ignorance.* 254.40
Hippocratides *his apophthegme.* 458.50
Hippodamus *his apophthegme.* 458.40
Hippodamia *killeth* Chryſippus 915.30. *baniſhed by her huſband* Pelops. *ib.*40
Hippolochus *tooke* Lais *to wife.* 1154.10
Hippolitus *the ſonne of* Theſeus *by* Hippolyte. 915.50. *killed at the requeſt and praier of his father.* 916.1
Hippona *how engendred.* 914.30
Hippoſthenidas *his counſell.* 1215.1
Hippothoros *what tune.* 315.50 751.10
Hircanians *ſepultures.* 299.50
Hircanus *the dogge of king* Lyſimachus. 963.40. *his love unto his maſter.* *ib.*

Hiſter *a ſingular actor.* 885.50
Hiſtriones. *ib.*
Hoc age *what it ſignifieth.* 859.10
Hogs why honoured among the Aegyptians. 710.30
Holy warre. 491.10
Homers Ilias *and* Odyſſea *in what ſteed it ſtood king* Alexander *the Great.* 1265.40
Homer *the chiefe Poet.* 708.1
Homer *whoſe Poet.* 459.40. *preſuming much of his owne perfection.* 252.20. *commended.* 24.1.25.1.195.10. *his words were ſaid to have motion.* 1189.40.
Homœomeries. 806.10
Homœoptota. 988.10
unto Honor the Romans ſacrificed with bare head. 854.40
Honoris *a temple at* Rome. 630.50
Honours which be true. 375.10
the Honour of old age void of emulation. 388.40
Hony beſt in the bottome of the veſſell. 747.30. *once boiled, it is marred:* 774.10
Hope. 15.1
Hope remaineth in Pandoras *tun.* 514.20. *holdeth body and ſoule together longeſt.* 709.1
Horatius Cocles. 629.30. *his valour.* 909.1. *he killeth his ſiſter* Horatia. 911.20
Hora. 866.50
a Horſe why ſacrificed at Rome *to* Mars. 882.20
river Horſes unnaturall to their parents. 954.20
river Horſe ſymbolizeth impudence and vilany. 1300.30
Horizon *what circle.* 1305.10
Horne of Apimdance. 630.1
Horta *a goddeſſe at* Rome. 866.40. *her temple open.* *ib.*
Horus *the ſonne of* Oſiris. 1294.40. *ſee* Orus.
Hoſias *who.* 890.10
Hoſioter *who it is.* 890.10
Houndes *have the diſcourſe of reaſon.* 962.10
Houndes *of a brave courage.* 964.20
Houſe-*government.* 335.50
A Houſe what it is. 336.20
What Houſe *is beſt.* 336.20.30
Hunger *whereupon it proceedeth* 273.20. *allaied by drinke.* 733.10
Hunting *of wilde beaſts commended.* 950.40
Hunting *wilde beaſts how farre forth tolerable.* 957.10
Hunting *commended above fiſhing.* 958.30
Husband prevaile more with their wives by gentleneſſe than by roughneſſe. 317.30
Husband and wife are not to uſe daliance before ſtrangers, much leſſe to chide and braule one with another. 317.40
The Husband ought to direct and governe the houſe. 317.20
The Husbands example maketh much to the wives behaviour. 318.20
The Husbands præeminence over the wife. 317.20.319.1
How he ought to rule over his wife 321.10.20
Hyænaes *skinne not ſmitten with lightning.* 727.20
Hyagnis *an ancient Muſician.* 1250.10
Hyanthia *a city.* 893.1
Hybriſtica *what feaſt.* 486.30
Hydrophobie *when it was diſcovered firſt.* 780.30
Hymenæus. 861.30
Hynis *a plough ſhare whereof derived.* 710.30
Hypate *in muſicke whereof it is derived.* 1025.10
Hypate. 796.40
Hypates *the Thebane killed by conſpiratours.* 1226.10
Hypatos *an attribute of* Jupiter 1308.1
Hypeccauſtria *who ſhe was.* 889.20
Hypæra Hyperes *and* Hyperia. 894.20
Hyperballontes. 646.50
Hyperbolus *a buſy oratour.* 1228.30
Hyperides *the oratour his parentage and life.* 935.40
Hyperides *articleth againſt* Demoſthenes. 937.1. *his maner of ſtile and plaine pleading.* 937.20. *his embaſage to* Rhodes. 937.10. *he defended* Calippus. 937.20. *his praiſe for eloquence.* 936.40. *choſen to accuſe* Demoſthenes. 936.1. *his orations. ib. given exceeding much to the love of women. ib. he pleaded for the noble curtiſan,* Phryne. 936.50. *he ſecretly framed an accuſatory oration againſt* Demoſthenes. *ib. accuſed and acquit.* 936.1. *he fled and was taken. ib. his death.* 936.20
Hyperochus *K. of the Inachians.* 892.10
Hyprocreteridian *in* Herodotus. 1348.1
Hypocriſie *of the Epicureans.* 595.30
Hyponœæ. 25.1
Hyporchemata. 801.10.1251.30
Hyporchema *and* Pæan *differ.* 1251.40
Hypotinuſa. 590.10
Hypſipyles *foſter father.* 701.20
Hyſiris, *the ſame that* Oſiris. 1301.10
Hyſteropotmoi *who they be.* 852.10

I

IAmbicks Trimeter *and* Tetrameter *whoſe invention.* 1257.10
Ἴϋγξ, 785.20
January *why the firſt moneth among the* Romans. 856.10
Jaſon *a monarch of* Sicilie. 372.20. *his apophthegme.* 625.10
Jaſians *coine what ſtampe it hath.* 980.1
Javelin *conſecrated to* Juno. 880.10
Jaundice *cured by the bird* Charadrios. 724.1
Ibis *in age, ſmelleth ſweet.* 393.10
Ibis *wherefore honoured among the Aegyptians.* 710.50. 1317.1. *what letter it repreſenteth among the Aegyptians.* 789.20
Ibicus *murdered and the murderers ſtrangely diſcovered.* 201.50
Iearius *ſtoned to death.* 909.20
Ichneumon *how armed.* 959.10
Icoſaedra. 762.20.819.20.1020.30
Idæi Dictyli. 257.50. 1183.40. 1250.10
Idathyrſus *his apophthegmes.* 405.20
Ides *of the moneth.* 858.1
Ides *of December, a feaſtivall day.* 822.20
Ides *of Auguſt feaſtivall.* 883.30
Ides *whereof they tooke the name.* 858.10
Idæa. 1310.1
Idæa. 768.50. *what it is.* 808.10 813.1.1019.1.10
Identity. 65.40
Idleneſſe how hurtfull. 3.30. *breedeth no tranquillity of minde.* 145.50. *an enimie to health.* 624.30
Idols *of* Aegina *and* Megara. 725.30

Iegor.

Iεου. *what ſignifications it hath.* 976.10
Janus *honoured moſt by K. Numa.* 156.30
Janus *with two faces.* 857.30
Janus *temple ſhut and open at* Rome. 634.40
Ieſts, which men can abide beſt. 664.20
Ieſts without biting. 664.50
Of Ieſts and prety ſcoffes ſundry ſorts. 664.40
Jewes *how ſuperſtitious they were.* 265.50. *why they abſtaine from eating ſwines fleſh.* 710. 20 *they have ſwine in abomination.* 711.20
The Jewes *feaſt.* 712.10
Ignorance is odious 608.40
Ilands inhabited by great perſons. 275.
Ilithyia *a ſurname of* Diana. 697.20.1184.40. 1142.1
Image *workes exhibited at feaſts and banquets.* 760.10
Images *and ſtatues refreſhed by the Cenſours.* 883.1
Images *deviſed by* Democritus. 784.30
Imaginations or fantaſies whether they be true. 835.40
Imagination what it is. 836.30
Imaginable. 836.40
Imaginative. 836.40
Imagined or fantaſie. ib.50
Imitation *in bad things.* 89.50
Imitation 33.1
L. Imber. *of Thymbris.* 913.30
Immortality *of the ſoule.* 553.1. 10
Immortalitie *without knowledge and wiſdome is not life.* 1288.1
Imperfections *of the body not to be imputed by way of reproch.* 47.50
Impiety, *ſee Athiſme.*
Inachus *the river.* 901.20
Incenſe *burned by the Aegyptians.* 1318.40
Indian *dames burnt with their huſbands in one funerall fire.* 299.30. *loving to their huſbands.* 299.30
Indian *Sages die voluntarily.* 299. 40
The Indian *root.* 1177.30
Indifferent things what they be. 1084.40
Indolence *condemned.* 510.1
Indolence *of the* Epicures. 583. 30
Indos *a ſophiſticall argument.* 622.20
Infants bewitched by ſome mens eies. 723.10
Infants in the wombe whether animal or no? 844.50. *how they be nouriſhed.* 845.20. *what part of theirs is firſt perfected in the wombe.* 845.30. *borne at ſeven moneths end be livelike.* 845.40. *how they be vitall and like to live.* 10.20.846.20. *eight moneth infants live not ordinarily.* 846.20
Infants new borne helpeleſſe. 221.1
Infinity *the principle of all.* 805. 50
Infortunity *not to be ubraided.* 48. 1
Injury *to a mans ſelfe.* 1066.10
Ino *enraged upon iealouſie.* 855. 30
Vnto Ino *praiers made in the behalfe of Nephewes and Neeces.* 855.40. *troubled in minde for abuſing her lord and huſband* Athamas 548.10
Inoculation *or graffing in the budde.* 675.10
Intelligible *ſubjects.* 1018.50
Intemperance *and incontinence how they differ.* 69.50.70.1
Intervals *in Muſicke.* 1358.50
Io *traduced and ſlandered by* Herodotus. 1229.40
Iobates *king of* Lycia. 489.10
Iocaſta *in braſſe.* 715.20
Iolas *poiſoned king* Alexander. 937.1.
Iolaus *became yoong againe.* 1055 50
Iolaus *beloved of his uncle* Hercules. 191.20. *his dearling.* 1146.20. *his tombe.* ib.
Iole *flang her ſelfe downe from a wall.* 910.20.
Ion *the Poet wrate alſo in proſe.* 628.20
Ionique Philoſophie. 805.40.806. 30
Iphicles *brother of* Hercules *ſlaine.* 880.30
Iphicles *ſlaine, and lamented by* Hercules. 191.20
Iphicrates *diſcommended for dealing in too many matters.* 366. 20. *his apophthgemes.* 419.50. *his apophthegme to* Callias. 82. 20. *reproched for his baſe parentage.* 419.50. *his bodilie ſtrength and valour.* 420.1
Iphigenia *ſacrificed.* 910.40
Ire how portraied hieroglyphically by the Aegyptians. 1291.30
Ire moderate, helpeth vertue. 77. 10
Irene. 894.10
Iriciſcepta *what they be.* 704.40
Iris *the Poets fable to be the mother of Love.* 1151.30
Ironia *that* Socrates *uſed.* 665.50
Irreligion bringeth in brutiſh barbariſme. 1126.40
Iſagoras *traduced by* Herodotus. 1233.30
Iſis Haires, *or* Iſidos Plocamoi, *what plants.* 1178.40
Iſion, *the temple of* Iſis. 1288.20
Iſia. 1311.20
Iſis, *what it ſignifieth.* 1288.10 *whereof derived.* 1321.20
Iſiake Prieſts. 1288.40. *why they be ſhaven and weare linnen.* ib. 50. *why they forbeare ſalt.* 1289 20
Iſis *borne.* 1292.20. *ſhe mourneth for* Oſiris. 1293.10. *her abiliments.* 1318.1
Iſis *ſymbolizeth the land of* Ægypt. 1302.30
Iſles fortunate for bleſſed folke. 531 50
Iſles of Dæmons and Heroes about Britaine. 1332.10
Iſles commended. 275.20
Iſmenias *his prety ſcoffe to an unſkilfull minſtrell.* 665.40
Iſmenius *an epithet of* Apollo. 1353.50
Iſmenodora *a vertuous and beautifull dame.* 1132.1. *ſhe falleth in love with* Bacchon. 1132.1. *ſhe ſurpriſeth* Bacchon. 1138. 10
Iſæus *the oratour, his life.* 926.20 *he imitated* Lyſias. *ib.* 30. *when he flouriſhed. ib. his orations and other works.* ib.
Iſocrates *would not philoſophize at the boord.* 640.30. *taxed for puſillanimity and idlenes.* 988. 1.40. *his parentage and condition.* 923.20. *the time of his birth and education. ib. he defendeth his maſter* Theramenes. *ib.* 30. *his nature. ib.* 40. *he penned orations. ib. he taught a ſchoole. ib.* 50. *his abode in* Chios. *ib. a great gainer by keeping ſchoole.* 924. *his ſcholars. ib. his anſwer to* Demoſthenes *comming to him for to be taught.* 924.10. *his minervall. ib. the time of his death.* 924. 20. *he pined himſelfe to death. ib. his age. ib. his wealth. ib.* 30. *his apophthegme. ib.* 40. *he adopted* Aphareus *his ſonne.* 924. 30.40. *his ſepulchre.* 924.50. *his tombe.* 925.1. *his ſtatue of braſſe erected by* Timotheus *the*

the ſonne of Conon. 925.10. *his orations. ib. his baſhfull modeſtie. ib.20. his apophthegms.* 925. 20. *he mourned for the death of* Socrates. *ib.* 30. *he termed* Ephorus Diphorus. *ib.* 40. *given naturally to wantonneſſe.*925.40. *his ſtatue erected in braſſe by* Aphareus *his adopted ſonne.* 925.50. *his picture.* 926.10
Iſoſceles. 1020.30
Iſthmia *the name of the Admirall gallie of* Antigonus. 718.10
Iſthmique games. 717.10
Ithaceſia. 898.10
Judæus *the ſonne of* Typhon. 1300.1
Judges how portraied in Ægypt. 1291.30
K. Jugurtha *led priſoner by* Sylla. 358.30
Julia law, as touching adulterie. 442.40.
Julius Druſus *a man of great integrity.* 351.10
Julius Cæſar *beholden to Fortune.* 631.20
June *the moneth, dedicated to* Juno. 879.30
Juno *why ſhe is ſo called.* 876.1
Juno *had but one nourſe,* Eubœa. 696.1.
Juno Lucina. *ib.*
Juno, *aire.* 808.1
Junoes *Prieſtreſſe or* Flamina *ever ſad.* 879.30
Juno Gamelia. 320.10. *no beaſt having gall, ſacrificed to her. ib.*
Junoes *dreſſing her ſelfe in* Homer, *what it meaneth.* 25.10
Jupiter Olympius. 1360.40
Jupiter Agoræus. 1218.10
Jupiter *compared with* Neptune. 1288.1
Jupiter Labradeus *in* Caria *his image.* 902.10
Jupiter Hoſpitalis. 279.40
Jupiters *ſtatue without eares.* 1317.10
Jupiter Tarſius. 908.10
Jupiter Aſtræus. 314.40
Jupiters *Prieſt or* Flamin *is not anointed abroad in the aire.*864 10. *why called* Flamin. 864. 30. *he might not ſweare.* 866.1
Jupiter, *fire.* 808.1
Jupiter Carius. 1233.40
Jupiter *had two nourſes,* Ida *and* Adraſtia. 696.1
Jupiter Sthenius. 1256.40
Jupiters *oariſtes why* Minos *was called.* 290.10
Jupiter *had divers acceptions among Poets.* 30.10
Jupiter *the onely immortall God, conſumeth all the reſt.* 1099.1
Jupiter Καταιβατης. 1278.10
Juſtice or Fortitude, whether the greater vertue. 424.10
Juſtice or Injuſtice in beaſts. 956.10
Juſtice what it is. 69.10. *the end of the law.* 295.1
Juſtice neglected by Magiſtrates, the overthrow of States. 360. 20. *whether there be any in beaſts.* 956.1
Ivy garlands, what uſe they have. 683.50. *whether it be hote or colde.* 685. 10. *it would not grow about* Babylon. 685.20
Ivy chaplets, why uſed in Winter. ib.40
that Ivy is cold. 686.1
Ivy berries intoxicate the braine. 686.1. *why the wood groweth tortuous.* 686.10. *why it is alwaies greene.* 686.20
Ivy conſecrated to Bacchus. 690. 20.1302.10. *rejected from the ſacrifice and temples of celeſtiall gods.* 887.40. *fit for franticke folke.* 888.1
Ixion *loved* Juno.291.10. *in* Euripides *repreſenteth a godleſſe man.* 24.50

K

KAimin, *what it ſignifieth.* 1310.20
Κακοτης, *in Poets of divers ſignifications.* 32.10
Καλης Δεσμος, *what place.* 717.10
Kalends, whereof they tooke the name. 857.50.858.10
Καλπη, *what exerciſe or feat of activitie.* 716.40
Κανδυλοι. 680.1
Καρυκειαι. *ib.*
Κερυα *the wallnut tree, why ſo called.* 683.50
Καπω. 1166.10
Κερασβολος. 746.1
Κηλησις. 953.10
Killing of a man but upon neceſſitie. 863.50
to be a King, what a trouble and burden it is. 392.1
Kings abuſed by flatterers and paraſites. 94.1
Kings ſonnes learne nothing well, but to ride an horſe. 96.40
Kings ought to be milde and gracious. 125.10
Kiſſing the eare. 53.20.
Kiſſing of kinsfolke by women, how it firſt came up. 484.20
why women Kiſſe the lips of their kinsfolke. 852.20.30
Knowledge ſimply is the greateſt pleaſure. 588.40.50
much Knowledge breedes manie doubts. 784.1
KNOVV THY SELFE. 84. 40. 346.1. 526.50. 240.40. 1120.30. 1201.10. *this Mot hath given occaſion of manie queſtions & diſputations.* 1354 10
Κρεωδαιται, *who they were.*679.50
Κρυερον. 785.20
Κυαμος, *what it ſignifieth.* 670.1
Κυριευων, *a kinde of Sophiſme or maſterfull ſyllogiſme.* 622.20 *not fit for feaſts.* 645.1
Kyphi, *a certeine compoſition.* 1308.40
Κωλυσοδειπνοι. 775.1

L

L. *who pronounce in ſtead of R.* 869.1
Laarchus *uſurped the tyrannie of* Cyrenæ. 504.30. *murdered. ib.*
Labotas *his apophthegmes.* 461.1
Labour with alacrity. 619.1
Labour. *See* Diligence.
Lacedæmonians bountifull to the Smyrnians. 103.10. *their modeſtie to them. ib. how they ſcared their children from drunkenneſſe.* 121.50. *they ſhewed their Ilotæ drunke to their children.* 1091.10. *why they ſacrifice to the Muſes before battell.* 125.50
*Lacedæmonian apophthegms.*469. 50 444.1
Lacedæmonians reverence old age. 473.20
Lacedæmonian cuſtomes and orders. 475. 10. *how they loſt their ancient reputation.*479.1. 10
Lacedæmonian womens apophthegmes. 479.30
Lacedæmonians forbid torchlights. 475.30
*the Laconiſme or ſhort ſpeech of the Lacedæmonians.*103.10.20
Lachares *a tyrant over the Athenians.* 586.10
Lacheſis *her function.* 1184.40. 1219.30
Lacheſis. 679.50.797.40.1049. 10
Lacydes *a faſt friend to* Cephiſocrates, *and made no ſhew thereof.* 102.40
Lacydes *noted for effeminate wantonneſſe.*

tonneſſe. 241.20
Ladas *the famous runner.* 356
Lælius *advanced* Scipio. 357.50
Læſmodias. 759.20
Lais *a famous courtiſan.* 61.1
Lais *became a maried wife.* 1154.10. *ſtoned to death for envie of her beauty.* ib.
Lamachus. 378.10. *his apophthegme.* 419.50
Lamentation for the dead how to be moderated. 521.40
Lamia *the witch.* 135.1
Lamps, why the Romans never put forth, but ſuffer to goe out of their owne accord. 875.10. 748.30
the golden Lampe of Minerva. 765.10
Lampe burning continually at the temple of Jupiter Ammon. 1322.10. *why leſſe oile was conſumed therein every yeere than other.* ib.&c.
Lampon. 759.30. *the rich merchant.* 388.1
Lampſace, *the daughter of* Mandron, *her vertuous act.* 497.40. *honored as a goddeſſe.* 498.1
Lampſacum *the city how it tooke that name.* 497.50
Lapith *of the Stoicks.* 1055.30
Lares, *what images.* 868.10
Largeſſes. 377.20
Laſus, *what he conferred to muſick* 1257.20
Lautia *what preſents they were.* 865.50
Law of what power it is. 294.295
Leæna *her rare taciturnitie.* 196.30
Leager. 902.50
Lead why it cauſeth water to bee more cold. 735.10
Lead plates and plummets ſeeme to ſweat and melt in hard winters. 740.10
Leander *bewitched with the love of* Aretaphilaes *daughter.* 499 20. *hee exerciſeth tyrannie.* *ib.*30.40. *betraied by* Aretaphila *into the hands of* Anabus 500.10. *put to death.* *ib.*30
Leaves of trees not to be plucked. 683.10
Left-hand Auſpices *preſage beſt.* 876.20
Λεμμα. 1037.30
Lenity of parents to their children. 16.10
Leon *the ſonne of* Eucratidas *his apophthegmes.* 461.30
Leon *the Bizantine a mery conceited perſon.* 355.30
Leonidas *the ſonne of* Anaxandridas *his apophthegmes.* 461.40. *his valiant death.* 907.40. *his heart all hairy. ib. his viſion with the temple of* Hercules *at* Thebes. 1239.1. *his noble acts & notable apophthegmes.* 1239 10.20
Leontidas *together with* Archias *tyrannized in* Thebes. 1204.30. *a valiant man.* 1225.50. *he killeth* Cephiſodorus. *ib. he was killed himſelfe by* Pelopidas. 1226.1
Leontis *a tribe.* 660.30
Leotychidas *the firſt, his apophthegmes.* 461.10
Leotychidas *the ſonne of* Ariſton *his apophthegmes.* 461.20
Leſchenorius, *an epithet of* Apollo. 1353.50
Lethe. 609.20
Λητον. *that is to ſay, The commonwealth.* 872.40
Letters in Aegypt *invented by* Mercurie. 789.20
Letters in the alphabet juſt 24. how they ariſe. 789.30
Λαυκανια, *the gorge or weſand.* 744.10
Leucippe. 899.30
Leucippidæ. 902.50
Leucippus *killed by* Pœmander. 899.20
Leucomantis 1152.20
Levites *whereof they tooke that name.* 712.20
Leucothea, *what it is.* 64.50
Leucothea *kind to her ſiſters children.* 191.20
Leucothea *or* Matutaes *temple admitteth no maide ſervant to enter into it.* 855.30
Liberality what it is. 69.10
Libitina, *ſuppoſed to be* Venus. 857.40. *her temple how emploied.* ib.
Libs, *what winde.* 829.30
P. Licinius *vanquiſhed by* Perſeus. 431.40. *his demaunde of* Perſeus. ib.
Lictors *officers of* Rome, *why ſo called.* 872.30.40
Life and language ought to concur in a governour. 352.1
Life is but an illuſion. 603.40
Life ſolitary and hidden diſcommended. 606.20
Life hidden or unknowen, a ſentence full of abſurdities. 607.30.40
of Life three ſorts. 9.40
long Life not beſt. 521.20
Life of man tranſitory and variable. 585.40
Light how delectable it is. 608.40
Lightning how it is ſhot foorth. 1022.30
Lightning. 704.20. *what effects it worketh.* 705.1.10
bodies ſmitten with Lightning putriſie not. 705.20
folke a ſleepe never blaſted with Lightning. 705.40
what things be ſmitten with Lightning. *ib.*50
Lightning how it cõmeth. 827.40
Line or flaxe the herbe. 1289.10
Linus *of what Muſicke he was the inventor.* 1249.30
Lion how ſtout he is in defence of his whelpes. 218.30
Lion why the Aegyptians conſecrated to the ſunne. 710.50
Lions heads gaping, ſerve for ſpouts of fountains in Aegypt. 710.50
Lion how he goeth in the foreſt. 959.1
Lions kinde one to another. 966.1
Lions portraied with mouthes wide open in the porches of the Aegyptians temples. 1302.30
Literature compared with the gifts of fortune and nature. 7.1
Liver diſeaſed, how it is diſcovered. 782.50
Lochagas *his apophthegmes.* 462.20
Lochia *a ſurname of* Diana. 1142 1.697.20
Locrians *law againſt curioſitie.* 139.1
Locrus. 130.1. *what cities he built* 893.1
Locuſts engendred in Sicilie. 671.30
Lode-ſtone how it draweth iron. 1022.30
Logicke or Dialecticke. 804.40
Lotos *the herbe in* Homer. 1057 50
Love of yoong boies how permitted. 14.1
Love of what power it is. 294.295.1143.40
againſt Love-drinks. 316.40
Love in yoong perſons ſoone hot and quickly cold. ib.
of Love or amity foure branches. 1142.30
Love lively deſcribed. 1143.30
Love of boies compared with that of women. 1134
Love nuptiall commended. ib.
Love a violent affection. 1138.50

Cato *his ſaying of Lovers.* 1143.30.

The bounty and goodneſſe of Love. 1146.50. *how it comes to be called a god.* 1139.10

Love an ancient god. 1140.20

Love covereth defects and imperfections. 59.40

Love the moſt auncient worke of Venus. 1140.20

Lovers be flatterers. 93.30

Love teacheth Muſicke &c. 655.50

Love reſembleth drunkenneſſe. 654.1

Love what reſemblance it hath with the Sunne. 1149.50

why Lovers be Poets. 654.10

Lovers how they can away with jeſts. 667.20

Loxias *one of the ſurnames of* Apollo. 103.30

Lucar what mony among the Romans. 880.10

Lucifer the ſtarre. 821.30

Lucina. 1142.1

Lucretia *the Romane lady* 491.30

Lucullus *noted by* Pompey *for his ſuperfluitie.* 386.30.40. *led by* Calliſthenes. 394.30. *his valour.* 437.30. *given to pleaſure.* 438.40. *kinde to his yonger brother.* 182.1. *why blamed.* 297.20

Lungs full of pipes and holes to tranſmite liquors and ſolide meates. 744.40

Luperci *at* Rome, *why they ſacrifice a dogge.* 872.50

Lupercalia. *ib.*

Luſts and appetites of ſundry ſorts. 567.10.1212.50

Lutatius Catulus *erecteth an altar to* Saturne. 909.20

Lycaons *ſonnes,* Eleuther *and* Lebadius. 900.1

Licæum. 900.10

Lycas *a booke of* Ariſton *his making.* 18.30

Lycian *wome͂ their vertues.* 489.1

Lycia *overflowen by the ſea.* 489.20

Lyciſcus *a traytour puniſhed long after his treachery committed.* 540.10

Lycophanes *what it is at* Lacedæmon. 475.40

Lycoſpades *what horſes.* 677.10. *why they be fuller of ſtomacke than others.* 677.20

Lycurgus *his apophthegme as touching education.* 4.10. *his apophthegmes.* 462.20.422.50. *his example of two whelps. ib. he cauſed all vines to be cut down.* 19.30.76.40. *he brought in baſe coine.* 463.10. *hurt by* Alcander. *ib.*50. *his patience. ib. his ordinances in* Sparta. 464.40. *he ordeined ſacrifices of leaſt coſt.* 402.30. *honoured by the oracle of* Apollo. 600.20. *not blamed for praiſing himſelfe.* 305.1

Lycurgus *the oratour his parentage.* 927.50. *his education.* 928 1. *his ſtate affaires. ib. his fidelity and reputation. ib.*10. *his building for the city.* 528.10.20. *beloved of the people.* 928.30. *a ſevere juſticer. ib.*20. *his authority. ib.*30. *his ordinances and lawes. ib. he enacted that Poets might be free burgeſſes.* 928.40

Lycurgus *ordeined to perpetuate the tragœdies of* Aeſchylus, Sophocles, *and* Euripides. *ib. he reſcued* Xenocrates *the philoſopher for going to priſon.* 929.1. *he ſaved his wife from the danger of law. ib. his meane apparell. ib.*10. *his painfull ſtudie. ib. his apophthegmes. ib. his children endited and acquit. ib.*30. *his death and ſepulcher. ib. he advanceth the weale publicke.* 929.40. *his innocencie. ib. his children. ib.*50. *his orations.* 930.10. *his crowne and ſtatues. ib. honours decreed for him and his. ib. his wealth and bounty. ib.*20. *ſurnamed* Ibis. *ib.*

Lydian *muſicke rejected.* 1253.20

Lyde *the wife of* Callimachus. 515.10

Lyde *an Elegie of his compoſition ib.*

Lydiades *firſt an uſurping tyrant, prooved afterward a good prince.* 543.30

Lying in children to be avoided. 13 4

Lynceus *quicke-ſighted.* 238.30

Lyncurium. 954.30

Lyſander *his apophthegmes.* 423.50

Lyſander *refuſed jewels ſent to his daughters.* 320.10. *unthankfull* 357.40

Lyſander *ſlaine by* Inachion *for want of underſtanding an oracle.* 1200.30

Lyſanoridas *combined with the tyrants of* Thebes. 1205.20

Lyſanoridas *put to death.* 1227.1

Lyſias *the oratour his parentage and place of nativitie.* 921.40. *his education. ib.*50. *his troubles and exploits.* 922.1.10.20 *his age and death.* 922.20.30

Lyſias *the oratour, his orations and writings.* 922.20.30. *his ſtile. ib.* 40. *commended.* 195.10. *his eloquence.* 195.10

K. Lyſimachus *for to quench his thirſt loſt a kingdome.* 416.1. 547.40. *his apophthegmes.* 416 1

Lyſippus *how he portraied K.* Alexander. 1296.50

Lyſis, *his reliques.* 1208.1

Lyſius *the ſurname of* Bacchus. 330.50

M

Macareus *deflowreth his owne ſiſter.* 914.10

Macedonians *plaine ſpoken men* 409.30. *their armie after* Alexanders *death compared to* Cyclops. 414.1

Macellus *a famous theefe at* Rome. 869.1

Macellum *the ſhambles there. ib.*

Mæmactes. 125.20

Magas *how he dealt with* Philemon. 124.50

Mage *the ſages what they thinke of* Oromazes *and* Arimanius. 1306.30

Magi *the tyrants of* Perſia. 375.40

Magiſtracy *ſhewes a man.* 363.364.&c.

May *the moneth why ſo called.* 879.40

Maidens not permitted to mary upon a feaſtivall day. 885.10

Maiden-haire the hearbe why alwaies greene. 686.30

Mallacos *what it ſignifieth.* 505.30

Malladies new come, and olde depart. 782.50

Malladies new and ſtrange whereof they proceed. 783.10.20

Malladies of the ſoule compared with thoſe of the body. 313.20

Malcander *king of* Byblos. 1293.40

Males *how begotten.* 842.30

Male children and female how they be formed in the wombe. 847.20

Mallowes. 339.1

Man *why called* Φως. 668.40

Man moſt miſerable. 312.50

Mankinde moſt unhappy. 312.50

Mans life full of miſeries. 512.30.40

Men derived into three ſorts. 601.30. *made to doe good.* 393.30

Men unable in the act of generation. 844.20.30

Men at what age they come to perfection. 847.40

Of men in the moone. 1176.50

Mandragoras *cold and procureth ſleepe.* 689.40

Mandragoras *growing neere to a vine.* 19.40

Maneros *who it was.* 1294.10

Manis *a king.* 1296.30

Manica. *ib. his pride and arrogancie.* 1278. 20. *how he was ſcoffed by* Paſiades. *ib.*

Manlii *might not be ſurnamed* Marci. 880.40

M. Manlius *ſought to be king of* Rome. *ib.*

Manlius Imperioſus *beheadeth his owne ſonne.* 910.10

Battell of Mantinea *deſcribed.* 983.1.10

Mantous. 154.50

Marcellinus *unthankefull to* Cn. Pompeius. 439.10. *checked by him.* *ib.*

Marcellus *his apophthegme as touching the gods of* Tarentum. 429.40

March *in old time the firſt moneth.* 856.10

Mariage in kinred forbidden at Rome. 852.40.886.1

Mariage love diſcredited by Protogenes. 1132.50. *maintained by* Daphnæus. *ib.*

Mariage, a number. 1035.40

Mariage with a rich and wealthy wife, argued. 1137.10.20

Mariage with a wife yonger or elder. *ib.* 40

No Mariages at Rome *in May.* 879.30

Mariage with the couſin germains how permitted. 852.50

of Mariage, precepts. 315

Maried folke ought to have a reverent regar~~d one~~ of another. 317.20

C. Marius *defaited the Cimbrians.* 637.1. *his apophthegmes.* 436.30. *he crucified his daughter* Calpurnia. 912.10. *he endured the cutting of his varices. ib. his juſtice.* *ib.* 40

Marius *and* Sylla, *how they firſt fell out.* 350.30

Marius Gurges. 907.30

Marpiſſa *raviſhed by* Aphareus. 917.30

Mars *and* Venus *commit adulterie.* 24. 30. *diſguiſed himſelfe, and lay with* Sylvia. 913.50 *what is meant thereby in* Homer. 25.1. *what epithets and attributes he hath.* 1140.50. *his etymologie.* *ib.*

Mars *oppoſite unto love.* 1140.40

Mars *hath divers acceptions in poets.* 30.10

Mars *what God.* 1141.10

Marſyas *the minſtrell deviſeth a hood or muzzle for his cheekes whiles he piped.* 122. 40. *why puniſhed by* Apollo. 761.1

Martiall men ought to be ſtrong of body. 391.1

Martius Coriolanus. 631.1

Maſaniſſa *an aged king.* 394.1

Maſdes *a renowmed prince.* 1296.30

Maſſacre in Argos. 368.1

Mathematicks what pleaſure they affoord. 590.30

Mathematicks. 1018.40. *of three kinds.* 796.50

Mathematicall five ſolid bodies. 819.20

Matter. 768.50.805.30.808.10

the Matter, not the man, to be regarded. 55.30

Meale an unperfect and raw thing 886.10. *why ~~called~~* Mylephaton. 886.20

Meats which are to be refuſed. 613.40

for the Medes, leave ſomewhat. 750.1

Medica *the herbe.* 583.1

Mediocrity or meane, how to be taken. 68.50

Mediterranean ſea. 1173.30

Medius *an archſophiſter and flatterer in K.* Alexanders *court.* 104.50

Megabœtes *a faire Catamit.* 449.40

Megabyzus *pretily reprooved by* Apelles. 96.10.154.40

Megali, *a ſurname of ſome prince.* 1278.40

Megarians inſolency againſt their principall burgeſſes. 894.1

Megiſto *her vertuous deed.* 492.30

Megiſto *the wife of* Timoleon, *her wiſe ſpeech.* 494.10

Melancholicke perſons great dreamers, and their dreames moſt ſignificant. 1349.50

Melanippides, *what he altered in Muſicke.* 1257.20

Melancholike diſpoſition præſage the ſickneſſe. 618.20

Melanthius *his apophthegme of a tragœdie.* 55.50

Melanthius *his ſpeech concerning factions in* Athens. 25.40

Melanthius *checketh* Gorgias. 323.20

Melanthius *the flattering paraſite of K.* Alexander *Pharæus.* 86.10

Melanthia *what it is.* 64.50

Melanuri. 15.20

Melicertaes *body caſt up with a wrecke.* 717.10

Melichrus *a flattering terme.* 93.30

Melliere *what ſhe is.* 398.30

Meliſponda. 712.50

Meliſſus *the Philoſopher a good Statiſt and martiall man.* 1128.20

Meliſſa *wife to* Periander. 330.40

Meliſſus *the ſonne of* Abron *killeth himſelfe.* 945.50

Melon *one of the conſpiratours againſt* Archias *the Thebane.* 1225.20

Melos *women their vertuous act.* 487.30.

Memnon *his apophthegme.* 404.50

Memorie in children to be exerciſed. 11.30

Memorie how profitable it is. 11.50. *the mother of the Muſes.* 1131.30. *of what power it is.* 1344.1

Menalippe *a tragœdie of* Euripides. 1139.30

Menander *his comœdies praiſed.* 759.30. *much commended before* Ariſtophanes. 942.40. *his untimely death.* 943.30

Menander *a wiſe and mild prince.* 377.1. *highly honoured by his ſubjects.* 377.1

Menecrates *a vain-glorious Phyſician.* 424.20.449.10. *reprooved by* Ageſilaus. 424.20

Menedemus *ſhutteth the doore againſt his friends ſonne.* 29.10. *his opinion of vertue.* 64.50

Menelaus *and* Paris *enter combat.* 793.1

Menelaus *and* Helena *debaſed by* Herodotus. 1230.20

Menelaus *came unbidden to* Agamemnon *his feaſt.* 753.40

Menelaus *in* Homer *protected by* Minerva. 1282.10

Μενοεικες, *what it is.*

MENTIS *a temple at Rome.* 630.40. *when it was dedicated.* 635.1
Mercurie *terreſtriall and celeſtial.* 1182.30
Mercurie *is come, what it meaneth.* 193.10
Mercurie, *why he is ſhrined neere to the graces.* 59.20. *maſter of merchants.* 692.30
Mercuriall Dæmons. 1297.50
Mercurie Hegemon. 290.40
Mercurie *the author of Grammar and Muſicke.* 1288.30
Meſe. 796.40
Meſoromaſdes. 294.40
Meſſenger reporting newes of the victory at Marathon. 984.1
Meſſenger of the victory at Mantinea, *how rewarded.* 984.10
Meſtor *an attribute of* Jupiter *in* Homer, *what it ſignifieth.* 1308.1
Metageitnion *and* Metageitnia. 272.30
Metaphors. 800.1.10
Metellus *ſacrificeth his owne daughter.* 910.30. *his ſecrecie.* 197.30. *checked by* Cicero. 439.50
Meteors what they be. 826.30
Μεθυ *and* μεθυμναιος. 685.40
Μεθων *and* μεθυειν. 890.50
Methides *ſepulchre in* Ægypt. 1295.40
Methyer, *what it ſignifieth.* 1310.20
Metiochus *a favourite of* Pericles. 365.1
Metrocles *challenged the kings of* Perſia. 299.50. *he contemned poverty.* 299.20
Metrodorus *his letters commending bodily pleaſures.* 595.10. *profeſſeth ignorance in hiſtorie and poetrie.* 590.40. *his groſſe opinion of pleaſure.* 1127.10. *he vaunteth for reſcuing* Mythra. 1128.50. *he ſcorneth* Lycurgus, Solon, *and ſuch.* 1129.20
Mettall mines that have failed to bring forth oare. 1345.40
Mezentius *king of the Tuſcanes.* 866.20
Micca *her vertuous deed.* 492.30. *moſt barbarouſly miſuſed by one* Lucius. 492.50. *murdered by him.* 493.1
Mice of the water deteſted of Zoroaſtres *and the* Magi. 711.1
Mice conceive by licking ſalt. 728.40
Midas *upon a melancholie killed himſelfe.* 265.1
Mildeneſſe of Euclides *his brother.* 130.30
Mileſia *the daughter of* Scedaſus. 946.10
Mileſian *maidens troubled with melancholy.* 496.30. *how their rage was repreſſed.* ib.40
Milichius *an attribute to God.* 125.20
Military exercises fit for youth. 10.10
Milke not properly called moiſt as oile is. 740.40
Milke in women how it is made, and whereto it ſerveth. 220.10
Milke-way or Galaxia. 826.40
Milke how ſtudents ſhould uſe in their diet. 621.10
Miltiades *a tyrant at firſt, prooved a good captaine.* 543.40
Mimi. 760.10
a MIND, *the efficient cauſe of all things.* 806.30
Minerva *rebuked for piping.* 122.30
Minerva *flang away her pipes.* 122.40
Minerva Chalciœcos. 909.30
Minerva *provident.* 381.1
Minerva Itonia. 796.20
Minerva *but one.* 796.20
Minerva Optelitis. 464.1
Mine and Thine. 80.30
Mine and Thine reprooved by Plato. 318.40
K. Minis *why accurſed by the Aegyptians.* 1290.40
Minos *a judge among the dead.* 532.20. *why he was called* Jupiters Oariſtes. 290.10
Minotaures *whence they come.* 568.50
Minſtrels at Rome *diſguiſed in womens apparell.* 869.20
Minſtrell pipers forſake Rome. *ib.*
Minſtrell wenches, whether they are to be admitted to ſober feaſts 757.20
Minyas *his daughters enraged.* 899.30
Mirrors *and the reſemblances in them.* 837.20
Mirrors *of divers ſorts and their reflexions.* 1170.1
Mirth to be joined with ſerious affaires. 653.1
Miſogyne *a temple of* Hercules. 1198.1
Mithridates, *one who for eating and drinking wan the beſt game.* 655.30. *ſurnamed* Dionyſius *ib.*
K. Mithridates *eſcaped death by the meanes of* Demetrius. 415.20
Mitres, *who he was and what it ſignifieth.* 1036.1
Mixolydian muſicke who invented 1253.20
Mixarchagenas *who it is.* 895.40
Mixture of elements. 814.40
Mneuis *a beefe or bull in* Heliopolis. 1300.50
Μνημη, *how defined.* 953.1
Μνημοσυνη, *mother of the Muſes.* 11.30.796.30
Mneſarete *her image of beaten gold.* 1195. *her name was alſo* Phryne. *ib. why named* Phryne 1195.1
Mneſiphilus. 336.40
Mneſiphilus *kind to* Themiſtocles. 398.20
Mockes and ſcornes to be abidden with patience. 48.10
Mockers and ſcorners how to be anſwered. *ib.*
Modeſty a great token of progreſſe in vertue. 253.10.20
Moderation in both fortunes commended. 510.20.30
Μοιρα. 29.1.679.30.50
Moiſt what thing is properly called. 740.30
Molionidæ. 1106.20. *maſſacred by* Hercules. 1194.40
Molpus *the minſtrell.* 896.40.
Molus *the father of* Meriones *found headleſſe.* 1330.10
Monarchia what it is. 941.20. *it is the beſt government.* *ib.*50
Monethly termes or purgations of women. 220.30
Moneths firſt and ſecond to what gods conſecrated. 858.40
Moneths attributed to Juno. 876.1
Monogenes *the name of* Proſerpina, *and the reaſon thereof.* 1182.30
Monophagi *in* Aegina. 901.50
Monſters how engendred. 843.1
Mony with the ſtampe of Janus *face and the prow or poope of a ſhip.* 864.50
Mony with the ſtampe of a beefe, ſheepe, and a ſwine. 865.10
Moone at full what effects it hath. 697.30.40
Moone ſlow, and of a feeble heat. 1168.50
Moones upon the ſhooes of the nobleſt Senatours in Rome. 875.30
Moone of what ſubſtance it is. 1183.10

Moone

Moone the type of this worlds mutability. 875.40
Moone a moſt pure mirrour. 1161.1
at full Moone women have eaſieſt child-birth. 876.10
whether the Moone be earth. 1163.1
the Moones ſubſtance. 824.30
the Moone whether it be a dimme fire. 1162.1
the Moones three motions. 1177.10. her magnitude. 824.40. 1172.1. illuminate from the Sunne. ib.50
Moone why it falleth not. 1163.20
the Moones forme or figure. 824.50
Moone within the confines of the earth. 1165.20. her ſeven ſhapes 825.1. her illuminations. ib.10. her eccliſpe. 825.20. her monthly occultations. 825.40. how ſhe is illumined from the Sunne. 1169.10
the Moones face, or unequall apparition therein. 825.50
the face appeering in the Moone, and the cauſe thereof. 1160
the Moone hath divers denominations. 1329.1
the Moone inhabited. 825.50. 1177.1178
the Moone worketh moiſt effects. 1179.10
the Moone is named Pſeudophanes. 826.1
Moone-ſhine hurtfull to babes, and for ſleepe. 697.10.20
Moone how farre diſtant from the Sunne. 826.1
the tale of the Moone and her mother. 338.10
Morall vertue what it is. 64.30
Morows after Kalends, Nones, and Ides, diſmall daies. 858.20
Motes in the Sunne. 770.40
Mothers love their ſonnes better than their daughters. 321.50. they ought to ſuckle their owne babes. 4.30. how tender they be over their infants. 220.50. 221.1.10
Mouth, a name of Iſis, what it ſignifieth. 1310.20
Motion what it is. 815.40
of Motion ſixe ſorts. 831.40
to Mourne for the dead, what nations be addicted moſt. 523.10
Mucius Scævola his valorous reſolution. 907.1
Mucius or Mutius Scævola. 629.30
Mulbery tree not cut downe at Athens. 749.30
Mules why barren. 844.20
a Mules craft detected by Thales. 964.40
a Mule rewarded at Athens. 963.20
a Mullet hard to be caught. 971.20
Mulius. 634.20
Multitude not to be flattered and pleaſed. 7.20
Mummius mooved to pittie with the verſes cited by a yoong lad. 787.20
Murderers of the Poet Ibycus revealed by their owne wordes. 201.50
Muſæa, what houſes. 141.50
Muſes why called in Greeke μουσαι. how they be ſeverally emploied. 799.10.20.30
Muſes three, named Hypate, Meſe, and Nete. 796.40
Muſes why nine. 796.20
Muſes at firſt but three. 796.30 why they be many. 796.20.30
Muſes named Μνειαι. 795.50
Muſhromes of Italy. 613.40
Muſhromes whether they breed by thunder. 704.1
Muſicall diſcourſes rejected by Epicurus. 591.30
Muſicke how to be emploied. 1249.1
Muſicke ariſeth from three cauſes. 654.20
Muſicke uſed in warre among the Lacedæmonians. 477.1
Muſicke or melody of three kinds. 796.40.
Muſicke { Phrygian. Dorian. Lydian. } 1251.20.
Muſicke ſorteth well with martiall knights. 1274.50
Muſicke why uſed at feaſts. 1263.10
Muſicke neceſſary in the managing of the ſtate. 1262.20
the effects of Muſicke in a common wealth. 1262.30
lawes of Muſicke not to broken. 1261.1
Muſicall notes, Meſe, Hypate and Nete, anſwerable to the three faculties of mans ſoule. 1025.10
Muſicke doth inebriate more than wine. 750.50
Muſicks complaint to Juſtice. 1257.40
Muſicians ditties of what matter they are to be made. 25.20
Muſicke plaine commended in Lacedæmon. 477.10
Muſicke Chromaticke. 592.30
Muſicke harmonicall. 592.30
Muſicke highly regarded in olde time. 1256.30
Muſike commended. 263.10
the uſe of Muſicke in warre. 1256.30
Muſicke fitter for merry bankets than for ſorrow and ſadneſſe. 758.10
the uſe of Muſicke. 1261.40
Muſt or new wine doth not ſoone inebriate or make drunke. 693.30. how it continueth ſweet long 1012.20
Mutabilitie of this life. 511.1
Mycale the blinde mouſe deified by the Aegyptians. 710.40
Myconos what it is. 646.30
Mymactes, an attribute to God. 125.20
Myrtia Venus. 857.1
Myrionimus, an attribute of Iſis. 1309.1
Myro her piteous death. 495.10
Myronides his apophthegme. 418.40
Myrrhe burnt in perfume by the Aegyptians at noone. 1318.50
Myrrhina a ſumptuous ſtrumpet. 936.40
Myrtle why not uſed in the chappel of the goddeſſe Bona. 856.50. conſecrated to Venus. ib. why it is alwaies greene. 686.30
Myſon his apophthegme to Chilon. 878.50

N

NAmes among the Romanes men have three, women twaine. 884.30
Fore-names when given to the Romanes children. 884.10
Fore-Names how they be written. 884.40
Names of gods, how to be taken in Poets. 29.50
Names of vertues attributed to vices the overthrow of ſtates. 93.40
Namertes his apophthegme. 467.10
Naphtha about Babylon. 723.50
Narciſſus, why the daffodille is ſo called. 683.50
Narrations hiſtoricall, reſemble pictures. 983.50
Native country which is properly called. 272.20
Nature what it is. 817.30.805.1 1114.1115.
Nature why called φυσις. 1101.1

Naturall heat how it is excited. 611.40
Naturall is finite; Vnnaturall, infinite. 782.10
Naturall Philoſophy wherein it conſiſteth. 804.40
Naturall things. 805.1
Nature contented with a little. 1179.40
Nature of what power for attaining to vertue. 3.1
Nauplius *aſſiſted by the Chalcidians.* 898.1
Nauſicaa *in* Homer, *how to be praiſed or blamed.* 35.20
Nauſicaa *by* Homer, *compared to a date tree.* 772.10
Nauſicaa *in* Homer *waſhing her clothes.* 658.40
Ναυπα. 738.40
Neæra *the wife of* Hypſicreon *enamoured of* Promedon. 496 20
Neceſsitas non habet legem. 400.40
Neceſſity. 797.50. 1033.10
Of Neceſſity what is the eſſence. 816.30
Neceſſary defined. 1051.20
Neceſſity what it is. 816.20
Nectar. 338.10. 1177.30
Νεκυα *in* Homer. 791.40
Negligence corrupteth the goodneſſe of nature. 3.20
good Neighbours, a great treaſure. 418.20
Nemanous *what it ſignifieth.* 1293.40
Nemertes *what Dæmon.* 157.40
Nemeſis, *what it is.* 768.1
Nepenthes. 644.10
Nephalia. 712. 50. *what ſacrifices.* 621.50
Nephthe *or* Nepthis *borne.* 1292. 20. *what other names ſhe hath.* *ib.*
Neptune Equeſtris. 867.20
Neptune *why pourtraied with a three forked mace.* 1317.20
Neptune *ſurnamed* Phytalmios. 717.20. 780.1. *ſurnamed* πρωτρυγαιος. *ib.*10
Neptune *and* Jupiter *compared together.* 42.1
Neptune *many times vanquiſhed* 792.1.10
Nero *abuſed and corrupted by flatterers.* 93. 50. *his ſoule tormented in hell.* 560. 50. *he hardly eſcaped murdering.* 196. 20
Neſſus *the Centaure.* 870.40
Neſtis *the water.* 808.1
Neſtor *feedeth the ambitious humour of* Vliſſes. 663.1
Neſtor *and* Calchas *compared together.* 38.30
Neſtor *milde in rebuking.* 398.1 *why eſteemed above* Laertes, *or* Peleus. 389.20
Nete. 796.40. *how it is derived.* 1025.20
Nets why they rotte more in winter than in ſummer. 1007.50
Newes forbidden to be harkened after in the city Locri. 139.1
Nicander *his apophthegme.* 467. 20
Nicanor *wonne by the liberality of K.* Philip. 408.50
Νικη, *that is to ſay, victory, whereof it is derived.* 772.1
Nicias *the captaine by his ſuperſtition overthrowen.* 265.10
Nicias *the painter how much addicted to his worke.* 387.1. 589.30
Nicocles. *K. of* Cyprus *his liberality to* Iſocrates. 924.30
Nicocrates *his tyranny.* 498. 10. *murdered by* Daphnis. 499. 30
Nicolai *certeine dates, why ſo called.* 772.20
Nicolaus *a peripateticke Philoſopher.* *ib.*
Nicomedes. *K. of* Bithynia *made himſelfe vaſſall to the Romans.* 1276.40
Nicoſtratus *his apophthegme.* 425.20. *a concurrent of* Phaulius, *and detectour of his bawdry.* 1144.30
Nicturus *a ſtarre, the ſame that* Phænon *or* Saturne. 1180.40
Nicoſtrata *the daughter of* Phœdus. 948.10
Niger *the great Rhetorician died with overſtraining his voice.* 620.10
Night meet for the ſports of Venus. 692. 10. *more reſonant than the day.* 770.10.
Night what it is. 1000.1
Night and eclipſe of the ſunne compared. 1171.20.30
Nightingales teach their yong ones to ſing. 966.50
Niloxenus. 327.1
Nilus *water is thought to pinguify and make corpulent.* 1289.30
Nilus *water why drawen in the night by ſailers for their drinke.* 774.10
Nilus, *inundation whereof it is cauſed.* 833. 10. *the height of the riſing thereof.* 1304.40
Nine, a number reſembling the male. 884. 20. *the firſt ſquare triangle number.* 884.30
Niobe *over-ſorrowful for the loſſe of her children.* 526. 40. *her children ſlaine by* Latona. 266. 50
The lady Niobes *daughters killed.* 1145.10
Niſus *built the city* Niſæa. 893. 20
Nobility of what eſteeme. 6.40
Nobility of birth alone, not commended. 46.1
Νοησεις, *what they be.* 953.1
A Noiſe from without ſooner heard within than contrariwiſe. 769. 10
Νομοι, *why lawes be ſo called.* 680. 10
Νομοι *in muſicke of ſundry ſorts.*
Nonæ Capratinæ. 632.30
Nones. 858.1
After Noone Romans made no league nor treaty of peace. 878. 50
Noſes hawked in eſtimation among the Perſians, and why? 403.1
NOTHING TOO MUCH. 1201. 10. 345.50. 526. 50. *This Mot hath miniſtred matter of many queſtions and diſputations.* 1354.10
Nothing. 1098.10
Notions of divers ſorts. 836.10
Notus the winde, why ſo called. 1025.20
Nources who are to be choſen. 4. 40
Nouriſhment and groweth in animall creatures. 849.1
Nouriſhment or feeding of infants. 4.20
Nouriture, ſee education.
NOVV. 1019.40
Νεμλωια, 858.10. *named,* Nonæ. *ib.*
Nownes and verbs ſufficient for ſpeech. 1027.10
Nuceria *killeth* Phenius Firmus *her husbands baſe ſonne.* 915. 40
Nullity, *or not being after this life condemned.* 604.30.40.50
Numa Pompilius *a ſage & Philoſophicall king.* 855. 20. *a peaceable prince.* 856.30
Numa Pompilius. 630. 10. *his raigne aſcribed to fortune.* 633. 30
Number the principall of all things. 806.40
Numbers even defective. 868. 50
Number odde, perfect. *ib.*

Nundinæ *what they were.* 865.40
Nympha *in breeding of bees what it is.* 670.40
Nymphæus *a captaine of the* Melians. 487.30
Nymphs *age.* 1327.40
Nymphs Nomades. 1333.30

O

OAriſtes. 290.10
to Oblivion an altar. 792.10
Ocean repreſented the Moone. 1161.10
Ochimus. 896.30
Ochna *the daughter of* Collonus. 900.30. *killeth her ſelfe.* ib.40
Ochus *a wicked king of* Perſia. 486.50. *why he was called by the Aegyptians, The ſword.* 1291.50
Ochus *by the Aegyptians called an aſſe.* 1300.1. *he killed their* Apis. *ib.*
Ocridion. 896.30
Ocriſia *the ſuppoſed mother of* Servius Tullius. 635.40. *ſtrangely conceived with childe.* 636.1
Octaedra. 768.20.819.20.1020.30
Ocytocium. 956.10
Odours ſweet proceed from heat. 655.20
Odours ſmell better a farre off 657.50
Oeconomie. See Houſe-government.
Oedipus *overthrowen by his own curioſity.* 142.40. *he plucketh out his owne eyes.* 223.1
Oenomaus *loved to have a race of good horſes.* 903.40
Oenuphis *the prieſt and prophet of* Heliopolis *in* Ægypt. 1291.20
Oeolycus *his funerals.* 716.20
Oeonoloæ. 899.40
Oeonus *the ſonne of* Lycimnius. 880.30
Ogygie *what Iland.* 1180.20
Οἴζυροι *who they be.* 28.40
Οἶκος *of divers ſignifications.* 29.1
an Oinion commended by Homer. 709.30
Oinions rejected by Iſis *prieſts, and why.* 1290.20
Oke branches made the Civik coronet at Rome. 880.50
Okes honoured. 749.20
the Olde age of divers princes and rulers, happy in their government. 385.1.10
Olde age bereft of bodily pleaſures. 386.50
Olde age whereof it commeth. 849.50
Olde age hath recreations. 388.20 *it is freed from envy.* ib.30
Olde age how to be ſecured from contempt. 389.10
Olde men fit for to be rulers. 389.40
Olde age how it is commendable for government. 390.20
Olde men unmeet to mary. ib.30
Olde age why honored moſt in Lacedæmon. 398.50
Olde age not unfit for government. 383.1.10. *it ſhould not be idle.* 384.1
Olde folke why they drinke meere wine. 656.40. *wherefore dull in all ſenſes.* ib.
Olde folke ſee better a farre off. 657.10. *they love to be asked many queſtions.* 664.1
Olde men ſoone drunken. 687.10
Olde men drie. 687.30. *why called in Greeke,* Γηροντες. *ib.*
Olde age to what accidents ſubject. 687.50
Oligarchy what it is. 941.20
Olive tree wood, for what fire it ſerveth beſt. 697.1
Olympus *an ancient Muſician.* 1250.10
Q. Olympias *words of a Theſſalian woman whom the King her husband loved.* 319.30. *her ſpeech of a yong gentleman newly maried.* 319.40
Omomi. 1306.10
Omphalos *what part of the world.* 1321.40
Omphis, *what it ſignifieth.* 1304.40
Onobatis, *who ſhe was.* 889.1
Onochus *king of the Aenians.* 896.20. *killed by his owne men.* ib.
Onomademus *his counſell to have alwaies ſome adverſaries.* 244.10. *a great politician.* ib. *his apophthegmes.* ib.
Onoſcelis *how ingendred.* 914.20
Opium *what it is, and the force thereof.* 684.40
at the Oracles why they made a great ſound with baſons &c. 854.10
Oracles of Apollo *delivered in rude verſe.* 1188.1
Oracle at Delphi *why it hath given over to anſwer in verſe.* 1189.20
Oracles delivered in proſe. 1197.20.1198
from Oracles why poeſie is rejected. 1199.40
Oracles why given in verſe and obſcurely in old time. 1199.1200
Oracles why more plaine of late time than before. 1200.40.50
an Oracle bidding the Greekes to double the altar at Delos. 1207.20
Oracle of Lebadia. 1323.50
Oracles why for the moſt part they ceaſed. ib.
Oracle of Ptous Apollo. *ib.*
Oracle of Amphiaraus. 1324.1
Oracle of Tegyræ. 1324.10
Oracle at Delphi *in olde time not frequented.* 1326.20
the reaſons diſcuſſing why Oracles ceaſe. 1343.1
Oracles by what meane they be performed. 1344.20
Oracle at Delphi, *by what occaſion it began firſt.* 1345.10
Oracle of Tyreſias *how it came to faile.* 1346.10.
Oracles of Mopſus *and of* Amphilochus. 1346.10
Oracle of Mopſus, *how it was tried by the governour of* Cilicia. 1346.20
Oratours pleading at the Pythique games for the prize. 716.20
Oratory wherein it cōſiſteth. 796.1
Oratour, whereof derived. 866.50
Oratours and warriours compared together. 987.40
Order in the compoſition of the world. 646.10
Order belongeth to God. 1167.10
Order in feaſts. 646.10
the Order of ſetting gueſts at the table. 649.30
Oreſtes *furious.* 857.1
Oreſtes *how he was feaſted.* 642.50. *how he was feaſted by the linage of* Demophon. 678.30
Oreſtes *revengd his fathers and ſiſters death.* 916.50
Orgilaus. 380.50
Orion *what ſtarre.* 1295.50
Ορμη *and* αφορμη, *what they be.* 1062.40
Ornaments of women what they be 320.10
Oromaſdes. 1044.1
Oromazes, *what God.* 1336.1
Orontes *his apophthegm.* 404.40
Orpheus *an ancient Poet & Muſician.* 1250.20
Orphne. 100.1
Orthios *what muſicke.* 1251.10
Orus *his fable.* 1044.10

Orus or Horus the elder, the ſame that Apollo. 1292.20.30

Orus his anſwers to his father Oſiris. 1294.40. he vanquiſhed Typhon in ſundrie battels. 1294.1295

Oryx a beaſt obſerving the Dog-ſtarres riſing. 968.30

Oſiris what he ſignifieth. 778.30

Oſiris, how the name is derived. 1291.20.1308.40. 1311.30. how he is portraied. ib.

Oſiris the Sunne, and Iſis the Moone. 1308.50

of Oſiris and Iſis the fable. 1292.1

Oſiris borne. ib. 10. he reduced Aegypt to civilitie. 1292.30. ſuppoſed to be Bacchus. ib. found by Iſis. 1294. 10. why there be many monuments and ſepulchres of his. 1294.20. his body, where interred. 1295.30 his corps diſmembred by Typhon. 1294.20

Oſiris, Iſis and Typhon allegorized. 1300.10

Oſiris ſhut up in a cheſt, what it ſignifieth. 1303.10

Oſiris his ſepulture. 1304.30. how he is pourtraied hieroglyphically. 1308.1.10. his pollicy to vanquiſh his enemies and to rule his ſubjects. 1315.40. his robes. 1318.1

Otacauſtes. 143.1

Otacauſtæ, who they be. 143.30.

the Oth that the judges in Aegypt tooke. 404.50

Othes not raſhly to be taken. 860.20

Othe of the Pythagoreans. 806.50

The Other. 1031.1

Othryades his valour. 907.20

Othryadas traduced by Herodotus. 1231.20.30

Otis a bird delighting in the fellowſhip of horſes. 955.30

Overweening in yoong men is to be rid away. 53.40

Ovilij, how the name came at Rome. 865.10

Oxyrynchites, what people. 1289.50

Oxyrynchos, what fiſh. ib.

Oyle cauſeth tranſparence & tranquillity in the ſea. 1007.30

Oyle why Homer calleth Moiſt. 740.30

Oyle the onely moiſt and liquid thing that will burne. 740.50

Oyle beſt in the top of the veſſell. 747.30

Oyle will not be mingled with any liquor. 675.30.748.1

Oyle an enemie to plants. 675.30 hurtfull to Bees. ib.

Oyle of all liquors moſt tranſparent 994.20. it allaieth the waves of the ſea. ib. it is full of aire. ib.

Oyle why it breedeth much ruſt in braſſe. 1187.30

Ozolæ, people why ſo called. 893.

Οψιγονος, who he is. 225.20

Οψον, that is to ſay, Fiſh, is put for all other meats. 708.1. what it ſignifieth. 775.30

Οψοφαγοι, that is, Gluttons. ib.

Ωφελημα, of the Stoickes. 1092.30

P

P. Or Pi, the letter in Greeke how it differeth from other mute conſonants. 789.1

P for B in the Aeolique dialect. 738.30

Pacification in civil diſſentions how to be made. 380.20

Pæan the ſong, ſorteth well with Apollo. 1358.10

Pædaretus his apophthegmes. 425.10.468.20

Pægnia. 760.10

Paines be durable, but pleaſures momentanie. 582.583

Paines exceſſive not durable. 49.1

Palamedes deviſed foure letters of the alphabet. 789.20

Palamnæus. 896.1

Palæſtinus who he was. 1294.10

Palæſtra whereof it tooke the name 672.40

Palintocia, what it is. 893.50

Palladium the image. 92.50

Pallas her image deviſed with a dragon by it. 1317.10

Palladin recovered by Ilus and Metellus. 911.30

Pambæotra, what ſolemnity. 947.40

Pammenes reprooved Homer for his order in raunging a battle. 649.1145

Pamylia what feaſt. 1292.10

Pamylitia, a feaſt to the honour of Priapus. 1301.50

the great Pan dead. 1332.1

Pan. 808.50

Pañ and the world differ. 809.1

Πᾶν, whereof derived. 1310.10

Pan the god of heard-men. 873.

Panagra what net. 972.10.20.50

Pancration, what exerciſe. 672.50.364.40

Pandarus taxed for vanitie. 24.40

Pandecles an attribute given to Iſis. 1309.1

Pandora in Heſiodus. 514.20

Panegyricus an oration penned by Iſocrates. 988.20

Panique terrors or affrights 1193 1.1142.50.425.40.488.40

faire Panthea loved by Araſpes. 257.20

Panthoidas his apophthegmes. 467.30

Paracyptuſa. 1152.20

Paradoxes of the Stoicks. 1083.30

Parallelo grammon what figure. 1036.30

Paralos the ſhip. 364.30.

a Paraſites portraiture. 90.40

Παρασκευη, how defined. 953.1

Pardiæ, what mullets. 957

Parentage how important both waies. 2.10

Parents chalenge the greateſt duty next to God. 176.10. moſt delighted in the love of their owne ſonnes. 176.50

Parents wicked have begotten good chidren. 545

Pariere what ſhe is. 23.40

Paris in Homer reſembleth a wanton. 398.40

Pariſa. 988.10

Papyrius Romanus deflowred his owne ſiſter. 914.20

Paralli a faction at Athens. 1149.10

Parmenides defended againſt Colotes. 1116.40. his ſingular commendation. 1128.10

Parmenoes ſow. 715.30

Parmeno crying like a ſwine. 23.1

all Parts of ſpeech in one verſe. 1026.40

Parts of ſpeech all ſave Verbe and Noune, to what uſe they ſerve. 1027.50

Participle what it is. 1029.10

Partridges how ſubtill and craftie they be. 964.50. their naturall affection to their yong. 964.50. carefull over them. 219.10. their ſubtilty. 219.1. the male kinde to the female. 954.30

Paryſatis her apophthegme. 404.30

Paſiades how he checked Lyſimachus. 1278.20

Paſiphae. 317.1

Paſſion of the ſoule what it is. 67.40

Paſſions different from reaſon. 71.30

Paſſions not to be rooted out quite. 76.50

Paſſions how divided. 799.20

Paſſion counterfect, we can abide to ſee,

ſee, but not in deed. 715.1.10

Patæcion, *a notable theefe.* 28.10

Pater patratus *who he was.* 871.20

Patience of Socrates. 12.30. 129 30. *of K.* Agathocles. 1261. *of K.* Antigonus. 126.1. *of* Arceſilaus. 129.20. *of* Archytas *and* Plato. 12.40

Patience commended. 242.40

Patratus *what it ſignifieth.* ib.30

Patres *and* Patres Conſcripti *at* Rome, *who they were.* 870.20

Patroclus *his funerall obſequies and games of prize.* 716.20.

Patroclus *commended himſelfe.* 304.20

Paulus Aemilius *his Apophthegmes.* 431.40. *the oſſe that hee obſerved of his daughter* Tertia. *ib.*50. *his infortunitie in the loſſe of his children.* 432.20. *his contempt of golde and ſilver. ib. compared with king* Perſeus. 158.20. *curious in the diſpoſe of feaſts.* 646.1. *his fortune.* 630.10

Pauſanias *his treaſon and death.* 909.30

Pauſanias *the ſonne of* Cleombrotus *his apophthegmes.* 467.30

Pauſanias *the ſonne of* Pliſtonax *his apophthegmes.* 468.1

Pauſanias *troubled in conſcience for the abuſe and murder of* Cleonic. 547.20

Pauſon *the painter, and the tale of him.* 1188.20

Peach dedicated to Harpocrates. 1314.1

Pedetes 904.40

Pediæi *a faction in* Athens. 1149.10

Pegaſus Bellerophontes *horſe.* 164.40.

Peinting a mute poeſie. 95.50

Peinters excellent, were Atheniens. 982.20

a Peinter, who had peinted cocks unskilfully. 104.40

Peitho. 630.1. *her image why placed with* Venus. 316.20

Pelamides *fiſhes, why ſo called.*

Pelias Achilles *ſpeare,* Patrocles *would not meddle with.* 97.1

Pelopidas *his apophthegmes.* 428.10

Πεμπασασθαι, *what it ſignifieth.* 1310 10

Πεμπαζειν. 1341.20. 1356.50.

of Pente *came* Παντα. 1341.30

Pentagons. 1020.50

Pentathus. 716.15

Peneleus. 899.20

People are to be led by the eares. 353.30

Pepromene, *whereof derived.* 1080.30

Perdicca *his moderation toward K.* Alexander. 1283.40

Periander *why he burnt in his wives funerals her habiliments.* 602.10. *maſter of the banket of the ſeven Sages.* 326.50. *he was none of the ſeven Sages.* 1254.20

Periander *tyrant of* Ambracia, *killed by his owne* Ganymede *or* Catamite. 1155.20

Pericles *noted by* Cratinus *for his ſlowneſſe.* 988.30. *he praiſeth himſelfe without blame and envie.* 303.1. 302.50. *why he diſrobed the image of* Minerva. 283.40. *his apophthegmes.* 419 20. *his apophthegme as touching ſpeech not premeditate.* 7.50 *how hee admoniſhed himſelfe.* 651.40. *ſurnamed* Olympius. 529.10. *how he bare the death of his two ſonnes.* ib.

Pericles *eloquent.* 353.10. *a ſingular polititian.* 365.40

Periclitus *an ancient muſician.* 1250.40

Peripneumonia. 745.20

Periſcylaciſmus. 873.1

Perſephone *or* Proſerpina. 1181.50

Perſian *women their proweſſe.* 486.40

Perſian kings allow their ſlaves and dogs to be ſerved from their own table. 749.40

Perſian king how hee enterteined Antalcides *the Lacedæmonian.* 761.20

Perſian kings of what water they drinke. 272.50

Perſian king called by the Aſians the great king. 424.10

Perſian kings not drunken in the preſence of their wives. 318.10 *they count al ſlaves but their wives.* 294.30

Perſians not merry at the bourd in their wives preſence. 642.30

Perſian Sages procure their owne death. 299.40

Perſwaſion. 797.50

Peſtilence remedied by making great fires. 1318.50

the great Peſtilence at Athens *in* Thucydides. 782.30

Petron *mainteineth* 183 *worlds.* 1335

Petromus *a flatterer about* Nero *the emperour.* 98.40

Phæacians *in* Homer Penelopes *woers, eate no fiſh.* 779.40

Phædra *compaſſeth the death of* Hippolitus. 916.1

Phædus *a captaine of the Thebanes.* 948.1

Phænician *letters in number* 16, *invented by* Cadomus. 789.20

Phænon *what ſtarre.* 821.40. *the ſame that* Saturne. 1180.40

Phaethon *what ſtarre.* 821.40

Phagilus *who it is.* 892.30

Phagrus *the fiſh.* 229.1

Phalaris *hated of the Agrigentines.* 377.10

Phalaris *a tyrant.* 917.10

Phalaris *abuſed by flatterers.* 93.40. *he juſtly executed* Perillus. 917.20

Phalius. 214.30. 1294.30

Phallephoria *what feaſts.* 1292.20

Phanæus, *an epithet of* Apollo. 135.3

Phantaſium *whereof derived.* 836 30

Pharos *the Iſle, become part of the continent of* Aegypt. 1303.50

Pharicum *a poiſon.* 360.1

Pharſalia *her piteous death.* 1189.40

Φαρυγξ, *what pipe it is.* 744.20

Phaulius *an Argive proſtituted his owne wife.* 1144.30

Φηγος *ſignifieth both the beech tree and the maſt.* 32.1

Phemius *a muſician.* 1249.40

Phemius *king of the Aemians.* 892.10

Phiditia. 861.50. 743.1. 762.1

Phidon *his notorious treacherie.* 945.20

Philadelphus *a fit epithet for a prince.* 307.1

Philammon *an ancient muſician.* 1249.1

Philanthropon *what muſicke.* 1252.30

Philemon *an old poet.* 385.50

Philemon *how he was puniſhed by* Magas. 75.10

Philippus *tyrannizing in* Thebes *with* Archias, *murdred by* Charon *and* Lyſitheus. 1225.20

Philip, Callias *his jeſter.* 661.40

K. Philip *of* Macedonie *reprooved by a muſician.* 668.20. 1274. 10. *his commendation and apophthegmes.* 408.30. *his apophthegme as touching the Greeks revolting frō him to* T. Quintius. 1228.1. *he ſuſpecteth his own proſperity.* 408.30. *diſ-*

truſtful of fortune. 513. 40. *his clemencie. ib. how he ſaved the credit of his hoſt that invited him.* 612. 40, *his patience. ib.* 40 124. 30. 40. *his bounty to* Nicanor. 408. 40. 50. *made better by ſlanders of enimies* 409. 1. *his pleaſant conceit to his* Chirurgian. 409. 10. *he plaieth with the names* Hecateros *and* Amphoteros. *ib. his compariſon of* Demoſthenes *orations with* Iſocrates. 932. 30. *his counſel to his ſonne* Alexander. *ib.* 30. 40. *his liberality.* 409. 40 *his demeanour at* Chæronæa. 763. 20. *he recommendeth to* Alexander *the philoſopher* Ariſtotle. 410. 20. *wounded in the eie.* 908. 50. *he checketh a judge commended unto him by* Antipater. *ib. his behaviour to* Machetas *in caſe of wrong and judgement.* 410. 30. *noted for raſing the city* Olynthus. 55. 10. *his uprightneſſe in judgement.* 410. 30. *his truſt in* Antipater. *ib.* 40. *reprooved mildly by a minſtrell. ib.* 50. 108 1. *his diſagreement with his wife and ſonne, taxed by* Demaratus. *ib. reprooved by an old woman.* 411. 1

Philip *the ſonne of* Demetrius *repelled from* Chios *by women.* 485. 50

Philippides *his anſwere to K.* Lyſimachus. 136. 30

Philippides *the Poet refuſeth to know kings ſecrets.* 199. 50. 416. 10

Philiſtus. 1145. 40

Philoctetes. 715. 20

Philomela. 777. 1

Philometus *the tyrant of the Phocæans.* 1189. 40

Philometor *a fit epithet for a prince.* 307. 1

Philopappus *a courteous prince.* 659. 40

Philophanes *a profeſſed Rhetorician.* 444. 10

Philopœmen. 372. 10

Philopſi *who they be.* 708. 1

Philoſophie *what it is.* 804. 30 *how it is divided.* *ib.*

Philoſophers Ionique. 805. 40

Philoſophers *ought to converſe with Princes and great men,* 289. 30. 40

Philoſophie *commended.* 9. 1. *it is the Phyſicke of the ſoule.* 9. 10

Of Philoſophie *the fruits.* 9. 10

Of Philoſophie *three parts.* 796. 50. 1059. 50

Philoſophie *Active or Practive.* 804. 50

Philoſophers *how to be deemed.* 1266. 1

Philoſophers *their ſundry opinions of the gods, and principles of the world.* 1306. 1307

Philotas *a minion of K.* Alexander, *by his owne folly overthrowen.* 1280. 10

Philotimus *his anſwere to a patient of his.* 57. 40. 34. 40

Philoxenus *the ſonne of* Eryxis *a glutton.* 606. 30

Philoxenus *ſolliciteth K.* Alexander *to wantoneſſe.* 596. 30

Philoxenus *the muſician made a ſale of all that he had.* 288. 20

Phlœon. 904. 30

Phœbus. 497. 20

Phocion *his poverty.* 421. 10. *croſſe unto the common people. ib. how he tooke his death.* 422. 10

Phocion *compared with* Demoſthenes. 355. 1. *a juſt ruler.* 360. 10. *his magnanimity at his death.* 304. 20. *he retorted a ſcoffe upon* Demades. 364. 1. *commended for his ſelfe-praiſe.* 364. 20. *his apophthegme.* 420. 50. *aged and yet a good ruler* 394. 1. *a frugall man.* 211. 20

Phorea *women their deeds.* 491. 10

Phocis *dames their vertuous acts* 484. 30

Phocus *his pitifull hiſtory.* 947. 30. *his murder revenged.* 948. 1

Phœbidas *his apophthegme.* 469. 10. *he held* Thebes *with a gariſon.* 1204. 10

Phœnician *letters. See* Phœnicium.

Phænix *the birds age.* 1327. 40

Phænix *the tutour of* Achilles. 5. 20. *he inſtructeth* Achilles *to bridle anger.* 35. 10

Pholia *what diſeaſe of a beare.* 965. 10

Phora *in dauncing.* 799. 50

Phoſphoria. 1121. 50

Phoſphori Proereſij. *ib.*

Phoſphorus *what ſtarre.* 821. 40

Phraaces *king of the Parthians.* 438. 40

Phrygnis *enamoured of* Pieria. 496. 1

Phryne *the courtiſan ſhrined in gold.* 1276. 30

Phryne *the famous courtiſan, abſolved by the Judges for her beauty.* 936. 50. *See more of her.* 614. 1. 1137. 1. 1195. 1. *her children* Lecaſtus *and* Parrhaſius *ſtrangely ſaved.* 916. 30

Phrynichus *and* Aeſchylus *brought into Tragœdies narrations patheticall.* 645. 1

Phrynis *an auncient Muſician.* 1250. 30

Phthois. 890. 30

Phthoræ, *what they be.* 774. 30

Phygadotheres, *the name given to a purſuivant.* 933. 50

Phylactes *a Gaoler in* Cumes. 889. 10

Phyllidas *conſpireth with* Pelopidas *and others to ſurpriſe and murder the tyrants of* Thebes. 1205. 30. *he feaſteth* Archias *and other of the Tyrants of* Thebes. 1216. 30

Phylonome *defloured by* Mars. 916. 30

Phyſcæ *a city.* 893. 1

A Phyſician *challenged all men in drinking, and by what meanes.* 656. 1

Phyſicians *reprooved by* Pauſanias. 468. 10

Phyſicke *how it began firſt.* 607. 10

Phyſicians *we ought to be unto our ſelves.* 626. 1

Phytalmius. 76. 50

Phyximelon *what it ſignifieth.* 890. 40

Pictures *abſurd.* 22. 40

Picus Martius *a bird.* 632. 50

K. Picus *transformed into the bird called Woodpecker.* 857. 10. *he gave anſwer as an Oracle.* *ib.*

A Pie *of woonderfull qualities.* 977. 1

Pieria *her vertuous deed.* 495. 40 *highly honoured of the Mileſians.* *ib.* 10

Pinarij *who ſo called.* 870. 40

Pindarus *forewarned of his death.* 518. 30. *checked and reproved by* Corynna. 984. 30. *he was borne during the ſolemnity of the Pythique games.* 766. 10

Pine tree. *See* Pitch tree.

Pinnoteres *a fiſh.* 974. 40

Pipes *baniſhed from what feaſts.* 214. 10

Piſiſtratus *firſt an uſurper, afterwards a good prince.* 453. 20. *murdered by his Nobles.* 915. 10. *why hee married a ſecond wife.* 177. 1. *a tyrant of the Athenians.*

thenians. 422.20. *his patience toward* Thraſibulus. 124.50 *his apophthegmes. ib. his ſpeech to the people.* 643.30
Piſmires *induſtrious.* 960. 20. *their caves and holes.* 961.1
Piſsites *wine.* 717.50
Pithya, *that gave anſwers in oracles, what kinde of wench ſhee was.* 1199.30
Pithya, *when ſhe was reſtrained from verſe and poeticall termes.* 1198.1199
Pit-water *why leſſe nutritive than others.* 1014.1
Pittacus *his anſwer to the king of* Lydia. 181.40. *croſſed with a ſhrewd wife.* 153.30
Pittacium *a piece of ground.* 1231 10
Pittacus *grinding corne.* 338.50. *modeſt in receiving honours.* 375.40. *debaſed by* Herodotus. 1231.1
Pittacus *elected Ruler by all the Metylenæans.* 1149.40
Pittacus *his valour.* 1233.1
Pitch-tree *garlands.* 717.10. *conſecrated both to* Neptune *and to* Bacchus. 717.20. *the reaſon thereof.* ib.30
Pitch *accordeth well with wine & wine veſſels.* 717.40
Place, *what it is.* 815.10
Diſtinction of Place *at feaſts and meetings obſerved in olde time.* 647.40. *obſerved among the gods and goddeſſes.* 647.40.50
Places *at a feaſt how to be diſpoſed.* 645.30. *which be moſt honorable.* 650.10
Places *at a table.* 329.40
of curious and ſumptuous Plaies *the ſpeech of a Lacedæmonian.* 758.10
Planctæ, *what rocks.* 338.10
Plants *and herbes that can abide no wet.* 1178.50
Plants *whether they be animall or no.* 848.30. *how they grow. ib.*
Platoes *ſuppers commended by* Timotheus. 729.40.50
Plato *repreſſed his own anger.* 542 30. *excuſed and commended.* 745.50. *another* Chiron, *to cure the ſoule.* 766.20. *his cenſure of* Lyſias *oration.* 59.50. *his ſuppoſed father,* Apollo *ib. his opinion as touching the principle of all things.* 808.10. *his nativity or birth day ſolemnized.* 765.50. *his fable of* Era *and* Harmonius *how to be underſtood.* 791.20. *his text in* Timæus *expounded.* 1031.1 *mainteined againſt* Colotes. 1119. 1120. *a good politician.* 1128.20.
Plato *bunch-backt.* 34.20. *how he reprooved* Denys *the tyrant.* 107.20. *how he graced his brethren.* 182.10
Platychetæ *who they be.* 890.1
Pleaſures *ſpirituall, or of contemplative life.* 591.1
Pleaſures *of an Active life.* 594.20
Pleaſures *of the fleſh may be ſoone too coſtly.* 6.30
Pleaſures *of the body not to be provoked by the luſts of the minde.* 614.10
Pleaſures *be momentany.* 582.583
Pleaſures *of the body compared with thoſe of the ſoule.* 387.10.20.584.1.10
Pleaſures *proceeding from knowledge of Arts, incomparable.* 589.10.20
Pleaſure *the* Summum bonum *of beaſts.*
Pleaſures *not in the ſenſes, but in the underſtanding.* 715.20
A prize or reward propoſed for deviſing new Pleaſures. 653.30
Pliſtarchus *his Apophthegmes.* 468.30
Pliſtonax *his Apophthegmes. ib.* 40
Ploiades *what clouds.* 889.50
Ploutis *mainteineth a faction in* Miletum. 897.50
Plutarch *comforteth his owne wife for the death of their yoong daughter an infant.* 533.40 *a prieſt unto* Pythius Apollo. 395.10
Pluto, *the earth.* 808.1
Pluto *blinde.* 463.30. *why called* Dis *and* Ades. 268.20
Pluto *obeyeth Love onely.* 1146.40
Pluto *his medowes.* 1182.40
Podargus *a ſwift horſe.* 1153.1
Pœmander. 899.10
Poeſie *and painting compared.* 983.20
Poeſie *how it commeth to be ſo powerfull.* 33.20
Poeſie *whereof it is the imitation.* 34.10
Poems *and* Poets *not to be rejected.* 19.50
Poets *and* Poems *how to be heard and red.* 18.50
Poetry *deſcribed.* 22.30
Poets *lyers.* 20.10
Poets *in olde time had their combats for the beſt game.* 716.10
Poets *and* Poetreſſes *wan the victory at the ſolemne games.* 716.30
Poetrie *referred to Muſicke.* 797.10
Poets *and* Philoſophers *compared.* 25.40
Poetrie *an inducement and training to* Philoſophy. 50.1
Poetry *ſtandeth more upon fine invention of fables than words or verſes.* 984.50
ſpeeches different in Poets *how to be reconciled.* 26.10
ſpeeches wicked in Poets, *how to be red.* 26.10
Pogonias *the bearded blazing ſtarre.* 827.20
Ποιεῖν. 557.40
Polemon *a ruffian reclaimed by* Xenocrates. 112.40
Polemon *a great Antiquary.* 716.30
Polemon *by his patience repreſſed the anger of another.* 130.40
Poletes *who it is.* 897.1
Policie *or governement of the* Perſians. 941.20
Policie *or governement of the* Spartans. 941.20. *of the* Athenians. *ib.*
Policie *and politicians.* 348.20
Pollis. 895.1
Politicke *governement joined with* Philoſophy. 9.30
Politia *hath many ſignifications.* 941.1
Policions *feaſt.* 652.1
Polium *a ſtinking herbe.* 91.50
Pollux *kinde to his brother* Caſtor. 182.10. *killeth a picke-thanke for whiſpering a tale againſt his brother.* 180.30
Poltys *his anſwere to the* Troians *and* Greekes. 405.1
Polus *a famous actour in Tragœdies.* 385.50
Poliager *a notorious bawde to his owne wife.* 35.40
Polyarchus *brother of* Eryxo, *complotteth to murder* Laarchus. 504.50
Polycephales *what ſong.* 1250.50
Polycratidas *his apophthegme.* 469.1
Polycrete *died for joy.* 496.50
Polycrite *her vertuous deed.* 496.10
Polycrithus *a great Architect.* 899.10

Polydorus *the ſonne of* Alcamenes *his apophthegme.* 468.40
Polymathia. 499.20
Polymneſtus *a Muſician.* 1249.50
Polyſperchon *how he intertained an impudent craver* 669.20.
Polymniæ. 995.50
the Polyps *head.* 19.1
Polyp *fiſh how he changeth colour.* 973.10.1009.10
Polymeſtor *murdereth* Polydorus. 913.20
Polyzelus *how he became blinde.* 906.30
Pomgranates *why called* ὀψίγονοι. 726.20
C. Pompeius *an enimie to bellie cheere.* 438.50. *his clemencie to the Mamertines.* 438.1. *ſurnamed* Magnus *by* Sylla. *ib.* 10 *his name cofirmed by* Serviſius. 438.20. *noted for effeminate wantonneſſe.* 241.30. *his apophthegmes.* 437.40. *his martiall juſtice. ib.* 50. *he died the ſame day of the yeere whereon he was borne.* 766.10. *killed by* Ptolomæus. 631.40
C. Pompilius *his apophthegme.* 437.20
Ποποι *who they be.* 29.1
Poppie juice. 684.40
Popular government which is beſt. 335.40
Popular praiſe to be avoided. 43.1
Porinus Selinus. 921.40
Porſena *his patient behaviour to* Muteus. 124.50
Porſena *made peace with the Romans.* 907.10
Port *of the dragon.* 897.30
Portij, *or* Porcij *the name at Rome how it aroſe.* 865.10
Porus *to king* Alexander. 125.10
of Poros *and* Penia *the fable.* 1310.30
K. Porus *his anſwere to* Alexander *the Great.* 1271.10
Poſtumia *a Veſtall nunne accuſed for incontinencie.* 241.30. *checked for her light behavior.* 241.30
Poſtumius Albinus *defeited by the Samnites.* 907.20
the Pot *being remooved from the fire, why the aſhes are to be confuſed.* 777.30
Poverty in rulers not to be diſſimuled. 378.20. *how it is eſteemed diverſly.* 75.10
Prepoſitions how they may be ſpared. 1028.1. *how they ſerve in ſpeech.* 1029.20
Praiſe by another is pleaſing. 320.1
Praiſe the beſt ſound. 387.30
ſelfe-Praiſe when, and in whom allowed. 301.302
ſelfe-Praiſe odious. 303.40
Praiſers to be taken heed of. 93.1.10
Cicero *miſliked, and* Scipio *commended for ſelfe-Praiſe.* 303.40
warriours & ſea-men apt to Praiſe themſelves. 310.30
Praiſe and diſpraiſe how to be uſed in the education of children. 10.50
Praiſe overmuch hurtfull to them. 12.40
Praiſe properly due to vertue. 47.20
Prandium, *that is to ſay, a dinner, whereof derived.* 776.1
a Prater is traitor to himſelfe. 1202.20
much Prating gave occaſion that Athens *was forced by aſſault.* 196.1
Prieſtreſſe of Minerva *would not curſe* Alcibiades. 866.10
Preneſte *or* Prineſte *the citie why ſo called.* 918.1
a Preneſtine *reſolute for his countrey.* 370.10
Presbeion *what it is.* 388.30
Preſter. 827.50
Preſtites *or* Lares. 868.10. *portraied with dogs by them. ib. tormenting ſpirits or divels.* 868.20
Princes unlearned compared to Coloſsi. 294.10
Prince the image of God. 295.1
Princes hardly admit good counſell. 293.50
Princes why they be named αυτοδιοι. 295.40. *their ſecrets not to be enquired into.* 136.30
Princes vigilant over their ſubjects. 295.40
what Prince moſt happy. 332.333
Principles 5. { *Eſſence or being,*
The ſame,
The other,
Motion,
Station, } *of all.* 1340.30
Principles three of the world. 768.50.805.30.
Principle and Element how they differ. 805.20
Principles five of all things. 1360.10
Privation. 805.30.994
Privet flowers what vertue they have. 684.20
Probaſcania *what they be.* 724.30
Procles *the tyrant of* Epidaurus 1197.30
Προκοπη, *what it is.* 247.10
Proculus *his policy.* 915.20
Prodotæ. 1199.30
Progne *and* Itys. 766.50
Prognoſticke ſignes of ſickneſſe toward. 618.1.10
of Progreſſe in vertue and philoſophy, the ſignes, 248.10.20.&c.
Promethea 630.1
Prometheus. 31.1
Prometheus *the Theſſalian cured by his enimies ſword.* 241.10.
Prometheus *the author of wiſedome and foreſight.* 1288.30
Promiſes of friends and flatterers how they differ. 101.20
Promiſes how to be conſidered. 38.50
Pronoune a kinde of Noune. 1029.10
Propomata. 783.20
Proportion *Arithmeticall and Geometricall.* 181.30
Propoſition *conſiſteth of Noune and verbe.* 1026.40
Propheſie of the warre betweene K. Philip *and the Romans.* 1191.20
Proſagogidæ *what they be.* 143.30
Proſelem *why the Arcadians were ſo called.* 875.30
Proſerpinaes *fielde in the Moone.* 1183.30.
unto Proſerpina *a dogge ſacrificed.* 868
Proſerpina *why called* Επαινη. 29.50
a Proſopopœia *betweene Poets and warriers.* 985.30.
Proſtaterios *what moneth it is.* 693.30
Protheſis *what it is.* 952.50
Proteleia. 1021.50
Protogenes *a great pæderaſt.* 1132.40
Providence of three ſorts. 1053.1
Prudence what it is. 68.1. *guideth all arts.* 82.30. *ſeene in foure things.* 510.50
Prudence of beaſts compared with the wiſdome of men. 569.30
Prytaneion. 762.10
Prytanſhip. 367.1
Pſoloes *who they be.* 896.30
Pſychoſtaſia *a Tragœdie of* Aeſchylus. 21.20
Pſychoponipos *what god.* 1142.1

Pſyche. 29.1
Ptolomæus Philadelphus eſpouſeth his owne ſiſter. 13.20
Ptolomæus Lagus, his ſonne how frugall he was. 414.1
Ptolomæus the firſt that erected a library. 591.40
Ptolomæus Κεραυνός. 547.10
K. Ptolomæus Philopater ſacrificeth elephants. 965.50
K. Ptolomæus abuſed by flatterers. 93.40. 98.1. a lover of learning. 98.1. he repreſſeth his anger. 125.10
Ptolemæus Soter tranſlated the Coloſſe of Sarapis unto Alexandria. 1298.40
Pulſe, why forbidden to be eaten. 881.50
Puniſhment ought to be inflicted at leaſure. 542.30
Puniſhment of ſervants how to be ordered. 126.40.50
Purgations for ſtudents. 623.20
Purgative phyſicke taught us by brute beaſts. 968.1
Purgatorie of the Painims and philoſophers. 1182.40
Purple, death in Homer. 13.30
Purple fiſhes how ſociable they be. 975.40
Putrefaction what it is. 774.30
Pyanepſion what moneth. 1314.20
Pyladion. 759.10
Pylaochos. 1301.30
the Pyramis was the firſt bodie. 1339.20
Pyramis. 819.20
Pyramus a lake. 799.40
Pyrander ſtoned to death. 915.1
Pyraichmes king of the Eubœans. 908.30. his horſes. ib.
Pyroeis, what ſtarre. 821.40
Pyrrho his apophthegme. 255.1
Pyrrhias ſacrificed to his benefactour. 898.20
K. Pyrrhus delighted to be called the eagle. 968.50. his apophthegmes. 416.50
Pyrſophion. 898.1
Pyſius what it ſignifieth. 890.20
Pythagoras ſacrificed an oxe for the invention of one Theoreum. 768.40
Pythagoras his precepts ſmell of the Aegyptian Hierogliphickes 1291.20
Pythagoras a Tuskane borne. 776.30
Pythagoras how much addicted to Geometrie. 590.10. he condemned crueltie to dumbe beaſts. 243.30. hee raunſomed a draught of fiſhes. 779.1. the firſt author of the name of Philoſophers. 806.30. he taught in Italy. 807.20. his opinion of God. 812.1
Pythagorean precepts. ib.40
Pythagoras abode long in Aegypt. 778.20
Pythagorical darke ſentences expounded. 15.10.20.
Pythagorean precepts not to be taken literally. 887.30
Pythagoreans pittifull unto dumb beaſts. 958.20.248.30.
Pythes the rich. 506.40. his vertuous wife. ib. his ſtrange death. 507.40
Pytheas his apophthegme. 420.40
what befell unto Pythia the propheteſſe at the Delphicke oracle. 1350.10
Pythia how ſhe is to be choſen and diſpoſed. 1350.20
Pythicke games which were moſt ancient. 715.50
Pythocles unmeaſurably praiſed by Colotes and the Epicureans 1126.20
Pythœgia, what day it is. 693.30
Pythones what they be. 1327.1
Pythius an epithet of Apollo. 1153.50
Python modeſt in his ſelfe praiſes. 306.1. how he avoided envie. 306.1.371.1
Python wounded by Apollo. 891.10

Q

Quaternary of the Pythagoreans. 806.50.1036.10
Quaternary number. 1036.10 why dedicated to Mercury. 789.20
Quaternity of Plato and Pythagoras compared. 1037.50
Queſtions or riddles propoſed by K. Amaſis of Ægypt to the K. of Æthiopia. 333.50
What Queſtions are to be propounded unto a Philoſopher. 57.50.58.1
Queſtions to be diſcourſed upon at the table, of what ſort they ſhould be. 644.20
What Queſtions men delight to be asked. 662.30
What Queſtions we miſlike moſt. 663.30
A Queſtion or caſe as touching repugnant lawes. 793.1
Queſtions Platonique aſſoiled. 1016.10.20.&c.
Queſtours at Rome entertained ambaſſadours. 865.50
A Quince why eaten by the new bride. 316.20
Quinquertium. 788.30
Quinteſſence. 808.10.812.10
Quintilis, what moneth. 856.10. the ſame that Julie. 859.20
Quintius his apophthegmes. 430.50. a parle betweene him and K. Philip. 431.1. he ſet free all the Greeke captives. ib. his merie tale of his hoſt at Chalcis. 431.20. his jeſt as touching Philopœmen. 431.30
Quires three in Lacedæmon. 308.20
Quirinalia, the feaſt of fooles. 880.10
Quiris, a ſpeare or javelin. 880.10. the name of Mars. ib.
Quiritis the name of Juno. 880.10

R

Raine how ingendred. 828.10
Rain-water nouriſheth plants and ſeeds moſt. 1002.30
Raines which be beſt for ſeeds or yoong plants. 1004.50
Raine ſhowers named [illegible]. 704.20
Rainbow. 828.30. how it appeareth. 1151.30. how it is repreſented to our eie-ſight. 828.40
Raria. 322.10
Rationall or verball Philoſophy. 804.40
Ravens age. 1327.40
Reading what maner of exerciſe. 619.30
A Reading ſchoole firſt taught by Sp. Carbilius. 870.30
To teach for to Read and ſpell, an honourable office. 870.30
Reaſon ought to guide and rule our free will. 51.40
Reaſon or diſcipline powerfull to attaine vertue. 3.1
Reaſon given to man in lieu of many other parts. 231.30
Of Reaſonable natures foure kinds. 1327.20
Reaſon how divided. 799.10
Reaſoning or diſputing at the table. 622.20
Rebukes and checks at wiſe mens hands be well taken. 106.30.40
Recreation and repoſe to be allowed children in due time. 11.10
Recreations allowed Governours and States men. 388.20
Recreations and paſtimes allowed by Plato. 624.50
Red ſea. 1183.30

Regulus *a Pancratiaſt died with bathing and drinking upon it.* 630.20
Religious *men have great comfort in the exerciſe of their religion.* 599.50
Religion *the foundation of all policie and government.* 1127.40
Religious *in the good, breedeth no deſperate feare.* 45.30
Religion *a meane betweene impietie and ſuperſtition.* 268.40
Remorſe *of conſcience in divers.* 547.1.10
Repentance *and remorſe of conſcience.* 160.50
Repletion *or emptineſſe, whether is more to be feared.* 703.30
Repletion *cauſe of moſt diſeaſes.* 616.10
Reproofe *of others, a thing incident to olde folke.* 310.50
Reſpiration *how it is performed.* 840.10
Revenge *not beſt performed in anger.* 125.30
Revenge *not to be done ſpeedilie.* 545.10. *how it ſhould be taken.* 126.10
Revenge *of enemies to forbeare, is commendable.* 243.1
Rex Sacrorum *at* Rome. 871.40
Rhadamanthus *a judge of the dead.* 532.20
Rheſus *killed his brother* Similus. 913.40. *baniſhed by his father.* *ib.*
Rhetana *her enterpriſe.* 914.50
Rhetoricke *hath three parts.* 786.50
Rhetræ. 450.10
Rhetræ *delivered by* Lycurgus *in proſe.* 1197.40
Rhodopis *the harlot and her obelisks.* 1194.50
Riches *how to be regarded.* 6.40. *how to be uſed.* 214.1
A Riddle *as touching a Phrygian flute.* 331.30
Riddle *of the king of* Æthiopia *unto* Amaſis *king of* Ægypt. 332.1
Riddle *of* Cleobuline. 335.20
Ριγεδανη, *what it ſignifieth.* 28.50
Ριγεδανον. 785.20
Ρυθμοι *in Muſicke.* 1252.20
Right line. 1021.10
A Ring *worne ſtreight.* 1137.10
Rods *and Axes why borne before the head magiſtrates at* Rome. 877.50
Roiot, *youth ought to avoid.* 12.10
Roma *a Trojan lady.* 484.20
Rome *city whether beholden more to vertue than to fortune.* 628.10
Rome *the worke of fortune and vertue jointly together.* 628.30
Rome *the pillar of the whole world.* 628.40
Rome *why founded and reared by the favour of fortune.* 632.20
Rome *much ſubject to ſcarefires.* 867.10
The Romane *Dæmon.* 636.50
Romane *kings left their crowne to none of their children.* 149.10
Romane *words derived from the Greeks.* 775.10
Romanes, *of their returne home gave intelligence beforehand to their wives.* 853.30
The Romanes *fortunate affaires under the conduct of* Cn. Pompeius. 636.40
Romane *tongue uſed in all countreys.* 1028.1
Romulus *a martiall prince.* 856.20
Romulus *and* Remus *their birth & generation aſcribed to fortune.* 632.20. *when begotten. ib.* 30
Romulus *and* Remus *wonderfully preſerved.* 632.40. *how reared and brought up.* 633.1. 916.40
Romulus *tranſlated.* 632.30
Romulus *killed* Remus. 859.50
Romulus *murdred by the Senate.* 915.20
The Roſe *garland of what uſe it is.* 683.30.684.20
Roſe, *why called* Ροδον *in Greeke.* 684.50
Roſin *burnt by Aegyptians in the morning.* 1318.40
Rue *growing neere unto a fig tree is not ſo ſtrong ſented.* 723.30
Rue *why called* Πηγανον *in Greeke.* 684.1
Rubbings *or frictions which be good for ſtudents.* 619.30
Rulers *ought not to diſpend above their living and abilitie.* 378.1
Rulers *ought to live warily and without note.* 350.50. *how they may helpe and advaunce their friends.* 361.20. *how they ought to cary themſelves toward their companions in governement.* 370.20.30
Rulers ought not to be over-preciſe. 472.40
Rulers muſt baniſh from themſelves avarice. 374.40. *they ought to bee voide of ambition.* 374.50
Ruma. 632.40
Rumina, *a goddeſſe at* Rome. 870.10
Ruſticus *his gravity.* 142.143
Ruſt of braſſe how cauſed. 1187.30
Rutilius *a prowde uſurer.* 286.10 *reproved he is by* Muſonius. *ib.*

S

Sabbats *feaſt of the* Jewes. 712.20
Sabbat *whereof it commeth.* 712.20
Sabine *maidens raviſhed.* 861.20
Sabinus *the huſband of* Empona. 1157.20
Saboi. *ib.*
Sacadas *an ancient Poet and muſician.* 1251.20
Sacred fiſh. 976.10
Sacrificing of children. 268.1.10
Sacrificing of men and women. 268.1
Sacrifice how to be obſerved at the Oracle at Delphi. 1347.10.1349.1.10
Sacriledge ſtrangely detected by the offender himſelfe. 201.40
Saffron *chaplets what uſe they have.* 684.20
Sages in olde time accounted ſeven, were in trueth but five. 1354.10
Sailers and ſea men love to diſcourſe of the ſea. 662.50
Salaminia *a ſhip.* 364.30
Salmatica *beſeeged by* Anniball. 489.50
Salt *highly commended.* 709.10. *provoketh appetite to meate and drinke.* 709.30
about Salt *and* Cumin *a proverbe.* 727.40
Salt-fiſh *waſhed in ſea water is the freſher and ſweeter.* 658.30
of Savours onely the Saltiſh *is not found in fruits.* 1005.10
Salts *called* χαριτες. 728.10
Salt *why ſo highly honored.* 727.40 *it provoketh wanton luſt.* 728.1 *why called divine.* 728.10
Salt *why given to beaſts.* 1004.20
Salt *procureth appetite to food. ib. it maintaineth health. ib.* 30. *it abateth corpulency. ib. it mooveth to generation.* *ib.*
the SAME. 1031.
Sambicus *a miſerable man.* 902.30
Sanctus *a god at* Rome. 861.1
Saoſis *Queene of* Byblos *in* Aegypt. 1293.40

Sapience,

Sapience, *what it is*. 68. 1. 804. 30

Sapphoes *fits in love*. 1147.50

Sapphoes *verſes*. 759. 1.1148.1

Sarapis *who he was*. 1298.20.

Serapis *or* Sarapis *the ſame that* Pluto. 1298.40

Sarapis *from whence it is derived*. 12991

Sardanapalus *his epitaph*. 310.1. 1269.1

Sardanapalus *an effeminate perſon, advanced by fortune*. 1264. 30. *the epigram over his ſtatue*. 1276.20

Sardians *port ſale*. 868.40.50

to Saturne *the Romans ſacrificed bare headed*. 854.20

Saturne *kept in priſon by* Jupiter. 1180.20

Saturne *counted a terreſtriall or ſubterranean god*. 854.30

Saturne *the father of verity*. 854. 30

Saturnes *reigne*. *ib*.40

the Iſland of Saturne. 1181.1

Saturnalia *ſolemnized in December*. 862.20

Saturnes *temple the treaſury at* Rome. 865. 20. *the arches for records*. 865. 20. *in his raigne there was juſtice and peace*. *ib*. *why portraied with a ſickle in his hand*. *ib*.

Saturne *ſuppoſed to cut the privy members of* Cœlum *or* Ouranos. 865.30

Saturne *a ſtranger in* Italy. 865. 50

in Saturnes *temple embaſſadors are regeſtred*. 865.50

Saturne *kept priſoner aſleepe by* Briareus. 1332.20

Sauces provoking appetite, are to be avoided. 614.10

Scalenon. 1020.30

Scamander. 901.1

Scammonie *a violent purgative*. 623.50

Scaurus *his uprightneſſe ſhewed to* Domitius *his enimy*. 243. 40

Scaurus *miſliked trecherie even toward his enimy*. 243.40

Scedaſus, *his lamentable hiſtorie and of his daughters*. 946. 10 *his daughters defloured*. 946. 20. *murdered*. *ib*. 20. *his death and his daughters murder revenged*. 947.20

Σκελετος, *what it is*. 785.20.

a Scelet *preſented at* Aegyptian *feaſts*. 328.30.1294.10

Schema *in dancing*. 800.1

a Scholaſticall *life*. 1058.1

Scilurus *and his* 80 *ſonnes*. 103. 40

Scilurus *perſwadeth his children to unity*. 405.30

Scolia *certaine ſongs*. 645. 10. *ſung at feaſts*. 1257.1

Scipio *not well thought of for leaving out* Mummius *at a feaſt*. 370. 30. *why blamed otherwiſe*. 297. 20. *blamed for loving his bed to well*. *ib*. 351.1

Scipio *the elder his apophthegmes* 529.50. *a great ſtudent*. *ib*. *accuſed judicially before the people*. 530.40. *his maner of plea*. *ib*.

Scipio *the yonger his apophthegmes*. 433. 50. *his commendation*. 434.10

Scipio *uſed the adviſe of* Lælius 400.50. *not blamed in praiſing himſelfe*. 303.40

Scipio Naſica, *his ſaying of the Romanes ſtate*. 239.20

Sea *what it is*. 832. 1. *how it commeth to be ſalt or brackiſh*. *ib*.

Sea *commodious to mans life*. 778. 50

Sea *aire moſt agreeable to us*. 709. 40

Sea *accounted a fifth element*. 990. 40. *what commedities it affoordeth to man-kind* 990.50

Sea-water *nouriſheth no trees*. 1003.1.10

Sea-*water hotter by agitation contrary to other waters*. 1206. 20. *naturally hot ib*. 30. *leſſe brackiſh in winter than in ſummer*. *ib*. *why it is put into veſſels with wine*. *ib*.

Sea *ſickeneſſe how it commeth*. 1007.10

Sea *why the Aegyptians doe deteſt*. 1300.20

Sea-gods *faigned to be the fathers of many children*. 728.50

Sea, *Salt, Sea-fiſh and Sailers odious to the Aegyptians*. 778. 40

Seaven the ſacred number and the commendation thereof. 1361.1

Secrecie *of K*. Antigonus *and* Metellus. 197.30

Secrecie *of K*. Eumenes *and his ſtratageme wrought thereby*. 197.40

Secrets *revealed the cauſe of much ruine*. 195.40

Section *of bodies*. 814.30

Seditions *how to be prevented and appeaſed*. 386.40

Sedition *dangerous at* Delphi. 381.10

Sedition *at* Syracuſa. 381.10

Sedition *at* Sardis. *ib*.20

Seed falling upon oxe hornes why they proove hard and untoward 746.40

Seed what it is. 671.20

Seed naturall to be ſpared. 619.1. *why called* σπέρμα. 1100. 50. *what it is*. 841.40. *whether it be a body*. 841.50

of Seedneſſe *three ſeaſons*. 323.1

Seeing in the night how it commeth. 658.10

Seleucus Callinicus *how he ſerved a blab of his tongue*.

Sella Curulis 877.20

Selfe-praiſe. 301.20. *in what caſes allowed*. 302. 50. *See more in praiſe*.

Semiramis *of baſe degree became a Queene*. 1136. 40. *her brave acts*. 1276.20. *her preſumptuous ambition*. 1136. 50. *her ſepulcher and epitaph*. 403.30

P. Sempronis *why he drowned his wife*. 855.10

Senate *of* Rome *why ſo called*. 391.30

Senſes *inſerted in our bodies by harmonie*. 1256.20

Senſe *what it is*. 835.50

Senſes *how many*. 835.50

Senſe *common*. 837.10

Sentences *over the temple porch at* Delphi. 103.20

Septerian *what feaſt*. 891.1

Septimontium *what feſtivall ſolemnity*. 873.20

Sepulcher *of children*. 895.60

Sepulcher *of envy*. 496.50

Sermons, how to be heard with profit. 56.30

Servius Tullius *a favourite of fortune*. 635. 40. *ſtrangely borne*. 636. 1. *how he came to the crowne*. 636.10

Seth, *what it ſignifieth*. 1307.40. 1304.20

Sextilis *what moneth at* Rome. 856.10

Sextilis *is Auguſt*. 863.30

Sextius *a great ſtudent in philoſophy*. 249.1

Shadowes at a feaſt. 682.30. *who they be*. 753.50. *how they began ib*.

whether it be good manners to goe as a Shadow to a feaſt. 754.20

what ſhadowes a gueſt invited may bring with him. 755.50

Shame good and bad. 164.30

Shame breedeth fortitude. 42.40. 50

Sheepe woolfe-bittē why they yeeld ſweeteſt

ſweeteſt fleſh. 677.40. *whether their wooll breed lice.* 677.40
Sibylla *the propheteſſe.* 1190.1. 716.30
Sickneſſe how to be prevented. 618 30.40. *how immediately occaſioned.* 849.40
Sight how it is cauſed. 837.10
Signes 12, *in the Zodiaque they be diſſociable.* 846.20
Sideritis *the Load-ſtone.* 1312.1
Silenus *caught by* K. Midas *inſtructeth him of life and death.* 525.50
Sileni. 98.20
Silence for five yeeres enjoyned by the Pythagoreans. 139.10
Silence commended. 194.40.242.20
Silence of Zeno. 194.30. *commendable in yoong men.* 13.1
Silon *the bould.* 634.20
Simonides *his ſage admonition to* Pauſanias. 513.40. *his ſaying of ſilence and ſpeaking.* 614.20. *he deviſed foure letters in the alphabet.* 789.20
Simonides *aged.* 385.20. *in his old age covetous.* 397.1
Sinatus *eſpouſed* Camma. 500.40
Siniſtrum *in latin what it ſignifieth, and whereof it is derived.* 876.10
Sinorix *enamoured of* Camma. 500 50. *he murdreth* Sinatus. 501.1
Sinus *equal according to the Stoicks.* 74.40
Sipylus *a city in* Magneſia. 1082
Siramines *a Perſian his apophthegme.* 402.50.
Sirenes *in* Homer. 798.1
Sirenes *upon the ſtars & ſphares.* 797.40.1146.50
why the muſes were called Sirenes 798
Siſachthia *in* Athens *what it was.* 359.40. *inſtituted by* Solon. 1284.30
Sirius *the dogge ſtarre.* 1036.20
Siſtrū *what it ſignifieth.* 1312.10
Six *a perfect number, and the mariage.* 1031.1
Skie called χρονος. 810.1
Skoffes which they be wherein men delight to be ſkoffed. 664.20
Sleepe to bee regarded in caſe of health. 618.10
Sleepe after ſupper. 623.10
Sleepe procured by cold. 689.40 *how occaſioned* 847.50. *whether it be common to body and ſoule.* 848.20
***Sleepe how procured by aromatical** ſmels.* 1319.20
Smalach if it be troden upon groweth the better. 746.30
Smalach wreathes uſed for coronets in the Iſthmike *games.* 718.1. *why given with provender to* Achilles *horſes.* 720.1
Smelling how it is effected 848.20
Smilax *a plant whereof the ſhadow is hurtfull.* 684.40
Smy *one of the names of* Typhon. 1312.1
Smyrna *enamoured of her owne father* Cinyras. 912.40
Snow how it commeth. 828.10
Snow from out of Aegypt. 613.50 *why it thaweth ſo ſoone upon Ivy.* 686.20
Snow keepeth fleſh long ſweet. 774.10
Snow preſerved in warme things, as chaffe, and clothes. 735.30. *a moſt ſubtile and piercing ſubſtance.* 739.50
Socrates *permitted to doe what he would in his infancie, by directiō from the oracle.* 1218.1
Socrates *guided by his familiar. ib.*10
Socrates *his patience, & repreſſing choler.* 12.30. *oppoſite to* Alexis *the poet.* 27.50
Socrates *had a familiar.* 600.30
Socrates *the wreſtler, his precepts as touching health.* 618.50. 619.50
Socrates *the Philoſopher his opinion of the firſt principles.* 808.10
Socrates *his familiar ſpirit.* 1208. 30. *his birth-day ſolemnized.* 765.50. *he drunke poiſon willingly.* 299.20. *whether ſneezing were the familiar of* Socrates. 1209.20. *he bridleth anger.* 1110.30. *he is defended againſt* Colotes. 1119.1. *a good ſtates man and mainteiner of lawes.* 1128.10. *reſolute and conſtant in all his courſes.* 1209. *why he is named a midwife or phyſician.* 1016.40.50
Socrates *why he was condemned and put to death.* 1266.30. *his apophthegme of the great king of* Perſia. 7.10. *his enimies were odious to the world.* 235.30. *how he cooled his thirſt.* 205.30 *endured the ſhrewdneſſe of* Xantippe. 242.40
Socrates *and* Plato *both of one opinion.* 808.10. *what they thought of God.* 812.10
Solon *oppoſeth himſelfe againſt the deſignes of* Piſiſtratus. 397.30. *he held them infamous who in a civill diſſention tooke neither part.* 379.30
Solon *abuſed and diſcredited by his friends.* 359.40. *whom he deemed happy.* 96.20
Solon *choſen jointly by all the factions in* Athens. 1149.10
Soluble *how the body is to be made* 624.10
Sonnes *enterred their parents with heads covered, but daughters bare headed.* 854.50
Sonchis *a prieſt or prophet of* Sais *in* Aegypt. 1291.10
Soothſaiers *of divers ſorts.* 1221.30
Sophocles *his anſwer as touching venerie.* 211.10. *he tooke joy in his old age.* 390.1. *he rejoiceth for being diſabled for wanton pleaſures.* 590.50
Sorow *a violent paſſion.* 510.1
Sorow *for the dead.* 521.50. *to be reſiſted at the firſt.* 533.30
Sotades *paid for his laviſh tongue.* 13.20
Soteres. 1122.1.1278.40
Soteria. 1121.50
Sothe, *or* Sothis *a ſtarre.* 968.30
Sothis *what ſtarre.* 1295.50
Spring *and fountaines dried up.* 1345.40
Soule *of man what it is according to ſundry philoſophers.* 65.20. 30.*&c.*
Soule *of the world.* 65.50
Soule *of man how divided* 833.40
Soule *what it is.* 1023.50
Soule *of the world what it is.* 1033.10
Soule *in infants when and how engendred.* 1079.40
the Soule *a chiefe inſtrument of God.* 345.20
Soule *ſickneſſe woorſe than diſeaſe of the body.* 314.30
ſubſtance of the Soule. 833.50
Soule *hath two parts.* 834.20
Soules *eſtate after this life.* 1182. 40.50
Soule *reaſonable where it is ſeated* 834.30.40
Soules *motion.* 834.50
Soule *whether immortall or no.* 835.1.10.
Soules *not affected onely according to the body.* 714.1
Soules *delights and food apart from the body.* 714.10
Soule *why it is ſuppoſed to be a light.* 608.40
Soules *of good men after this life.* 608.50.609.1

Soules *of the wicked after this life.* 609.10

Soule *why called* ψυχή. 1079.10

Sous *his deviſe to beguile his enimies.* 469.20

Sp. *what it ſignifieth.* 884.40

Space *or roome what it is.* 815.20

Spadix, *what it is.* 772.50

wilde Sparage *adorned the newe brides head.* 316.20

Speech *of two ſorts.* 290.40

Speeches *premeditate preferred before thoſe which are* extempore. 7.40

Speech *with what moderation to be uſed.* 8.30

Speeches *ſhort and pithy of the Lacedæmonians.* 103.1

Speculative *philoſophie.* 804.40

Spertis *his reſolution for his countrey.* 474.1

Speuſippus *reclaimed by his uncle* Plato. 190.40

Sphagitides. 660.30

Sphinges *whence they came.* 568.50

Sphinx *held the rocke* Phycion. 565.30

Sphinges *why portraied upon the church porches in* Aegypt. 1290.50

Sphragiſtæ, *what Prieſts.* 1299.50

Spiders *how they weave their copwebs.* 959.30

Spintharus *his commendation of* Epaminondas. 53.20.1221.10

Spongotheres *what fiſh, and his nature.* 974.40

Sports *admitted at feaſts.* 652.50

Spoyles *of enemies ſuffered all* Rome *to run to decay.* 863.20

Springs *of hot water be wondered at.* 1012.50

Spurij, *who they be.* 884.40

Spunges *of the ſea and their properties.* 974.50

Stags weepe ſalt teares, but wilde Bores ſhed ſweet drops. 746.30 *why called in Greeke* Ελαφοι. 970.30. *their naturall wit.* 965.10

Starres whence they have their illumination. 822.1

Starres how made. 808.30. *of what ſubſtance they be.* 820.50

the order, ſituation and mooving of Starres. 821.30

Starres ſhooting. 827.30

Starres motion. 821.50. *their ſignification.* 822.30

Starfiſh how crafty he is. 972.40

Staſicrates *a famous Architect, his device to portray K.* Alexander. 1275.30

A States-man *what kind of perſon he ought to be.* 348.10

A States-man *or governour, whether he may execute baſe and meane offices for the Commonwealth.* 364

States-men *are to conſider the natures and humours of the ſubjects under them.* 349.20.350.10.20

A States-man *ought firſt to reforme himſelfe.* 350.20. *when and how he may ſcoffe.* 354.30.

How States-men *may riſe to credit and reputation.* 356.40.50.357.1.10.&c.

Yoong States-men *and Rulers whom they are to joine unto.* 358.40. *what friends they are to chuſe.* 358.50

Stationary *plants.* 247.50

Station *or Reſt rejected.* 815.50

Statues *rejected by* Ageſilaus. 446.50

Step-mothers *jealous over their daughters in law.* 321.40

Stereometrie. 1019.1

Στεργειν, *whereof derived.* 1153.40

Sthenelus & Diomedes *compared.* 38.1

Sthenelus *commended for praiſing himſelfe.* 303.20

Sthenius *a reſolute man for his countrey.* 438.1

Sthenia, *games of prize.* 1256.40

Sthenon. 370.1

Stilbon *what ſtarre.* 821.40

Stilpo *his apophthegme of K.* Demetrius. 159.1. *his dreame of* Neptune. *ib.*

Stoiks *opinion of God.* 812.20. *bitterly bent againſt the Academiques.* 1082.20. *repugnant to common ſenſe and notions both in doctrine and maners.* 1086.10. *they lead a voluptuous life.* 1058.10

Stones *lying within the earth, more pliable and eaſie to be wrought.* 747.10

Stone *why it reſoundeth not.* 770.10

Stone *flakes whereof Naperie is made.* 1345.50

Storks *doe us ſome ſervice.* 777.10. *kinde to their parents.* 954.20

Storks *why honoured by the Theſſalians.*

Stratius *a ſurname of* Mars. 1141.10

Stratocles *a great polititian at* Athens. 348.40. *he deluded the Athenians.* 350.10

Stratonice *wife of* Deiotarus, *her kindneſſe to her huſband.* 501.40

Straton *his diſloialtie unto* Theophanes *and* Calliſthenes. 314.30

Strato *his apophthegme of* Menedemus *and his ſcholars.* 155.40

Stratonicus *his apophthegme of the Iſle* Seriphos. 273.30. *his ſpeech concerning baniſhment.* 273.30. *how he taxed the Rhodians.* 211.20

A wiſpe of Straw *or hey why tied to the hornes of curſt beaſts.* 673.50

Strength *of body how to be regarded.* 6.50

Struthias *a ſcoffing flatterer.* 94.10

Styx, *and the water thereof.* 1000.40

Styx *what it is.* 1219.20

Sulpitius Gallus *why he put away his wife.* 855.10

Summer. 829.40

The Sunnes *ſubſtance.* 822.30. *his circle. ib. his magnitude.* 823.20. *his forme or figure. ib.* 30

Sun-ſteads *or Tropikes.* 822.40

Sunnes *twaine appearing in* Pontus. 829.10

Sunnes *ecclipſe how occaſioned.* 824.1

The Sunne *the image of God.* 296.10

Sunne *riſing how portrayed among the Aegyptians.* 1291.40

Sunne *and Moone row in barges.* 1301.1

to the Sunne, *incenſe burned three times a day.* 1308.40

The folly of Superſtitious *perſons.* 262.20.30.&c.

Superſtitious *folk compared with Atheiſts.* 263.30

Of Superſtition. 260.1.10.&c. *what it is.* 260.40.598.50. *to be avoided. ib.* 30. *how it is bred.* 260.1

Be Surety, *and be ſure to pay.* 346.10

Suretiſhip *dangerous.* 165.20

Surfets *how cured.* 618.40

Surnames *drowne other names.* 1195.1

Swallowes *how they build.* 959.10

Swallowes *why to be kept out of our houſes.* 776.40. *unthanke-*

full and diſloyall. 777.1. *they will not be tamed.* ib. 20
Swallowing *of our victuals how it is performed.* 1022.20
Sweet *and pleaſant how they differ.* 693.50
Swine eare the Aegyptians land in ſtead of a plough. 710.30. *ſubject to leproſie and the ſcurfe* Pſora. 711.20. *love not to looke up into the aire.* 711.30
Swine *tame why they farrow oftener than the wild.* 1010.20
Sword-fight *at* Piſa *in olde time.* 717.1
Sybarits *how they invite women to a feaſt.* 328.10
Sycophants *who they be.* 143.40
A Sycophant *firſt put to death at* Athens. 951.5. *compared with curious buſibodies.* 143.40
Cornelius Sylla *Fortunes minion and adopted ſonne.* 630.30. *he ſurnamed himſelfe* Fœlix. *ib. his ſtile.* ib.40
Sylla Fœlix *his apophthegme.* 103 30. 437. 10. *hee advaunced* Pompeius *and envied not his glory.* 358.30. *envied by* Marius. 358. 20. *hee ſurnamed himſelf* Epaphroditus 306.10
Sylvanus. 913.1
Sylvia *mother of* Romulus *and* Remus. 632.30
The Symbolicall *ſpeech of* Heraclitus. 103.30
Sympathie *in man and wife commended.* 318.50
Symphonies *in Muſicke five, with their proportions.* 1358. 40
Sympoſiaca *and* Sympotica *how they differ.* 662.1
Syncriteſmus *what it is among the Candiots.* 188.40
Synorix *murdered* Sinnatus. 1154.30. *poiſoned by* Camma. 1154.50
Syſsitia *what they be, and by whom inſtituted.* 463.20

T

T*Abernacles feaſt of the Jewes.* 712.10
Table-talke not to be forgotten. 642.10
Table makes friends. 64.2
Table diſcourſes of Philoſophie allowable. 642.20
Table why not voided cleane at Rome. 748.3.872.1
the Table a ſacred thing. 750.20 *why it is called vertue.* ib.
colde Tables in old time, what they were. 783.20
Table, the foundation of the houſe. 339.30
a Table furniſhed with meats and drinks commended. ib.40.50
Table talke of two ſorts. 661.50
Table diſcourſes of learning highly commended. 730.1.10
Table talke ought to be uſed with diſcretion. 742.50
Taciturnity. 193.1. *commended.* 53.20. *of a Romane ſeruant.* 204. 10
Talaſia *and* Taloſos. 861.10
Talaſsio *a word uſed at weddings.* 861.10
Talaſsius *an active gentleman.* 861.20
Tale of the Fox and Crane out of Ægypt. 640.40
Tanagra. 899.10
Tanaquil *wife to* Tarquinius Priſcus. 635.40
Tanaquillis *or* Tanaquil *a wiſe Lady.* 863.10
Tantalian riches. 298.10
Taphoſiris *in* Ægypt. 1295.40
Tarpeia *betraied the Capitoll.* 910.50
Tarquin *the proud depoſed and baniſhed.* 491.30. *he warreth upon the Romans.* 491.30
Tarquinius Priſcus. 630.10. *his prowesſe.* 883.40
Tarrias *a falſe couſener.* 1279.50
Tartarians deſired to be devoured of dogs. 299.50
Tartarus *for the damned.* 531.50
Taruntius. 862.50
Taſte, how it is performed. 838.30
Taunts and merry ſcoffes how to be uſed by a States-man. 363.40
Taxiles *an Indian king, his conference with King* Alexander. 413.20
Teares of wilde-bores ſweet; of ſtags and hinds ſaltiſh. 1010.1
Technatis *king of* Aegypt *loved frugalitie.* 1290.40
Telamon *killeth his brother* Phocus. 913.40
Telechus *his apophthegme.* 423. 10
Telecrus *his apophthegme.* 469. 30
Telegonus *the ſonne of* Vlyſſes Circe. 917.50
Telemachus *his diſcretion.* 214. 50
Telemachus *bewaileth that hee hath no brother.* 177.10
Telephus *cured by his enimies ſpeare.* 241.1
Telephus *healed by that which wounded him.* 62.1
Teleſphorus *encouraged.* 279.10
Τελετω, *what it ſignifieth.* 1060.1
Teleutia *mother of* Pedaretus. 481.10
Τηλυγετης *who he is.* 225.10
Tellus *deemed by* Solon *happy.* 96 20
Tellus *the goddeſſe her chappell.* 1196.20.40
Teleſilla *her noble acts.* 486.1
Teleſinus. 634.20
Temenus. 902.50
Temon *his ſtratageme.* 892.1
Temperance what it is. 69.10. *how it differeth from continencie.* 69.20
Temperance and continencie defined. 567.1
Temperance of brute beaſts compared with that of men. 568.569
Tenes *and* Tenedians 896.40
Tenes *ſlaine by* Achilles. 896.50
L. Terentius *redeemed by* Scipio *the elder.*, 430.20. *he wore a cap in the triumph of* Scipio. ib.
Teres *his apophthegme.* 405.1
Tereus. 777.1
Teribaſus *how devoted to the K. of* Perſia. 264.50
no beaſt ſacrificed to Terminus. 855.20
Terminus *a god.* 855.20
Terminalia. ib.
Ternarie number. 807.20
Ternarie number or three, called Juſtice. 1317.30
Terpander *an ancient Muſician.* 1249.40
Terpſichore *the Muſe, who loveth dauncers.* 692.30
Tetractys *the famous quaternarie of the Pythagoreans, called the World.* ib.1317.30
Thales *his errour.* 805.30. *the firſt author of Philoſophie.* 16. 40. *he travelled into* Aegypt. *ib. his opinion of God.* 812.1.
Thales *how he anſwered his mother as touching mariage.* 691. 40. *he found out the height of the Pyramis in* Aegypt 327.20 *admired of K.* Amaſis. 327.20. *accuſed unto him.* ib.
Thalia. 797.20
Thalia *wherein emploied.* 799.1
θαλιαζειν. 299.20
Thamus *pronounceth, That the great* Pan *was dead.* 1332.11.
Thargelia. 766.10
Thamyris *the muſician chalengeth the Muſes in ſong.* 1249.30

Thamyris

Thamyris *the muſician how he fared in his anger.* 121.40

Thaumas *the father of the rainebow.* 828.30

Theacidas *his apophthegm.* 458.1

Theagenes *a vainglorious champion.* 364.40

Theagenes *died in the quarrell of his countrey.* 503.1

Theano *a chaſte and ſober matron* 321.1.

Theano, *daughter of* Scedaſus. 946.10

Theatricall ſports baniſhed. 358.30

Theatre, whereof the word came. 1256.50

Thebe *the wife of* Alexander, *tyrant of* Pherz. 428.20

Thectamenes *his apophthegme.* 458.30

Thelonæ, *what nources.* 870.10

Thematiron *what muſicke.* 1252.30

Themiſteas *his apophthegm.* 458.10

Themiſtocles *his apophthegmes.* 417.30. *riotous in his youth. ib. reclaimed by the proeſſe of* Miltiades. *ib. his ſtratageme to ſave* Greece. 418.1

Themiſtocles *in his government over-ruled much by his friends.* 359.20

Themiſtocles *and* Ariſtides, *laid by all private quarrels, for the good of the weale publicke.* 361.50. *ſuſpected for a traytour to the ſtate of* Greece. 241.40. *his apophthegme as touching his baniſhment.* .273.20. *he baſheth not to blazon his owne vertues before the Athenians.* 304.40. *his words as touching* Miltiades. 244.30. *he lived richly in exile.* 273.20.

Themiſtocles *for his wiſedome ſurnamed* Vlyſſes. 1243.1. *depraved by* Herodotus. 1244.40.50. *his apophthegme to his ſonnes.* 1266.40

Themis. 295.20

Themotecles *captaine conſpiratour againſt* Ariſtodemus. 506.20

Theodeſtes *a wanton perſon, how he ſaluted his love.* 751.50

Theodorus *his ſaying of his ſcholars.* 1303.40

Theoclymenus *furious.* 837.1

Theocritus *the Sophiſter puniſhed for his intemperate ſpeech.* 13.30

Theodorus *counterfeiting the creaking of a wheele.* 23.1

Theodorus Atheos. 148.30.810.40

Theodorus *neglected the ſepulture of his body.* 299.40

Theodorus *being baniſhed how he anſwered king* Lyſimachus. 279.10

Theopompus *firſt inſtituted the Ephori.* 294.1. *his apophthegm.* 423.20.458.10

Theophraſtus *twice ſaved his countrey.* 1128.50

Theori. 905.40

Thera *and* Theraſia. 1191.10

Theramenes *his buskin.* 379.50. *his apophthegme.* 458.30. *put to death by his colleague in government.* 513.50

Thero *the Theſſalian an amorous perſon.* 1146.1

Theſſander, *captaine of the Argives.* 907.10

Theſſales *and* Achilles *compared.* 37.40.50

Therycion *his apophthegme.* 458.30

Theſeus *baniſhed from* Athens. 280.30. *his temple there.* ib.

Theſeus *his pictures.* 982.30

Theſmophoria. 1314.10

Theos *the generall name of God, whereof derived.* 1311.20

a Theſſalians apophthegme as touching Theſſalians.

Theſmotheſion. 762.10

Theſpeſius *how he became a new man.* 556.10. *his tale.* ib.40

Theſis *the mother of* Achilles 896.50. *ſhe complaineth of* Apollo. 20.50

Θοαζειν, *of divers ſignifications.* 29.10

Θon, *the name of the night.* 1163.10

Thooſa *what Dæmon.* 157.30

Thraſeus *juſtified by* Nero *his enimie.* 362.50

Thraſonides *his miſeries.* 210.50

Thraſybulus *his counſell to* Periander. 327.50

Thrice *ſignifieth Many times.* 1300.50

Thucydides *commended for his diluciditie of ſtile.* 983.30

Thunder how cauſed. 827.40. 1004.50. *what things be good againſt it.* 704.20

Thunder. ib.

Thyades, *religious prieſtreſſes.* 1301

Thyaſi *what ſacrifices.* 902.1

Thybians, *ey-biters.* 723.20

Thyrſophoria *what feaſt.* 71210

Thyrſt whereof it proceedeth. 731.1. *quenched and ſlaked by ſleepe.* 731.10

Thyrſt not allayed by meate. 733.10

Tiberius *declared Heire apparent by* Auguſtus. 442.50. *his apophthegme.* 626.1

Tides *of the ſea how occaſioned.* 832.20

Tigranes *K. of* Armenia *his baſe minde.* 1276.40

Tigers *love not to heere drummes and tabours.* 323.40

Time, what it is. 1024.20.815.30

the inſtruments of Time. 1024.1

eſſence of Time. 815.30

Timagenes *jeſteth to broad with* Auguſtus Cæſar. 108.20

Timarchus *murdered by* Procles. 1197.30

Timarchus *his tale as touching the familiar ſpirit of* Socrates. 1218.20. *how he died.* 1220.50

Timber not to be fallen but in the full moone. 697.30.

Timeſias *a buſie politician.* 365.10

Timoclia *her vertuous deed.* 503.10

Timoleon. 371. *his ſpeech of Smallach coronets.* 718.1. *modeſt in praiſing himſelfe.* 360.1

Timon *the brother of* Plutarch. 185.40

Timons *nource of* Cilicia. 782.40

Timotheus *a Poet and muſician, emboldened by* Euripides. 398.30. *his vaineglory.* 301.50. *his ſpeech of* Chares *a tall and perſonable man.* 389.50.420.20. *a fortunate captaine.* 420.20. *his apophthegmes.* ib.

Timotheus *his apophthegme of the Academie fare.* 616.1

Timotheus *the muſician rebuked by K.* Archelaus *for craving.* 408.20

Timoxena *the daughter of* Plutarch. 539.20

Tireſias *his ghoſt.* 791.40

Tiſſaphernes *compounded with* Ageſilaus. 445.10. *his treacherie.* ib.

Titans. 1333.50

Titus *the emperour given over much to bathing.* 612.20

Tityi *and* Typhones. 1184.30

Theſimachus *his policy.* 915.10

Tongue naturally ſeated, againſt much prattle. 193.40

Tongue the beſt and worſt peece of all the body. 52.20.197.20

Tongue one, eares twaine. 53.20
Tongue lavish hath undone many states. 195.50
how to frame the Tongue in making answeres. 204.20.205.1
Tongue an hard matter to bridle. 13.1
Tongue lavish compared with other infirmities. 193.10
Tone. 1037.1.40
Toredorix *a* Tetrach *of* Galatia. 502.20. *executed by* Mithridates. 502.40
Tortoiſes *of the ſea, their maner of breeding.* 976.50
Tortoiſes *of the land cured by the herbe* Origan. 569.40
Τρυγᾶν, *what it ſignifieth in vines and other things.* 1013.10
Tragœdies condemned at feaſts & banquets. 759.1
Tragœdie what maner of deceit. 19.20
Tragœdie what it was at firſt. 645.1
Tragœdians compared with captaines. 985.20.
Tranquility of minde. 145.1.*what is the fountaine thereof.* 148.1
Tranſmigration *of ſoules into new bodies.* 578.40
Τρεχέδειπνοι. 775.10
Trees bearing pitch or roſen will not be grafted in the ſcutchian. 675.10.*they will beare no impe of another tree. ib.* 20. *they be unfruitfull.* 676.1
Trees growing within the ſea. 1178.40
Trees ſome ſhed their leaves, others not; and why.
Triangles *of three ſorts what they repreſent.* 1328. 40. 685. 30
Triangle *named* Pallas. 1317.20
Tribunes *at* Rome *why they wore no imbraydered purple robes.* 877.10.20. *counted no magiſtrates. ib.*
Tribunate *a popular function.* 877.30. *a ſanctuary to the cōmons. ib.*40. *inviolable and ſacred. ib.*50
Trimeres *what muſicke.* 1251.30
Trioditus *or* Trivia *why the moone is called.* 1177.10
Trochilus *and the crocodile their ſociety.* 975.10
Tritogenia, *a name of* Pallas. 317 20
Tritons *ſea gods why ſo called.* 1317.20
Trojan *warre why cauſed by the gods.* 1073.30
Trojan *dames their worthy deed.* 484.1
Trojans *and Greeks compared together.* 38.40
Trojans *ſetled in* Italy. 484.20
Troilus *the page of* Heſiodus, *& a rocke of that name.* 344.10
Trophæes *of* Sylla. 630.40
Τροφη, *whereof derived.* 731.50
Trophoniades, *what Dæmons* 1183.40
Trophonius *and* Agamedes *rewarded with death.* 518.20
Trophonius *Oracle and cave.* 1218.27
Τροπις. 543.10
Τρυγᾶν *what it ſignifieth.* 736.50
Trueth a commendable quality in yong folke. 13.40
Trueth but one, lies be infinite. 782.10
Trueth and the knowledge thereof is incomparable. 1287.50
The plaine or field of trueth. 1334. 40
Tullus Hoſtilius *executeth* Metius Suffetius. 908.40
The two tunnes in heaven full of deſtinies. 271.30
Tuny *fiſh not ignorant of Aſtronomie.* 974.1 *skilfull in Arethmeticke and perſpective. ib.*20
Tuskane *women their vertuous act.* 488.1
Tutelar *god of the Romans not to be named or inquired after.* 870.50
Tutours and teachers of children, how to be choſen. 5.10
Twines *how engendred.* 843.30
Tynnicus *the Lacedæmon how he tooke the death of his ſonne.* 472.40
Typhon, *a Meteore.* 828.1.10
Typhonij. 1316
Typhon. 1121.20
Typhon *what it ſignifieth.* 1288. 10
Typhon *borne.* 1292.20.*he conſpired againſt* Oſiris. 1292.40 *his outrages.* 1298.10.*repreſſed and plagued by* Iſis. *ib.*
Typhon *of a ruddy colour.* 1299. 30.40. *how portraied in* Hermopolis 1307.50
Tyrants and good princes wherein they differ. 296.1
Tyranny to be repreſſed at the firſt. 121.10
Teribazus *how obſequious and devoted to the king of* Perſia *his name.* 264.50.
Tyrtæus *the Poet, what* Leonidas *thought of him.* 950.20
Tyrians *enchained the images of their tutelar gods.* 871.1
A Tyrant living to be an old man, is a wonder. 1206.40

V

Valerius Poplicala. 865.40
Valerius Poplicala *ſuſpected for affecting the kingdome of* Rome. 880.40
Valerius Torquatus. 908.30 *exiled.* 910.30
Valeria *her vertuous act.* 491.50
Valeria Tuſculanaria *enamoured of her owne father.* 912.50
Valerius *killeth himſelfe.* 913.1
Veleria Luperca, *deſtined to be ſacrificed.* 916. 20. *ſhe had a gift to cure the ſicke. ib.*
Vallies within the Moone three. 1183.20
Valiant men may be ſlaine by cowards. 973.50
Variety accordeth to Nature. 652. 40
Ventoſes and cupping glaſſes, the reaſon of their attraction. 1022. 10
Venus *image why placed hard by* Mercurie. 316.10
Venus Beleſtie. 1137.1
Venus *what attribute ſhe hath.* 1140.10
Venus *why called* Harma. 1155. 30
Venus *and Love how they differ.* 1140.10
Venus *image among the Elians upon a tortoiſe ſhell.* 321.1
Temple of Venus *the murdreſſe.* 1154
Of Venus *the end.* 337.30
Sophocles *joied, that by age he was bereaved of the ſports of* Venus. 390.1
Venus *how to be uſed.* 621.10
Venus *of* Dexicreon. 904.1
Venus *altogether to be abandoned.* 691.40
Venus *ſports in day time not to be uſed.* 692. 50. *at what time to be uſed.* 690.30
Venus *why ſhe is ſaid to be borne of the ſea.* 728.50
Venus *the goddeſſe, on whether hand wounded by* Diomedes. 789.50
Venus Epitalaria. 635.30
Venus Epitimbia. 857.40
Venus *her image with a Tortoiſe.* 1317.20
Venus *to be uſed with tēperance.* 619.1

Venus

Venus how ſhe came to the Spartans. 629.40
Venus enervate without Love. 1144.10
Veneralia a ſolemne feaſt. 866.20
Verd-de-gris of what effect it is. 698.1
Verſes taunted by Cicero 439.40
Verſes cited to good purpoſe. 787
Verſes unfitly and unſeaſonably cited. 787.40.50
Vertue morall differing from contemplative. 64.30
Vertue and exerciſe of vertue, how they differ. 1213.10
Vertue no more than one. 64.1
Vertue by what meanes accompliſhed. 3.1
Vertue excelleth other gifts. 7.10
Vertues commendable in yong men. 12.20
Vertue & vice of what power they be. 79.20
Temple of Vertue at Rome when built. 634.50
Vertue may be learned. 81. 10. 20.&c.
progreſſe from vice to Vertue. 246. 40.50
proceeding in vertue by degrees. 247.30
Vertue what it is. 65.20.67.50
Vertue ſtandeth upon two grounds. 15.1
Vertues temples at Rome. 630.40
Vertue taken diverſly among poets. 32.1
Vertue and Fortune at debate. 628. 10. compared together. 629.20. ſhe advanceth forward to plead againſt Fortune. ib.
Veſpaſian his crueltie to Ladie Empona. 1158.10
Veſſels more ſlow in Winter upon rivers than upon the ſea. 1006.10
Veſtall Nunnes three, for incontinent life convict and puniſhed. 678.30
Veſtall virgins committing fornication, why buried quicke at Rome. 882.1
Veſtall Nunnes at Rome of three ſorts. 398.30
Ὑιὸς in Greeke whereof it is derived. 1301.1
variety of Viands better than ſimple feeding. 700.30
Viands of ſea or land, which be better. 707.50
Viands ſimple, more holſome than of divers ſorts. 700.20
Viands rare and dainty. 613.40
Vice what it is. 67.50
Vice ſufficient for infortunity. 298.40
Vice according to the Stoicks, profitable for the world. 1088.1089
Victours at games of prize how honoured at Lacedæmon. 674.30
Vinegre moſt contrary to fire. 690.10
Violet garlands of what uſe. 684.20
Viſible ſubjects. 1018.50
Vlyſſes highly commended for his ſilence. 197.1.10. he vaunteth of his owne deeds. 309.20. he inhabited Italie. 892.30
Vlyſſes excuſed. 36.1. noted for drowſineſſe. 36.10. he ſchooleth Telemachus and teacheth him patience. 41.20. able to rule his paſſions. 66.50. drenched in the ſea. 659.20
Vnderſtanding in man, better than the ſoule ſimply. 1182.20
Vnderſtanding and knowledge compared with other parts. 7.1
Vnitie the beginning of numbers. 858.50
Vnity of the Pythagoreans. 806.40
Vnitie, named Apollo. 1317.20
Vnitie, is the principle of all order. 1340.1341
Vocall Muſicke. 760.50
Voices in the night more ſounding and audible than in the day: the reaſon thereof. 769.20
Voice what it is. 838.40.1248.50 why called φωνὴ. 838.40. how it filleth whole Theaters. 839.10. whether it be a body or no. 839.20
what Voice moſt pleaſant. 302.1
a ſtrong Voice commendable in a States-man. 355.40
Voice exerciſed, good for ſtudents health. 619.20
Voidneſſe or vacuity rejected. 814.50
Voidneſſe or emptineſſe in the world whether there be any. 820.10
Voluptuous life. 9.40
Vomits uſuall hurt the body. 624.1
Vomits for ſtudents. 623.20. how to be procured. 623.50
Vpbraiding of good turnes ordinary in flatterers. 103.1.10
Vrania. 798.50
Vrchin honored by Zoroaſtres and the Magi. 711.10
Vrchin of the land craftily beguileth the fox. 965.20. provident for his young ones. ib.30
the Vrchins hole. ib.
Vrchin of the ſea how crafty he is. 973.40
Vſe, of what effect it is. 3.40
againſt taking money upon Vſurie. 283.1.10.&c.
Vſurers to be avoided. 284.20
Vulcane but one. 796.20
Vulcane the prince and authour of all arts. 992.10
Vulcanes Temple why founded without the city of Rome. 867.1. the chamber or counſell houſe of Romulus and Tatius. ib.10
Vulcane hath divers acceptions in Poets. 30.10
Vulcane lame. 1162.10

W

Waking out of ſleepe, how occaſioned. 847.50
Wals of cities ſet out by the plough. 860.1
Wals of Rome held to be ſacred, but not their city gates. 859.50
Walking after ſupper. 623.1
Wanton words, as well as filthie deeds to be avoided. 36.30
Warre knoweth no ſtint. 423.20
gentle civill Warre and friendly betweene the Megarians. 893.30
Warre the father and protectour of the world. 1306.50
Water and fire compared together. 989.20
Water argued to be more profitable than fire. ib.40
Water once heat, becommeth colder afterwards. 734.20. 995.50
Water is the primitive cold or element of cold. 997.1
Waters which be moſt unholſome. 1014.10
Waters why blacke in the bottome, and white above. 1015.30
Water how it runneth. 1022.50
Water-gals reſembling rainbowes or ſundry ſunnes. 829.20
Water what kinde of drinke. 621.20
Water of the ſea unctuous. 659.1
Water how made more cold. 734.20
Water freſh compared with ſea water for ſkouring. 658.40
Water of lakes and pooles in ſummer not potable. 774.20
Water the principle of all things. 805.40. the reaſons prooving the ſame. ib.
Water how made. 880.40
Wealth alone not commendable. 46 40

Wedlocke what conjunction it is. 321.30. *mainteined againſt* Pæderaſti. 1155
Wedded folke forbidden at Rome *to give or receive any thing interchangeably.* 321.40
Wedlocke precepts. 315.316
new wedded wives bidden to touch fire and water. 850.20
at Weddings why five torches or wax-lights are lighted. 850.40
at Wedding ſuppers many gueſts, and why. 706.40
Weezill why honoured among the Aegyptians. 1316.30
a Welcome home. 776.30
the Weſand pipe. 744.1
Weſtwinde ſwifteſt. 1014.20
Whales caſt away for want of the guide, a fiſh. 975.40
Wheat loveth cley ground. 1008. 20
three moneth Wheat. ib.
Wheat hote. 741.40
White clothes pureſt and leaſt coſtly 859.40
in White they mourned at Argos 859.50
Widowes might be wedded upon a feaſtivall day. 885.10
a Wife ought not to bee awed by her husband. 317.10. *ſhe ought to be moſt ſeene by her husband.* 317.10
a Wife ought to keepe the houſe. 800.40
of a little Wife an apophthegme. 178.30
the new Wife decketh with woole the doore of her husbands houſe. 861.10
a Wife muſt frame her ſelfe to her husband. 317.50.
Wives in Aegypt *weare no ſhooes.* 320.50
how a Wife ought to carie herſelfe toward her husband. 320.50
Winde *egges.* 52.50
Windes *what they be.* 829.30
Wine *liberally taken what effects it worketh.* 194.10
Wine *how it killeth the vine.* 1013 20
Wine *how hot, and how it is colde.* 1112.10.20
Wine *how students ſhould uſe.* 621.10
Wine *the beſt drinke.* ib.
Wine *what effects it worke*[illegible] 20.763.50. *it diſcovere*[illegible] *ſecrets of the heart.* 681.40
Wine *a ſingular medicine.* 683.40
that Wine *is cold.* 689.30
Wine *new. See Muſt.*
Wine *whether it ſhould runne through a ſtreiner before it be drunke.* 736.20
Wine *called at the firſt* Τρυξ, *by the name of Lees.* 736.40
varietie of Wines *ſoone cauſeth drunkenneſſe.* 700.50
Wine *beſt, in the middes of the veſſels.* 747.30
Wine *why poured forth at* Rome *before the temple of* Venus. 866.30
Wine *hurt with winde and aire.* 747.50
Wine *the foundation of government and counſell in* Greece, 762.1
Wine *in Greeke, why called* οἶνος. 762.50
Wine *and the vine came of giants bloud ſpilled upon the ground.* 1289.40
Wine *is talkative.* 763.1
Wine *worketh boldneſſe and confidence.* 763.40
Wine *cauſeth a ſelfe conceit and opinion of wiſedome.* 763.1
Wine *new at what time of the yeere firſt taſted or ſet abroach.* 785.1
Wine *ſparily drunke by the Aegyptian kings.* 1289.40
that Wine *is cold.* 688.1
a Wing *compared to God.* 1021. 40
Winter *how it is cauſed.* 829.40
Wiſdome *and fortune produce like effects.* 628.20
the wiſe man of the Stoicks deſcribed. 1055.50
Wiſdome *what it is.* 233.1. *to be preferred before all worldly things.* 1288.1
Wool *more pliable if it be gently handled.* 658.30
Wolves *whelpe, al in twelve daies* 1015.20
Women *not ſoone drunke, and the reaſon thereof.* 687.10. *their temperature moiſt.* ib.
Women *whether they be colder or hotter than men.* 688.1
that Women *be hotter.* ib.10
one Womans *body put to tenne dead mens bodies in a funerall fire.* 688.20
that Women *be colder than men.* 688.30
Women *why they conceive not at all times.* 843.20
a Woman *beareth five children at the moſt at one birth.* 850.50
Women *why they weare white at funerals in* Rome. 859.30
a prety tale, of a talkative Woman. 198.30
Women *can keepe no ſecret counſell.* 199.30
Women *are beſt adorned with vertue and literature.* 325.10 20
Womens *vertuous deeds.* 482. 20
Women *publickely praiſed at* Rome. 483.10
Women *of* Salmatica *their vertuous act.* 489.50
a Woman *of* Galatias, *love to* Poredorix. 502.50
Wooden *dogge among the Locrians.* 892.50
Wood-pecker *a birde why ſo much eſteemed at* Rome. 857. 10
Wood-pecker *feed* Romulus *and* Remus. 857.10. *conſecrated to* Mars, *wherefore.* ib.20
Words *filthy are to be avoided by children.* 11.50
a Word, *occaſion of much miſchiefe.* 242.20
Words *compared with deeds.* 402 40
Words *the lighteſt things in the world.* 668.40.196.10
Words *have wings.* 198.10
World, *of what principles it was compoſed.* 1305.50
World *how it was made.* 808.20
in the World *foure regiments.* 1219.30
World *one.* 808.50. *how* Plato *prooveth it.* 809.1.1335.30
more Worlds *than one.* 1335.50
World *not incorruptible.* 809.10
Worlds *infinite.* 809.10
infinity of Worlds *condemned.* 1332.30.1334.20
World *round.* 809.30
Worlds *in number five.* 1335.20
World *why called* κοσμος. 818.1
Worlds *whether one or infinite.* 818.10
Worlds *not one nor five, but* 183. 1334.30
World *and Whole, not both one.* 818.10
World *and the parts thereof compared to a mans body.* 1168
World *what it is.* 646.10
Worlds *in number five, how prooved.* 1339.10
World *what forme or figure it hath.* 818.20
World *whether it be animate or endued with ſoule.* 818.30
Worlds *five which they be.* 1359.1. *whether it be corruptile or eternall.*

eternall. 818.40
World whereof it is nouriſhed. 818.50
Worlds five, proportionate to the five ſenſes. 1359.10
Worlds fabricke at which element it began. 819.10
Worlds fabricke in what order it was framed. 819.30
World why it copeth or bendeth. 819.50
the World to come hath joies for good men. 603.20
Worlds ſides, right & left. 820.20
the Worlds conflagration. 1328.10
World created by god. 1032.40
the Worlds generall conflagration held by the Stoicks. 1090.30
Worſhip of brute beaſts excuſed. 1327.50
Wrathfulneſſe what it is. 119.50
Wreſtling whether it were the moſt ancient Gymnike exerciſe. 672.30

X

Xanthians plagued by the meanes of Bellerophontes. 489.40
Xanthians negotiate in the name of their mothers, and beare their names. 489.50
Xenocrates his aurelets or bolſters for the eares. 52.20
Xenocrates a ſcholar hard to learne. 63.1. his opinion as touching the ſoule of the world. 1031.10. he directed Alexander the great in the government of the kingdome. 1128.30
Xenocrite her vertuous deed. 505.30. ſhe conſpireth the death of Ariſtodemus the tyrã. 506.30
Xenophanes his ſaying of the Aegyptian Oſiris. 1149.10
Xenophon reporteth his owne acts. 372.10
Xenophon the Philoſopher beloved of king Ageſilaus. 448.30 how he tooke the death of his ſonne. 529.30
Xenophon called Nycteris. 930.20. he penneth the hiſtory of himſelfe. 982.10
Xerxes menaceth Athos. 121.40 he died for ſorrow that his owne ſonnes were at deadly diſcord. 176.50
Xerxes and Ariamenes bretheren how they ſtrove for the crowne. 186.40. how they were agreed. 187.1.10
Xerxes his pollicie to keepe downe rebellious & mutinous ſubjects. 403.40. his apophthegmes. ib. his clemency unto two Lacedæmonians. 474.1
Xerxes his barbarous cruelty unto rich Pythes. 507.20
Xuthus. 895.20

Y

Yeere why it is called the age of man. 1328.20. of Jupiter. 826.20. of the Sunne. ib. of Mercury and Venus. ib. of the moone. ib.
the Yeere or revolution of Saturne. 826.20
the great Yeere. 826.20
Yeeres dedicated to Jupiter. 876.1
Yeugh tree ſhade how hurtfull. 684.40
Yoong men are to be governed with greater care than children. 14.40. to what vices they be ſubject. 14.30.40
Yoong men how they ſleepe at Lacedæmon. 475.40. how they demeaned themſelves to their elders at Lacedæmon. 476.1
Yoong lads permitted to ſteale, at Lacedæmon. 476.20
Yoong folke drunke reſemble olde men. 687.50
Youth ought not to be over-bold, nor yet too fearefull. 8.40. how they ſhould read the bookes of Sages. 9.50
Youth is to obey. 391.20
Youth brought up hardly at Lacedæmon. 476.20.
υπερ, what it ſignifieth in compoſition. 726.50
υπερφλοιον, what it ſignifieth. 726.40
υποθεσις. 760.10
υποθυμιδες, that is to ſay, Noſegaies. 684.30
Yron, why it is not vocall and reſonant. 770.30

Z

Zaleucus his lawes highly reputed among the Locrians. 306.10
Zarates the maiſter of Pythagoras. 1031.20
Zeipetus king of the Bithynians. 903.10
Ζῆν, that is to ſay, To live. 991.20
Zeno his opinion of vertue. 65.1 he loſt all that he had. 148.40
Zeno traineth his ſcholars to the hearing of the muſicke of inſtruments. 67.20
Zeno the diſciple of Parmenides undertooke to kill the tyrant Demytus. 1128.30
Zeno bit off his own tongue. 196.30. contrary to himſelfe. 1058.50
Zeno the Cittiæan honored by Antigonus the yonger. 416.1
Zeno his valorous reſolution. 1128.30. his opinion as touching the principles of all things. 808.20. his anſwere to the Perſian embaſſadour as touching taciturnity. 194.30
Zephiodorus a minion of Epaminondas. 1146.10
Zephyrus what wind. 692.40. 789.30
Zovs hath many ſignifications. 30.50
Zeuxidamus his apophthegmes. 457.50
Zodiak circle. 809.40. how it paſſeth. 820.40 the obliquity therof who firſt obſerved. 820.50
Zoilus a prieſt died of a little ulcer. 899.40
Zoilus taxeth Homer for incongruity. 719.50
Zones of the heaven. 820.40
Zones 5.835.10
Zona Torrida. 831.10
Σοφοδορπιδες, an attribute given at Pittacus. 775.20
Σοφοδορπιδες. 775.1
Zoroaſtres never fed of any thing but of milke. 700.10
Zoroaſtres very ancient. 1306.1
Σωροτερον δε κεραιρε, what it ſignifieth in Homer. 719.20

Errata.

Page.	line.	Reade
2.	41.	DWarf-kings
6.	34.	given themſelves
7.	10.	The violence of warre
9.	9.	ſo, as many as
11.	19.	In ſumme, reſt and repoſe,
	33.	examined
12.	6.	Taken a pitch againſt
	50.	*Speuſippus*
14.	13.	rule and ſquire
	24.	love the beautie
16.	18.	juice or liquor.
17.	20.	ſage leſſons all, which
20.	22.	as in a picture drawen to the life,
	36.	entituled, *Theriaca,*
	52.	with *Apollo,* for the
22.	47.	rage and madneſſe
23.	2.	cart wheele or pullie
	34.	Nay, ſleepe
24.	32.	choler. He
	36.	*Patroclus.*
	44.	nor bare heavilie
26.	10.	*How then? ſhould I For Gods cauſe die?*
27.	39.	credit of the worſe
30.	45.	This was the will
31.	9.	he meaneth
39.	48.	ſeeketh for roots
41.	39.	Ζεῦ &c. μεδέων & Ζεῦ
42.	6.	Beholde, one father
	21.	What *Glaucus,* You
	25.	that *Pandarus* through
43.	21.	*Aetha,* which he gave
44.	45	For *Atreus*
	49.	For *Atreus*
45.	26.	Wiſe men feareful
	43.	not at all
46.	30.	at quailes
48.	1.	*Homer* derideth
	16.	provoked him
	40.	armes ſo dred
	45.	thou overmatched be
	53.	deciſions
	55.	to endure ſuch doctrine
50.	50.	in thoſe cities
53.	5.	poure forth any
54.	3.	a certein importunate deſire
55.	31.	a ſpeciall fanſie
56.	45.	and ſtuphe
	52.	Embrochations.
57.	38.	caudrons
	44.	laterall motions
58.	3.	undo the knots
59.	41.	compoſed
62.	27.	was ſtrange
63.	36.	this counſell, that
64.	1.	but more
69.	9.	baſe and treble
	43.	worſe with
70.	38.	anchor flouke
	40.	not unproperlie
71.	43.	neuer conſidering
74.	5.	many an houſe
76.	19.	audacious; raſh alſo
	34.	dilatations
	43	a ſenſuall
	52.	*Hemerides*
79.	57.	giveth thereto
81.	21.	to ſhoo
83.	56.	do us pleaſure
86.	31.	under that viſour
87.	23.	ſoone followeth them,
	42.	*with ſicke likewiſe ſicke perſons beſt do ſort:*
89.	21.	*long firſt: I wis I liked him not, a great &c.*
91.	51.	*Caſtoreum*
92.	31.	this rule,
93.	51.	with the profuſion
	54.	grandeur.
95.	34.	of his skill
	40.	alſo, and precepts
96.	9.	ſhew-places
98.	16.	fellowes, uſe
	24.	*Cercopes*
102.	18.	the lines
103.	28.	onely. A friend
105.	13.	ſound judgement
106.	48.	a ſtomacke fell,
107.	12.	and then, ſpare
108.	10.	made the ſtatues
112.	8.	given unto; whiles he
113.	10	in clipping
115.	18.	leaud courſes
119.	7.	which are trebles in one. 8.
	8.	more high & ſmall become Hypatæ. i. the Baſſes.
	34.	and burne themſelves
122.	12.	their forme of viſage
123.	1.	*at ſecret root of hart*
	2.	*but lie apart*
131.	13.	and a dredge
	44.	and forwardneſſe
134.	40.	an Iſthm
135.	1.	have I done
	19.	and what was the occaſion
137.	34.	the very mids
137.	40.	if he recount
138.	3.	*doth ever chant and ſing*
	37.	make a ſtart
140.	48.	not to amuſe
141.	51.	that regard the ſtreet
143.	1.	cauſe great remorſe
	5.	to heare
146.	30.	by line deſcended
147.	16.	when they be under ſaile
149.		*In the marg.* Τερφερλω
150.	6.	weaknes of yours, you ſhall be ſure
	42.	to refreſh
151.	3.	that ran away; who being demanded what his Maſter
	37.	that they were abſent
152.	52.	monntaine *Athos*
153.	48.	paſſions, do falſifie
154.	54.	ſurnamed *Enyalius*
155.	43.	if there be more
156.	4.	live by graſing
	20.	upon the dore-ſill
	26.	and to make
157.	3.	a table, do ſay
	6.	fallẽ out to their minds; for,
158.	11.	of them: I wiſt,
162.	43.	ſcope
163.	28.	a ſad heavineſſe
167.	41.	to diſpenſe
169.	16.	*Helicon* a Cyzicene
172.	57.	and to repeat
180.	17.	he hath him alone
186.	4.	in ſiding
188.	57.	our ſight unto thoſe bodies
190.	44.	cry out upon him
194.	29.	to mocke him
195.	54.	harried *Aſia*
199.	29.	an imputation charged upõ him
200.	52.	tidings, whiles they
202.	21.	by his treaſon
204.	5.	gueſts were preſent
206.	12.	give me then
	30.	*Agrypnia*
	44.	*Bacchis*
	49.	writh himſelfe
207.	28.	refuted the ſect
209	34.	of meane raiment
210.	10.	ordinarily, he that hath
212.	11.	of the baine
213.	32.	or *Lyceum*
215.	8.	run a madding
218.	55.	craw and geſier
219.	7.	with their coovie
	21.	but for themſelves
	24.	to fight for them
220.	17.	providence, induſtry and diligence
221.	19.	that induced them.
222.	12.	wanton love, whoring, and
223.	13.	taking it to be a prodigious wonder; confeſſing
227.	47.	it well beſits
228.	34.	who died moſt
229.	17.	to ſue and mung
231.	3.	ſight of eies
	5.	by the eare to the braine
	56.	attributed to fortune.
233.	12.	*Jove* ſhall lend,
234.	18.	be the ſame
	48.	grandeur
238.	42.	the geirs or vultures
239.	24.	was now ſetled
240.	54.	honeſt another day,
243.	48.	ambition, declaring
244.	45.	with their diligence
246.	54.	My lying dreames
250.	26.	many there be
251.	14.	and profited more
254.	46.	or Sutures
255.	48.	*Aphyæ*
261.	12.	in *Galatia*
	17.	morimals
266.	44.	*Phœbas*
268.	4.	thoſe Galatians
270.	49.	*Celmis* or *Bacelas*
	50.	*upon the pleaſant tabor plaid*
271.	34.	to diſpenſe
	40.	more potable
272.	15.	not include
273.	36.	where, as one
275.	38.	*Echinades*
277.	8.	who hither
280.	52.	Mad *Bacchæ,* running
282.	49.	expoſed to
283.	36.	towne *Aulis*
	50.	occaſions
	53.	from our table
	54.	is needleſſe
285.	1.	their ſpurnes
	2.	ſtoupe and ſincke
289.	18.	ſeigneurs
	54.	things profitable
290.	8.	everrunning
292.	56.	grandeur
295.	13.	realme, a prince
	40.	αὐδδιοῦς
300.	6.	called *Napellus*
306.	15.	*Zaleucus*
308.	1.	*A plaine and common ſouldiour might enjoy &c.*
310.	4.	all els
312.	26.	no deciſion
314.	36.	maugre
318.	3.	ſuperficies
319.	5.	their havoir
322.	39.	Lady *Hermione*
327.	45.	amiſſe. And in trueth
329.	31.	whom not? before
331.	32.	hornes ſo brag
	54.	begin with me,
332.	38.	of the negotiation
336.	8.	grandeur
337.	1.	laſt yeere, and not
339.	5.	phyſicians name
	26.	of this faire
341.	20.	ſicke any more,
	35.	wine do drinke
342.	3.	cõming toward, kiſſed him
344.	27.	unto the temple *Nemeium*
346.	2.	*Hector*
349.	29.	that he is now able
352.	11.	magnificent port
353.	51.	affectation;
357.	29.	entrance than ſo;
	37.	former avenue
358.	35.	hereat *Marius* tooke
360.	2.	called *Cadmia,*
	5.	that one *Sphodrias*
361.	50.	to have a cop
362.	7.	go forth and retire
363.	13.	of Comices
	53.	with the Paricides
	42.	but matters light
365.	20.	who could drive with
	46.	ſentences, acts
369.	12.	and how
371.	15.	or *Polus,*
373.	35.	ſo, as I purpoſe
	36.	a Mna of ſilver
375.	3.	a proper chaffer
376.	37.	*For why?*
377.	22.	congiaries
378.	5.	and by endebting
385.	25.	when for
388.	1.	*Lampon*
391.	35.	honourable marks
394.	5.	arme and follow him. Now when
396.	47.	grandieur
397.	52.	Now, in the advices
398.	42.	power to initiate
400.	1.	or declame
402.	9.	Some tracts
	16.	to ſet the reader
	39.	ſince that (moſt gracious prince)
415.	13.	what! *Antagoras,*
	26.	*Jalyſus*
	32.	grandeur
417.	14.	where, as
420.	54.	and gueſſe worſe;
423.	38.	hath many better
426.	44.	citie of *Thebes*
429.	20.	cloud hoovering
430.	25.	unto him L. *Terentius*
	49.	ſacrifice and give thanks
436.	7.	whõ they had foiled ſo often
439.	49.	redily, Thy mother quoth he, hath
442.	34.	neither ſay nor do ought
445.	7.	yea; thereupon
446.	6.	lay ſicke: when the partie
450.	39.	preſerve the lawes
455.	34.	whether you would be named an ill Poet, for to be a good Phyſician?
	35.	and to joine battle
462.	3.	I bring quoth he, mẽ enough
463.	22.	foure Chalci
	52.	he raught him a rap with his baſton
471.	8.	do not demoliſh
473.		*In marg.* to dulce, gẽtly handle,
474.	35.	and haſted with them ſo,
475.	30.	maner, all naked
477.	47.	by which meanes they accuſtomed
481.	17.	accompanying a lame ſon of hers
	18.	that thou ſteppeſt, thy vertue
	37.	upon her head,
483.	30.	draw to the life men and women
484.	25.	that women ſhould
486.	23.	loſſe and carnage
489.	4.	was a meere fable
492.	34.	bearing himſelfe
498.	38.	*Thebe,* the wife of the tyrant of *Pheræ,*
499.	14.	being now fully perſwaded,
500.	50.	unto her husband;
502.	25.	undertooke one day this enterpriſe
503.	13.	and reaped ſhe of vertue,
	47.	who ſtood above
504.	49.	and haſt no longer
511.	56.	ſome great office,
512.	8.	of felly,
513.	5.	without regard
514.	26.	and flew
518.	43.	he went out
519.	45.	Being none have left
	50.	Being none, have left
520.	43.	than thou
524.	1.	ſhould have ſhed
	33.	and ſatisfie my ſelfe
525.	57.	is to die
526.	36.	but *Jove* alone
529.	26.	ech one being
532.	10.	their eies, eares and whole body
536.	1.	it is beeome
	55.	of our felicity or miſerie
539.	42.	faring and inveighing
543.	51.	Of freedome
545.	9	plant *Ledum*
	55.	beare foorthwith
556.	34.	*Cilicia,*
558.	13.	degenerate
	25	and ſwertiſh withall
	27.	the ſoule
562.	15.	no other appuy
565.	54.	cuſtomes & reprehenſions,
598.	3.	lavander, canel, and malabathrum,
	4.	skill and
	36.	Ganymede
572.	6.	cary themſelves
574.	21.	but diſavoweth
577.	26.	touchings, frictions & handling
583.	6.	and extremities of the body
586.	30.	pleaſant, a principle
589.	55.	knowen to ſtocke
590.	52.	Eteſian winds
591.	21.	or compoſt
594.	6.	*Boidion*
597.	40.	Acts of Cities
598.	27.	and compoſed of
603.	25.	priſe of the victorie
608.	8.	as dormant
	22.	upon a fervent deſire
610	48.	nor deſirous was he
611.	27.	concerning the regiment
613.	25.	*Glaucus*
615.	33.	and ſuch as they will
622.	29.	to the taſt, yet hurtfull
624.	9.	be ſo hard,
	22.	foreknowledge or ſuſpiciõ:
627.	52.	of their grandeur
629.	6.	of that grandeur
	21.	in her pace and maner
630.	2.	guiding and wreſting
	4.	as *Alcman* the Poet
	37.	all ſute
	38.	ſelfe repute
	40.	Κορνήλιος Σύλλας
631.	23.	they built it to the
	39.	and turne about backe
	54.	*Scipio,* as well beloved
		In the marg. *To Aius Locutius, &c.* to the goddeſſe *Moneta,* &c.
632.	2.	by whoſe warres, as well
	48.	paps beſtrut
634.	6.	whiles the junctures
636.	50.	private deſtiny.
	37.	but they being humbled by this affliction,
	52.	pieces or plates of corke,
639.	22.	beginning now to ſhote
	43.	to Philoſophize
644.	5.	drougues,

Errata.

Page. line. Reade
644. 5. drougues, wherewith ſhee
645. 1. and meere injurie done
7. *Scolia*
In the marg. ὅτι ἰδὼν ἄσαι τὸν ἔχοντα
646. 32. there ſhould not be
649. 42. one rich man with another
54. as an emollitive
650. 8. male or female
656. 28. diaphoreticall
659. 22. all plundged he had bene
665. 24. reproching perſons with ſuch vices & defects as are
33. *Kymbix* (not
666. 6. *Thyrepanœctes*
38. buffon of king
669. 41. of pulſe, wheat-bread,
671. 45. there were no egges,
675. 40. impes or buds with their eies
677. 18. and yet reſcued, & eſcaped
680. *In the marg.* that is, the ſoule
50. or reward to check the ſame
683. 43. unto *Agenorides*,
684. 27. compoſe and lay even
36. that were expreſſed
685. 56. ſpurred us forward
688. 9. the onely cauſe
689. 40. apply meere wine unto
690. 25. counterpoiſon
691. 41. For, That an ancient
692. 48. The ſtaves of *Bacchus*
695. 3. purpoſe, new wine
6. dead folke, which at the firſt
696. 24. ſapie or corrupted
697. *In the marg.* or halfe moone
698. 38. it is a received opinion.
699. 29 and therefore, As it were a
702. 13. barke and brouſe (baſe
705. 57. ſoft and laxe
7[illegible]. 22. as *Heraclitus* ſaith
47. aire, which it doth
710. 44. Mygale
717. 31. apperteineth unto *Neptune*
721. 33. choſe for to
725. 13. that be: for cuſtome
737. 11. if he had meant
738. 22. with twigges
45. as is before ſaid, there,
739. 44. contortion
48. ſpirit or breath
751. 3. do acquit of Intemperance
754. 44. of the buffon or Paraſite
755. 46. do affirme, there is (*Gnatho*
756. 2. diſſeize
758. 45. a conformation
761. 18. but alſo, thoſe who being
33. altercation
762. 11. is that night-aſſembly
54. them that drinke
764. 48. our beds, bidden to ruffle
765. 21. but filleth not unto them, wine
766. 22. even another *Chiron*,
767. 29. that in all other
35. ſquare by mechanical
43. was amorous of him:
768. 47. this Theoreme
769. 1. forme. Setting
2. he made, which he doth
771. 1. many times, ſcatter it
772. 54. *Spadix*,
773. 34. middes of thoſe
774. 24. reaſon alſo inclineth
776. *In the marg.* who procured her
778. 56. Pythagoreans war, (ſiſter
779. 42. conteining themſelves
780. 19. and helpe themſelves
20. and mother both,
781. 27. incredible: pronouncing
44. ſtipticity
782. 13. like to the ſand
24. of the ten Propoſitions,
783. 30. of bathing our fleſh
784. 4. I wot not how
785. 30. thickned; the poure
786. 6. accordant, in Muſicke?
788. 32. *Quinquertium*,
32. in that ſhe is a vowel:
790. 19. this Lady gently, See,
791. 3. and therefore, *Iris*,
798. 1. our willes
799. 18. in nature?
800. 4. a lively and true
9. of running water, they are
22. with hot deſire, and
42. *Iuno* with her gold crowne honour'd, Faire *Dione* and well
45. From *Hellen* (favour'd.
55. And ſonne,

Page. line. Reade
801. 1. who liſt to know
805. 43. That, as all things
808. 18. called *Entelechia*
811. 21. ſnow blacke; fire cold;
816. 33. and percuſſion
47. chaine, there is comprised
37. Nature none there is
824. 36. the curvature or felly
826. 2. Pſeudophanes,
828. 38. warre portends
831. 32. the clifts and chinks
834. 42. hold it to be in
836. 53. I thee beſeech,
839. 10. and cich peaſe
846. 22. *Scorpio* is unſociable
848. 5. the inferior bellie
853. 29. about, and returne
54. with their robe
855. 48. for that *Ino* was a Lady
858. 44. and preſent offrings
869. 37. whom partly.
871. 8. with them their Tutelar
36. κὴ ὄπισω
46. were the greateſt
872. 32. Cirque of *Flaminius*
57. *Febraten* and *Febrarin*,
874. 15. called *Auſpices*
56. ſmalneſſe of Fortune,
881. 31. of all beſides,
51. cichling and cich peaſe
884. 29. the uneven number, nine,
886. 41. not onely not to touch
889. 15. and there, held them ſtill
898. 28. in all reſpects otherwiſe,
899. 8. *Stratonice*,
12. by townes and villages
55. them they ſend
903. 12. injuries and wrongs
54. any mony at intereſt
905. 21. *Hercules* being departed
906. 41. in which battle L. *Glauco*
915. 24. and beſtowed every man
918. 35. States and governments
46. corporation of *Rhamnus*
48. as ſome thinke by himſelfe
919. 3. no, nor by thoſe
9. *Lyſias* and *Archinous*
920. 13. preferred by *Andron*: The Senate hath ordeined
921. 24. he was driven out
223. 3. for ſapience ſhould now immortall be)
925. 10. the ſonne of *Conon*
928. 25. up to the very cope
32. demaunded to have had
929. 9. meeting with the children
932. 7. driven out of countenance
8. of luſty youthfulneſſe
22 alleadged teſtimonies
26. the concions
934. 5. to convince the Macedoni- (ans
943. 7. as buckler in
945. 17. body of the eſpouſed virgin
53. of the Bacchiadæ;
950. 1. being not taught, nouriſhed, nor any waies framed
47. commended hunting.
952. 16. againe for them, contrarie:
954. 29. when they groove or ſit
955. 30. and the ſame not in ſmall
32. For, that (*Heraclitus*
33. dealing with thē as he doth,
960. 13. at *Hercules*, if he putting
961. 9. the nature of this wit & intelligence
962. 21. concluſion inferred
25. either disjunct or conjunct
967. 29. & among other prety tricks
37. matter of the play required
969. 28. hides and deepe obſcurity
49. a tincture as one would ſay, from
970. 6. among the reſt, thoſe in
971. 4. that rurall oxe head bare
51. within the Amphitheaters
56. that he may raiſe himſelfe upon, and ſo get foorth,
972. 2. but ſay it were true,
974. 26. enter into the ſea of *Pontus*.
977. 1 within the ſand
978. 2 ſwallowes doe; nor yet
979. 35. About the temple *Nemeium*
980. 24. with his feet; and as men ſay.
984. 16. called *Phiditia*
986. 42. moſt ſacred oblation that is
56. *Salamis* accompanieth
988. 44. the inconſiderate folly

Page. line. Reade
991. 54. a man may account
992. 45. another declamation
994. 19. and perceivance of cold
997. 56. πανὺ ὕδωρ
998. 46. contiguate
999. 2. not evermore cold alike
8. huge meeres
1004. 36. cattell to licke ſalt
1009. 5. the Calamarie
43. others, their ſmitings.
53. in ſteed of crookes
1012. 9. divers acrimonies, ſweetneſſes
31. in the vatte
1017. 8. moſt juſt and equall
42. immutable, doth alwaies
1020. 8. thereof, yet contrariwiſe
36. and *Icaſaedron*
1021 56. cupping glaſſes;
51. rough aſperities
1023. 30. to ſucceed and receive them, the
1024. 24. no nor any noiſe conſonant
1026. 43. Adverb. For, the Particle δὴ,
1028. 34. in geſture, in port; by the regard of his eie in his voice:
1029. 39. either parts or elements
1031. *In the marg.* and his ſectaries.
45. generation either of it ſelfe
1034. 24. much leſſe then, unto
1036. 48. to wit, two and three unto
35. of three to two,
1038. 1 which are inſerted,
1040. 10. of which, let the leſſe number
44. a ſeſquiterce to a ſeſquioctave
1046. 3. of the Eclipticke
42. Parameſe
1052. 3. certaine and one.
1059. 23. As for *Cleanthes*
1063. 43. very bald and abſurd
1066. 22. forbiddeth expreſly
1067. 3. and are better
5. and all one, as to ſay
1068. 10. ſuch as *Hydanthyrſus* the Scythian was, and *Leucon*
55. could receive wrong
1075. 28. nor expedient, is it
1087. 40. had filled two cups
1092. 42. is conducible
1095. 21. in the peiſing and handling
45. Διος Κορινθος
1097. 28. the eare diſeaſed,
1102. 17 the water aloft,
2. Alſo, they annexe heereto, their
1115. 38. is really of a
1116. *In the marg.* διακοσμον πεντιν-
1121. 56. *Phoſphoria* (τει
1124. 8 to heare belive.
1127. 55. no pardon. For, to ſlip
1129. 1 the papyr reed,
33. of *Cybele*, the great
1132. 5. friend of hers, and a
49. that *I* warre now againſt
1134. 39. of *Pæderaſtie*
1136. 10. ſignes of ripeneſſe ſhow
1138. 47. ſtratageme, as it were of the yong man himſelfe
141. 17. And is there never a god
1142. 9. The ſhady night me never
39. need it hath not of (bare
50. even ſo, ſaith he,
57. *Panique* terrors and frights,
1143. 35. or enamelled
47. and ſo doe call them; it is
1144. 28. named *Nicoſtratus*,
1146. 32. womē have not ordinarily,
1147. 9. into fire burning,
1150. 18. but divers; like as
20. and if this would not ſeeme
1151. 10. wonderfull generative
42. invention of love, that
1152. 33. to ſecond his ſuit
1153. 10. braches and bitches
1155. 4. and revile *Venus*,
1156. 31. confuſed trouble and
In the marg. αισιωδ φιλιααμα
1159. 47 to incite thoſe (πριχ
50. have made the overture
1160. 15 amulets
1163. 18. avowed to be the earth:
1164. 2. Do bitter
1165. 1. bodies heere, and their concretion with the earth,
2. which be there gathered
9. higheſt cope

Page. line. Reade
1166. 22. to come themſelves in.
1169. 18. fungoſity,
1174. 27. and the calme, white:
56. is a dead body
1175. 21. and argumentation,
1176. 10. even and ſubtile
30. and curbed mirrors
1177. 27. doe not admit
1181. 1. with the windes and tranſported
27. incontaminate
1183 18. grandeur
40. They be aſſiſtant
1185. 35. all the babble of
43. make this diſputation of
1186. 21. preſently withall,
1188. 37. And therefore, ſome you
1191. 55. called *Selinum* (ſhall
1194. 9. or ſeene the Aegyptians
15. from his root above, which
25. with a cock upon his hand
1198. 3. *Miſogyne*
45. Ad now to theſe things ſo well ſaid
1198. 21. For, wine, as
49. golden tufts
1200. 36. Inachian an Aliartian,
1202. 9. of the ſaid god.
1206. 2. my ſelfe quoth *Philolaus*,
1207. 28. what the ſenſe and meaning
51. is by occaſion
1208. 52. and called unto thoſe his familiar
1211. 11. good turne, either hath it
14. which by his refuſall canot
1214. 1. As for your *Lycus*,
30. by the inſpection of
1219. 29. all above
33. there is a Fiend or Deſtiny
1220. 20. and orderly motion
1221. 31. οἰωνοπόλους. i. Augurs
ib. others ἱερεῖς
1225. 21. whom being hardly
1227. 8. was retired, immediately
1228. 45. and beſides that it is
1229. 2. and how he treated
26. evident it is, that it tendeth.
1230. 14. by his teſtimonies
1232. 4. feaſt named *Apaturia*
33. exiled from *Thaſos*
39. upon a poore and miſerable
1234. 10. he diminiſheth, diffameth,
1240. 37. Did with their bloud
1245. 45. abandoned and betraied
1246. 43. Coloſſes & giantlike ſtatues
1247. 18. *Sochares*, *Deipniſtus*,
49. Greeks, were quite deceived
1252. 2. Enharmonian
14. *Dieſis* next unto the prince: and a diſcord or diſſonance,
52. no more than the lute or the harpe onely &c.
53. for this god deviſed the play both of the one and the other:
1254. 23. did it wittingly. But to
1255. 27. *Hemiolios*
28. to ſix; & nine is ſeſquialteral
56. according to exceſſe in nū- (bers
1257. 11. Tetrameter Iambicks
23. who firſt brought vp, by their
1259. 14. For, the moſt part
16. or the teacher: but the better ſort reject ſuch indiſcretion;
1260. 34. mixture of parts (as the
49. as be the parts
1261. 28. and theſe verily
39. which are unmooveable
1263. 9. As things that
1265. 52. reſolution; of prowes
1268. 12. who uſe to chace deere
54. to preach unto me of juſtice
1269. 51. as making this account
1273. 22. under *Alexander*, as by *A-* (*lexander*.
29. as ſweetly ſinging
1276. 34. truly ſay, Lo the Trophæe
1277. 40. whom differing in truth nothing from
1281. 39. river that had fourd paſſable
1285. 22. with the ſwords, glaives,
1286. 11. & by that meanes alſo, cauſe
50. of the raſure, veſture,
1288. 50. few there be among them.
1290. 54. dimly appeareth.
1291. 25. Unity, *Apollo*; Two, *Diana*;
31. And Ire, they ſet out
1292. 44 *Oſiris* body, and cauſed
1293. *In the marg.* in the trunke of the Plant

1295. 41. one

Errata.

Page. line. Reade
1295. 41. one Methide
49. where they were honored
1297. *In the marg.* wicked or curſt.
Iupiter to *Minerva.*
1298. 46. *Hades* and *Dionyſus.*
1300. 29. O all yee
1301. 16. religious Thyades
22. ſacred fury

Page. line. Reade
1302. 31. with whoſe head having
51. ſonne of *Iſis*
1309. 41. forming it
1317. 4. *Clyſtre*
1319. 14. all theſe ſpeeres
1321. 20. ouvertures
1323. 2. and taketh not up
1324. 33. Adieu dame *Corone,*
43. or els to looke

Pag. line. Reade
1327. 2. Engaſtrimythi
42. The daughters verily
1328. 32. in order from one: and
33. by foure every way,
In the marg by another, maketh
54. all ſuddaine
1329. 12. as a truchman
1335. *In the marg.* θυρωτηρ
1339. 9. having equall angles,

Page. line. Reade
1340. 29. Eſſence or Being,
1344. 16. who in Conjectures misseth (least
1354. 27. they uſurped
1356. 13. hath a ſuite and
1357. 36. *in infinitum,*
1362. 17. nor ſubject either
31. *Ictos,*
1363. 45. as were not

Thoſe few faults which haply have eſcaped us beſides, are ſuch, as the Reader not altogether unlearned may correct of himſelfe, and of his curteſie pardon us for, conſidering the farre abſence of our Author, and the matter of the booke not alwaies familiar.

1895
Lex. ed. 1